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Abstract

This article considers the sociocultural aspects of injunctions as the content of a group's character (Berne, 1963) and identifies the group's culture as part of the individual's Parent, which is echoed in the Parent of the individual's Child. These concepts are applied to probe the oppression of women in society, keeping in mind the use of gender as a category of psychosocial analysis (Eck & Jain, 1986; O'Faolain & Martines, 1973). The author analyzes cultural injunctions of women through a three-phase process model: discussion of group scores on the Drego injunction scale, discussion of dominant myths of the group, and discussion of the group's dominant songs. Through using this model, a group of women from an Indian urban village became aware of their cultural oppression and began using strategies designed for their cultural regeneration. Women's cultural oppression is considered in terms of the individual (Drego, 1981, in press), the group members as a whole, and the contemporary group culture.

Three Aspects of Group Culture

Berne (1963) described the culture of a group as having

> three aspects: the rational, the traditional and the emotional, represented by the physical equipment, the etiquette and the character. Each member had a rational, a traditional and an emotional component in his personality, and these found their expression in the corresponding aspects of the group culture. (p. 45)

Etiquette: The group etiquette carries the "persona" or mask—that is, how one wants to be seen by others (Jung, 1953/1982). It is important for discovering stereotypes cultures impose on women. Berne (1963, p. 14) described how a woman who presented herself as "innocent, sensitive, helpful, affectionate, and well-behaved" was accepted as such by the group and was treated accordingly, while she accepted others as being "intelligent, serious, [and] friendly" toward her work. Sex-role stereotypes are enshrined in the etiquette. In cultures in which women are expected to be shy, demure, seductive, childlike, dependent, and perpetually pleasing, the etiquette regards such traits as typically feminine.

Berne (1963) held that the etiquette ordered the group and defined the social contract, that is, people's mutual expectations. Like the persona, the group etiquette defined how to be acceptable. Berne interpreted the etiquette as, " 'You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours' " (p. 14). The etiquette regulates the forces of the group. "It required standard ways of behaving and standard sets of transactions" (p. 45). Berne saw the etiquette as

> a kind of ethical system . . . [relating to] greeting rituals, hospitality customs, and punctuality. . . . In special groups it includes canons or codes of behavior concerning business practices, private communication, scientific honesty and Hippocratic trustworthiness, some of which have been passed on from one generation to another with little basic change for hundreds or thousands of years. (p. 15)

For example, in relation to definition of sex roles, the social contract may read, "You take care of the home and kids, and I'll earn the money"; or "I'll pretend I need you so you can feel nurturing, and you pretend you need me, and let me feel strong."

For Berne, avoidance behaviors found in intimate relations were also examples of cultural etiquette, for instance, " 'Why do husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, engaged couples, men and their mothers-in-law, and men and women generally, avoid each other in certain ways?' " (Crawley, cited in Berne, 1963, p. 115).

Technicalities: The technical culture (Berne, 1963), also called technicalities (Drego, 1983a),

includes the devices and procedures for managing the physical world, such as "adding machines, chemicals, crucifixes, stethoscopes, etc." (Berne, 1963, p. 14). Learning skills to deal with the external environment is part of the technicalities and is related to the rational part of the personality. The equipment of a work or combat group is included in the technical aspects of group culture.

Character: The group character, according to Berne (1963), "arises from the psychological mechanisms which it favors for handling individual anxieties" (p. 15). Obscenity, sarcasm, sexual frankness, humor, and teasing are some of his examples of what could constitute group character. It is more primitive than the etiquette and allows for behavior "that infants can do, such as laughing, singing and weeping" (p. 111). While the technicalities relate to the things we do, the character relates to the instinctual life of the group (p. 111), guiding the group "to express feelings forthrightly without being rude" (p. 97) and allowing for archaic methods of self-expression within the limits of the group etiquette.

The Cultural Parent

Common Parental values, Adult procedures, and Child emotions can be analyzed from a group point of view. The ego states of a culture form the Parent ego states of the people of the culture. The Parent ego states are shared because of a common historical background and ideological affinity. To illustrate the Cultural Parent (Drego, 1981, 1983a), the ego states of the culture are diagrammed as three ellipses and placed in the Parent ego state of the individual personality. This diagram gives a person responsibility for changing the culture both within and outside of himself or herself. If we analyze the culture as just being "out there," then we surrender our power to change both ourselves and the group. With the diagram one can proceed to evaluate whether the contents of the Cultural Parent have potential harm for or are supportive toward women's lives and autonomy.

While the culture of the group requires analysis outside the individual, understanding the Cultural Parent involves introspection and self-awareness. The culture of a group is carried by individuals, and it is possible for an individual to become aware of it within the personality. This provides a tool for self-empowerment as people come to understand how they have internalized their own oppression.

For example, Freire (1970) noted, "Self-depreciation is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them" (p. 49). English (1975, p. 27) also reminded us that in a culture in which women are supposed to be coy, demure, modest, shy, and noncompetitive, even when the code (etiquette) was modified in the opposite direction, women who dared to be different were shamed (character).

For his part, Roberts (1975) recalled Steiner's (1972), Barnes's (1972), and Goulding's (1972) work on cultural scripting. Further, he identified cultural scripting in terms of injunctions and showed how transformation is required at several social levels, not just at the individual level. Just as the analysis of the individual personality into three ego states of Parent, Adult, and Child helps to make personal and interpersonal changes, so the analysis of cultures into etiquette, technicality, and character provides tools for both self-awareness and social change.

The study of how the culture becomes part of the individual and how the individual carries the culture within the self is reflected in many psychologies. For example, Progoff (1973) explained Jung's concept of "libido analogs," which harness psychic energy and divert it into social purposes. Through symbolic transformation, certain universal psychological values are expressed by particular historical manifestations. From the marriage of social symbols and individual history and talents, the person develops an "autonomous complex" that becomes part of the individual personality. This is the outer side of the personality, displayed in social situations as the persona and derived from the collective psyche.

> The excerpt is made in terms of the specific characteristics of each individual, his psychological type, his introverted or extroverted nature, his relation to his parents. But always the 'persona' must be formed out of social symbols which are meaningful to the group as a whole. The above terms

constitute the basis on which Jung analyses the structure of personality in society. (p. 196)

Sociology of the Parent

By means of extrapolation, it is possible to use the concept of the Cultural Parent to sort out different cultural elements and to assess their meaning and worth; their consistency in terms of autonomy, equality, and fulfillment; and to design strategies for changing specific elements of the etiquette, technicalities, and character. Myths, legends, heroes/heroines, and social stereotypes can be analyzed to discover their dehumanizing or humanizing influence in the same way that individual scripts are analyzed. The etiquette is expanded to include ideals, spiritualities, superstitions, prayers, philosophies, and so on; technicalities is expanded to include customs, ways of acting, procedures, ritual actions, communication systems, exchanges, contracts, material objects used in ceremonies, and so on; and character is expanded to include ways of feeling, sensing, expressing, loving, and relating. These three can either restrict and suppress individuals or support their growth to autonomy and dignity.

