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Phases of Development
of a
Multinational Training Group

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With direction from

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Haverford College

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The Impact of Modernization on the Philippines
The Pennsylvania State University
George M. Guthrie, Project Director

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Preface

This report deals with a study of 36 people from six countries assembled for a special six-month rice production training course. This multi-national training effort at the International Rice Research Institute, Los Banos, Philippines was designed to produce agricultural technicians who would introduce the Institute's new high-yielding varieties of rice to the rural areas of their home countries. Mrs. Franck joined the group for the second and third months--fortunately for our research the most important interval in the life of such a group. She participated in all phases of the training program although she made clear that she had her own special social science research interests.

Mrs. Franck studied "small group" research under Dr. Paul Hare of Haverford College, a senior participant in this research project. In her report she draws extensively on a book by Slater for her interpretations of the behavior and attitudes which she recorded. The reader should be aware that the Freudian interpretations offered by Slater are not necessarily the interpretations which others who study small group processes would make. A reader can question her interpretations but still learn much from the important findings of the study.

Her research shows that a multinational group goes through a sequence of changes in attitudes and behavior and that these changes introduce stresses both for the students and for the instructors. By failing to deal with them adequately instructors and administrators can permit the stresses and anxieties of the group to curtail learning, restrict personal development, or even destroy the group as a functioning unit. The phases of development described by Mrs. Franck--dependency, pairing, and fight-flight, and the difficulties associated with each phase--

have been observed many times in laboratories and natural settings. Almost all of this research has been done in situations where the members of each group have come from similar cultural backgrounds. In laboratories, and particularly in field situations, those in charge of groups make some sort of administrative accommodation so that the groups survive. The great danger with a multinational group, however, is that the stresses will be attributed to differences in national character and that remedial steps will not be considered or, if considered, will be ruled out because the real cause is said to be nationality differences.

Traditional assessment techniques of instructors' observations and end-of-course evaluations are deceptive, if not downright erroneous because neither instructors nor students realize the orderly transitions in their day-to-day behavior, except as vaguely experienced feelings of satisfaction or annoyance. Mrs. Franck's day-to-day recording of behavior makes it possible to chart day-to-day status and to see the more or less predictable changes, stresses, and personal growth. Competition with instructors can be dealt with creatively rather than repressively if instructors have some preparation for the threats they face. In particular, instructors should be prepared so that they do not respond to members of other cultures in terms of generalized pictures of the behavior "typical" of a given nationality group. It seems to me that the challenge in a training program for representatives of several different societies is to discriminate between the irritations which arise from the culturally-sanctioned differences between members on the one hand, and behavior motivated by the stresses generated by the

predictable evolution of the structure of a learning group on the other.

It is my impression that, when he learns to deal with these various sources of anxiety, an instructor can make a multi-national group a productive learning experience instead of a painful re-affirmation of negative attitudes about those whose cultural heritage is different.

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PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT OF A MULTINATIONAL TRAINING GROUP

Barbara Mann Franck

Much of the recent research in small groups and small group psychology has been conducted in laboratory settings. Furthermore, at a time when more and more cross-cultural small groups are coming into existence, little research and theory has been presented which concerns them. In an effort to contribute to the study of cross-cultural small groups in a real-life situation, I spent two months, July and August of 1967, investigating a group of 36 persons from six different countries gathered for educational purposes.

The group had been put together for the Rice Production Training Program (RPTP) of the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) at Los Baños, Laguna, The Philippines. Its members came from Pakistan (8), India (1), Ceylon (4), Indonesia (4), The Philippines (17), and the United States (3) in order to learn new techniques of growing and harvesting rice. Their training was conducted by four Filipinos under the supervision of two American administrators. It consisted of three hours of work and practice in the Institute's rice paddies every morning and four hours of reports and lectures in the classroom every afternoon.

IRRI is a Ford-Rockefeller Foundations project which has gathered together rice experts from around the world for the purpose of research. In addition to developing new herbicides, insecticides, etc., and new growing and harvesting techniques the Institute has produced a new variety of rice--commonly known as "miracle rice" or IR-8--which yields as much as two to four times more rice per hectare than many native varieties. Since one of the main tasks of the Institute is

to introduce its findings to the countries of Southeast Asia the RPTP was formed. The participants in the program return home to conduct training programs and to act as advisers for local farmers and for government agricultural agencies.

I entered the second and third months of a six-month training program as a participant-observer. I joined all group educational activities and many social gatherings in order to discover the main themes of the group's life and the manner in which those themes are related to the educational growth of its members.

While the participants in the RPTP were brought together solely for the purpose of education, and while the underlying purpose of this study, therefore, is an evaluation or at least examination of that education, the primary focus of the study is the social structure of the group. The focus on social structure arises from a conviction that whatever the original or intended reason for bringing together a group of people for a period of time, a group is experienced--from a participant's point of view--as essentially a social phenomenon. That is, any fact of group experience, be it imposed, evolved, or planned, cannot be separated from the social reality through which it is expressed. Any information exchange among a group, whether it is technical-scientific or personal-emotional, is inevitably influenced by or an expression of the personal interrelationships of the group's members.

I have treated the interplay between this social structure and the educational process as one of mutual influence in which each is equally affected by the other. This means that any marked change in the educational process will be reflected in the social structure and vice versa. In this way, any such change can be called "behavioral

change." For a single participant this change involves the process of personalizing what he has learned, of being subjected to facts and concepts and methods until he is so familiar with them that they become part of his daily mental processes. Such change is the indelible mark of an effective educational program; it was this change for which I sought evidence in my research.

My presence and participation in the training program was little questioned. On my first day with the trainees I was asked to introduce myself to the group. I explained briefly that I was one of a group of social scientists who were studying the process of modernization in the Philippines and that my particular interest was in observing and understanding the methods of education used by the RPTP. Generally, the trainees were very cooperative and somewhat amused by my activities. They filled out questionnaires willingly, took interviews very seriously, and even began volunteering information in which they thought I might be interested. Nevertheless, a social scientist is an odd fellow to agricultural scientists, and everyone, from the program director to the last trainee, was more than a little mystified as to my purpose; they could not imagine what I hoped to accomplish by asking such questions and taking such notes.

I participated fully in the morning field work and took notes openly during classroom discussions (in which I did not participate). Generally I was accepted as another trainee.

Themes and Factors of Group Life

In focusing upon those factors and themes which are crucial in the social life of this group, I have been largely guided by Philip Slater's insights recorded in Microcosm (1966) and my general experience with the field of sensitivity groups and small group psychology.

It is well to be reminded of the main differences between such sensitivity groups and the group of trainees in the RPTP.

What differentiates training [sensitivity] groups from 'natural' task groups is their mortality, their confusion, and their leadership structure. Most groups formed to accomplish some purpose are potentially immortal, have a more or less clear goal or at least a plan of action or an agenda, and a clearly defined leadership (Slater 1966, p. 12).

Essentially, the facts of life in a sensitivity group are more exaggerated than the facts of life in a more natural group, and they are therefore experienced more dramatically and can be isolated more clearly.

But Slater is not in any way suggesting that the themes revealed so convincingly in the more contrived setting of the sensitivity group are not to be found in natural groups.

Is the most persistent theme of the training [sensitivity] group situation, the plaintive, 'what are we supposed to be doing; what is the purpose and meaning of it all?' a query that is never heard outside of the esoteric confines of an unnatural 'laboratory' setting? On the contrary, it issues from the central dilemma of life itself--that which human beings have always been most unable to face, taking refuge instead in collective fantasies of a

planned and preordained universe, or in the artificial imperatives of a daily routine and personal or institutional obligation (Slater 1966, p. 12).

Thus, there appears to be real justification for examining a natural group, such as the trainees in the RPTP, in light of the findings of studies of sensitivity groups.

Slater has cited as one of the most important facts in the life of a group the presence of a leader, or, in this case, a trainer. The ways in which members of the group, individually or as a whole, relate to that figure determine the course of group life and are clues to almost everything an investigator might need to know about the group's development. Like humanity as a whole, every group is "looking for a Christ to interpret the word to us, and our resentment is against the false prophets who take up our time speaking and don't get us any closer to it (p. 31)."¹

The relationship between a group and its leader is most graphically described in terms of "revolt." That is, the key question about the relationship is the degree of dependence the group has on the leader. Its independence becomes a revolt from him and is a necessary part of its development. This revolt has peculiar relevance to a learning situation, where it is customary for knowledge to be "fed" to students; the expression "spoonfeeding" is often used. The very setting of a learning group lends itself to dependence on the trainer. The aspect of revolt is heightened in the group's attempt to establish indepen-

¹Since all references are from Slater (1966) I shall merely indicate the page number of my citations.

dence because it becomes necessary for members to "seize" the skills and knowledge of the trainer, rather than wait for these qualities to be given to them.

Related to the dependence-independence factor is the issue of "confusion" which Slater mentions. Any relatively unstructured situation is a threat to the sense of order which group members, like all human beings, seek in order to insure a secure existence for themselves. When confronted with a situation which does not make immediately clear what action should be taken next, group members resort to myth-making and fantasizing to explain what appears to be near-chaos. Part of this myth-making may lay hold of the leader or trainers. Members "mold from early parental images a fantasy of an omniscient and omnipotent protector, who one day will step forward and lead them out of their labyrinthine confusion or give them the key or the secret formula which will reveal the master design behind the apparent disorder and chaos (p. 22)." Not until this myth is abandoned are members able to learn to deal with the all too real uncertainty of group life and of life itself; nor, similarly, can they become independent from the leader and dependent on themselves and each other until the leader's sacred qualities are dispelled to reveal another human being not unlike themselves. Another form which myth-making may take is that of the "experiment myth." "All of this is part of a master plan which will only be revealed to us at the end. God is testing us, but if we are good and brave and true all will be well (p. 16)." Thus, this fantasizing implies that what is apparent chaos and lack of order for group members is understood and, indeed, even planned by some outside being, perhaps the trainers. Group members are helpless

victims of the scheme but they need not fear for themselves.

Finally, Slater raises the issue of mortality:

It is as the most significant fact about life is the inevitability of death, so the most significant fact about a training group is that it has a fixed and limited lifespan and that everyone knows this at the start. The entire history of such groups can usefully be conceptualized as the evolution of ways of handling separation and dissolution (p. 70).

This issue is not unrelated to questions of independence and confusion, for mortality implies a source of nourishment, support, and life--albeit temporary. In their revolt and learning to live amidst disorder members develop sources of nourishment and life in themselves and each other and thus establish their independence and security on a level more based in reality than their myth-making and fantasized hopes. Their search for nourishment may take literal forms. The revolt and capture of the leader's skills may have cannibalistic overtones with illusions to eating or with the group's providing real food for its members as an expression of the revolt. Simultaneously any feeling of loss or abandonment such as may be provoked by the leader or by the lack of structure of a situation may be accompanied by references to food or by actual eating. In some cases cigarettes play the same function as food.

