

Moreno . . . in tune with the *Times*

NOTE ON EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

"For these and for the other children, school [kindergarten] is a place where reality can be gradually approximated through fantasy and where any *child's self evolves out of role playing* (italics mine) as rich as in a summer stock company, filled with changing parts and occasional stardom. Thoughts, and the words for thoughts, emerge more freely in the doll corner, the block structures or . . . the *acting out of the children's own stories* (italics mine), than in any direct interchange between real child and adult."

Is this from a work by J. L. Moreno? No. It is not, but it could well be. It is actually a quotation from a review in the July 6, 1986, *N. Y. Times Book Review* of a book entitled: *Mollie Is Three*, written by Vivian Gussin Paley. The reviewer is Penelope Leach.

It is being noted here as evidence that we have allies as we seek to promulgate Moreno's ideas. It is heartening to see this happen.

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Echoes of Moreno

The *Journal* would like to print descriptions of examples of general applications of Moreno's principles in daily life. Send them (typed, doublespaced) to the Editor, *Journal of Group Psychotherapy, Psychodrama & Sociometry*, HELDREF Publications, 4000 Albemarle Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20016.

Moreno's Contribution to Social Psychology *-key concepts, & -incl a guide for Sociometry PP*

A. Paul Hare

Although J. L. Moreno was a prolific writer who contributed at least 308 books and articles to the literature on social psychology and group therapy, no previously published list of his work indicates the connections between many of his publications. This article provides such a list, together with some comments on Moreno's contribution to social psychology. In addition to his contribution to theory and research in social psychology, primarily in introducing sociometry as a method of measuring and depicting interpersonal choice behavior, Moreno also made major contributions to group therapy through the development of psychodrama as a group therapeutic method and through the promotion of organizations for group therapists. Although all of his published work is cited in the bibliography that follows, the work that had an impact on social psychology will be the focus of the present article, leaving an assessment of his contribution to group therapy for someone who is a specialist in that field.

Moreno's Productive Life

Jacob Levy Moreno was born in 1889 in Bucharest. By 1910, while attending medical school in Vienna, he was already experimenting with an early form of group therapy and producing dramatic presentations in his "spontaneity theater" that would lead to psychodrama. Psychodrama was developed as a method of group therapy in which the patient explores in action problems and possible solutions with the help of a director and auxiliary players. In 1925, in common with many European intellectuals of that period, he emigrated to the United

Paul Hare is a professor of sociology at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Israel and editor of *Israel Social Science Research*. He became interested in Moreno's work while doing post-doctoral research under Robert F. Bales at Harvard. He later met Moreno and trained with Moreno's widow, Zerka.

States, where he first established a spontaneity theater in New York City. In 1942 he opened his clinic for psychodramatic therapy in Beacon, New York. More details of Moreno's life are provided in an article in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Hare, 1979).

Moreno saw all of his work as part of a "sociometric movement" (1953, p. xiii). This was not simply the measurement of feelings and perceptions of positive and negative relationships between group members, but included group dynamics, group psychotherapy, role playing, interaction research, psychodrama, and sociodrama (a group therapeutic method focusing on roles rather than on personalities). He divided the development of the movement into several periods (1953, p. xiv):

1911–1923: The formative period for his ideas, including his experiences as a medical student and with the spontaneity theater in Vienna.

1923–1934: Beginning with the publication of the first German edition of his book on the spontaneity theater and ending with the publication of the first edition of *Who Shall Survive?* (1934). During this period he carried out his most extensive sociometric research at the Hudson School for Girls in New York State.

1937–1942: From the launching of the journal *Sociometry* to the opening of the Sociometric Institute and the New York Theater of Psychodrama. By the end of this period Moreno was 53 years old and in the midst of a very productive phase.

1942–1974: During this period Moreno traveled widely, spreading his ideas about group psychotherapy, psychodrama, sociodrama, and sociometry throughout the world.

The development of Moreno's ideas is reflected in his publications during these periods. All but about 50 of his articles and books were published in journals that he founded or edited or by his own press. Many of his articles published in foreign journals are reprints or revisions of articles originally published in English. By 1953, with the revision and expanded version of *Who Shall Survive?*, all of Moreno's key concepts had been published in one form or another, with most of them brought together in this single volume. Moreno described the book as "a bible for social conduct, for human societies," that "has more ideas packed into one book than a whole generation of books" (1953, p. 66).

