

(Steve) and looking to mutual aid in the future, to cope with the problems.

Session 44

Another group was finishing, and the boys wanted to attend the party the girls were having. Attendance at the party was made contingent on thirty minutes work, which was well performed despite the obvious excitement the boys felt. At one stage the worker said "It's hard to work when you're excited, isn't it", and the boys laughed, John agreeing. John is much friendlier at this stage than he has been and appears to have mastered some of his anger toward the worker over termination. Before going to play soccer after the party, the boys held a 'private group' from which the worker was excluded. A while later Roberto said to him "all the boys want to buy the meneer a present, and they are all going to bring one rand but they are not sure what the meneer would like". The worker thanked Roberto for the thought but was taken by surprise - he had no ready suggestions and was at the same time wary of making one in case the boys should find they couldn't raise the money or get to an appropriate shop. The suggestion of sharing the collected money for a group party occurred to the worker but this would have nullified the gesture from the group. He therefore left his response at thanks for the gesture and expressed his uncertainty about a gift, saying he couldn't really think at the time. He left the matter open in this way for the group to 'rethink' the matter, as well as himself. The matter was not raised again until a month after the group ended, during the follow-up program when Roberto mentioned to the worker that they boys wanted to buy him a present.

B16f

B16d

Session 45

The grand finale - final ceremony - of the group was held at Boys Town and included a picnic by the river, a soccer match against Boys Town boys, and swimming, trampolining and television - as well as uninhibited mixing with the 'White boys' there.

B17a

All the boys enjoyed the day there being several amusing incidents for the worker - including an observation of the boys (in early adolescence) comparing armpit hairs, and the responses of the group members to finding out that Boys Town runs on a token economy system, for promotions and privileges in the institution. After greeting boys as 'citizens' or 'second grades', Harold asked how they achieved these 'ranks', and was told they have to get a number of points - "Points!" he said, "we get points in the group - how many do you need to become a citizen?". His Informer told him one hundred points (a low frequency reinforcement system being in operation in the institution), to which Harold responded "one hundred, we get a hundred in one group! I'd be a citizen here in one week!" The group returned home singing and telling jokes - an ending on a high point for its members. Hector, Eugene and Geoffrey did not come obviously for some extragroup interaction on the part of the first two. Ivan said Hector 'teased too much' and that was why he didn't come sometimes.

11.4 Evaluation of practice

The termination phase in the research group was almost classical in its form, being characterised by regressive behaviours, anger and hostility towards the worker, subversion of group tasks, erratic

performance on group task and group attendance, and denial and supercohesiveness. The worker often felt himself to be in dilemmas of whether to enforce task oriented behaviour, and societal norms or to focus on the feelings represented in these violations of contract and acceptable behaviour. On occasion he felt he had to intervene, as in the soccer match and Kombi incident, but within the group found focusing on feelings to be a satisfactory means of working through termination anxieties. In short extragroup expressions of anger (fighting on the soccer field, throwing things out of the Kombi at people) often require intervention which is a difficult position for the worker, raising hostility toward him and enhancing the likelihood of drop outs and early group dissolution. Intragroup focus on the feelings surrounding termination, reminiscing about experiences, reviewing and evaluating contract and progress made, and supporting members are often difficult to perform (witness Steve trying to manipulate the worker in session 43) but are unlikely to raise the same hostility as extragroup intervention, if expertly and sensitively handled.

The writer found termination a difficult process, often feeling inadequate in his handling of the problems presented, but in the main the group appeared to have remained together through this period, and no-one to have been unnecessarily or inappropriately hurt by his departure - despite concern over John's reaction at one stage.

The factor of group cohesiveness having to be diminished (Johnson, 1974) was not given too much heed by the writer. He formed a group within a classroom which would continue to interact in his absence in any event, minimising member-member termination anxieties. The main area of concern was his own departure. However, he did loosen group bond at the end by allowing boys other than group members to join in activities such as soccer.

The final ceremony was a high point in group experience and in view of the follow-up program, probably a useful incentive to continue efforts in the classroom.

(A) CHARACTERISTICS OF TERMINATING GROUPS	(B) WORKER ACTIVITIES
<u>Feelings of ambivalence</u>	A14 <u>Preparing the group for termination</u> B16
- feelings of pride in achievement in the group	A14a - raising the matter of the impending end of the group B16a
- feelings of rejection and loss when worker leaves and group dissolves	A14b - listening for feelings of anger, rejection, loss B16b
<u>Negative reactions</u>	A14b - making the group face termination B16c
- group manoeuvring to forestall termination (doorknob therapy)	A15 - helping members express and clarify feelings ambivalence B16d
- denial of fact termination was ever mentioned	A15a - giving support where members feel rejected B16e
- denial through supercohesion among members	A15b - evaluating progress made in the group/emphasising the importance of goal achievements in the group B16f
- regressive behaviour patterns	A15c - transfer and stabilisation of learning in the group to the environment B16g
- a wish to begin again	A15d - recognising individual capabilities and values of the group B16h
- assertion "we still need the group"	A15e - reminiscing about group experiences and growth B16i
- precipitous departures	A15f - using program activities to help members maintain work efforts in the group and face termination B16j
- anger	A15g - sharing own feelings about termination B16k
- rejection of the worker and value of the group	A15h - <u>Termination</u> B17
<u>Positive reactions</u>	A15i - final ceremonies, outings or trips B17a
- reminiscing about achievements and relationships formed in the group	A16 - <u>Follow-up plans</u> B18
- evaluating progress made	A16a - introducing and continuing extra-group contacts with members B18a
- focusing on new experiences and opportunities external to the group	A16b - introducing and continuing extra-group programs for transfer and stabilisation of changes of behaviour learnt in the group, to the environment B18b
- loosening of group cohesiveness	A16c
	A16d

