Psychodrama utilizes the language of the theatre, and that means speaking about situations in terms of the roles people play, how they perform these roles, what are the components or definitions of the roles, and scores of related considerations. Moreno was one of the pioneers of social role theory, and he gave it some depth so that it could be used for problem-solving—which is why I call his approach "applied role theory." I consider this to be a significant contribution to psychology even if it is used apart from any association with psychodramatic methods.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Social role theory is a uniquely American contribution to social psychology. It arose mainly during the 1930s through the 1950s, primarily out of the work of Ralph Linton (1936), Talcott Parsons (1937), Theodore M. Newcomb (1942), Theodore Sarbin (1943), and many others over the next few decades. Also important in the evolution of role
theory were the philosophical contributions of George Herbert Mead who taught at the University of Chicago in the second and third decades of this century, and especially the influence of his posthumous work, *Mind, Self, and Society* (1934).

Moreno had been thinking about the role concept since 1923. "The function of role consists, beginning with the social world, in penetrating the subconscious and bringing to it order and form," he wrote as part of his contemplations of the broader implications of a socially relevant theatre. This language then carried over in the 1930s into his thinking about sociometry, psychodrama, and his socially oriented psychology.

There are two major differences between sociological role theory and Moreno's approach. First, the former tends to be a more descriptive, academic exercise, while Moreno's emphasis was on practical applications, the activity of analysis being engaged in with the people involved and for the purposes of re-evaluating and improving their lives.

The second difference is that Moreno notes the potential of roles to be played in a more or less creative fashion which, as I shall explain, involves the implicit idea of what I've called "meta-roles" which can enable people to be more reflective and open to alternatives. This twist is really what makes his approach so very useful.

Sociological role theory has been addressed in a number of books, some of which are noted as additional resources following the references. Probably its best and most recent summary is Biddle's (1979). Well-known figures in social work and psychiatry have used the role concept as important elements in presenting a multidimensional and clinical approach to psychology (Pearlman, 1968; Ackerman, 1951; Spiegel, 1971). Moreno's own ideas have been developed by a number of professionals (Blatner, 1991; Clayton, 1994; Lawlor, 1947; Yabionsky, 1955). Other recent contributions to role theory have come from drama therapy, more specifically in the writings of one of the leaders in that field, Robert Landy (1990). Also, comments on role now may be found in anthropology, history, and the sociology of nursing, education, or police.

**ROLES AND META-ROLES**

"All the world's a stage, and all the men and women in it merely players..." (Wm. Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act 2, Scene 7). Ah, but we don't have to be merely players! We can become the playwrights
and directors, too! Even professional actors cultivate a measure of "role distance," both playing the role wholeheartedly yet retaining a measure of self-observation, a capacity to "step back from" the performance so as to be better able to improve it (Landy, 1983). It's a form of double consciousness. Children also have this capacity—it's the essence of pretend play (Blatner & Blatner, 1997, pp. 11–15). Psychodrama focuses on the fostering of this capacity in applying self-reflection not just for art or entertainment, but for everyone to live a more effective life!

Although Moreno never made this distinction specifically, it is implicit in his approach. In addition to the roles we play, there is another level of role playing—the "meta-" level which describes the function of reflecting on, commenting on, consciously negotiating, and modifying the roles being played and their components (Bateson, 1980, pp. 128–130). In dramaturgical terms, our psychological theory needs to give attention to the role of author, director, audience, critic, and producer as well as actor (Wiener, 1999). Most social role theory focuses on the actor, but for every role being played, there are also a group of related questions:

- Which roles are to be played? (the author or playwright)
- How else might this role be played (the director)
- What else needs to be set up or managed for this role to be played most successfully? (the producer)
- How is this performance being perceived by others? (the audience)
- How effectively is this role being played, according to a variety of criteria? (critic)

These meta-roles are simply names for what in psychoanalysis or cognitive psychology are called "observing ego" or "meta-cognitive functions." The term "psychological mindedness" refers to a capacity for exercising a measure of self-observation, of shifting into the meta-role position. Role language simply makes these self-reflective processes more concrete, suggesting ways for exercising them more consciously. The point here is that psychotherapy, personal growth, and creative social change require an explicit process of re-evaluation, and this is promoted more effectively by a psychology that views people as change agents.

This present chapter is an attempt to better systematize and develop Moreno's ideas on role theory. (In the previous edition of this book and for an article in 1991, I used the term "role dynamics" but I've
thought better of it; to avoid the unnecessary addition of terminology, I simply call it applied role theory.)