Moreno's ultimate goal was revolutionary. He wanted to change society by bringing together individuals who were capable of harmonious interpersonal relationships and so create social groups that could function with maximum efficiency and with minimum disruptive processes (1934, p. xii). To do this he sought a "technique of freedom, a technique of balancing the spontaneous social forces to the greatest possible harmony and unity of all" (1934, p. 7). He felt compelled "to

develop a psychology of the creative act, to recognize the limitations of man as a spontaneous creative agent and to invent spontaneity techniques which might lift him beyond these limitations" (1934, p. 8).

Moreno's Key Concepts

Moreno's key concepts that are important for social psychology have been summarized by Bischof (1964). The concepts and forms of measurement that involved interpersonal choice are summarized by Borgatta (1968) and the concepts and techniques that are especially relevant for psychodrama are summarized in several textbooks on psychodrama (cf. Yablonsky, 1976; Stapp, 1977). Bischof lists the following concepts as central to Moreno's theories (1964, p. 620):

- *Social atom*: all of the persons an individual chooses or rejects.
- *Tele*: two-way empathy.
- *Warming up*: defining the situation and noting one's own capacities to deal with it.
- *Role playing*: playing a role in a simulated situation for the purpose of experimenting, developing, training, or changing the role.
- *Spontaneity*: the ability to provide an adequate response according to the novelty of the situation.
- *Creativity*: creating a new moment of meaning or a new relationship.
- *Cultural conserve*: the finished product of a creative effort (a painting, a book, a symphony).
- *Group development*: the ability of individuals to participate in more complex social groups, which increases with the ages of the individuals.
- *Sociogenetic law*: higher group organizations develop from lower group organizations according to the ages of the persons involved (i.e., organizations develop differently for children and adults).
- *Measurement principle*: all human behavior can be measured. (Although *sociometry* was intended to refer to the measurement of all types of human relationships, it came to be associated with the measurement and description of patterns of interpersonal choice.)

Practitioners of psychodrama add to this list Moreno's five elements of psychodrama (cf. Yablonsky, 1976, p. 97): director, protagonist, auxiliary players, audience, and stage. The main phases in the development of a psychodrama are identified as warm up, during which the director selects a protagonist whose drama will be enacted; action period, ideally leading to some catharsis and insight for the pro-

tagonist; and sharing, when the director, auxiliaries, and members of the audience share feelings or experiences that relate to the drama to help the protagonist overcome possible feelings of isolation from the group or overexposure. Some of the main techniques used in developing a psychodrama are: role-reversal—the protagonist and an auxiliary exchange roles; doubling—an auxiliary verbalizes thoughts and feelings that the protagonist may have difficulty expressing; mirroring—an auxiliary reenacts some of the behavior of the protagonist while the protagonist steps out of the scene; and soliloquy—the protagonist verbalizes thoughts and feelings in an aside to the audience.

To date there has been little attempt on the part of theorists, such as Bischof, to relate Moreno's ideas to a general body of social psychological theory, or for practitioners, such as Yablonsky, to add major concepts or techniques to those of Moreno. For Moreno's own descriptions of the basic concepts, the most recent, or those judged to be the best by Zerka Moreno (J. L. Moreno's widow and currently the leading psychodrama director), are:

- *Psychodrama*: chapter 30 in Freedman and Kaplan (Eds.), (1967), *Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry*.
- *Cosmos*: ideas about the relationship of the individual to the universe, pages 19–22 in *Psychodrama, Vol. 3* (1969).
- *Rules, techniques, and adjunct methods for psychodrama*: pages 233–246 in *Psychodrama, Vol. 3* (1969), which is a reprint of Moreno's chapter in Arieti (Ed.), *American Handbook of Psychiatry* (1959) and Zerka Moreno's survey of techniques in *Group Psychotherapy* (1959).
- *Functions of the social investigator in psychodrama*: pages 7–14 in *Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama* (1973), first published by Moreno and Dunkin in *Sociometry* (1941).
- *Sociodrama*: pages 315–347 and 352–366 in *Psychodrama, Vol. 1* (1970) 3rd ed., a summary of several talks given in 1943.
- *Sociometry*: almost every section of *Who Shall Survive?* (1953), especially from accounts of research at the Hudson School for Girls. The sociometric research was conducted between 1932 and 1938. Most of the material on sociometry also appears in the first edition in 1934.