It is indeed an unusual group which does not at some point or another bring in food and pass it around, usually with great satisfaction and high spirits. At times this seems merely to express a dim beginning awareness that the group must 'feed' itself. At other times it is clearly associated with aggression

against the leader, and has the air of a kind of symbolic cannibalistic revenge on him for his failure to gratify their needs. Finally, one often finds signs that the act of eating expresses a desire to incorporate desired attributes of the leader, such as his knowledge and ability to interpret group behavior (p. 62).

Another aspect of the issue of mortality is its sexual implication. Man's most frequent response to the threat of mortality is to reproduce new beings in his own image. While he cannot live forever, others will carry on his name after he is gone. In the life of a group this alternative is usually evident in the presence or absence of sexual overtones in the relationships between members. At first, the group's leader or trainers may frequently be viewed as father figures, while the group as a whole usually has female qualities and to the extent that it provides nourishment and life to its members, becomes mother-like. This relationship between leader and group implies that members are siblings, and therefore sexual relationships between them are forbidden. However, as the group gains independence from the leader and its members become interdependent, the sexual implications of the members' relationships to one another usually become more and more overt. As a corollary and often in direct relationship to the ever-nearing end of the group's existence in time, sexual relationships which might survive the group's death become a possible source of group immortality. Nevertheless, the threat of the death of the group is often too overwhelming to be borne, and members retreat to the former security of the group as mother and the leader as father when that death is upon them, thus abandoning their sexual and interdependent relationships.

With this brief look at Slater's concepts of the themes and factors which predominate a group's life, let us turn to the specific forms in which they occurred during the Rice Production Training Program at IRRI.

Group Life in the Rice Production Training Program

The schedule of activities for the group included three hours of work in the institute's rice paddies every weekday morning and four hours of lectures and classroom discussion each afternoon. Usually distributed each Monday morning, the schedule was always casually organized and extremely flexible. It was rarely followed closely, and occasionally no schedule was used.

For the purpose of working in the rice fields, the training group was divided into four sub-groups of nine members each. The members of each sub-group included the various nationalities in close proportion to their representation in the larger training group. Work groups were assigned separate plots in the same general area, and their task was to produce a crop of rice from its seeding to harvesting.

For the first three months of the RPTP (including July and August) the afternoon classroom sessions were devoted to reports given by the trainees themselves on the more important aspects of rice production. There were also intermittent lectures by scientists from IRRI and visitors.

Of the 36 original participants in the RPTP, 24 spent their evenings within the IRRI complex during June and July. Seventeen also spent their weekends at IRRI. Two Americans spent evenings and weekends outside IRRI, while a third spent her evenings both at IRRI and away

from it and her weekends at IRRI. Nine Filipinos were outside IRRI during the evening, and 13 were away for weekends. One Indonesian and two Pakistanis left IRRI over the weekend, and one Ceylonese split his time between IRRI and the outside. By the end of August this pattern changed only slightly. A somewhat smaller number of trainees were spending all of their evenings and weekends at IRRI, while more of them were dividing their free time between IRRI and other places.

This factor--where a trainee spent his free time--was significant in the group's structure throughout July and August. Essentially a constant, it dictated a basic split in the group. Indian, Pakistani, Ceylonese, and Indonesians, plus those Filipinos who remained at IRRI during their free time, formed social ties with one another. However, those who left IRRI, predominantly Filipinos and Americans, formed ties with each other and very few with the trainees staying consistently within the IRRI complex.

While I did not intentionally explore the reasons a trainee stayed at IRRI or left it during his free time, they are fairly obvious. The Americans included two Peace Corps Volunteers who had been in the Philippines for over two years, and the third had traveled extensively in Southeast Asia. Filipinos were, of course, familiar with their country. The remaining trainees had never before been in the country; many of them had never before traveled outside their homeland. No formal attempt was made to introduce trainees to the area around IRRI. However, when I left such a program was being planned.

Although trainees continued to spend their free time in the same place during July and August, the ties they formed among themselves changed significantly for reasons which are part of the three phases

which group life underwent. A total of seven factors, in addition to the more general reasons, were examined as possible influences on pairing and friendship ties: nationality, religion, age, marital status, previous friendship, living proximity, and work group assignment. Only the last two, living proximity and membership in the same work group, were factors directly connected with the RPTP, and neither of them can be said to be highly significant as an influence on pairing. To understand what occurred during July and August in the RPTP it is necessary to examine the changes which came about within this framework of activity.

Three Phases

In terms of behavioral change, the participants in the RPTP underwent roughly three phases of group life during my stay at the Institute. In some aspects these three phases resemble those enumerated by Bion and cited by Slater--dependent, pairing, and fight-flight (p. 131). But as each of these stages or phases is examined in some detail, it is discovered that some qualities of all of Bion's classifications are present in each phase. Each of the three phases will be examined in light of Slater's outline of the main themes of group life--the group's relations to its leader, its striving for order, and its wish for immortality.

During Phase I, the trainers of the group (four in number but headed by one) were sought out, listened to, and respected. The scientist was worshipped, and science itself was seen as a sacred vocation. There was confusion about the activities which were to be carried out by the trainees and frequent turning to the trainers and scientists for answers

to this confusion. Pairing ties developed, mainly based on earlier ties or factors not directly related to the RPTP. However, trainees had great expectations for the RPTP and a kind of eagerness to fling themselves into the program and to get to know one another. The dependent group, as Slater describes it, is one "in which the group seems to be assuming that it has met in order to be nourished and protected by a leader (p. 131)."

Phase II brought a resentment of the trainers, and disillusionment with science. Simultaneously the very flexible, frequently changing schedule of activities was criticized, and the experiment myth was set forth. Divisions among the group developed. The period climaxed with a group "orgy-sacrifice" at the withdrawal from the program of its oldest trainee. This pairing group is one "in which the assumption is that the group has met to procreate a Messiah (p. 131)."

The trainers of the RPTP came to be essentially ignored in Phase III, and the group experienced an almost total loss of faith in, and respect for, science and scientists. Individuals developed an independence from the group, while a feeling of cooperation was maintained during its formal activities. A sense of lull and of waiting and even of hiding from the issues (largely unknown) and problems at hand dominated this period. Bion calls this the fight-flight group, but the elements of fighting are primarily found in Phase II, while Phase III can be characterized as one of flight:

The fight-flight group arises when mutual reinforcement of some unconscious fantasy seduces all or most members into moving farther in the direction of loss of individuality than they desired or anticipated (p. 180).

Flight, of course, simply removes the individual from the morass altogether (p. 179).

Phase I

It should be remembered that Phase I represents the second month of the RPTP and my first month of participation and investigation. Actually, it is not accurately classified as Phase I, since that would have been, chronologically speaking, the first month of the program. Slater describes the dependent group:

Ambivalence is the keynote of the dependency group, in which Intermediacy seems to express itself through antipodal exaggerations, like the storms of adolescence. On the one hand we see a passionate involvement in the group, but on the other hand we observe that the 'group' means primarily the leader, as shown in the constant readiness to betray one's peers in order to obtain special favor with him (p. 183).

This ambiguity was in part provoked by the ambiguity of the leaders themselves in their relationship to the group. They were frequently sought out for answers to every question and problem and played an active role in classroom and field activities. Yet their relationship to the group swung from non-direction to authoritarianism.

A chief source of the ambivalence was the contradiction between the informally organized and run schedule of events and the trainers' great emphasis on constant hard work and full participation on the part of every trainee. For example, while the specific activities and amount of work required in a work group's plots in the field varied extensively from day to day, the one unifying demand made on the trainees throughout the program was to be constantly busy and not to leave the field until

dismissed at eleven. In addition, every trainee was to be in the classroom for the field work briefing promptly at 7:30 A.M. Vague threats and warnings were issued by the trainers whenever the group became lax on these points.

PAOLO: Don't let the Office of Communications catch you sitting there looking up at the sky! We say two things about the RPTP. You're almost free--like when you're taking graduate courses. On the other hand, when we set a time you'd better be on time. We know the value of time.

As one of them explained, "Sometimes you just have to push them (the trainees)."

While this oscillation was making itself felt, the trainees continued to treat their trainers as scientific experts and even demi-gods of science. However, their reign was a dissatisfying one for the trainees. There was a pre-conceived expectation on the part of the trainees that scientists were able to solve every problem and find an answer to every question. But the trainers were unable to satisfy the trainees' constant questions in classroom discussion. The result was a slowly developing feeling among the group that the trainers lacked adequate knowledge and experience in rice production: they were not true scientific experts.

Directly related to this issue of the trainers as experts were the reports being given each afternoon by the trainees, which were based on a trainee's research into an assigned topic of rice production. In the interaction during Phase I, the reports given were somewhat like encyclopedic summaries of the topics, including large numbers of charts and statistics. The response to these reports was described by one trainee:

"He (the reporter) was bombarded with questions because he couldn't explain one of his charts." Indeed, the trainees' reaction to the reports by their co-trainees was a kind of good-natured, but unrelenting, attack. They wanted and believed they could get full answers to every question, and they would not be satisfied until they did. The reporter almost always attempted an answer to every question and would give it in a very definite, confident manner, even when it became apparent that he did not know the answer. Frequently, discussions would reach an impasse; the trainers present would intervene and provide an explanation of the problem, but this usually did not satisfy the trainees. Most often, questions on a particular point would be resolved by the suggestion that the reporter get further information from reference books or a specialist at IRR1.

The result was, as mentioned above, that the group continued to look toward experts but was concluding that they were not present in the classroom. The concept of experts was not abandoned; they were available somewhere to someone. In many respects the group's response to trainee reports was the response of high expectations to an amateur trying to meet them. The reaction to the trainers was the expected reaction to any leader of any group: as leaders they were supposed to guide, direct, and lead; any failure to do so was a threat to the expectations for leaders held by the group. Such failures did not, however, significantly change, for the time being, the pattern of relationships between leader and group.

The living personage [in this case, the trainers] not only fails to protect, or solve, or give [here, by having the trainees themselves do the teaching in their reports], but on the few occasions

when he does speak often seems irrelevant, gauche, or schizoid [in the RPTP, unhelpful or ambivalent].

Faced with these facts, the group member is forced back to one of two positions. He must believe either that the group leader is not omniscient but in fact incompetent or that he is indeed omniscient and is simply withholding his knowledge and guidance out of stubborn perversity (p. 24).

The first of these two choices was primarily made in this period; we will look briefly at an appearance of the second choice in Phase II.

The effects of these relationships in the classroom on the inter-relationships of the trainees can be predicted from Slater, and, in fact, his descriptions apply to the RPTP.

An individual who enters a group for the first time tends to perceive it as an undifferentiated mass. He may pick one or two individuals for special attention, but this will perforce be on the basis of unconscious fantasies--of transference (p. 175).