A USER-FRIENDLY LANGUAGE

The most significant feature of applied role theory is that it works as a practical language for all kinds of psychosocial interventions, a lingua franca for discussing problems among many different disciplines—psychology, social work, psychiatry, nursing, anthropology, pastoral counseling, family therapy, organizational consulting, personal “coaching,” etc. I envision applied role theory as a major component in the teaching of practical psychology in educational programs because of the relative familiarity of its terminology.

As discussed in the earlier chapters 5 and 13, I do not consider any single line of psychological or social theorizing to be entirely sufficient, nor do I think that we should even desire it. Thus, I'm not suggesting that applied role theory is a “theory of psychology” in the sense of claiming to provide a tight, comprehensive explanation. Rather, it's a loose, general framework within which many other component theories can be more effectively integrated.

Functioning as a general integrative framework, applied role theory offers a wealth of tools, among which is the capacity to translate and integrate many of the best insights which arise out of other theories (Blatner, 1989). I view it as being something like the breakthrough in computers when the need to use codes to accomplish any operation was replaced by the icon-based system (first by the Apple system, then by Windows) in which little pictures indicated more complex operations and a "point and click" maneuver could achieve what previously required a fair amount of code-writing by trained programmers. This simplifying technology made them “user-friendly” so that people—even young children—could learn to work the machines. Similarly, a relatively simpler and familiar language for psychology can help empower a far wider range of people to think along with “experts,” popularizing the endeavor and reducing the power gradients in consultations and therapies. Such a shift, in turn, promotes a more cooperative attitude.

Applied role theory offers a familiar language and approach. Most people almost instinctively understand these ideas. People know about roles being played by actors, they see dramatic productions in movies, television—and sometimes these stories are about show business itself. Movie scenes are shown in which directors are making movies, calling
"cut" or arguing with movie stars. These movies show actors and producers making and performing dramas. Most people have even been involved at one point or another in producing and performing in small skits, holiday pageants, and school plays. As a result, people often readily accept the suggestions that interactions may be viewed as if they were scenes in a play or a television show.

Thus, the idea of role is a familiar one, as is the idea of a cast of characters and the differentiation between an actor and the part played. Also relatively familiar is the idea of analyzing interactions by looking at who the players are, defining their roles and the components of those roles, and considering how well or poorly those roles are being played.

A POWERFUL METAPHOR

In addition to its function as a language, with its capacity to translate and integrate many of the best insights which arise out of other theories, applied role theory offers a wealth of more specific concepts. Many of these are extensions or associations to the more basic idea that, in many ways, life is like a play, a statement which expresses a dramaturgical metaphor. Applied role theory and the role concept works with this metaphor as its frame of reference.

A metaphor is a more familiar word or phrase that is used to describe something that is more elusive—for example, the sun is a red ball, the moon's reflection is a lily on the lake, or life is just a bowl of cherries. Many processes, especially in the realm of mind—which includes art, spirituality, and sociocultural phenomena—use metaphors. In psychology, mind is sometimes treated like a machine that can be fixed, and at other times a complex social system that can, at best, be nudged this way or that. Life itself may be considered to be a struggle or a balancing act, a "tale told by an idiot, signifying nothing" or a school for the soul (LeGuin, 1985; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In the case of applied role theory, its basis is the "dramaturgical metaphor" as expressed by the aforementioned famous Shakespearean line, "All the world's a stage" (Berger, 1990; Hare, 1985).

Indeed, the word "role" comes from the drama. In the ancient theatre, actors read from their scripts in the form of rolled-up scrolls, "rotula," in Latin, which is also the source of words like "rotation." The meaning shifted from the physical piece of parchment to the idea of the part being played (Moreno, 1961).
The role concept is powerful because it is evocative, that is, because it calls to mind the panoply of elements involved in drama, play production, and the complex interactions therein. For example, in thinking about various psychosocial problems in terms of the roles being played, some of the following associations are brought to bear:

- Drama is generally considered one of the arts which, in our culture, means that playwrights and actors are expected to be creative. The actor is expected to bring some originality and flavor to the part being played. Otto Rank, an early psychoanalyst who before that was an artist, found the metaphor of life as a work of art particularly useful. Breaking with Freud, his approach was to not simply dig up and interpret the past (Freud many times used the metaphor of archeology for psychoanalysis). Rank believed that life was a work of art in progress, and in actively fostering his clients' creativity. Thus, in applied role theory, if we are actors, let us become even more creative in our "profession."
- A corollary of this emphasis on creativity implicit in role theory's dramaturgical metaphor is that there's an expectation of a degree of surprise, novelty. Thus, the therapist can't "know" what's going to come next, which reduces the perceived power gradient between client and therapist, and shifts the therapist more into a coaching role. Clients really enjoy being perceived as creative beings—it expects the best and supports their aspirations.
- Actors are viewed as being more skilled if they can play many parts rather than being "type cast." This implies the value of having a broad role repertoire, and the more one expands one's range of roles that can be played, the more creative and skilled one comes to be.
- Drama is interactive, and thus, applied role theory brings to life the idea that much psychology is interpersonal rather than merely the product of the individual.
- Even the dynamics of the individual have begun to be viewed by psychoanalysts and others as an interactive drama among the living mental representations of inner roles, the memories and imagined responses of parents, lovers, "them" (the imagined audience or judging "others"), the "inner child," etc.
- A corollary is that applied role theory suggests a "pluralistic model of the mind" which means that it's often useful to think of the personality as being composed of many parts that are, in
varying ways, conflicting, reinforcing, separated or integrated (see next chapter).

- Dramas evolve mainly in the form of dialogue and action, helping to get past the intellectualization of mere narrative or discussion. Dialogue evokes a sense of immediacy and directness, a greater vividness. Also, one way to work with the aforementioned inner relationships is by enacting dialogues among the various parts of oneself.

- Roles also represent aspects of the more complex personality, which makes them more accessible for consideration. Also, in most interactions, usually only one or two roles dominate, perhaps colored by a few more. The point here is that, by analysis of one role interaction at a time, gradually a picture of the more complex whole can be built up.

- In dramas, roles evolve, and they may be re-negotiated. In the great 1960s Broadway musical play, *Fiddler on the Roof*, the protagonist, Tevya, modified his role of "the Papa" from one who commands to one who accepts as his daughters, in the changing world, demanded an increasing say in their choice of mates. A dramatic metaphor suggests that the rules we take for granted are a bit more flexible than we may have thought.

- The audience can identify with any of the roles, can shift identity. Actors can be assigned to play a hero in one play and a villain in the next. The idea is presented that anyone can theoretically take any role which prepares people for the challenge of role reversal, of relinquishing one's own egocentric viewpoint and imagining what it's like to be one of the other people in one's life, even one's antagonist. This is the beginning of empathy and emotional maturity.

- In dramas, situations are presented so that they can be seen by an audience. Abstract ideas are thus made somewhat concrete. In psychology, one of the more pervasive problems is the tendency to think in terms of abstractions, vague words, generalizations, which serve to disguise confusion. The challenge of describing a feeling or a complaint vividly enough so that the listener can really imagine specifically what's going on is often itself an important step in psychotherapy or consultation.

- Roles are socio-behavioral Gestalts, whole complexes of image and action, that may be entertained in the mind more readily than most abstract concepts, especially psychological diagnoses or dynamic formulations.
• Even abstract concepts such as democracy, loyalty, or perfection can be imagined in the form of a kind of person, like an editorial cartoon figure, who represents this quality. This mental operation, called personification, is a standard dramatic device. (Psychodramas that involve the exploration of attitudes towards some abstract idea or general phenomena are called axiodramas.)

• As the theatre, through the mass media, became an increasingly pervasive element in world culture, the idea of role broadened to refer to the idea of a part played in a system. For example, papers began to be written about the role of corn in the glue industry, the role of solar radiation on the formation of comets, or the role of agriculture in history. In psychology, we speak not only of the different roles in a family but also of a single person embodying many roles. In a group, one might wonder—who plays the role of scapegoat? . . . who is the peacemaker? . . . are people stuck in these roles? . . . and so forth.

• Dramas also suggest the realm of pretend and the invitation to use one’s imagination. It is only a short step into engaging the imagination more seriously, to explore situations from points of view that might not be used in ordinary conversation. (This is discussed further in the chapter on “surplus reality.”)

• Actors can play a role well or badly which suggests the idea of skillfulness and some attention to the way a position is presented. So many people tend to focus on what their concerns or needs are and don’t realize how much they distort their relationships by how they make these feelings known. The dramaturgical metaphor thus invites some reflection on process as well as content, and on nonverbal communications as well as the choice of words.

• Dramas can address issues at and between many levels of human organization. The individual, the group, the culture—all operate interactively. Thus, applied role theory is uniquely powerful because it is can deal with matters of social psychology as well as family dynamics or the inner dramas in a single individual.