Similarly, Herskovits (1955/1974) indicated how culture includes three main aspects: technological equipment to sustain life, family/kinship structures, and philosophy of life. Song, dance, stories, a system of sanctions, and goals to give meaning and purpose to living are all included in culture (p. 307). Honigmann (1963) said that culture "designates man-made artifacts, activities people perform, and ideas and feelings. When I speak of a culture I mean a way of life. . . . Every culture is a unique constellation of traits even though some of the traits are very widespread in human society" (p. 3).

Selection of a Group for Study

In 1981 I began a five-year interdisciplinary study applying injunction and permission theory to women's oppression. I worked with more than 400 women, out of which 273 were chosen by random sample. With these women, I conducted personal interviews using the injunction scale (Drego, 1983b).

The goal of the project was to provide educational and socio-therapeutic tools to change the character of a culture in the direction of women's empowerment in such a way that changes in the group culture would support changes in the individual women. The study of cultural injunctions and their location in the ego states of a culture and the ego states of the individuals of a group became the first step in this action-research project. A particular village in India was chosen, and women of a particular ethnic group (Gujar) were selected. The general status of these women was similar to that of other Indian women. They lived in a culture that controlled their lives, work, decisions, travel, relationships, and identity. They had to fit into the roles of daughter, mother, wife, sister, mother-in-law, sister-in-law, and daughter-in-law. These roles highly restricted their spontaneous interactions with other women and men in their families and neighborhood. The women's own submission to their subordination seemed inevitable and unchangeable in their own perception of themselves.

The first goal of the project was to show these women how the web of oppression was woven into the women's culture (James, 1973) and that being in this position was not a natural outcome of being female, but the result of internal and external conditioning combined with the contemporary expectations of their Cultural Parent. The second goal was to get the women to detach themselves from the Cultural Parent, which subjugated them as women, and to begin to see themselves as persons beyond their gender. It was hoped that the first step in this direction would be achieved when they could critically analyze their own personal injunctions and see the connection between these injunctions and the injunctions enshrined in the myths and songs of their culture.

Applying Cultural Parent Concepts to Gujar Women's Oppression

Berne's tripartite concept of group culture can be usefully applied to the analysis of women's oppression in Indian culture as understood in the anthropological and sociological sense. This trend of analysis is in keeping with Berne's (1963) several references to ethnic applications of group culture.

With regard to etiquette, Lobo-Britto (1983) showed how for Indian women, the ideal wife is gentle, mild, and subservient, while the bad wife asserts her individuality, struggles for independence, and has no patience with cruelty (p. 78). This is true for Gujar women, and, in addition, it was found that the transactions of these women with other family members, especially their husbands, were highly controlled, and no intimacy could be shown between husband and wife either in public or in front of the family.

Applying the concept of technicalities to Gujar women, one finds that they have no private space and no personal money of their own. They do not go beyond the immediate vicinity of their home, always travel with a male escort, do not possess their own jewelry, have no property or assets owned individually, and are in charge of firewood, the kitchen, and food.

With regard to the concept of group character, the culture of Indian women reveals a host of restrictions. Women are not allowed to make their own decisions, even about whom to marry and how many children to have; they cannot laugh or shout except on specific festival days; they are not allowed to have their own pleasure or admit that they experience pleasure; they are not to be sexual; they are kept strictly within the family boundaries yet are not given the assurance of belonging; they are not welcomed at birth; and they are held responsible for the health and life of the husband after marriage.

The oppression of Gujar women is found in all the elements of culture and in the interaction of these elements with each other. The ideas and feelings, the kinship ties and activities, the artifacts that are connected with women's work and men's work, and the qualities of the sexes are all culturally conditioned. For example, in Gujar culture, the broom as an item of culture has much to do with women and their secondary status, and boys are not allowed to touch a broom. Such an action would degrade them. This technicality carries a negative value for Gujar women and an expectation that they are responsible for cleaning up, this task being seen as unimportant and unworthy for men.

Etiquette Versus Character

The relationship and interaction between Berne's (1963) concepts of etiquette and character provide a useful insight into cultural scripting. Elements of a culture may be in harmony or in conflict with each other. Etiquette contains the beliefs and values of a group. Yet idealistic and normative social slogans in the etiquette may be a cover for oppressive and tragic power plays in the character, just as counterscript messages of Work Hard and Be Tough from Parent to Parent may be vehicles for script injunctions of Don't Exist and Don't Feel from Child to Child. The "here's how to" messages from Adult to Adult image the technicalities of a culture, which advance the character or the etiquette. Berne (1963) summarized etiquette as "what one is supposed to do," technicality as "what one has to do," and character as "what one might like to do"(p. 112-113). Technicalities are the objective norms based on rationality and objectivity. They include the tasks, objects, furniture, space arrangements, and material aspects that mediate and implement the demands of the etiquette. Character, like the rebellious Child, may impel the group in a direction opposite to the group's etiquette. Character can therefore sabotage the etiquette.

Berne (1963, p. 123) showed how religions can have a formidable etiquette of seriousness but a much more casual and superstitious character. "Rudeness is a mere neglect of etiquette or an exhibition of character ('familiarity') when etiquette is called for" (p. 112). The character of clothes can allow for self-expression beyond the terms of modesty in the etiquette (p. 113). Therefore, an etiquette that states, "We are all united together," may have technicalities that bring about friendly group events and cooperation. Yet the character may say, "Stay out; each one for themselves; you are on your own when it really comes to the crunch."

Another example of character sabotage is an organization in which the etiquette says, "Everyone is a friend," but the character dictates the opposite: "Don't be close or you'll get hurt, so trust only yourself." The technicality of such an organization's culture calls for elaborate procedures for welcomes and good-byes and copious memos of detailed planning; this keeps everyone busy and trying hard to communicate when in reality this is a cover for gaps in information and

the withholding of vital clues to the action.

This polarity between etiquette and character is important because the etiquette is often favorable toward women, proclaiming their high status, dignity, and importance, while the character of the culture permits inhuman extraction of work, unfair responsibility for caretaking, and denial of personal ambitions to women. The technical culture usually colludes with the character in specifying particular spaces, roles, and equipment as typical for women. The glorification and admiration of mythical feminine figures has an idealistic group etiquette, while the group character permits the degradation, humiliation, and isolation of actual women.

The power of a culture over the behavior of its members lies in the character. Restrictions and permissions in the character determine whether the members are close or hostile, winners or losers, self-destructive or self-preserving, feeling okay or inferior, aggressive or cooperative. The group culture gives a clue to patterns of behavior in the group and moods and feelings shared in common, which need as much therapeutic impacting as the Child ego states of individual members of the group. It is appropriate to study the Don'ts in the character of culture through the theory of injunctions in the Parent.