Social structure in phase I. Daily seating charts of the classroom, where seats were unassigned, showed that during the first phase trainees had no established seating pattern but rather sat with different trainees almost every day. During this period there were 93 different combinations of trainees; that is, trainees sitting next to each other formed 93 different pairs. Sixty-two of these were cross-cultural combinations.

An investigation of the four work groups, in which each work group member indicated with whom he worked in the fields, shows that in mid-July each of the work groups had a well-integrated social structure, with as many as three trainees working together among its members.

Only one trainee out of all four groups was an isolate, and there was a great deal of cross-cultural pairing. Cooperation and unity were high.

The Baies' Categories records (See Table 1) reflect the above characteristics of the RPTP educational life. In Phase I, as compared with Phases II and III, solidarity was high, tension release and agreement moderate and antagonism somewhat high. Supported by observation, these clusters indicate that, with great enthusiasm, some antagonism, and moderate amounts of consensus and disagreement, the group went about its business of learning. There were a relatively high number of suggestions made and a few opinions offered, though neither were sought. The largest proportion of the interaction was concentrated in the information given; much of the information, spurred by questions, came from the leaders.

Independent of the classroom and work activities, the overall social structure of the group gives indications of the same developments. In mid-July 13 pairs had been established among 21 trainees. Of these, three were cross-cultural pairings (the two trainees involved in each pair were of different nationalities). There were 36 instances of cross-cultural choosing; that is, 36 trainees identified trainees of another country as persons with whom they spend time, although only three of these were two-way choices. Altogether, 92 choices of free time companions were made by trainees from among the training group. Besides these, 13 people refused to indicate their choices. Either they gave no reply or stated that their free time was not spent with any particular trainee(s).

TABLE 1: Bales' Categories Frequency Ratings--afternoons, July, August

DATE	PHASE ONE					PHASE TWO					PHASE THREE				
	26	27	28	29	31	1	4	6	9	10	15	16	21	22	24
1. Shows solidarity	2	8	3	11	4	3	2	0	5	0	2	6	4	2	2
2. Shows tension release	2	7	2	2	4	4	4	1	10	4	3	12	15	3	7
3. Shows agreement	8	3	2	4	1	0	2	5	5	4	5	6	6	3	4
4. Gives suggestion	8	8	5	12	9	9	9	2	10	1	6	3	3	2	6
5. Gives opinion	0	0	7	2	1	3	5	9	29	3	4	0	2	3	11
6. Gives information	52	47	53	39	51	46	35	41	19	53	50	51	47	54	36
7. Asks for suggestion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
8. Asks for opinion	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	5	0	3	0	1	0	5
9. Asks for information	20	23	22	18	22	25	24	30	6	24	24	16	16	24	19
10. Shows disagreement	7	3	4	2	3	3	6	6	6	6	4	2	4	3	4
11. Shows tension	0	1	1	3	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
12. Shows antagonism	2	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
13. Fails to answer question	0	0	0	4	5	4	12	6	1	4	0	2	1	5	5

Total Acts 167 150 349 105 101 146 106 172 145 94 142 131 120 57 250

One Filipino served as a kind of 'social center' of the group. A partner in four pairing groups, he was also selected by a fifth trainee. However, his position must not be exaggerated, because he was assuredly the social center only for the Filipinos, who dominated the group numerically. Three other trainees were indicated by five of their co-trainees. The training program's social structure included one isolate.

The relatively hidden shallowness of this social structure is reflected by the fact that no subgroups larger than two trainees were established. There are divisions in the group--beyond that caused by the different places where trainees spent their free time. Nationality, one of the factors involved in these divisions, is reinforced by "where spent free time," since whole national groups, with the possible exception of the Filipinos, tended to spend their free time in the same location. Ten of the pairs formed by mid-July consisted of trainees with the same national background. Trainees' ages are another dividing factor, as all pairing was between trainees within six years of the same age while ages of all RPTP participants ranged from 21 to 43. Marital status was also an important factor; ten pairs involved trainees of the same marital status. No families of trainees were living at the Institute, although several Filipinos lived at home outside IIRI's complex, throughout the RPTP. Of these ten pairs, seven were between single trainees. In the group as a whole, 18 trainees were married and 18 were not. A fourth factor which indicates that many of the social ties which were established between trainees by mid-July were not the direct result of interaction in the group, or of carefully developed relationships, is that of previous acquaintance. Nine of

the pairs were between trainees who had known each other before coming to IRRI. This factor was reinforced by living proximity because the same nine pairs were between roommates in the IRRI dormitories.

Thus, trainees' choices of whom they spent time with were most affected by nationality, age, marital status, and previous friendship reinforced by living proximity. Note that I say "affected by" rather than "determined by." I made no organized attempt to establish which were the prime determinants of pairing. Doing so would involve comparison of pairs with the whole group and an isolation of those factors which brought about pairing rather than one-way ties or no ties between trainees. With a small group the results of such an analysis could not be of assured relevance for other groups. Therefore, the more casual analysis of factors done above seems sufficient. Religion appeared to be of relatively little importance, as did common work group assignments. Three of the 13 pairs held six factors in common; four of them shared five of the possible factors, and the cross-cultural pairs had three or fewer common factors.

Again, Slater captures the essence of this social structure during Phase I (from Ezriel [1950, page 68]).

'When several people meet in a group, each member projects his unconscious phantasy-objects upon various other group members and then tries to manipulate them accordingly. Each member will stay in a role assigned to him by another only if it happens to coincide with his own unconscious phantasy....' In other words, the group member tends to approach a new group setting by merely repeating old patterns of behavior with new materials (p. 172).

Concern for structured activities. As the relationship between the trainers and the training group and among the trainees developed, including the ambiguity, dissatisfaction and shallow but well-integrated social structure, the training group also developed a concern for the lack of security and structure in the scheduling of activities.

JUAN (trainee): Are there going to be any things added to or changed in the schedule for August?

PAOLO: No. We'll continue using an informal schedule, doing whatever comes up.

JUAN: But that's just random scheduling.

Such objections were raised more frequently, both to the trainers and among the trainees, as July drew to a close. They are an expression of the fear of chaos and confusion mentioned by Slater and arise as the trainees become more and more aware that their expectations generally are not being met by the program. They are unsure, then, of the nature of the RPTP and their role within it, and they begin to object to this lack of security. Trainees objected to the freely organized schedule on the basis that it gave them no opportunity to plan in advance or to study a topic before it was discussed. They felt themselves to be victims of an unreasoned and unknown program and its leaders.

Meanwhile, despite these difficulties, the trainees are able to avoid concern and anxiety over issues of the group's mortality and immortality. This, too, is as Slater predicts:

The dependent group does not fear termination because the group members have vested all their group feeling in the leader, and the group death has no meaning....One might indeed wonder if the

dependent stance is not a way of warding off group self-awareness and its attendant anxieties (p. 135).

An additional related factor which contributed to the high level of involvement in the group and the RPTP, over and above objections to it, was an unexpected source of a sense of accomplishment and self-nourishment. The field activities of the RPTP at this time involved the seeding of beds of rice and their transplanting to the field and initial rapid growth. The group was actively growing food for itself and learning to provide for its people.

This "self-nourishment" of the group was complicated by the fact that religious beliefs of the trainees dictated their eating habits. Food was specially prepared for Moslem, Hindu, and Buddhist trainees by the Institute staff to conform to the regulations of their religions. Even so, some of them were even made ill by the Institute food. This was widely noted by other trainees who expressed resentment at the special treatment and at the need for special food for some of their number. The difference acted as a threat to the group as a whole; its members were unable to provide equal and adequate nourishment for all. Nevertheless, everyone ate rice in great quantity, and rice continued to be their common source of life.

Of the four different educational activities in which they were involved, the trainees appreciated most in Phase I the occasional lectures by IRRI and visiting scientists. Following in order of appreciation and enjoyment were field work, then library research, and finally the reports by the trainees themselves. This conforms to the outline of factors affecting the group in Phase I. Its relationship to figures of authority, their trainers and the scientific expert,

was most important. But the group was not unaware of the attraction and satisfaction to be gained from its growing of rice.

The trainees rated their degree of satisfaction during this period as high, though falling gradually (see Table 2). Social group and work group solidarity and high expectations, as yet not completely diminished, acted upon the trainees along with their various dissatisfactions to produce the ambivalence which characterizes the dependent group.

Phase II, however, developed directly out of Phase I, and the noted gradual decrease in trainees' satisfaction is one indication that Phase II is on the way. Slater explains why it follows almost inevitably:

The presence of an ambiguous authority figure allows the members to share a fantasy, and as they become increasingly engrossed in this sharing, they are gradually seduced into sharing a reality instead and are thereby freed realistically to confront one another (p. 173).

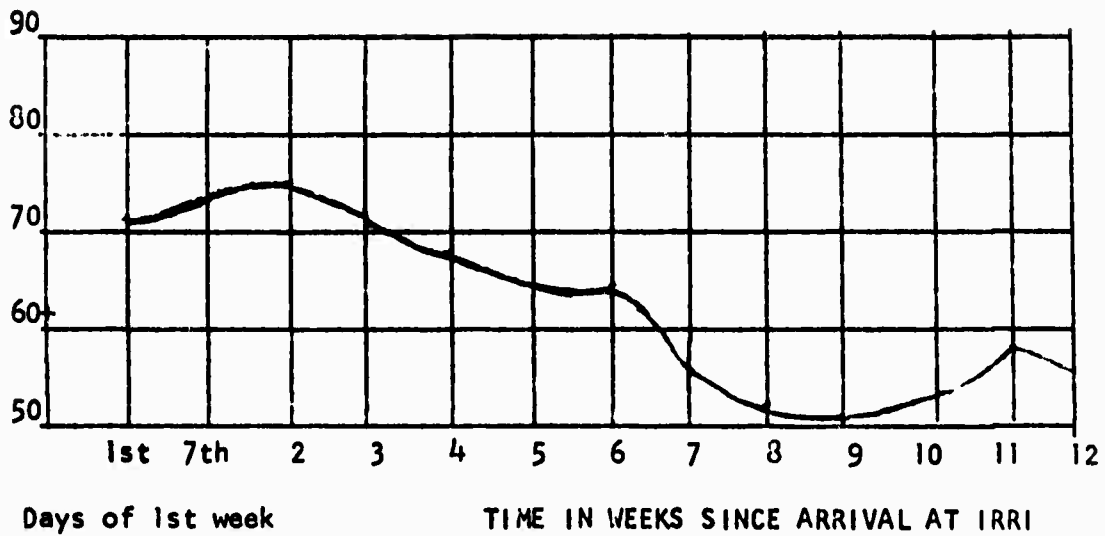
Phase II

By the end of July, as a result of the growing feelings against the trainers, the trainees did not acquiesce as readily to trainers' demands; nor did they accept the trainers as authorities on every issue simply because of their positions as leaders. Sensing this change in attitude, the trainers made many attempts in early August to restore the original balance of respect and to make the group happily subordinate to its superiors, the trainers.