Current Usage of Moreno's Ideas

Moreno's sociometric ideas were used primarily by social psychologists interested in interaction in small groups and the relationships of small groups to larger organizations or communities. During the heyday of research on group dynamics from 1940 through 1960, three

schools of sociometry, group dynamics, and small groups dominated the field (Hare, 1976, pp. 392–393; 1982, pp. 13–16). The first entry in the *Psychological Abstracts* can be used as an indication of when each school was recognized. The term *sociometry* first appeared as a heading in the index in 1940, with reference to the work of Moreno and his colleagues. Next the term *group dynamics* was introduced in 1945, with reference to the work of Kurt Lewin. In 1950, the term *small group* appeared with reference to the work of R. Freed Bales.

Of the three founders of the schools, Moreno was by far the most colorful figure and the most zealous in promoting his own point of view. During this early period, his methods were very much in vogue. Psychodrama was widely used in veterans' hospitals in the United States as a method of psychiatric treatment during World War II. Sociodrama was used in schools, universities, and community groups to act out incidents in race relations or other social problem areas to provide case material for analysis. The sociometric test was also frequently used in the American school system to form reading groups and other educational groups in the classroom and by the American army to select groups of men as replacements for military units.

The contributions that Moreno made by developing psychodrama and promoting group therapy are still very much in evidence. Professional practitioners of psychodrama now number about 1,500 all over the world. Many received their training at the Moreno Institute in Beacon, N.Y., with J. L. or Zerka Moreno and still use the basic method with few alterations. For the period from 1973, when the *Social Science Citation Index* was first published, until 1983, about half of the citations to Moreno's work were to his books and articles on psychodrama. Most of the other citations were to the first or second edition of *Who Shall Survive?* and the remainder to works on sociometry.

For the 11-year period, the citations to Moreno's work averaged about nine tenths of a column of print in the *Index*, or about 66 citations per year. This could be compared with the citations to the work of Kurt Lewin, who is probably the most frequently cited social psychologist in the field of group dynamics. Citations to Lewin's work for the same period averaged about one and eight-tenths columns per year. The work of Bales received about one column of citations per year.

Sociodrama is also in evidence in community and experimental theater. Role playing is widely used in training and retraining persons in a variety of situations, but there are few references in the current literature to Moreno's contribution. Many persons seem to have developed similar methods with little or no understanding of Moreno's prior work. In the *Social Science Citation Index* there are no direct references to

sociodrama in the lists of citations of Moreno's work. This may partly be a reflection of the fact that Moreno wrote only nine articles with "sociodrama" in the title. His ideas about sociodrama were summarized in *Psychodrama, Vol. 1* (1946), and later in the second edition of *Who Shall Survive?* Thus, citations to these works may well include references to sociodrama, although this could only be determined by checking the original sources of the citations.

The terms "sociometric" and "sociometric test" are still in use in the *Psychological Abstracts* and in many current texts on social psychology, though there is often no reference to Moreno's original work other than perhaps an indication that it has become a "classic."

Even in the mid 1960s, 10 years after the revision of *Who Shall Survive?*, social psychologists who did cite Moreno seemed to be aware of only his earliest work, especially the first edition of *Who Shall Survive?* For example, five authors mention Moreno's work in the 17-volume edition of the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Sills, 1968). These names are listed below.

Jerome D. Frank, writing on group psychotherapy; who cites a 1959 publication of Moreno's and comments that "Moreno stressed the feeling of spontaneity through encouraging the patient to act out his problems. . . ."

Robert N. Rapoport, whose discussion of the therapeutic community notes that "Moreno stressed the importance of 'psychodrama' . . . for diagnostic and therapeutic purposes."

George C. Homans, in writing about "the study of groups," referred to the 1934 edition of *Who Shall Survive?* and observed that in the 1930s Moreno and Jennings (his collaborator in the Hudson School research) contributed the sociometric test.

Theodore R. Sarbin, writing on "psychological aspects of role," referred to the 1934 volume and recalled that Moreno "pioneered the use of role playing as a tool of psychotherapy and role training."

Edgar F. Borgatta, a former associate of Moreno's and an editor of Moreno's journal *Sociometry*, whose consideration of sociometry refers only to the 1934 volume with the comment that "sociometry was associated with the work of J. L. Moreno."