Injunctions

Berne (1972) saw his injunction theory as having great value in clinical work, as well as in developmental, sociological, and anthropological studies. He regarded it as important for the study of human destiny, the transmission of behavior from one generation to the next, and the possibility of family transformation. According to Berne,

> What is your Parental Prohibition? This is the most important single question for understanding the behavior of the patient and for planning the decisive intervention which will free him to live more fully. Since his symptoms are a substitute for the prohibited act, and also a protest against it, as demonstrated by Freud, freedom from the prohibition will also tend to cure his symptoms. (p. 282)

This will also be true of cultural pathology in which the most significant dysfunctions can be seen as the result of socially reinforced prohibitions. Roberts (1975) defined cultural distortions of script in terms of both injunctions and prohibitions. The journey to social transformation in this study was therefore seen in terms of release from cultural injunctions and from their religio-mythical underpinnings.

Steiner (1974) defined the injunction as " 'the curse,' [which] is a prohibition, or an inhibition of the free behavior of the child. It is always the negation of activity. The injunction reflects the fears, wishes, anger, and desires of the Child in the parent" (p. 60).

The fears and desires of parents are conditioned by the social and cultural milieu. For example, Deneberg and Whimby (1963) used rats in laboratory experiments to show how the experiences of the mother rat influence her children. On the human level, parenting styles are handed down generation after generation and are carried by cultural traditions. Laing's (1971) attributions and analysis of parental programming are similar to injunction theory. Berne (1972) also connected his theory of injunctions to the work of Johnson and Szurek (1952), who spoke of superego lacunae, which cause children to act out their parents' secret desires (p. 297-298). Steiner (1971) stated, "What Johnson and Szurek refer to as an unconscious permission, script analysis refers to as an injunction" (p. 62).

Berne (1972) connected injunctions to the superego of psychoanalysis, to Freud's "destiny compulsion" (cited in Berne, 1972, p. 403) and Adler's life-style concept (cited in Berne, 1972, p. 400). Berne dealt with the cultural transmission of injunctions in P_1 over five generations and developed his theory of injunctions in relation to cultural traditions and their mythology. The arena of injunctions was also seen as the arena of demons and ogres from folklore and fantasy. Injunctions were concerned with individual scripts as well as with group scripts that reinforced them.

Erikson (1968) showed how a culture's child training systems support the growing child but at the same time ensure that the special uniqueness of the culture's traditions are continued. Merton (1949/1968) probed a similar trend when he described the family as the transmitter of cultural standards, which "the child picks up,

not just through rewards and punishments but also through social prototypes, incorporating cultural uniformities even when these are implicit" (p. 212). Haimowitz and Haimowitz (1973) related injunctions to the dynamics of the "evil eye" in cultures. English (1969) described the episcript in the handing down of injunctions within the family, a useful concept for analyzing the way injunctions are continued in cultural traditions.

Injunctions as Oppression

In terms of this article, the concept of injunctions as part of the socialization process as well as part of the inner motivational system of women in the study explains why they themselves seem to perpetuate the oppression and trap each other in restrictions. They feel obliged to submit, to make others happy, and to be regarded as loving creatures even when others are abusing, harassing, devaluing, or even beating them. The cooperation of the women with their own humiliation and subjugation can easily be explained in terms of the injunctions they receive right from infancy. These injunctions hold them prisoner to social traditions and make any change exceedingly difficult to implement.

The Reverse Injunction

This article views injunctions as part of the character of a culture, while the counterscript is found in the etiquette. The antiscript may be found in the character or etiquette or both. The theory of injunctions when correlated with the Cultural Parent can give transactional analysis new strategies for dealing with social and cultural systems change.

Berne (1972) compared his concept of the antiscript with Erikson's concept of "identity diffusion" (cited in Berne, 1972, pp. 133). When mother says "Don't drink," the offspring drinks. The child does the opposite of what he or she is told. The concept of antiscript is important for cultural analysis in cases in which actions can masquerade as autonomy when in fact they are pseudofree. Berne (1972) was clear that "where 'freedom' is really defiance, it is only an illusion" (p. 133). He (Berne, 1963) spoke of the etiquette being society's way of forcing the social contract on its people. The social contract includes denial systems as well as those prescriptions that act as a cover for injunctions. Some injunctions in a culture are overt while others are denied and suppressed. This denial can further take the form of behaviors that appear to be opposite to the injunction but which, in fact, advance the cultural play and replay of the injunction.

The denial system of the injunction is sometimes expressed by the counterscript (Berne, 1972) or the antiscript, which serves as a cover for the injunction by veiling it in behaviors that masquerade as its opposite. The antiscript characterizes the overt social qualities of a group. The protest against the injunction is connected to the reverse injunction (Drego, 1994a, in press) or antiscript (Berne, 1972), which can appear to be autonomy but which is actually an ardent resistance against the injunction. In the reverse injunction, the original prohibition is denied and suppressed or rebelled against, so that a person appears to be without a stopper but in fact is defending heavily against it.

For example, Indian Gujar women are said to be aggressive and dominating. However, in actuality they feel insecure and fearful, carrying the Don't Belong injunction. They defend against this by aggressive social behavior and declarations of loyalty to the tribe and family. This aggression is their antiscript, which is reinforced by a cultural etiquette filled with proverbs of courage and sacrifice. When individual women have a reverse Don't Be a Child or Don't Exist injunction, they refer to their traditional zest for living, vibrant energy, and audacity. These traits are fed by the loneliness, suffering, and frustration arising from the constant social put-downs of girls and women.

When I first began analyzing the cultural injunctions of the group of Gujar women in the study, I met with much resistance and denial. At times the group seemed to take offense, until the Drego injunction scale was used and the experience of scoring the 60 statements softened the process of discovering the character of the group. The use of the objective test provided an entry point into the inner world of the women, who had a clear sense of their oppressed state

and subordinate position in society and treated it as inevitable and unchangeable.

Approach of the Study Toward Gender

The belief and treatment of women as inferior and as meant to meet the needs of men and society, together with the customs, attitudes, and feelings that support this belief, make up the Cultural Parent of patriarchy. The research in the study was based on the idea that there is no feminine nature or universal feminine stereotype such as the one that caricatures women as being primarily emotional, irrational, affectionate, psychically fragile, dependent, and whose destiny is primarily to become wives and mothers in the service of their male counterparts. In other words, women are not inferior because of their anatomy, in contrast to what Ellis (1894/1934) and Freud (1925/1961) suggested.

The research model described in this article also has a woman's perspective in the sense discussed by Van Den Bergh and Cooper (1986) because it is focused on women's oppression, and it is action-based (i.e., has a social impact) and participative (i.e., involves the women rather than treating them as objects of study). It is process-oriented in a way that aims to facilitate the women to begin a journey toward social transformation and personal autonomy.

The study values women's needs and problems in their own right and creates strategies for addressing women's oppression. It shows how, as in many world cultures, in the cultures of India the identification of woman with mother-wife images (Sahi, 1980) restricts women primarily to caregiving and childbearing tasks. Furthermore, these tasks are regarded as secondary and deficient in relation to the role and work of men. Women in this study are treated as partners in the research and as persons with their own dignity and rights, even though they may be unaware of their rights (Drego, in press).