PAOLO: You are working under ideal conditions here. You have every-

Table 2: General Satisfaction Level

Day 1 -- 72%	Week 7 -- 57%
Day 7 -- 74%	Week 8 -- 52%
Week 2-- 76%	Week 9 -- 50%
Week 3-- 73%	Week 10-- 51%
Week 4-- 69%	Week 11-- 58%
Week 5-- 68%	Week 12-- 55%
Week 6-- 65%	



thing you want. You say, 'Mal Pal Give me this!' And you have the candy in your hand.

On the one hand the trainers tried to accept these changes, but on the other hand the changes only emphasized and produced further ambiguity in the trainers' relationships to the group. They were not sure they wanted to give up their former more gratifying relationship.

He [the leader] will attempt to delay his overthrow by conferring benefits upon his followers, making their position less intolerable and making it seem as if the few benefits they do have will be taken away if they do anything to threaten or displease the despot (p. 153).

The trainers' most effective attempt to confine the trainees to the initial subordinate relationship is suggested by Paolo's comments above. By enforcing a parent-siblings relationship they maintained a strong hold on the sexual mores of the group for a time, assuring that in this respect at least the trainees would remain children. Any flirting that went on in the sessions between the males and the group's female members or outsiders was carried on by the trainers. Thus, when an attractive Filipina scientist lectured to the group on August 15, the trainers controlled and dominated all of the discussion, a rare occurrence after July and Phase I had come to an end.

The only behavior with sexual overtones on that day was theirs. When the woman entered, Paolo said, "Gentlemen! Don't just smile!" And a few minutes later when she asked a question which no one could answer, "See! I told you not to smile." In the same session Paolo kidded Jose about his dancing abilities, and Jose immediately demonstrated them for the group.

Until this sexual repression can be overthrown by a group, its members have failed to achieve any real independence from its leader(s).

The relevance of the Oedipal model lies in the fact that the freedom they [group members] seek is concerned not simply with dependency but also with sexuality ... (p. 86).

...often [there is] ...inhibition of sexual involvement between group members--an inhibition which seems to be based on an unconscious conviction that the girls somehow 'belong' to the group leader (p. 86).

Planning the social outing. This sexual inhibition and control by the trainers and their ambiguity was evidenced in a discussion which occurred in the classroom on August 4:

After the end of the afternoon's technical discussion, Paolo, one of the trainers, suggested the possibility of a social outing for the training group. At first there was little reaction from the group.

PAOLO: Everybody who says no--not compulsory--stand up. (Short pause--no one stood up.) Okay--we all agree. It's compulsory. What kind of a party?

OMAR: A picnic, an outing.

ROBERTO: Dancing. Bingo.

PAOLO: How about boxing with Abu, Narouz, and Eduardo (the three smallest trainees)?

There was much general laughter.

PEDRO: A talent show.

PAOLO: We would be very interested to know sports of other countries.

MIGUEL: Some of the women in the women's dorm want to fuse with us. How about a wiener roast for everyone?

ROBERTO: We could have an outing to Pagsanjan. There are three things in one there--dancing, swimming, and resting.

Paolo wrote each of the suggestions on the board and then proceeded to explore the possibilities of each.

PAOLO: Frederico, can you explain dancing?

FREDERICO: No, I didn't say it.

PAOLO: Abu?

ROBERTO: We can teach Saad the Soul.

PAOLO: We can have a wiener roast and all kinds of roasting.

MIGUEL: It's not much fun without girls around.

There followed a vote in which the outing to Pagsanjan was favored by the largest number of trainees (25).

Someone suggested a night-spots tour with Bill as guide. Paolo repeated a suggestion made earlier which had received little attention.

PAOLO: According to Roberto you can do anything at Lito Beach.

DANIEL: What do you mean, 'anything'?

A list of necessary committees for the outing was made by Paolo. Food, table games, transportation, program, first aid, "security." The last item was greeted with laughter.

A chairman was sought. Martin nominated Nessim. Roberto seconded Nessim's nomination. Paolo then named himself as co-chairman.

Nessim's appointment received spontaneous applause. Louis and Tony were named to collect money. A two peso fee was set. Bill and Barbara were appointed to the food committee. Table games fell

to Omar, Daniel, and Narouz. Nessim and Paolo said they would handle the program. Paolo asked about first aid. Vasar immediately and emphatically named Ugor. Again there was laughter. Saad suggested that Ugor be added to the food committee.

PAOLO: Yes. So that you can get the food you want.

Paolo explained that the outing was to be for everyone in the RPTP, including the staff.

PAOLO: I propose we charge 1.50 pesos for whoever doesn't go.

ROBERTO: Unless they're sick or something.

PAOLO: Maybe paying the two peso fee and then forfeiting it is enough.

EDUARDO: Unless you have a good reason.

FREDERICO: He's getting married!

Much laughter ensued.

Jose, one of the trainers, inquired about alternate plans if it should rain. Paolo discussed several possibilities.

NESSIM: Excuse me? Excuse me?

PAOLO: Wait a minute!... (He continued talking for several minutes.)
You're excused.

NESSIM: Let's make the fee due the first of the month since that's when we get paid.

PAOLO: It should be due the next time we meet.

Saad objected to the compulsory two pesos. He also pointed out that he and many other trainees didn't have swimming trunks and that they couldn't afford to buy them.

SAAD: Can we swim in our briefs?

PAOLO: They have big rivers there. You can go around a corner.

Others offered to loan extra pairs of trunks to those without them. Someone pointed out that they could be rented at Pagsanjan.

This outing, like the discussion, was trainer-proposed and trainer-approved. It was a kind of reward to the trainees for behaving like good little boys and girls. Paolo enforces his control over the group through the issue of compulsory attendance, by naming himself one of the co-chairmen, by refusing to let himself be interrupted, by making fun of the smallest members of the group, by enforcing a relatively high fee, etc. Through all of this the trainees accept his authority passively. On the other hand, the group is permitted to decide where it will go and what it will do on the outing. Furthermore, as will be seen later, Paolo fails to make an appearance at the outing, and no reason for his absence was ever offered.

Since the group leader plays such an ambiguous role, the members can assume either that (1) the situation is really just like any classroom where the rewards go to the good little boy or girl who keeps his or her mouth shut, flatters the teacher, laughs at his jokes, listens carefully to what he says, and feeds it all back to him at the proper time ..., or (2) the group leader is really leaving everything up to the members, and since he is not going to assume a leadership role in the group, one should act as if he were not there, in which case the most active and dominant member will gain the rewards, just as in any peer group (p. 158).

This is the same ambiguity which began to be felt by the trainees in Phase I. But in Phase II it has become more pronounced, and the trainees recognize it more clearly for what it is. Thus, they take the more passive role based on the first of the two possible assumptions

they can make about their relationship to the trainer, while in other ways they act on the basis of the second--making Nassim chairman, who later feels freed to interrupt the trainer and play a more aggressive role towards him.

However, the other side of the freedom the trainees are beginning to seek--freedom to become involved in heterosexual relationships--is not yet achieved. That the one suggestion to include other women in the outing is not even given serious consideration by the group and its leader is highly indicative of the remaining strength of their dependency on him. The sexually suggestive comments scattered throughout the discussion provide further evidence of sexual factors especially since most of them were made after the group had voted to go to Pagsanjan without other women being included in the outing. Teaching Saad the Soul, doing 'anything' at Lito Beach, a night-spots tour, laughing at Eduardo's coming marriage, swimming in briefs or nude--all are indications of the sexual currents underlying involvement with the group and its leader particularly. They are safe comments, made in the "security" of a group consisting almost solely of males with the guarantee that the possibility for heterosexual relationships has been eliminated from the outing.

The only two women in the group were gradually given the aspects of mother-figures, although this was less true for the female trainee than for myself because other commitments frequently called her away from the group. (She did not go on this outing.) The first evidence of this group concept of the female members was my assignment to the food committee. A mother nourishes her children; so, too, I was to nourish the group. By taking such a role I was removed as a sexual

threat, and, in fact, I became identified with the group itself.

The group, as something apart from its constituents, is equivalent to a kind of mother This 'mother' is really something composed of themselves ... (p. 86).

This theme of nourishment, as discussed in Phase I, represents the group's attempts to nourish and protect its own members. Less conscious in the first phase of the underlying meaning of nourishment, the group has recognized in Phase II the female nature of the group's feeding of itself. The RPTP had moved into the stage of fertilizing, weeding, and inspecting the rice which trainees had planted; the crops were healthy, and the added sense of nourishment from this activity stayed with the group. Now, as I was to provide food for the group, the meaning was made explicit; also, the group in Phase II was prepared to provide special nourishment for those members who required it. Thus, Ugor was assigned to help me, and between the two of us we could feed everyone the food he needed to survive.

As Slater points out, the purpose of the revolt against the leader is to

get 'her' away from this paternal figure--in other words to make the group what they want it to be: comfortable, pleasant, friendly, loving, indulgent, undemanding, etc....It is themselves that they wish to take away from the group leader (p. 86).

Other developments in the group helped to bring on the beginning of the end of the group's dependence on its trainers.

Moves toward Independence. Trainee reports improved, and trainees began to disagree with statements made by the reporters, rather than simply questioning them. Their response to reports generally became

more critical and alert. As a result and as a part of this progress, tension between trainees and trainers grew; the heretofore accepted authority and superior ability of the trainers began to be challenged openly. During Phase II it became routine for a trainee-reporter to begin his report by stating that he did not have all the information on his assigned topic. He would answer questions with a simple "I don't know," and when he was uncertain of the answer he would offer one clearly as an opinion rather than as fact. The questions a reporter drew themselves became more cautious and precise and frequently were opened with straightforward disagreement with a statement or opinion offered by the reporter.

'Pairing' as a group phenomenon... [is] a response to a growing awareness of the group as a mortal entity separate from and independent of the leader, and...the dependency group...[is] not subject to this degree of awareness inasmuch as all group feeling was vested in the leader (p. 170).

A new attitude, clearly separating the trainees from the trainers and the scientists, came into being. Complaints about the methods employed in the RPTP began to be expressed. But instead of being stated simply, they were usually couched in terms of an hypothesis about the whole program: "They [the trainers] don't really know how to run a training program. They're experimenting with us. That's why the schedule changes so often and nobody knows for certain what we will do next." This is the infamous "experiment myth," set forth to explain a confusing, sometimes chaotic, situation in terms which afford comfort to the trainees.

A second rather mysterious opinion about the program began to be expressed: "Some are even wondering if the scientists are 'too good' to come to talk to us." Desperately the trainees fished for an explanation of their experiences in the RPTP which would permit them to retain their faith in the all-encompassing knowledge and capabilities of science and scientists. In Phase I the trainees had expressed strong preferences for lectures by scientists, but in Phase II the schedule of activities continued to devote extensive time to field work and trainee reports. Hidden in this explanation of the absence of the scientific experts is the trainees' lack of confidence in their own abilities, corresponding to the growth of their sense of insecurity.