• Similarly, dramas can include many frames of reference—comedies, tragedies, sacred themes or profane, sex or war, intellectual ideas or political tensions.

• Roles may concern the future or present as well as the past, making this approach more comprehensive. Using role playing, the future may be considered, rehearsed, explored in imagination and action. The past can be remembered more vividly and, in some psychologically valid way, repaired, done over.
• So often in dramas characters present complexities and paradoxes that transcend simple labels—their roles aren't so easily reducible to "wicked," "sick," "jerk," "pitiful." Applied role theory offers a more neutral language that, compared to other psychological languages, is less likely to saddle people with emotionally loaded jargon. To talk about the roles being played in a problem tends to make it easier for people to maintain their self-esteem even as they consider that part of their role repertoire may be in need of revision.

• Nevertheless, I haven't found any themes in psychodynamic psychology that can't be more easily understood by being expressed in terms of applied role theory, as if the issues involved were roles interacting in a drama. Defense mechanisms, concepts like "self-object," "projective identification," and others, all may be translated into more accessible language. Certainly this makes for a greater capacity for professionals in different disciplines or from different theoretical backgrounds to communicate.

• Roles are complexes that can be analyzed in terms of their role components, and these, in turn, can often be further analyzed as to their sub-components. Thus, applied role theory allows for a careful process of intellectual re-evaluation in the spirit of psychodynamic psychotherapy.

• The analysis turns on how the component is defined, and that, in turn, suggests that it could be defined otherwise, which leaves it open for re-definition and re-negotiation. This aspect of applied role theory opens the reflective process to a political evaluation, in keeping with feminist or constructivist thought.

• Drama has often included the dimension of hidden thoughts, as expressed through asides or "voice over," devices that allow the audience to know a character's thoughts without the other roles apparently hearing them. This opens the idea of people considering how they themselves may share thoughts with some special people, such as the consultant or therapist, while they wouldn't admit them openly to most others.

• An associated idea is that dramas not infrequently turn on the theme of self-deception, of one of the characters having fooled themselves or overestimated or underestimated some situation. Drawing on the dramaturgical metaphor, clients may be encouraged to consider how this might be true in their own situations.

• As mentioned earlier, the differentiation between actor and the part played—role distance—and even further, the meta-roles of
inner director or playwright or critic all, along with the previous elements, foster an increased capacity for reflectiveness and "psychological mindedness," the ability to make good use of a therapeutic or managerial review process.

- An extension of role distance is the process of dis-identification that is part of many meditative processes. Assagioli, the developer of the psychotherapy called "psychosynthesis," suggests that people learn to say to themselves, "I have this thought, but I am not this thought." Such practices, in turn, lead to even greater self-awareness and role flexibility.

- While role theory can offer a useful language for consultations or psychotherapy without any recourse to the use of action methods, it is even more supportive of the use of role playing and psychodrama—there is a natural complementarity.

- Finally, the role concept has many associated terms: Balancing one's roles, learning them, relinquishing them. One can be a beginner, experienced, losing one's touch.

These, then, are some of the reasons why applied role theory, reflecting the dramaturgical metaphor, is especially evocative and heuristic—that is, generative of many hypotheses and associated ideas.

**SOME DIFFICULTIES WITH ROLE THEORY**

As I asked regarding psychodrama, if it's so great, how come everyone doesn't use it already? There are several reasons, none of which are particularly valid but they do reflect the way things are.

First, as long as the behavioral sciences seek to achieve the same status as the empirical sciences such as chemistry or physics, they subject themselves to criteria that are of questionable validity, such as the ideal of precision. Because of its capacity to be used in many contexts and at many levels of human organization, the role concept is elusive and resists precise definition (Neiman & Hughes, 1951). In actual practice, this is no problem, but in the academic world of research and grants, certain traditions of definability Unfortunately and inappropriately continue. (These points are also discussed in chapter 5, on philosophical foundations.)

A second reason has to do with a pervasive cultural wariness about pretense, imagination, the respectability of theatre, the fantasy that actors and acting are phony rather than authentic. Some of these
resistances apply also to the status of imaginative playfulness and are discussed extensively in chapters 10–12 in my book, *The Art of Play* (Blatner & Blatner, 1997).

Considering the value of applied role theory and the irrational prejudices underlying objections to it, I restate my proposal that professionals in the behavioral sciences, management, education, and other fields that need to describe and work with psychosocial phenomena use this wonderful tool as their common language.