Children may have a clear idea of being male or female (Kohlberg, 1966), but this does not explain the general subordination of girls and the reasons why so many women slide into their social roles almost without protest. Berne (1972) gave new meaning to the intrapsychic impact of myths of women's devaluation in contrast to the work of Jung (1953/1982), Eliade (1957/1967, 1952/1969), and others. The transactional analysis paradigm—with its emphasis on the socialization process as being made intrapsychically permanent in the Parent part of the human personality and with its strategies for changing and cleansing the Parent and restructuring and regenerating the Cultural Parent—has much to contribute to the revaluing of women. Mead (1935) emphasized the impact of culture on sex roles and the fact that these roles did not fall into traditional Western stereotypes,

> whether it be the convention of one Philippine tribe that no man can keep a secret, the Manus' assumption that only men enjoy playing with babies, the Toda prescription of almost all domestic work as too sacred for women, or the Arapesh insistence that women's heads are stronger than men's. (p. xiii).

This fits with the basic assumptions of the transactional analysis paradigm: that each person, male or female, has the same personality structure. Each is conditioned by the Parent ego state and its introjects, which are exteropsychic in origin and derived from family, culture, and society. It is here in the Parent that false beliefs and traditions of male/female stereotypes hold sway over the individual (James, 1983). According to transactional analysis, the ego states of archaeopsychic origin are gender-free, since everyone has Natural, Adapted, and Rebellious Child ego states irrespective of being male or female. But cultural beliefs and parental injunctions stop men and women from developing certain aspects of their ego states, and these restrictions are internalized in their own Parent ego states as part of their Cultural Parent. The permission model described in this article is based on the view that women and men can change these restrictions and that when they do, they need support intrapsychically and interpersonally as well as intragroup and intergroup (Summerton, 1993).

In this spirit, I set out to design a scale that would help women become aware of the injunctions they were living under in their current lives and how these injunctions, while related to their personal script, were held in common by other

Table 1
Injunction Codes

D1 Don't Exist	D7 Don't Be Close
D2 Don't Be You	D8 Don't Belong
D3 Don't Be A Child	D9 Don't Be Healthy
D4 Don't Grow Up	D10 Don't Be Sane
D5 Don't Succeed	D11 Don't Think
D6 Don't Be Important	D12 Don't Feel

women in their local culture and in the national culture as well.

Three-Phase Model for Cultural Regeneration

Using a three-phase model, I identified the injunctions in the Cultural Parent of the chosen group of Gujar women whose cultural etiquette and technicalities seemed similar to that of other cultures and subcultures of India. The phases included:

1. analyzing the group scores of a stratified sample on the Drego injunction scale and then identifying permissions that the women needed to counteract the power of the injunctions. This was done, keeping in mind the power of injunctions as personal oppression and as vehicles of sociocultural oppression.

2. analyzing the Cultural Parent of dominant Gujar myths of women and retelling the myths so as to emphasize a new Cultural Parent that gave women rights, dignity, autonomy, and a sense of their contribution beyond the role of wife, mother, daughter, and so on

3. analyzing the Cultural Parent of songs and identifying permissions needed to create a new Cultural Parent

Injunctions of Gujar Women on the Drego Injunction Scale

Based on the work of the Gouldings (1976), who detailed the twelve injunctions that came up in their therapeutic practice, the Drego injunction scale (Drego, 1983b) was designed to identify those injunctions that are currently operative in a woman's life and also those that are being denied. The scores on the scale are entered into a table consisting of 12 columns, each representing one of the injunctions.

The scores of each column are added, and the mean and standard deviation of the 12 totals are calculated. Scores equal to or greater than the mean plus one standard deviation indicate operative injunctions; scores equal to or less than the mean minus one standard deviation denote reverse injunctions. The reverse injunction (Drego, 1994b) has often been found useful for effecting cure on the personal level as well as being important for unearthing the etiquette and antiscript of the Cultural Parent. A group application of the injunction scale identifies the injunctions of the group's or organization's culture. A convention used is D+ for operative injunctions and D– for reverse injunctions. The injunction codes are shown in Table 1.

Figure 1 gives the group scores of a sample of 243 Gujar women. The dots represent the mean of the individual scores for each injunction. For the purpose of confidentiality, the original name and place of the group is not given.

The mean of the means in Figure 1 is 22.40, and the standard deviation is 4.56. This indicates that 27 (mean plus one standard deviation) is an operative indicator of oppression for Gujar women and forms part of their Cultural Parent. This is indicated by any point that falls above the line marked "> Mean + 1 SD." Looking at Table 1 and Figure 1, we see that the injunctions Don't Be A Child (+D3), Don't Grow (+D4), Don't Be Important (+D6), and Don't Feel (+D12) are identified as commonly held restrictions. Levin (1979) was of the view that Don't

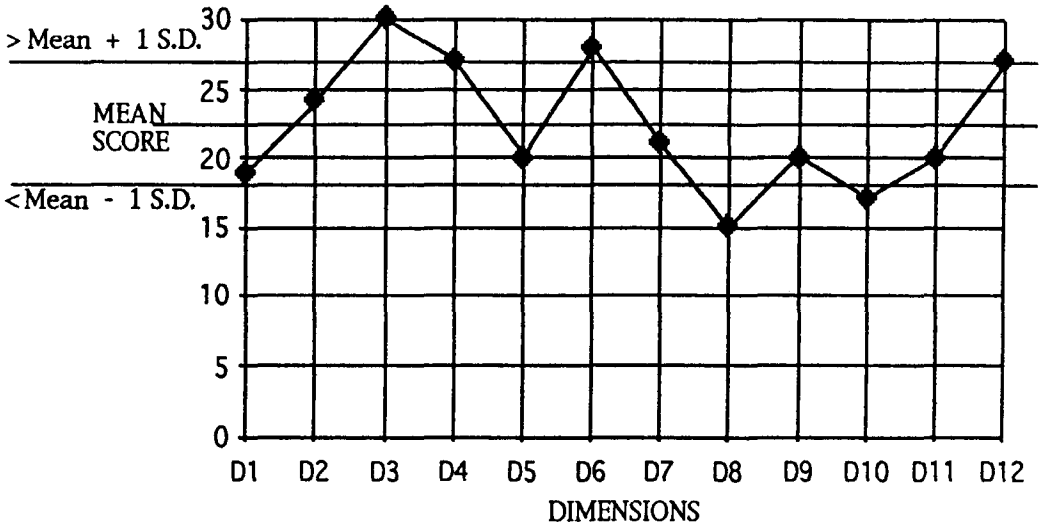


Figure 1
Gujar Women's Injunction Profile

Grow and Don't Be a Child are the two most important injunctions for most people. This appeared to be true of this sample.

A score that falls on or below the difference between the mean and one standard deviation, in this case 18, is a denied oppression among the Gujar women and forms part of their antiscript. This is indicated in Figure 1 by any point falling on or below the line marked "< Mean –1 SD." Don't Belong (–D8) and Don't Be Sane (–D10) are identified as reverse injunctions found in the Cultural Parent of Gujar women.