Between August 1 and August 15 the seating pattern in the classroom stabilized. Forty-eight combinations were observed, and only 34 of them were cross-cultural.

Usually most seats become relatively permanent until some conscious effort at change is made, a change which symbolizes the transition from a formal and authority-oriented structure to an informal, group-oriented, and flexible structure (p. 164).

The Bales' Categories for Phase II show that solidarity was fairly low, while tension release was somewhat higher. There was less agreement shown than in Phase I, and disagreement was at its highest for the two-month period. Tension also increased slightly, although antagonism was down. The highest number of suggestions and especially opinions were given in Phase II, and, correspondingly, the lowest amount of factual information was given. More questions were asked than in the other two phases, but also these questions were left unanswered much more often.

These developments in the classroom resemble Blon's description of the passive nature of the pairing group, as well as Slater's assertions that the pairing group is closer to being a work-oriented group than is the dependent group. (Pp. 132-133)

The trip to Pagsanjan Falls. Almost all of the themes which had already arisen in Phases I and II were recaptured more dramatically during the trip to Pagsanjan, and a new dimension was added. It was mentioned that an individual first experiences a group as an undifferentiated mass and that others view him as part of that mass. This process is accomplished through the common orientation to the leader shared by all members. However, this orientation and mass are gradually invaded by more and more elements of reality to which members must adjust.

The blurring of boundaries between oneself and the group tends to occur when the group member experiences...reinforcement by the group of feelings...of which he is not fully conscious. At such a time he will feel swept away by forces that seem to come both from within and from without....

Fight and flight are both mechanisms for warding off this state when it arises. Both serve to protect the boundaries that distinguish one individual from another. Fighting is a way of saying 'this is me, I am different (in fact opposite) from you' (p. 179).

It is of little wonder that, faced with such a rapidly crumbling world of ambiguity, disillusionment, and insecurity, the trainees began to withdraw into national groups. The culture of a trainee's homeland and those who shared it at IRRRI represented the lost security and was a source of reassurance. With them, life was more familiar and comprehensible.

Sunday, August 13

I arrived at the Institute at 8 A.M., the scheduled time for departure to Pagsanjan. The group welcomed me with mixed emotions: I was late, they would wait while I ate breakfast, and they were glad I had decided to come! Omar explained that they had heard I was not coming (an unfounded rumor). There were hurried consultations about the food with Nessim, Narouz, and Vasar, who were worried that I had not ordered enough lunches. I went with them to talk with the waitresses in the kitchen. We ordered several more lunches, and they waited for them while I ate breakfast.

We left the Institute about 8:30 with a stop in Los Banos to pick up several more trainees and the soft drinks. The bus was crowded, and spirits were high. The Filipinos sang local songs and were joined by Omar and Bimbashi, who had learned some of them. The songs were in Tagalog and were led by Martin, who had distributed mimeographed copies of them.

The bus stopped at Santa Cruz, and everyone piled out. There was a somewhat secretive gathering of some of the Filipinos. Vasar, Ugor, and others started to follow the group of Filipinos but must have discovered its purpose for they hung back on the sidewalk in their own groups. I asked one of the Filipinos why we had made the stop. He replied that one of the men was buying film to take group pictures. This was accomplished, but when all returned to the bus the primary purpose of the stop was discovered: several bottles of liquor had been added to our supplies by the Filipinos.

We arrived at Pagsanjan about 10 o'clock and immediately began preparations for the canoe trip to the falls. We were to go in pairs

on a volunteer basis.

Vasar	(Ia)	--	Narouz	(P)
Ugor	(P)	--	Miguel	(F)
Barbara	(A)	--	Frederico	(F)
Pedro	(F)	--	Carlos	(F)
Filipo	(F)	--	Filipo's wife	(F)

Jose bargained with the guides for a group rate on the trip. Ugor said he did not want to go; he later changed his mind but then was without a partner. Miguel offered to accompany him. Vasar requested Narouz to be his mate. He asked me to join him a few minutes later, but I explained that Frederico had already asked me to be his partner. Omar also refused to go at first. Then he told me quietly that he was going and that he had informed Jose. However, he eventually did not go.

Those who stayed behind did so for various reasons: lack of money (the trip was expensive), lack of a partner, fear of the water, and inability to swim. They rented an open-air rest house for the group and spent the morning playing games, talking, and drinking.

At the falls an hour later it had begun raining, which only seemed to increase everyone's delight. We had beer and coffee, joked, and went swimming--except for Vasar, who had never learned to swim. On the return trip we had our only real casualty of the day as the canoe in which Vasar and Narouz were riding overturned. Neither was seriously hurt, and we reached the rest house about 12:15

Roberto reported to me that those who had stayed behind had all been drinking all morning, although it was obvious that not all had. We began eating immediately upon return. Nessim stood on the table and

distributed the food. The kitchen had printed "Vegetarian with fish" on each of the lunches for the Pakistani and others, which aroused comments and jokes. With much ceremony I was provided with a drink (gin) by the Filipinos; Nessim then gave me an orange drink, and Ahmed handed me a glass of fruit juice.

During and after eating lunch the Filipinos drank liquor while the others played games. I was loudly offered a seat in the Filipinos' midst and another drink. All was seated on one of the tables reading now and then. Soon everyone changed into dry clothes and settled down into one place:

Drinking at one end of the table were the Filipinos:

Martin	Willy (bus driver)	Pedro
Frederico	Domingo	Roberto
Barbara	Augusto	Pedro
Miguel	Jose	

Pepe and Omar were playing chess in the middle.

The others were playing scrabble in teams and observing at the end of the table opposite the group of Filipinos:

Narouz (P)	Amin (10)
Victor (10)	Vasar (1a)
Rosario (F)	Carlos (F)
Abu (10)	

Generally, the three groups paid little attention to one another. The Filipinos conducted drinking contests, which Martin always lost and for which he received much kidding. They also played small magic tricks; Pedro captured all interest with a trick done with string. They were all speaking Tagalog, although I asked them twice to use

English and Nessim seconded my suggestions. They called on Nessim to perform a magic trick, which he did with much success and laughter.

None of the others were drinking alcoholic beverages. On three occasions someone from the drinking end of the table threw a small object--paper, then rubber band, and finally string--onto the chess board. Twice it was thrown by Roberto who was becoming quite drunk. Each time Omar looked up menacingly and with disgust. Once he said throntoningly, "Roberto!"

Pape ignored the incidents and the drinkers. Nessim and Ahmed, who were standing and sitting on the table behind, moved from group to group and watched. At one point Nessim offered Ahmed a drink and ceremoniously poured him a glass of fruit juice. The two of them toasted each other.

Filipo and his wife were sitting in the bus, while Ugo, Bimbashi, and Ali toured the town of Pagsanjan.

We had planned to return at 5 P.M., but at 2:50 Jose first asked if anyone was ready to leave and then announced that the bus was leaving at 3. The scrabble players wanted to finish their game; Jose agreed, but they then stopped playing. Omar was the only trainee whom I heard express dissatisfaction with the early departure.

The return trip was much quieter, and Roberto, Miguel, and Pedro slept. The Filipinos kidded Roberto and each other about his intoxication, but the others said little. Upon arrival at IRRRI everyone thanked the bus driver and dispersed.

Group development at the falls. In the Pagsanjan Falls outing are found elements of the "flight," alongside strong indications that the group is preparing for its revolt. Initially at the beginning of

the outing, the group was feeling very strongly the sense of loss caused by the absence of many of its members: two Pakistanis and three Ceylonese were sick and unable to attend, including Saad, who had objected to the price of the trip; the three Americans were in Manila, and nine Filipinos were absent for various reasons. A tenth Filipino had become seriously ill and had left the RPTP. The anxiety over the loss was expressed in the concern over the lunches. A group which has failed to involve fully so many members must take care that it does not disintegrate completely. This concern resulted in our having almost twice as many lunches as were needed when we arrived at Pagsanjan. The group's relief at my arrival is part of this; the female arrived, and they were assured food for the day. So, too, the rumor and fear that I would not come along at all was yet another expression of their anxiety.

The conflict between the trainees developed over this problem of nurturance. The mysterious stop at Santa Cruz introduced the conflict. The Filipinos separated themselves from the larger group by acquiring a separate supply of nourishment, liquor. For religious or personal reasons none of the other trainees would drink alcoholic beverages. This fact was well-known, and the Filipinos took advantage of it. By buying liquor they bought their independence from the group as a whole; they had their own source of support and strength. The earlier feeling of well-being and unity expressed in the singing and general celebration on the bus on the road to Santa Cruz was partly dispelled by the purchase of the liquor.

It was recaptured later by the smaller group at the falls. We were well-mixed nationally and had just survived a shooting of the

rapids together. Consuming beer and coffee along the theme of "group orgy," which so often accompanies a group's awareness of its own unity and strength, trainees romped and swam merrily.

However, the return to the rest house and the group was a return to the conflict. It began again with the alcoholic beverages; the Filipinos gave me a drink, and so did Nessim and Ali. Within half an hour a split occurred with Nessim, Ali and Ahmed as go-betweens. The Filipinos drank, the others played games, and Nessim and Ahmed talked and joked with both groups, attempting to draw them together.

Their efforts failed. I, too, was excluded from the Filipinos by their use of Tagalog, as was the rest of the group. Hostility was expressed between the two divisions; the Omar-Roberto exchange was representative of the antagonistic atmosphere. The Filipinos were blatantly showing their ability to be both strong and nourished by their own national sub-group independently of the training group. They dared the others to deny them this ability, and their dare was resented by the others at the same time as they tried to ignore it.

Thus, Jose's announcement of early return to IRR1 was a relief to everyone. Those playing games showed some reluctance to leave immediately, especially Omar who had come to represent them in the conflict; they wanted to express their own self-sufficiency and strength independent of the Filipinos. But leaving was a means of avoiding further conflict. If things did not reach a climax at Pagsanjan, perhaps the climax would disappear. The "retreat" to IRR1 was an expression of unwillingness on the part of all present to make the split irremediable. As such, it was a weak reassertion of the call of the group for comfort and protection in its fold.

Yet, what might at first appear to be a sign of reversion to an earlier state of group life bears real evidence of actually being a step toward increased independence. Paolo's absence became a kind of withdrawal from his position of authority over the group, which permitted group members to assume some independence from him. Their independence is partly accomplished through the leaders recruited from among themselves. Their ordained chairman Nessim directed the day's events, even in the presence of some of the other trainers. His success and acceptance by the group was due to some extent to an episode which occurred in the classroom a few days prior to the outing.

Most of the trainees arrived in the classroom before the appearance of Paolo and the other trainers. Nessim sat down at the front table. After waiting for a few moments it became obvious the trainers were late. Nessim arose and walked to the lecture podium where he undertook a very humorous imitation of Paolo's usual introduction to the afternoon's events. He produced an uproar and much applause in the group. When Paolo suddenly arrived, Nessim continued for a few seconds, and then he returned rather sheepishly to his seat.