**DIMENSIONS OF ROLE ENACTMENT**

Individuals generally play around 10 or 20 major roles, several score minor roles, and hundreds or more of transient roles. Moreno (1960) used a taxonomy with three main categories of roles:

- Psychosomatic roles—eating, sleeping, excreting, habitual posture or facial expression, territoriality, how to behave when feeling sick, dying—people in every culture learn their own norms in these basic functions.
- Social roles—most of the roles discussed in role theory texts may be considered here.
- Psychodramatic roles—those which utilize the dramatic or imaginative context, the roles in which a person's experience expands beyond the constraints of ordinary physical reality. (See chapter on "surplus reality.") (Since many of these roles exist in the mind, perhaps this category should better be called "psychological roles." Certainly they can be expressed using action techniques, but their actual dynamics occur apart from any therapeutic process.)

While I think Moreno's classification system should be considered only preliminary with much room for expansion and refinement, I appreciate the noting of the first and third categories, because many people forget how pervasive role is in life. He called attention to those complexes that either tend to be taken for granted, such as eating, or those that tend to be marginalized as excessively subjective, such as the fantasy role playing of childhood. Moreno's genius noted that both the seemingly mundane and the fantastic are profoundly important parts of human life.

Landy (1993) has a different classification system, along the lines of different plots in classical theatre. I suggested a rather lengthy extension of Moreno's system, adding some new categories (Blatner, 1985).
Interestingly, the multi-leveled nature of applied role theory—roles involving intrapsychic, interpersonal, small and large group, and sub-cultural and cultural dimensions—makes it difficult, if not impossible, to clearly define either roles or a taxonomy of roles. Furthermore, because the interface between the various levels and the combinations of various frames of reference (other role positions) differ with each situation, I question the need for, or value of, a strict taxonomy of roles. Rather, it’s more useful to entertain a loose framework which serves as a reminder of the different aspects and kinds of roles which might be considered in the course of a role analysis.

The category of psychodramatic (psychological) roles also includes our memories and anticipations of the future, hopes and fears. The idea that there is a “true” past self is philosophically questionable because, for all practical purposes, we constantly re-tell our own autobiography in our minds, forget most experiences, select and re-select that which seems most relevant in light of present motivations and self-images. It’s an ongoing process of construction. Indeed, one of the early Moreno-influenced role theorists, Theodore Sarbin, has written extensively about this, suggesting that the idea of story-telling—narrative—is a valuable approach to psychology (Sarbin, 1986).

Moreno also noted that role playing could have different degrees of creativity. First, one just behaves according to the more superficial models given, imitating, following obvious rules. He called this “role taking.” Then, with a greater familiarity or mastery, people begin to add elements of personal style, possibly some novelty and small degrees of innovation. They “play with” their roles, which Moreno called “role playing.”

At a certain point, some people are established enough or secure enough or have mastered the role enough so that they can begin to introduce more radical innovations, perhaps even daring to re-define the role. Moreno called this “role creating.”

Sarbin (1954) noted that role playing could have different degrees of involvement so that, at one extreme, a person can be fairly casual, almost uninvolved. The lack of involvement may be due to the role’s relative unimportance or its superficial nature in the individual’s mind. Sometimes this is found in those with spiritual disciplines, meditating and dis-identifying, playing life roles but yet experiencing these from a more role-distanced perspective.

At the other extreme are roles in which there is a kind of immersion in the given frame of reference. Voodoo death is given as an example, being so caught up in the group belief system that one’s whole psychosomatic system is entrained, to the extent of shutting
down. A little less extreme but still showing over-involvement are those who "forget it's just a game" and play their roles with no capacity to back off and look at the bigger picture.

Most people are somewhere between the two extremes in most of their roles. Psychotherapy aims at fostering a greater degree of disidentification, the better to reconsider how the roles are structured and performed.

**SUMMARY**

Role theory offers a general, user-friendly language for thinking about psychology at many levels and from many different frames of reference. I think it's the best tool we have so far for helping to integrate the best insights of the many different theories and methods within the fields of psychotherapy and beyond, applied sociology, management, and many other people-helping endeavors.

Yet it shouldn't be used as if no other theories were also useful. That's why I consider it a meta-theoretical language. We need to acknowledge and integrate, not compete with and discount, the discoveries and complexities of mind elucidated by those in other fields. A single theory cannot encompass and adequately describe it all. Applied role theory, however, can facilitate a greater degree of synthesis. Further principles of this theory will be discussed in the next chapter.

**REFERENCES**


SELECTED FURTHER GENERAL REFERENCES ON ROLE THEORY