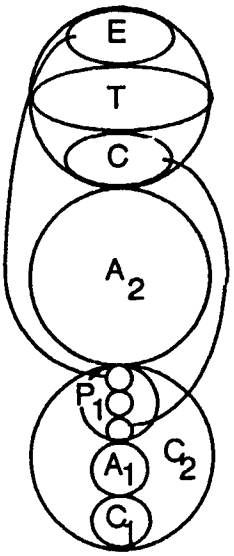
The Cultural Shadow

In working with the Gujar women I realized that the impact of culture is not just in the Parent ego state but also in the Child ego state. What the women described was a gut-level feeling of being pulled in a particular direction toward pain or slavery to social expectations. These expectations came both from other members of the culture and from their own internalized Cultural Parent.

The part of the Child that feels the impact of the Cultural Parent is referred to as the Cultural Shadow (Drego, 1994b), and it is diagrammed as part of the P_1 structure (see Figure 2). Berne (1972) regarded the Parent in the Child as the receptacle of the electrode, that is, the demons and witches that are introjected from the Parent in the Child of the parental figures. The mythological figures, heroes, heroines, and other figures of the culture are therefore diagrammed in the same structure. However, their phenomenological source is the Cultural Parent, which has developed through the socialization process and throws its impact deep into the structure of the Child, drawing power from the personal P_1.

P_1 contains the internalization of cultural moods and messages, which are activated by the Cultural Parent in P_2. The images of being devalued as a girl are reinforced by images of being devalued as a grown woman. Many feminists who have succeeded in changing the Cultural Parent still find it hard to change their Cultural Shadows because they are part of the P_1 that is held in common by the group. Group discussion and permission work were found to be necessary for changing both.

The diagram in Figure 2 is used to explain how women are programmed to act according to the Cultural Parent within themselves and



The Cultural Parent consists of Etiquette (E), Technicality (T), and Character (C). It is both an introject from family and community and an influence within the Parent (P_2) that throws the Cultural Shadow onto the little Parent (P_1) in the Child (C_2).

P_1 contains the Cultural Stereotype—the internalization of cultural modes of responding.

Figure 2
Cultural Parent and Cultural Shadow

to feel confirmed in their Child ego states that they are doing the right thing in accepting subjugation and restriction today, just as they accepted it as children. It also explains how groups of women have the same Cultural Shadow of subordination, and why if one Gujar woman changes she is persecuted not only by men but also by other women. It is deep in the Cultural Shadow that the little girl who obeyed her father now obeys her husband, and the little girl who felt bullied by her mother now feels bullied by her mother-in-law, and the little girl who was slapped by her brother now accepts being slapped by her brothers-in-law.

Gujar women take a lot of loud talk from their men, who have a reputation for their rebellious courage and daring exploits. When a woman is treated in the Cultural Parent as though she does not really belong with her in-laws, this feels familiar because she was told by her mother that she did not really belong in the family since soon she would be married and given over to another family. The little girl could not grow up into a responsible woman due to the injunction Don't Grow Up and so remained a kind of child-bride/child-mother throughout her life. On the other hand, because of the injunction Don't Be A Child, she could not go through the developmental stages and feel free as a child but was always supposed to be living for others. This combination of child/caretaker was the most important image in the Cultural Shadow of Gujar women, one which made adult sexuality, motherhood, and womanhood an agonizing and panic-filled experience.

The impact of injunctions on the individual is therefore threefold: from the family script introjected historically into the Parent ego state as part of the Cultural Parent; from the expectations of the Cultural Parent in other members of the group; and from the Cultural Shadow in the P_1, which can be activated intrapsychically from the Parent or interpersonally from others. The Gujar women felt compelled to act as their culture expected them to because of the control exercised over them through their individual

Table 2
Permissions for Be A Child and Grow Up

You can be a child	**You can grow up**
You can get taken care of	Whatever age you have grown to, we feel good about you
You can play like a child	You can make your own decisions
You can take the help of others	You don't have to ask for the approval of others for every task
You can feel your inner tenderness	You can experience joy in taking up a responsibility
You can acknowledge your inner child	You can also be concerned for others
Whatever you need you can ask for	You are free to fulfill your own needs

Cultural Shadow. Seeing the group scores on the injunction scale helped the women to accept the reality of their personal Cultural Shadow and to understand that the shadows were similar. They began to understand why if one woman made a change in her Cultural Shadow, others would get upset and persecute her. The profile of injunctions held in common in a group as well as injunctions that are denied in common were correlated with the analysis of the group's customs and messages by group members themselves. This led to self-awareness and an intense group awareness of the dangers involved in taking the road to individual autonomy and the need for group reinforcement of this autonomy. The use of the group scores on the injunction scale puts the responsibility for change on the group and the focus of change on group activities and new group permissions (Drego, 1994a). Without this group support and the women's commitment to changing group culture, permissions taken by individual women were unprotected. Without new cultural changes, decisions by women to challenge their injunctions could lead to harsh social reprisals with further pain and humiliation. The Cultural Shadow of men in their society is as much threatened by a freedom-seeking woman as, for example, in Greek society in which social fantasies about women view them as a threat to male order, male life, and male sanity (Padel, 1983).

As part of regenerating the Cultural Parent and the Cultural Shadow, permission cards were created by changing the items of the injunction scale. For example, "I feel like an outsider" on the scale became "You are one of us." Permissions related to a particular injunction were grouped together on one permission card, leading to the creation of twelve permission cards. Four sample permission cards are given in Tables 2 and 3, each with six subpermissions that are translations of the Hindi permissions: permission to Be a Child and to Grow Up (operative injunctions for the group) (Table 2) and permission to Belong (a reverse injunction for the group) and permission to Exist (often a favorite) (Table 3). Because the combination of the injunctions Don't Be a Child and Don't Grow Up seemed to put the women in a corner, they were not allowed to get their needs met or to be autonomously responsible, yet they were held accountable for the caretaking of others. Thus special care was taken in designing the permissions within the local women's context.

The permissions the women read to each other impacted how they felt about themselves and seemed to reach their Cultural Shadow through changes in their Cultural Parent.

Injunctions of the Gujar Women in Their Myths

It is in the Cultural Shadow that the power of cultural myths and songs hold their sway over individual women, reinforcing injunctions given

Table 3
Permissions for Exist and Belong

You have a right to exist	You belong in this family
We want you and love you	We accept you as you are
We are happy that you were born	You are one of us
You can take care of you	You are part of this family
You are safe	You are ours
You are filled with life-giving energy	We want you with us
Live with laughter and joy	You can have your own space and still belong

to them by the family and in society. The myths are not forgotten tales but are told and retold during festivals times and often enacted in dance and mime. The songs are sung at the time of marriages and other celebrations.