Slater reports that "groups have a pronounced tendency to select specific individuals to represent or even act out particular emotional constellations in which all group members actually share (p. 56)."

It is also common for the overthrow of a leader to be raised at first in joking or experimental terms under circumstances like those found in Nessim's action. Frequently too, the development of a peer leader implies a coming revolt. The problem which faces any peer leader is that he "should be the group leader's victorious slayer, yet guiltless,

and also imbued with his mana (p. 55)." He must also "take on the burden of relieving the group's sense of deprivation (p. 66)."

Hessim effectively assumes this burden during the outing. Not only does he hold the group together, he puts himself in charge of seeing that everyone has plenty to eat and drink. (It is not unusual that Hessim's appearance as a peer leader is rather short-lived. For a short time he was able to express the feelings of the group and to care for its needs in response to the particular conditions of these two weeks. Later he was no longer needed or qualified to fulfill this function.)

Another aspect of the outing at Pagsanjan which illustrates the growth of independence among the training group is the slight suggestion of sexual interest in me, the female. With the division within the group, I no longer could represent the protective, all-encompassing group mother. Thus, the two sides of the conflict vie for my favor and attention with the various drinks I was offered. Earlier I had been in demand for the canoe trip. This was a new occurrence for me in the group.

If no attack on the leader of any kind occurs, there is very little overt sexual interest between members....no attack will arise without some...internamber attraction ... (p. 125).

In this respect, too, the group has moved closer to the overthrow of the leader and independence from him.

The other proof of growing independence from the leader is the conflict itself. "A group...cannot effectively revolt so long as it perceives itself as a mob or mass, but only when it can differentiate clearly among its members (p. 176)." So the very conflict which at

first seems to be an element of destruction and regression in the group is necessary for members to experience that group more realistically, with fewer fantasies, and with a more individualistic and independent perspective.

A revolt against the leader is never accomplished at this point, however, for the group must have unanimity in the revolt. There is a "need for equality in and following the revolt, when a whole new set of anxieties emerges, touched off by the new awareness of the members' separateness from the leader (p. 176)." The element of flight which has just been examined "seems primarily directed toward protecting against loss of individuality, while pairing seems primarily directed against too great a degree of individuation (p. 182)." We have seen indications of pairing earlier in Phase II and they occur again near its end.

Saad departure. I was given several explanations for Saad's departure. Hassan alluded to it in a later interview and implied that it was caused by his dissatisfaction with the RPTP. Jill reported to me what Paulo had told her in confidence: Saad was leaving because someone was threatening to take over his job in Pakistan. The Peace Corps liaison at the Institute hinted at the same thing and said that he did not think it was because of any failure in the RPTP. Omar told me that Saad had been given a new job in Pakistan in which he would not be conducting training programs and so felt that the RPTP was no longer relevant to him. Omar pointed out that Saad was ill and had a long history of heart trouble. In addition, he said that Saad believed that he had learned all that the RPTP had to teach.

Someone else commented to me that Saad was the oldest man in the training program. "If he can't adjust, you can't expect anybody to be able to." Then he repeated to me a conversation between the administrator of the RPTP and Saad which had occurred early in the training program:

BPCMR: Do you have a 60-day visa or a longer one? If it's for only 60 days, they'll put you in jail or make you go home when it expires.

SAAD: Even if they put me in prison, I won't go home until the end of the six months (the duration of the training program.)

By Friday, August 18, all trainees knew that Saad was to leave for Pakistan the following day. Roberto came to me during that afternoon's seminar, from which Saad was absent, and said that he and Frederico thought the trainees should give Saad gifts to take to his wife and three daughters.

ROBERTO: Saad spends his life counseling and giving advice. Now he's terribly depressed. It's hard for him to go home this way.

Upon request, I agreed to collect money for the gifts and to buy them with Jill's assistance. At the close of the seminar, Roberto suggested his plan to the trainees and asked for a voluntary contribution of fifty centavos per person. Everyone present contributed, and the gifts were purchased that evening--A Filipino doll for each of the girls and embroidered napkins for his wife.

On Saturday morning, I took the presents to Saad's room about 10:15, after the seminar. He was scheduled to leave at 10:30 and was then in conference with Mr. Brown. I was given a chair in the center of the room, surrounded by the Pakistani research scholars, Norouz, Khan, Ugor, and Bimbashi. At 10:30 someone suggested that we go down-

stairs. We picked up Saad's luggage and went down. A large group of trainees was gathered by the car. After about 15 minutes, Saad and Brown emerged from the Administration Building. The group gathered around them while Brown explained to Saad that the airline reservations had not been confirmed as yet and that he should relax in the lounge until about 11:30 A.M. I went up to Saad with the gifts.

BARBARA: These are some things for your family from all of the trainees.

SAAD: (He spoke very quietly and in monotone.) You shouldn't have done that, Barbara. I don't have room for them. I can't carry them. He did not take them.

Someone suggested a paper sack. After a few moments Saad rather dully agreed and went upstairs to get one. I met him coming back down.

SAAD: Why did you do it, Barbara?

BARBARA: We didn't want you to go home without something to remember us by.

The two of us, followed by all the trainees, went into the lounge.

BARBARA: The best of luck to you, Saad.

SAAD: Thank you Barbara.

I went upstairs and returned about fifteen minutes later. Everyone was still in the lounge. Saad was sitting on the couch to one side with Khan. Several trainees were playing pool. The record player was loudly playing popular dance music. Martin met me at the door and said loudly:

MARTIN: Here's Mother. Say hello to Mother.

He led me to Ugor.

MARTIN: Kiss Mother's hand.

Ugor smiled widely.

Macap came up after a few minutes. I was standing alone in the middle of the room. He grinned and began to calypso in a small circle around me. After several times around he danced off across the room.

I went over to watch the pool game. Nessim was sitting in one of the only two chairs in the room. He persistently offered me the other.
NESSIM: Make yourself uncomfortable.

I sat down.

Martin and Macap were doing the calypso together. As I watched, the record changed to slow dance music. Martin approached smiling and asked me to dance. I refused. Miguel joined him in his request, as did several others. Martin began tugging at my arm. Miguel took my purse from my arm, and Martin and I began to dance. Everyone turned to watch. Tria told them that I was a good dancer. Then, when the music reached an appropriate stopping point he pulled away, embarrassed, thanked me, and led me back to my chair. Miguel put my purse back on my arm, and I sat down. Later, at lunch Martin rubbed his cheek and made some comment about my having been bothered when we were dancing by his not having shaved that morning.

Brown came in to talk to Saad, and once again everyone gathered around him. Brown explained that the airlines office had made a mistake, that Saad's reservations were not yet confirmed, and that it was dangerous to go to the airport without a confirmed reservation. He told Saad to relax for a while and that he would inform him of any new developments.

There was a move among the trainees to go to lunch, and we all went into the cafeteria. Martin and Macap put three long tables together across the middle of the dining room. Each trainee seated himself or

was given a seat as he came out of the cafeteria line. The nationalities mixed well. I was offered a seat in the center, and Saad was put across and two chairs down from me. As other trainees came in later, they were invited to join us. Tables were added until they were stretched the full width of the room.

All of the trainees remained at the table until everyone had finished eating. No one had cigarettes with them except me. When the fact revealed itself, I passed mine around.

Nessim requested me to say a few words to Saad for the group. I refused on the grounds that I was not a trainee and that I had not been a member of the group as long as the others. Nessim said that they thought I could say it much more beautifully, but as I continued to refuse, the issue was dropped.

McAdams, the Assistant Director of the Institute, came in near the end of the meal. He told Saad that he was sorry but that they had been unable to confirm his reservations. They had, however, been confirmed for Monday, and Saad would leave then. Almost everyone at the table heard McAdams statement, but nobody showed any kind of reaction to it.

After everyone had finished eating, the trainees began to leave one-by-one. Saad was among the middle group to go. He quietly, and without being noticed, went upstairs. Some of the Filipinos went to the lounge. The others disappeared.

Jill came up to me afterwards and repeated an observation made by Tennekoon during the meal: "It's just like the Last Supper."

Saad left Monday morning. Harduz and Khan accompanied him to the airport. The Pakistani research scholars said good-bye to him again at the car. No other trainees were present.

An Interpretation of "The Last Supper." Saad was the oldest man in the training program. Grey-haired and balding, he was treated with great respect by the trainees with the customary deference shown to age in Eastern cultures. (Only one other man in the group had grey hair and approached him in age.) During the preceding months of disillusionment with science and with trainers he had come to be "father" of the group--consoler, advisor, wise man. And when trainees were asked to rate each other's knowledge and skill in rice production, Saad was overwhelmingly rated best in the group;

His departure brought about the highlight of group unity and activity. The many-rumored reasons for him leaving expressed among the trainees showed one common feeling; the RPTP was not meeting their expectations, nor was it even an adequate educational program. Each individual member's avowed reason for Saad's departure expressed his individual variations on the common theme of anxiety. Whoever the culprit named--RPTP trainers, IRRI staff, scientists--might be, blame was laid chiefly on the conditions imposed on Saad and on the entire RPTP group of trainers by forces outside itself and resented by it.

Rallying behind Saad, they offered him gifts of consolation--not for Saad himself, but for his family at home. As he offered protection, support, devotion, and advice to his family in Pakistan, he had provided them to the trainees. The gifts were from his RPTP family to his Pakistani family.

As father of the group, Saad also acquired an RPTP "wife," the group-mother. Just as I had been selected for this role during the outing to Pagsanjan, I played it here. Requested to buy Saad's gifts and to present them to him, I was also given the seat of honor in the

center of his room as we all awaited him. However, Saad did not welcome this tribute; by leaving IRRI he was deserting the group and failing it. He saw no reason for his actions to be met with offerings to him.

What Saad failed to realize was the group's need to pay tribute to itself, its unity, and its immortality through him. His departure was to be a great loss; the fear in each trainee's mind--though unexpressed--was that the group would not be able to survive his departure and would disintegrate without him. The thought was more than members could bear. Most of them still had three and a half months of the training program before them until they, too, would be leaving each other. Saad's departure called forth this distant event, as much as it threatened an earlier separation of the group. The group was trying to comfort itself, and it chose several distinct ways of adjusting. The first was the ritual presentation of gifts with the hope that the RPTP family would survive through Saad's Pakistani family.

The second, mentioned above also, was the source of protection found in the group as mother. By developing this symbol of the group, members are reminded of its protective, nourishing qualities. This theme became explicit when I was greeted by Martin: "Here's Mother." He sought my adoration, the adoration of the strength of group unity: "Kiss Mother's hand." Hacıp danced around me in a kind of ritual of worship, and my seduction by Martin was a seduction by the group. Everyone participated in his request and in the dance. Later Martin even came to doubt his own purity and cleanliness and thereby his worthiness for being the vehicle to accomplish this act; he had not been clean-shaven enough for me to enjoy dancing with him.