In sum, one must conclude that although Moreno had hoped to introduce a whole new set of concepts and new techniques for measurement in social psychology, the initial impact of these ideas in the 1940s and 1950s has run its course. He is now remembered, if at all, as part of an early, classic period of social psychology. This fact is in sharp con-

trast to his development of the group therapeutic method of psychodrama, which is still being practiced in the manner he initiated.

It is possible that Moreno's ideas about spontaneity, creativity, and drama will be revived as part of the growing emphasis in social psychology on the dramaturgical perspective. Goffman's work (1959) is often cited as the prototype of the dramaturgical perspective, with its concern for the way an individual presents himself or herself in everyday life, much as an actor presents a role on the stage. Moreno's approach emphasizes additional elements, in that psychodrama focuses not only on the protagonist and the audience, but also on the auxiliary players, the director, and the stage, as well as on the various techniques the protagonist and auxiliaries use in their enactments. All of these concepts were taken from life for use in psychodrama and can in turn be applied to the analysis of everyday situations (cf. Hare, 1982, 1985). Thus Moreno may well be rediscovered. Moreno was correct when he noted that he had packed many ideas into his revision of *Who Shall Survive?* in 1953. However, much of the unpacking and application remains to be done.

A Future for Sociometry

One way to assure a future for sociometry would be for some individual or group of persons to experience the situations that gave Moreno his major insights and apply these insights on the scale that Moreno envisaged—nothing less than the recreation of a whole society. It is probably not necessary to begin by jumping off a table as a small child in an attempt to play God. But at least one person on the team should have confidence in his or her creative ability and the willingness to hold and develop new ideas in the face of strong pressures from others to see things as they are accustomed to see them and to do things as they are accustomed to do them.

Another person in the group should have experience with persons who are social pariahs, misfits, or outcasts. The experience should include having developed practical methods to help them deal with their common problems and raise their self-esteem. Since not only individuals but whole groups can be cast out as "boat people," persons seeking political asylum or persons without employment, some member of the team would have experience with the social systems in transient camps. Another member of the group should bring experience with experimental forms of theater that depend heavily on actors spontaneously creating new moments of meaning before an audience.

The list of required experiences goes on, since Moreno brought together so many different points of view in the experience of one person.

We still need to add to the team a person or persons with clinical experience: someone who has been a public health doctor for a whole community, someone who has been a group therapist, someone who has established a sanatorium for system approach to rehabilitation. In addition to a person who treats individuals, we need a "sociatrist," a person with experience with sociodrama as a method of providing catharsis and insight on a community-wide basis. We will need a methodologist and statistician who is familiar with all the latest innovations in social measurement. Finally, since creativity will be at the center of our concern, we need someone familiar with the process of creativity in all its forms. This person must be able to help other members of the team distinguish spontaneity from creativity and be able to describe in detail the moment of creativity when the new insight or action occurs.

Having assembled our team, we would set ourselves the same goal that Moreno set, that of recreating whole societies. Being mindful of cultural differences, we might limit ourselves to those societies or segments of a society that are fairly homogeneous with regard to cultural practices. However, noting that Moreno's own application involved a much smaller segment, namely a training school for some 600 delinquent girls, we might begin to work with a small town or village. Our first task would be to discover the social structure of the community. We would expect, along with Moreno, that the elements of this structure would be as evident as the blood vessels in the human body are to the medical scientist. We would expect that "social atoms," "cultural atoms," and various forms of social networks would be apparent and would indicate the extent to which each individual in the society was the nucleus of a social atom that would enhance the individual's creativity. If we discovered a person with a faulty social atom, we might open the individual to new possibilities through psychodrama as "social atom repair work." Or if the problem was more structural than individual, we might arrange to move the individual to a more favorable social environment, perhaps first enhancing the individual's social skills through role training. If the social structure contained conflicting elements that made it difficult for individuals to play their most creative roles, we might direct a sociodrama to reveal the bases of these problems and to find solutions for them. All of this would be in a spirit of sharing with the people of the community, since we would assume that there is something Godlike in all persons that makes them worthy of attention and respect and gives them the ability to be creative and join with others in creative solutions for the benefit of all.

As we began to apply Moreno's early insights, using the social science theories and technologies of today, we would find that some ad-

vances had been made beyond the state of the art that was available to Moreno. Much more is now known about research design, methods of measurement, and statistical techniques. In addition, the idea that the scientist and the subject should collaborate for their mutual benefit, a new idea when Moreno proposed it, now has wide acceptance.