The analysis of myths and songs prevalent in a culture gives color and concreteness to the injunctions found on the injunction scale. For example, the Gujar women identified three of their favorite women's myths: the stories of Sita, Savitri, and Draupadi. Through discussions with the women and discovery of their interpretations of the myths, the cultural injunctions on the injunction scale became more conscious, and their Cultural Shadow came under the personal control of their Adult ego states as they sharpened their perception of what women's freedom would mean in concrete terms in their cultural context and what it would mean for their lives.

Berne established the connection between myths and individual scripts. Myths can be used to access an individual's life script and can be correlated with an individual's injunctions. Cultural scripts are those scripts that are held in common and that are reinforced by the customs and traditions of a particular society (Bhattacharya, 1986; Drego 1982). The injunctions in the myth reinforce the injunctions in the family and the culture. Because the myth is itself a vehicle of culture, it is powerful in its impact on individuals and groups. Using the concept of the Cultural Parent, I identified the injunctions and counterscript messages that Gujar women receive in their culture. These myths are also dominant in the national culture.

The Sita Myth

Gujar culture is rooted in the stories of the Ramayana, which contain the exploits of Ram and Sita. Gujar women identify with Sita as an ideal woman, wife, and mother, those being the three important roles that their culture demands of them. However, Sita had a life of great suffering and rejection. She had no parents but was found in the furrow of a field. As a young princess she is a prize won by a feat of valor on the part of Ram, who wins her as his wife. However, he is sent into exile for 14 years. Sita goes into exile with him in the forests. One day she is abducted by a rival monarch. She is the cause of great battles and wars to liberate her. On return from exile, her purity is questioned by the people as she was held in captivity by the rival king for some time. Sita is regarded as tainted and polluted. She is tested by ordeal and found innocent. The rumors start again, and Ram banishes her to the forest under social pressure from gossip mongers. Sita completes her task of being mother to her two sons while in captivity. Later she undergoes another trial by ordeal, but this time she asks the earth to consume her. Sita disappears forever in what can be regarded as an act of self-immolation.

The injunctions in the Cultural Parent of the Sita myth are Don't Exist, Don't Be You, Don't Succeed, and Don't Belong. The myth contains a Don't Exist for women because of Sita's banishment from the realm, first with and later by her husband. Her life is under threat on several occasions, and she ends up destroying herself just when the chance of living happily

ever after is on the horizon. The Don't Be You is carried by the myth because Sita does not have a life of her own. She endures many hardships in the forest, and her own choices and desires are subservient to those of her husband. She is not allowed to live the life of a contented wife as her husband does not stand by her integrity. The people's views and suspicions are more important than her own word and her own truth about herself. Her innocence and dignity are vindicated only by her death.

The Sita myth carries the Don't Succeed injunction for women because Sita does not complete her task as wife or mother or woman. Her life is constantly interrupted by forces beyond her control. She does not succeed in establishing her family, and just when she has a chance to return to her husband's side with her sons and live as a happy family, she asks the earth to swallow her up. Her being in captivity is not her choice, and her resistance to the wiles of her captor is ignored. She is furious at the constant doubts cast on her and by the betrayal of her husband, who also doubted her faithfulness to him, a faithfulness that was questioned because she was captive of another man.

The Sita story also portrays the Don't Belong injunction as she has no clear roots of origin, nor does she belong to any territory after marriage. She is a wanderer through the jungle, a captive in the kingdom of an enemy, and she is rejected on several occasions. She cannot return to her foster father's house, she does not have a chance to live a stable life with her husband in the forest, and she is banished when Ram returns from exile. She lives the last years of her life in a hermitage with her two young sons. For most of her life she lives as an outsider.

The injunctions in the Sita myth are communicated to Indian Gujar women through social customs and technicalities. The Don't Exist is the lot of many female fetuses as they are aborted before birth. Mothers who give birth to girl babies are not told the sex of the baby because the women are prone to going into depression if the child is not a boy. Birth celebrations of boy babies are well known. Many times the birth of a girl is regarded as a social curse. Girl babies are unwanted because girls are viewed as a burden to the parents, who have to collect a huge sum of money to give to a potential husband at the time of marriage. This dowry is the cause of murders of brides in this community and in the larger Indian society. Such practices communicate the Don't Exist injunction to Gujar women at the sociocultural level.

The Don't Be You injunction is communicated in Gujar culture by devaluing the gender identity of girl babies at birth and by girls being given excessive rules and regulations throughout life. They have to be caretakers from early childhood and to live traditional roles of sister, daughter, wife, mother, aunt, sister-in-law, daughter-in-law, mother-in-law, grandmother, widow, and so on. Gujar women are not called by their own names, but by the role that they have in the family. Their own identity is lost in the tasks they have to perform for society.

The Don't Belong is communicated culturally to Gujar girls because they are told that they do not belong in their family of origin as they will get married and go elsewhere. Girls often hear the words, "You are only here for a short time; soon you will join your husband's family and belong there." Once married they are told, "You don't belong here really. You are here as a bibi and bahu (wife and daughter-in-law)." However, Gujar boys are seen as belonging in the family forever and as having a definite right to the property and assets, name, and protection of the family.

The Don't Succeed injunction is part of the traditional social matrix of Gujar women as they are not allowed to choose their marriage partners or their career or employment. Whatever they do is not recognized, and if anything goes wrong the woman is blamed and seen as a failure. If she becomes a teacher in the local community, the children are pulled out of her class. Only outsiders, women from other communities, are allowed to teach in the Gujar community.

The Savitri Myth

The Savitri myth is also a dominant myth in Gujar culture. Savitri's husband, Satyavan, is about to die and to be taken by Yama, the god of death. However, Savitri challenges Yama, and by her persuasion and outwitting Yama, she saves her husband's life and restores her parents

to their health and rights. From the boons she claims from Yama, Savitri further ensures that she will have sons and grandsons to continue her husband's ancestral line.

The Savitri myth carries a Don't Be a Child injunction. Savitri is a caretaker who is responsible for the lives of others. Likewise, for Gujar women, everything is serious and distressing. As in the life of Savitri, there is a constant sense of urgency for these women; everything, including life itself, depends on them. They work hard, day and night. They are not supposed to enjoy or take pleasure for themselves, only to give happiness and pleasure to their husbands and menfolk.

The Cultural Parent etiquette contained in the myths are Please Others, Be Perfect, and Be Strong. These messages reinforce the injunctions of Gujar women. By resisting the social system, as represented by Yama the invincible, Savitri does the impossible and reverses the cycle of destruction in favor of her husband and family. This mammoth feat expresses the impossible expectations placed on women. Gujar women have heavy emotional burdens to carry. They are not given the fundamental permissions to exist, belong, and succeed, yet they are expected to be devoted to the welfare of their family of origin and their family by marriage. If things go wrong, the wife is expected to be the savior through some magical method, and if she does not perform the expected miracles, she is blamed for the misfortunes of the family, even for the sickness or death of her husband. This counterscript is the vehicle of the antiscript by which a woman is pressured to be extravagantly successful, exceptionally clever and helpful, and brilliantly intelligent. And all of this is meant to make her truly herself, truly feminine and fulfilled. This living for the good of others and not for herself is glorified by several religious and ritualistic customs.