The communal meal served additional purposes. First of all, the group was celebrating the overthrow-departure of its father: "the group, as something apart from its constituents, is equivalent to a kind of mother which is being kept away from them by a depriving paternal figure (p. 86)." Thus, I was seated in the center of the tables and Saad was displaced from his "throne" and moved two seats down on the other side. The overthrow was not without ambivalence, however, because Saad's loss was a real one, and his superior, protective qualities would be taken from the group unless the group took them from Saad. This was the second feature of the communal meal; like the Last Supper, trainees were sharing in the body and blood of Saad and were acquiring their share of his mana. "The...act...is an attempt to assure one's identification with the father by incorporating a part of him." (from Freud--Slater p. 68) Also, the communion is a simple expression of group solidarity: "Communal eating has always been an important way of expressing group solidarity in every culture and every age (p. 71)." In this way it is a celebration of life.

A reminder of the sustaining source of nourishment found in the group-mother comes at the close of the meal. As another illustration of the group's sense of loss and deprivation, the trainees--many of whom smoked--found themselves without the oral satisfaction of cigarettes. Their pleasure was sustained by their mother, as I passed my pack around the table and everyone shared from it.

Finally, Tennekoon's comparison of the meal with the Last Supper was extremely appropriate. Saad had been badly treated by the officials and trainers of the RPTP: their fault in the eyes of the trainees was

reinforced by the repeated interjections of the staff members throughout the morning and early afternoon as they continued to present the details of the delay in Saad's departure to the group. In the eyes of the trainees Saad was innocent, but through his illness and departure he was atoning for the sins of those who had wronged him and of those who were left behind at the Institute. He sacrificed himself for the training group. By speaking for all the trainees, he had voiced their criticism of the RPTP and acted upon it, leaving them free to win their own salvation. Again we find one member acting out the feelings of all members.

By the time the group was informed of the delay in Saad's departure it had lost its significance for them. They had consoled him and each other, they had taken his sacred qualities of knowledge and skill upon themselves, and they had expressed their unity. They had no need to see him off on Monday; for them Saad was dead--sacrificed in their communion meal.

In essence, the group has gained its independence from its trainers and authoritarian structure through its communal meal. Instead of overthrowing the trainers, it has lost and simultaneously overthrown its peer father. Although we will find a recapitulation of the revolt in the next phase, it has essentially been accomplished: "the work of revolt [is] recognition of dependency, greater frankness and consciousness of motive, greater group solidarity, and increased ability to function without the leader... (p. 50)."

The training group has, however, been unable to accomplish its independence without resorting to one of the defensive mechanisms (dependency, pairing, fight-flight). The end of Phase II finds the

group at the height of its pairing stage:

The pairing group is an attempt to make palatable full individualization and separateness by maintaining a disembodied fantasy of mystical unity and immortality in the form of a distant future Messiah (p. 181).

The RPTP's Last Supper has confirmed this attitude. In addition, through Saad and myself, it has recognized a sacred couple.

Whereas in the dependency group any decisive outcome will produce anxiety, in the pairing group the only conceivable outcome... is one which would induce rejoicing, as proof of the immortality of the group and the fertility of all good things.... the pairing group more closely approximates a peasant village, which on the occasion of certain festivals selects some couple.... The couple is not intrinsically sacred, but only as a function of their selection for this single ritual (p. 191).

This is definitely a step forward.

Deification... permits people to cooperate with one another with less anxiety at times when awareness of their separateness from an overpowering world has begun.... Later, when the world becomes more manageable, limited, and understandable, democratization can occur (p. 249).

Phase III

The revolt continues. Saad departed, and two days later an incident occurred in the classroom which served as a frustrated recapitulation of the revolt in a purer, more straightforward form. In the presence of the trainers and directed against them. An IIRI staff member who was involved in research on programs like the RPTP gave a lecture to

the group during an afternoon classroom session.

Four of the trainees were particularly drawn into the discussion after one of them asked how flexible such a program should be. The discussion was extremely indirect, but it was a criticism of the RPTP. The lecturer was about to make a breakthrough as comments and questions became more and more pointed. Suddenly, however, one of the trainers interrupted to announce that time had run out and that the discussion would be continued later in the week. The four trainees walked from the classroom to the main building with the lecturer and explained that they had been polite in their discussion because they had not wanted "to hurt Paolo's and Jose's feelings.

This was the only appearance of the elements of a revolt in the classroom, and it was stopped by the trainer. Nevertheless, since the true revolt is the growth of independence of group members, the harm done was not great.

The next morning Paolo made the following statement to the class during its field briefing:

PAOLO: I am not so sure that you know the main objective of why you are here. You are not so frank or straight about your inner feelings. Some things came out yesterday. You are not putting out what you want to say. Forget our personalities. Constructive or destructive criticism--I don't care--just so long as you don't destroy the individual personally. Don't talk about the individual--talk about the program. Let's forget personalities. If by chance you can't get something you want, find out why. And by all means jump over us--go to the man at the top. I would laugh, I would enjoy, I would laugh at you if you

didn't tell us things that are wrong, except you might go back saying 'IRRI should have done this, IRRI should have done that.' Like the mite or fish that sticks to somebody, we should have more of a partnership. You are here for diagnostic skills. I would say there are not any experts among us yet--you haven't harvested yet. We want to expose you to a training program. This is not a straight guide, as you know, because you never know what's going to happen in the field next week. In the lectures we are cramming you. As for giving reports, whether you feel comfortable or not, you have to do it. We don't have a schedule. This is a torment to some of you. Some of you said when you came that you didn't want to be in the RPTP. Whether you like it or not, this is where you have to be. If we have an activity planned and you don't like it, that's too bad. Wherever you go, whatever you do, it is our responsibility to make a report on what you do.

A few minutes later, Jose described the effect of an herbicide on a weed:

JOSE: It might still look alive, but it's just like you. You might still be moving, but you've been cut, and you'll soon be dead.

Paolo's statement is a return to ambiguity; the ambiguity survives all else in the trainer-trainee relationship. Slater's studies reveal that this ambivalence "tends to survive the efforts to resolve it (p. 40)." And when the leader involved has qualities which are more authoritarian and patriarchal than the leader usually found in a sensitivity group, the ambivalence is sure to survive.

Paolo's statement is completely contradictory: he invites criticism, he forbids it; he compares his relationship to the trainees with the mite which feeds off another animal, yet he doesn't like that relationship

while at the same time he reinforces it; he gives them the right to report on him to others above him and simultaneously reminds the trainees that he will also report on them; he wants to enjoy the training group, yet he acknowledges that he will torment them. The trainees aren't experts yet, for they have not 'harvested' (their learning?), and he will continue to 'cram' them with information.

All of these attitudes assure his intent to maintain a parent-child relationship to the trainees. He will 'feed' the trainees their knowledge; they are not to take it from him. And if they fail to follow his lead, they are threatened with death. Jose realized full well what Paolo was saying. He had killed the trainees; soon they would not even be moving.

Essentially, Paolo was too late. The trainees were independent, and to some extent they were beyond his reach. They dealt with him and the other trainers by ignoring them. On August 22 one of the trainees presented me with a sketch, his accurate portrayal of what had begun to occur between trainers and trainees during the morning field work. As he explained in the sketch, the trainees were overtly avoiding the trainers; whenever a trainer approached, they would move to another section of the rice fields.

In their afternoon reporting sessions, too, the same evidence of independence was found. The reports less and less entailed unbroken lectures by the reporter and were more and more a general exchange of information. Instead of asking questions of the reporter, the trainee audience would follow a statement with a question seeking further information. The reporter would indicate agreement or disagreement with a statement and offer an answer to the question. An opinion-guess was

quite readily accepted by the trainees, although it would often be followed by further discussion and stipulations as to the conditions under which it would be correct and incorrect. Trainer contributions were accepted on the same level as those of trainees--educated opinion, and they were not sought any more often than they were sought from the group of trainees.

The trainers were being treated in the same way as most leaders who have been the object of revolt and overthrow. "The leader then begins to become aware that he no longer plays so necessary a role in the group...that he is no longer being deified (p. 139)." In fact, the departure of Saad and the events surrounding it produced very real effects: "they [group members] are able to take over the leader's interpretive function and analyze...material without his help...(p. 68)."

The Bales' Categories for Phase III show that solidarity was higher than in Phase II--though not as high as in Phase I--and tension release was at its peak. Members had been freed from their dependence on the leader to deal with each other, but the situation was a new one and they had fears and tensions about it. Agreement was also at its highest level and disagreement at its lowest. Without the trainers to look to for control over group interaction, as is common in groups which have recently experienced revolt, members hesitated to express hostility and disagreement openly. Simultaneously, there were few suggestions offered but a moderate number of opinions. More opinions were sought than in the other two phases. The number of questions asked was at its lowest, while information given was at its highest for the three phases. Nevertheless, Phase III was not without its setbacks. "Each 'gain' is weighted with new burdens, and the victory seems to

peter out like a perfected skill which wavers when an attempt is made to add new elements to it (p. 94)."

Subgrouping in Phase III. Socially, the third phase produced a kind of disintegration of group ties. By the end of August the work groups had lost almost all strong cohesion. Fifteen out of thirty-four trainees showed no choice of workmates; instead, they stated that they worked with any and all members of their sub-group. Only ten trainees indicated specific members, while the remaining nine trainees said they worked with anyone in the entire training group or refused to answer the question. My observations of the groups at work showed that the sub-groups were cooperating but lacked any cohesion. Noticeable pairing within groups had ceased because the former personal ties within sub-groups had been broken. The completion of work tasks as quickly and as easily as possible was the sole aim of the work groups by the end of August. Members were indifferent to any other consideration.

By this time most of the seeding, planting, weeding, fertilizing, etc., had been finished, and the small remaining jobs were tedious. Yet the trainees were required to put in three hours of field work each morning, so they spent most of their time conducting individual investigations of the progress of the plants and doing either created or assigned busy work. Few were interested in their work; they simply wanted to accomplish it and leave. The earlier sense of satisfaction derived from the active production of food was absent. No feeling of self-nourishment accompanied work in the fields.

In the classroom there were 48 different seating combinations, most of them having been established in the first half of the month

as part of Phase II activity. Meanwhile, the number of cross-cultural seating combinations dropped to 26. The seating pattern rigidified; it is nearly the same for every session during that period. With the same indifference that was shown in work group pairing, trainees seemed to continue seating arrangements out of habit and familiarity. Only three of the 48 seating pairs were reinforced by a choice of the seat mate as a free time companion at the end of August. Thus, the seating arrangement was not based on friendship preferences but on indifference and the relative ease of resuming the same seat every day.