As an example of progress in theory and methodology, we can consider the problem of the "criterion" for interpersonal choice. Moreno was clear that members of a group should be asked to choose others only when it was possible to reorganize the group to provide a structure more beneficial for some task. In the laundry at the New York Training School for Girls, he needed to know whom the girls would like to work next to so that he could arrange the subgroups on each side of the laundry machine in such a way that more time would be spent doing the laundry and less time in interpersonal bickering. When he wanted to place girls in a cottage with a housemother to create a home atmosphere, he asked the girls with whom they would like to live.

Although he recognized, along with others, that there might be two kinds of criteria, some more task-oriented and others more social-emotionally oriented, he did not have the advantage of computers to do almost instant factor analyses of many different criteria. Thus he was not aware that these criteria might be understood as points in a three-or four-dimensional social psychological space.

Although many of the early sociometric studies revealed a high correlation between choices on different criteria, the sociometrists continued to examine the networks of choices on one criterion at a time rather than construct diagrams to show how persons were related to each other on several criteria. Even for the single criterion, no standard method was developed for displaying the choices. At the time this did not seem necessary. It was enough of an innovation to be able to see the relationships between a number of individuals in a group on a single page or the relationships in a whole community on a very large piece of paper. The major "cleavages" in the group were readily apparent. In a schoolroom, boys chose boys and girls chose girls. Classes were divided on ethnic or religious lines. Some children, the stars, were over-chosen. Others were isolates, choosing and being chosen by no one. That was enough information to keep the teacher busy rearranging the reading groups for some time.

But now we know more and need to know more. For all the methodological attention given to constructing indices based on interpersonal choice, the heart of the matter, creativity, remained as a rather ill-defined concept. Although psychodrama continues to flourish, sociodrama remains relatively undeveloped and untried. Moreno himself

only used sociodrama a few times and did little to work out the techniques necessary for an effective sociodrama other than to apply the techniques of psychodrama to social issues. Moreno noted that everything from small-group research to operations research was related to the larger sociometric goal. However, these areas of interest have yet to be brought together for the purposes that Moreno envisaged.

Moreno questioned: Who shall survive? His answer was not the same as Darwin's. Moreno did not want to see societies in which only the fit would survive and the others would drop by the wayside. He sought ways to help all persons realize their potential for fitness. The goal he set for himself, and for those who would follow his lead, is still worthy of considerable effort. Although creativity may be experienced in a "moment," it will take more than a few moments to realize Moreno's dream. One way to begin would be to reread his books and those of his colleagues and students. Then, if you are not already doing so, you might find a team to work with to use your combined creativity to continue to discover and nurture the conditions for the creative society.

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Bibliography of the Work of J. L. Moreno

Compiled by A. Paul Hare

The bibliography is arranged by year of publication. Works by J. L. Moreno as sole author appear first, followed by J. L. Moreno et al. (where the additional authors are not given), J. L. Moreno as senior author, and finally works for which J. L. Moreno was not the senior author. Where several works were published in the same year they are arranged in alphabetical order by title in the language in which they were published. Translations of foreign language titles are given in English in brackets. Parts of title that are given in brackets do not appear on the actual articles but have been added for amplification or clarification. Most of these additional words or phrases were added by Moreno in the table of contents or index for the journal in which the article appeared.

When a work has been cited in either the *Psychological Abstracts*, (shown as *Psych. Abs.*) or the *Sociological Abstracts* (*Sociol. Abs.*) volume and abstract number are given after the reference as an aid to readers who may wish to have a brief summary of the work. Following the reference, additional information is given in parentheses when the article or book has been reprinted as a monograph or in some other form or has been translated into another language.

Almost all of the *Sociometry Monographs* and *Psychodrama Monographs* written by Moreno are articles or collections of articles first published in one of the journals that Moreno edited: *Daimon*; *Impromptu*; *Sociometric Review*, which became *Sociometry*; *Sociatry*, which became *Group Psychotherapy*, which became *Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama*.

After Moreno turned the journal *Sociometry* over to the American Sociological Association in 1955, he initiated the *International Journal of Sociometry and Sociatry* in 1956, and that became the *Handbook of International Sociometry* in 1971. Both of these have since been combined into the journal *Group Psychotherapy, Psychodrama & Sociometry*, indicating the triadic system that Moreno considered as his particular domain.

Moreno sometimes republished an article from an early journal in a later one on the assumption that his readers might not go back to the

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