The Draupadi Myth

A third important myth common in Gujar culture is the one about Draupadi, which is from the great Indian epic, the Mahabharata.Draupadi is the wife of the five brothers who are the heroes of the Mahabharata. At a crucial point in the story, her five husbands gamble her away to their enemies. In their presence, in full sight of the court, the men who now "own" her insult and humiliate her. They pull her sari off, but through the intervention of the divine Krishna, her sari cloth continues to roll endlessly, and so Draupadi is able to preserve her dignity. What is significant in this scene is that she herself can see the passivity of her protectors, who do not dare to challenge the system of norms by which they remain silent spectators of her humiliation. She courageously challenges the ethics and ideals of her own passive husbands and also those of her persecutors.

The main cultural injunction in Draupadi's story is Don't Be Holy. Her body is seen as dispensable and is treated as an object of shame and abuse. The myth also contains the Don't Be You injunction. Her integrity is treated on a par with the dice. She is not free to be herself or to extricate herself from the situation. No human protection is available to her. Only God can come to her aid. After doing all she could for her husbands, after having served them faithfully, she cannot come into her own. She does not qualify for human identity and respect. Draupadi also mediates a Don't Be Close injunction as she loses her sense of respect for and intimacy with the five husbands who betray her. A gulf is created between her and her loved ones.

Indian Gujar women also get a Don't Be Holy injunction from the sociocultural milieu. The female body is not regarded as sacred, and the functions of menstruation and childbirth are viewed as contaminating, requiring elaborate practices of ritual purification. A woman's body is not possessed by herself but by her family, her husband's family, and society, to be bartered in the marriage market, sold for dowry, and used for the production of sons and heirs. These women get the cultural Don't Be You as they are subservient to and dependent on their fathers and later on their husbands and sons. They have to follow the orders of their menfolk even if they are older and wiser. They cannot be themselves, have money of their own, or become employed. Gujar women live their whole lives within the boundaries of the family. They are not allowed to travel on their own without a male escort until

Table 4
Cultural Messages and Injunctions in a Popular Ballad

Cultural message	Injunction
Mothers live and die for their sons	Don't Be
A mother suffers to the end	Don't Be a Child
A mother's attention is only on her son	Don't Be Important
A mother's love is not reciprocated, and she does not notice her son's deception	Don't Be Sane
A mother does not feel her own pain	Don't Feel

they reach the age when they can be grandmothers and mother-in-laws.

Injunctions of Gujar Women in Songs

The personal imago that emerges from the confluence of the operative and reverse injunctions in the Cultural Parent of a group can be further clarified through exploring the intuitive channels of ballad and song. The dominant song or myth of a nation, a community, or an organization reveals its Cultural Parent.

I offer here the English translation of a popular song on mother love that contains injunctions that came up in the Injunction Scale scores as well as in the myths. The Cultural Parent of this ballad can be analyzed as follows: *Etiquette:* A son who is attracted to a woman is disloyal to mother. Mothers are givers to the end. *Technicality:* Mothers give all attention to their son's welfare. *Character:* Sons betray their mothers. The only way to keep your husband is to get him to separate from his mother (see Table 4).

English Translation:
Ask any mother how much she suffers
In order to bring forth a son.
The love of a mother cannot be compared
With any other love in the whole world.

When the child is conceived in mother's womb
She loses taste for all else,
She only keeps this one thought in her mind
How can I avoid the slightest trouble to my son.

Even though a mother has to bear all kinds of pain
She does not bother about this,
In order to give birth to a son
She is ready to go through any agony.

When a son is born, mother's life is saved with great difficulty
You can only ask a mother
How heavy a suffering she has undergone
In order to give birth to a son.

Now listen to the story of this lad
For whose birth mother suffered so much,
That handsome young boy
Went ahead as far as the bazaar.

Standing up on the balcony was the prostitute He looked at her and
Wicked thoughts came to his mind,
I love you, he said to her.

The prostitute turned the boy's mind upside down.
Oh ask a mother how much she suffers in giving birth to her son.
The prostitute said to him, If you really love me, my prince,
Then cut out the heart of your mother and bring it to me.

When you have fulfilled all your promises,
Then I shall become your beloved.
Oh now I know, yes, now I know the desires of your heart.
I know what you want, I shall keep my word.

Having heard all this he walked away, that cruel boy, that sinner,
Oh ask a mother how much she has suffered in giving birth to her son.

In the dark of night the poor mother lay asleep
He entered the house with a knife ready to kill.

Stealing the heart, this sinner moved with knife.
His mother trembled in agony and died.

Taking his mother's heart in his hand, this butcher began his journey.
Oh ask a mother how much she has suffered in giving birth to her son.

In the courtyard he stumbled and fell
Crying at the memory of his mother.
His mother's heart spoke at once,
Oh where are you my son?

Oh where have you been hurt my son
Get up, gather your strength.
Shake yourself and take revenge.
So saying the heart went cold.

Western psychology has focused on the son's attachment to mother, but this ballad emphasizes another dimension of the Oedipal complex: namely, the son's rejection of mother and a mother's eternal attachment to her son. The primary familial tie in Indian society is not that of husband to wife, but that of son to mother. Women will shake their heads in wonderment when describing the meaning of this song, saying, "What courage the mother had; even though she was dying in agony, betrayed brutally by her son, she still thought only of his welfare and not of her own." Such is the supreme sacrifice expected of mothers—to die worrying about their sons.

Any independent relationship a son has with his wife is kept secret from his mother for fear of offending her or inviting her anger. The son is reminded over and over by the cultural prescriptions and technicalities that his mother should be first in his life and should be obeyed with absolute fidelity. The song was also interpreted by the women in this study as indicating a hidden resentment on the part of the son toward the all-pervasive power of the mother. He is not free to do anything without her knowledge and consent.

The cultural implications of this myth are devastating for family life. I have worked with mothers who have psychically accepted the Cultural Parent of this myth. They carry an etiquette that says, "Mother is responsible for everything that happens to the men in the family; she can solve everything and ruin everything; she is to blame." The technicalities that accompany this are continual surveillance of sons by their mothers, which usually ends in a hide-and-seek game, and perpetual cooking, serving, cleaning, and helping activities in the family, by which mother supplies all the needs of her son. The character for mother is rooted in the injunctions Don't Live for you, live for him. This mediates a Don't Exist injunction, which in turn covers Don't Be You, Don't Be a Child, and Don't Be Well injunctions. If mother does not get what she wants, she feels justified in destroying herself or others. Daughters are not a priority, and their injunctions in childhood lay the foundation for the Cultural Parent of motherhood just described.