While there were 13 free time pairs within the group in mid-July, at the end of August there were only three pairs, two having been sustained and a new one having formed. Simultaneously, in the whole group only 35 choices of free time companions were made, compared with 92 in July. Of these one-way choices, 12 were cross-cultural. There was no cross-cultural pairing. Nineteen trainees failed to indicate any choice of companion, and seven of them said they spent no or little free time with their co-trainees, although some of these were chosen by other trainees. The 19 who made no choice included eight Filipinos, one American, four of the seven Pakistanis, all four Indonesians, one Ceylonese, and an Indian. The group had no social center. One of the Ceylonese was chosen by five co-trainees, but he did not in turn choose any of them. The group also contained five isolates--two Indonesians, two Filipinos, and a Pakistani--as compared with one in July.

The three pairs discovered in August were between trainees of the same nationality, age, and marital status. The partners had all known each other before coming to IRRI, and they lived near each other. One pair involved roommates. None of the pairs included trainees of the

same religion or work group. All three shared the same five of the seven factors affecting pairing. Although the trainees spent their free time primarily in the same places few ties resulted from their being in the same place at the same time. Indeed, none of the factors in existence in mid-July were sufficient to bring about in August the relative wealth of social ties found during July.

These elements of disintegration are elements of flight, a mechanism which removes the individual from the indistinct mass of the group at a time when he is threatened with being absorbed by that mass. This threat arises whenever the individual's own feelings and attitudes have been so strongly seconded by the group that he is seduced into moving farther in the direction of loss of individuality than he desired or anticipated.

Saad's departure and the communal meal did exactly that. Feelings that had been unconscious in individual members were expressed openly and dramatically; many of those feelings are things which individuals usually manage and prefer to keep hidden from themselves and others. As a defensive mechanism, the whole training group, with one or two exceptions, has taken flight from the rest of the group. "Flight, of course, simply removes the individual from the morass altogether (p. 179)."

This, then, was Phase III. Satisfaction with the RPTP reached an all-time low, ties between members had disintegrated in favor of greater individuality, and the trainers had come to be ignored.

Then, near the close of my study when the training program superficially appeared to be failing, the Institute's sociologist and co-administrator of the RPTP returned to IRRI after an absence of three months to initiate a new phase of group life. He requested that the

trainees evaluate the first three months of the RPTP and record their degree of satisfaction with it. Table 2 is the mean satisfaction for the group compiled from their individual estimates of their level of satisfaction each week since the beginning of the program.

He and the trainees set out to work together to improve the program. More lectures by scientists were scheduled and field trips to experimental farms replaced the morning's busy work. Classroom discussions became livelier, and morale was on the rise. In the words of a trainee, "Things have improved tremendously in the last couple of days."

Conclusion

I left the RPTP at the end of the third month with three months of activity ahead; I can actually, therefore, come to no final conclusion about it. Yet several important statements can be made.

Depending, of course, on what ensued in the last three months, the RPTP methods were extremely effective, even though many of its beneficial results in terms of trainee behavioral change were not clearly intended or calculated. The combination of lectures by scientists, field work, and trainee reports, by supporting or contrasting with each other, led to a sophisticated understanding of science and the scientific method on the part of the trainees in an amazingly short period of time. If the remaining three months were used to develop the trainee's confidence in his newly acquired ability and to apply it to challenging projects, then, whatever his score on written tests, he left IRRI as a scientific expert, although I am sure that no trainee would yet admit to such a wondrous achievement.

The informality, uncertainty, and occasional confusion of the program's activities contributed greatly to the learning process of the trainees. Learning to deal with insecurity and the constant threat of separation and loss is the work of every individual alive, just as it is the work of the RPTP and science. Some of the trainers were aware of the potential value of an informal structuring of the RPTP, but I know that all of them questioned it deeply at one time or another. It is not easy to persist in an approach when a different one is being constantly demanded. But the very ambiguity of the program and its objectives helped to place the burden of thinking, understanding, and analyzing upon the trainees themselves.

Furthermore, past studies have shown that almost every program which in any way resembles the RPTP goes through a cycle of high-low morale, finally closing with a high peak near the end. No method has yet been discovered which prevents it. Probably none will ever be found. Slater's analysis of the evolution of societies and religions shows that even civilization has gone through these cycles: "My argument is not that a training group recapitulates cultural evolution but that any group must recapitulate some of it... (p. 234--italics mine)."

Attaining an understanding of science and the scientific method is directly involved with the relationship of trainees to trainers, that is, with the relationship of the individual to authority figures. This is a crucial point. Much of the mystery which surrounds science surrounds all persons of authority. To be called a scientist or a trainer immediately implies superior ability and greater knowledge; with authority comes superiority. Until a trainee or a student learns that the faith he places in authority figures is undeserved, at least to the extremes

to which it is often taken, he will not realize that the scientist or trainer is someone much like himself, and, above all, he will by his very attitude of subservience fail to reach the level of independent thinking which such a position requires.

This does not imply that a leader necessarily inhibits the development of the group. Rather,

conscious development is indeed facilitated by the role of the father in the nuclear family, so that the association is bolstered on both sides by actual experience. First, the father, as an alternative parental force, provides differentiation and contrast for the child and hence an opportunity to master the environment (p. 247).

Trainer ambiguity (in small group theory, nondirective leadership) serves to unify the training group socially by placing the trainer in opposition to the trainees. Through their relationships to him, group members become more and more conscious of their own individuality in the various stages through which they progress.

The factual account of the learning of the scientific method in the RPTP can be lifted from the three phases of change.

Each of the three phases can actually be broken down into two parts:

A. (1) The reports being given were not adequate to cover all the answers being sought by the trainees while the reporters attempted to hide this fact. Such an attitude only provoked more demanding, perplexing questions. (2) The trainees in the audience asked many questions and were never satisfied with the answers.

B. (1) The reporters became more careful and thorough about their information and sources, while openly admitting their ignorance and

almost exaggerating it. (2) The trainees listening began to concentrate more on the content of the reports and thereby acquired information which allowed them to disagree with the reporters and question them more carefully.

C. (1) The reports greatly improved in depth as reporters learned to anticipate questions and disagreement while they were doing their research and to acquire methods for formulating tentative answers and for dealing with the questions and disagreement. (2) All of the trainees became more secure in their own knowledge and approaches, thus permitting a free exchange of information between reporter and audience which led to reliable hypotheses.

Essentially, this three-phase process was one of learning the scientific method. From a mystical belief in the omniscience of science and a seeking after the answers of the scientific expert, trainees progressed to an awareness of their own ignorance and a better understanding of how and where to find answers, and finally, to the gradual realization that there are no absolute answers but that hypotheses can be tested.

The effect on the group of its cross-cultural make-up was at times strong, at other times minimal. Essentially, the themes and principles developed by Slater and others in their work with groups whose members are of the same nationality seem to apply easily and naturally to a cross-cultural group. Probably, the more clearly a cross-cultural group establishes and maintains an existence separate from any one of its constituent nationalities and unique to itself, the less its cross-cultural nature will influence it. In the RPTP, where most trainees

lived and studied at IRRI--a relatively isolated, self-sufficient complex--the shared daily routine of the training program quickly dominated any differences due to nationality.

However, it must be noted that the various defense mechanisms through which trainees expressed their reactions to the program were often reflected by their withdrawal into national groups. Even initially, during Phase I, only 3 of the 13 pairs observed were cross-cultural, although generally the number of cross-cultural one-way choices of companions was high. The outing to Pagsanjan in the middle of Phase II shows the height of the "fight" state, and nationality is an important element in the fight. Members "retreat" into their national groups and draw battle lines. And finally, in Phase III, of the minimal social ties few were cross-cultural. There appears to be an overall tendency for national differences to affect a group most strongly when it is weakest; or, correlatively a group's lack of solidarity is widened by members' withdrawal into nationality groupings. Nevertheless, there seems to be no reason to conclude that the presence of different nationalities among a group's membership exaggerates or intensifies problems of fight-flight, pairing or similar reactions which run counter to group solidarity; rather, national factors replace those such as same occupation, same alma mater, etc., which might cause members of the groups to withdraw together or line up against each other.

Has there been general progress throughout the three phases of group life? What has occurred is what Slater depicts; a group has come together and has at various points adopted various methods--dependency, pairing, fight-flight--for dealing with issues of boundary

consciousness, the relationship between the individual and the group. At times the individual has been lost in the group, at times the group has lost itself with the scattering of individuals, but at all times there has been progress. From early July to the end of August the RPTP trainees have become more and more conscious of the reality of their relationships to each other and to the trainers and thereby of their relationship to their world.

For independence is first of all a state of mind, and we can only say that it has become manifest in an individual or group when it no longer occurs to that group or individual to seek the solution of its problems by an agent outside itself (p. 150).

The administrators of the RPTP have come to expect a certain pattern of behavior and attitudes from the groups which they train. Their general conception of it is a cycle of high-low-high satisfaction levels, the first half of which is illustrated for the particular group by the ratings in Table 2. Trainers reported to me that it recurs in every group they train, whether the program is a week or a year in length. Somewhere this cycle should be put to work to aid IRR1 in the attainment of its goals. This could be accomplished perhaps by permitting the trainees to play a very active role in the daily operation of the program beginning during the second third of the program--their period of dissatisfaction. If they were encouraged at that time to enact themselves the changes in the RPTP which their criticism and unhappiness might suggest to them and to each other they could at that time become totally involved in and committed to the RPTP. Furthermore, they would through such independent action begin to move further from dependence on the trainers and closer to the ability to reason, make decisions,

and act under the scientific method which is IRRI's goal for them.

One final word on this subject of the individual, the group, and the scientific method. There is a smattering of evidence in this report which would suggest that learning the scientific method is inversely related to the growth of group solidarity. In other words, some of the behavior observed leads to a possible conclusion that an individual learns the scientific method most quickly and most personally when he feels himself to be alone, when he is forced by the absence of group or trainer-leader support to rely on his own mental processes. This possibility must be tested further.

From the dependent group in which "authoritarianism [of the leader] is not possible without minimal consciousness (p. 245)" to the pairing group, a step forward which is definitely relative but not without merit, to elements of fight-flight, the Rice Production Training Program participants have grown and changed and learned. Thus, with Slater, I say that:

The process of abstraction is most successfully effected when based on an awareness rather than a denial of the complexity of the subject matter. It is to such an awareness that the present work is dedicated (p. 252).

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13. ABSTRACT

This research concerns the development of relationships in a training program for 36 rice production specialists from six countries. Agriculture technicians from India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, Philippines and the United States were taught to grow new high-yielding varieties at the International Rice Research Institute, Los Banos, Philippines.

Participating in all phases of the program, Mrs. Franck observed the development of cooperative patterns and of stresses among participants and, particularly, between the participants and the staff. As has been found in similar studies in America, the group initially regarded the staff as omniscient but gradually changed to a point of challenging the staff and testing their competency in various ways. These phases may be characterized as dependency, pairing and fight-flight. Morale, which was initially high, fell badly in the course of the program and various patterns of hostility and resistance to learning developed.

The importance of this research lies in the demonstration of a predictable sequence of interpersonal attitudes and behavior. Recognition of this sequence may enable leaders of multinational groups to adopt strategies which will maintain morale and enhance the amount of learning.

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training						