Injunctions of Gujar Women in Myths of the Larger Culture

Some aspects of Gujar culture were brought to the awareness of the women in the study by relating myths from other regions. The fear of the mother and her fantasized homicidal powers are deeply denied in many Indian cultures, often covered by an antiscript of everlasting love and worship of the mother. As mother worship and worship of the goddess is part of Gujar culture, the telling of myths from other parts of India, especially the part in which the all-powerful mother goddess has a dominant part in the culture, helped to bring to the surface underground fears and rejections of woman and of woman as mother.

There are several myths that portray the all-powerful mother, who is vanquished in the end by her son or her husband. The Bengali myth popularly known as "Neel Kamal, Lal Kamal," or "Blue Lotus and Red Lotus," is a legend that has been handed down for generations and is still told to children. It is found in local editions of Dakshinaranjan Mitramajumdar's (1920) book, *Thakumar Jhooli* (*Grandmother's Bag*). The story tells of a king who has a good queen and a demon queen, each of whom has a son. The demon queen wants to eat the son of the good queen, but since the boys are friends, her own son defends his brother. However, the demon queen ends up eating her own son and the other boy. She vomits out two eggs that hatch and bring forth two young braves,

Blue Lotus and Red Lotus. They hunt the demons and later find out from their grandmother (the demon queen's mother) how to kill the demon queen by capturing two bumble bees that are caged at the bottom of the ocean. In the end, they succeed in killing their mother and freeing the kingdom. Unlike Orestes, who was hounded by guilt, they are acclaimed as valiant heroes and saviors.

The cultural implications of this myth are also devastating for family life. Gujar mothers are overpowered by the Cultural Parent of this myth. They follow an etiquette that says, "Mother is responsible for everything that happens to the men in the family; she can solve everything and ruin everything; she is to blame." The technicalities that accompany this are continual surveillance of sons by their mothers, as mentioned earlier. The Cultural Parent character of the "Blue Lotus and Red Lotus" myth calls for betrayal between mother and daughter as the two boys learn from their grandmother the secret method of killing her daughter, the demon queen. The etiquette calls for bravery in hurting and destroying mother, thus pleasing father. Mother's power and control can devour the son, who in turn has to be reborn into loneliness in order to take up the crusade against the woman who gave him birth.

The implications for the position of women in the family are oppressive and constricting. This myth goes in tandem with the worship of the goddess Durga, who is the all-powerful rescuer, and the goddess Saraswati, who is the gentle and beautiful goddess of wisdom. Women who are not feared for their power are then expected to be the pure essence of Saraswati's grace and elegance. The split between the demon mother and the good mother is present in myth, in family culture, and in individual women's scripts.

The etiquette of the Cultural Parent says, "Women are held in high honor," whereas the character reads, "provided they let themselves be killed, abused, and tied down to the needs of others." The prevailing mood in the character of the culture is such that successful perception of and action in relation to crimes against women or abuse of women is very difficult to clarify and sustain. Groups that have the overt Cultural Parent etiquette of "We stand for justice for women" are the first to act out their Cultural Parent character of "We have to be fair to the persecutors and give them their right to free expression of hostility." Any change on the personal level requires group support and cultural transformation at the collective level if the change is to be sustained and productive for healthy human living.

In this context, it is not unexpected that the Bengali girl Sushmita Sen, who won the Miss Universe title in May 1995, was the subject of a scathing editorial by the Marxist newspaper *Ganashakti* in Calcutta, West Bengal, India. Suraiya (1994) pointed out that the reactions to Sen's victory form a pattern along with past vindictive crusades against successful women artists and the general condition of urban Indian women. Successful and effective women are seen as a threat not only in Bengal, but also in other parts of India. Gujar women felt consoled when they found they were not the only ones kept from striking out into new avenues and succeeding.

Regenerating the Cultural Parent

The myths and ballads cited in this article have their counterparts and modifications in different regional groups. Thus there is an urgent need to change cultural stereotypes and to initiate permission giving on a mass scale if the social scripting that these myths reveal is to be challenged and changed. Within an oppressive Cultural Parent it is difficult to make use of transactional analysis concepts such as the drama triangle as they can be used to advance the script of the cultural character. For example, the victims can be blamed for being the cause of their own victimization and can be held unconditionally responsible for changing their situation. This legitimizes the oppression because the onus of change is on the individual victim. The drama triangle then appears to be framed as predator, target, and analyzer, with the target being further targeted by traditional transactional analysis interventions.

To bring about a change, the oppressive Cultural Parent and its injunctions, myths, and reinforcements must be cleansed at the individual level as well as at the group level. Therapy

with individuals needs to be supported by group discussions among mothers, group support systems among women, retraining programs for families, and new kinds of relationships between mothers and their children—in short, a form of cultural therapy similar to one Erikson (1963) described: " 'group therapy' of a kind which would not aim at psychiatric improvement of the individual participant but at an improvement of the cultural relations of those assembled" (p. 127).

With the Gujar women in this study, the process of change required delicate handling. Since they are accustomed to generalized and particular forms of psychosocial abuse and are victims of the autocratic power systems of patriarchy, they can become willing subjects of methods of thought reform (Jacobs, 1994). Initially, change is a threat to permanent dependence on the oppressive system (Jacobs, 1987, 1994). However, without pressure and yet with perseverance and patience, the process with the women in the study described here did move on along the lines of consciousness-raising methodology (Battacharya, 1993; Drego 1981, 1984).

Berne (1972) outlined the permission transaction, Crossman (1966) described permission and protection, White and White (1975) spoke of updating the Parent, Allen & Allen (1972) and Levin (1979) gave permissions, and Illsley Clarke and Gesme (1986) gave affirmations. The permission cards (Drego, 1994a) were used in five ways to invite the women in this study to bring about regeneration of the Cultural Parent:

1. interpersonally at a given moment using the permission transaction (Arora, 1986)
2. interpersonally over a specific period of time through a process called Parent-lending (Drego, 1994a)
3. phenomenologically, as in self-reparenting (James, 1974) and the Parent interview (McNeel, 1976)
4. intergenerationally through a process called Parenting the Parents, which involves giving permissions to the Parent ego state, to Mother Parent and Father Parent, to grandmothers, grandfathers, great-grandmothers, and great-grandfathers phenomenologically (and historically where therapeutically feasible and necessary)
5. within a group. Permission cards are spoken to each other in turn in a process called recreating the Cultural Parent. Myths and songs are acted out and their Cultural Parent analyzed. Imagining how they could end differently was a small step toward reframing and rewriting them. A program was prepared for the permission cards to be read to Sita, Savitri, and Draupadi and to imagine these women reading the permissions to the group. Group rituals of storytelling and "show-and-tell" about times when the women challenged their oppressive Cultural Parent either intrapsychically or socially reinforced the permission work. Stories of great Indian women and of grass-roots change agents as well as current studies of women and new women's perspectives (Basu, 1993; Bhatnager & Poptani, 1992; Kumar, 1993; Sen & Grown, 1988; Tellis-Nayak, 1983) were used to give the permissions concrete images for new models and visions. The group members were also encouraged to create their own rituals and celebrations to assist their personal change and to build shields against the daily bombardment of cultural injunctions from the surrounding society.

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