Figure 13: Fold out summary of group characteristics and worker activities in termination phase of group life: analysis sheet

EXTRAGROUP INTERVENTION

CHAPTER 12 - EXTRAGROUP INTERVENTION

12.1 The nature of extragroup intervention

The importance of perceiving the individual and his behaviour within a systems perspective is well explicated by Schwartz (1971, 1974, 1976) in his mediating model of social group work. However he has criticised 'abuse' of systems terminology by practitioners who seek to employ interventive strategies within a systems perspective, asserting that 'the idea of intervening in a system of which one is an integral part violates the whole model' (Schwartz, 1976, p.181). At the same time proponents of the remedial model have criticised Schwartz's model as lacking method, and failing to consider the worker as an independent and important source of influence within a system he is working on. (Schopler and Galinsky, 1974)

Within an interactionist approach, such as social learning theory, behaviour is seen as being the consequence of interaction between environmental conditions and an individual's previously learnt modes of response. All behaviour, whether adaptive or maladaptive is perceived to be naturally learned, judgements over its adaptiveness being made in terms of its consequences on the individual and society. (Bandura 1969, Bryen 1975, Sarri 1974)

Studies have revealed the significance of teacher and peer attitudes and behaviours in maintaining the behavioural patterns, social status, attitudes, academic performance and self concept of individual pupils in the classroom. (Nash 1973, Rosenthal 1971, Fischer and Gochros 1975, O'Leary and Wilson 1975). 'All genetic and sociological factors are mediated and realised through the interaction between teacher and child in the classroom'. (Nash, 1973, p.123)

Vinter and Galinsky have observed that 'changes sought through group work service should represent improvements in the clients behaviour and/or situation in the social roles and contexts where his problems have been identified' (1974, p.289), but at the same time Glasser et al (1974) have pointed out that 'the social environment often maintains or encourages the client's problematic condition that the practitioner is interested in changing' (1974, p.292).

Sarri and Vinter (1974) in reviewing the initially disappointing results of a schools interventive program concluded that no single technique of intervention was likely to succeed in a school system, and they proposed broader strategies which addressed themselves to the complexity of the total situation. 'Now social workers have begun to understand that behavioural change usually cannot be achieved or maintained outside the treatment situation without somehow changing the reinforcing agents or systems in the client's environment'. (Glasser et al, 1974, p.292)

Vinter and Galinsky (1974) identify four major areas of outside influences on a group, termed 'extragroup relations': social roles and relations prior to client status, significant others with whom group members currently interact, social systems of which they are members, and the social environment of the group. In seeking to transfer and stabilise change in the group to the environment, these authors propose several strategies, including replication of environmental problems in the group; group discussion of the problem in an effort to explore alternative courses of action, the group becoming a vehicle for individual and collective problem solving; and initiation and review of external action whereby group members apply and evaluate new behaviours in the environment, which they have learnt in the group. They note that prejudicial attitudes to those labelled 'deviant' constitute a major obstacle to the treatment process, such a label being harder to escape than acquire. 'Too often, small but significant changes in client behaviour pass unnoticed outside the treatment group' (Vinter and Galinsky, 1974, p.291), and with a lack of environmental reinforcement for change efforts individuals may easily become 'trapped' in the deviant role.

In an effort to expand on the formulations proposed by Vinter and Galinsky (1974), Glasser et al (1974) present a number of methods of approach, while noting that changes in extragroup relations may be initiated by the group member, the group as a unit, the worker, or some combination of effort by all three. They add that attention may be given to persons or social systems, or to other community institutions. They propose that the worker should evaluate whether social circumstances requiring intervention for treatment goals are causing or aggravating the problem, or inhibiting or enhancing treatment goal attainment. In intervention of this sort it is likely that client behaviour is most influenced by those with whom he interacts

most in a given situation; such as the pupil's teachers and peers in the classroom.

While recognising the importance of maximal client involvement in environmental change efforts, Glasser et al (1974) assert that client motivation and capacity, likely effectiveness of strategies, the risk of adverse consequences to the client, possible effects on group conditions and the relationship of the strategy to treatment goals should be considered in determining levels of client participation.

In the present study the writer assessed pupil-teacher interaction to be often of a hostile nature (see process record in this Chapter), and to be a significant contributing factor to the perception and maintenance of pupil malperformance in the classroom situation. He therefore attempted to intervene with both relevant parties in the classroom system, namely pupils and teachers:

1. to try and achieve modification of attitudes and behaviours in both;
2. in the case of pupils, to help them relate their own behaviour (cause) to teacher responses (effect), and to learn to consciously control their behaviour in such situations as the group and the classroom;
3. in the case of teachers, to help them effectively employ methods of classroom control other than physical punishment;

in the hopes of a more amicable relationship arising which might be more conducive to an improved learning/teaching situation.

The difficulties, strategies used and their effectiveness are outlined in the ensuing process record and analysis thereof. To a large extent the worker's efforts at extragroup intervention were not successful. This may be ascribed to the depth of hostility and mistrust existing between pupils and teachers, a shortage of time for modification of the classroom token economy once it had been misused, and to subversion of the program by teachers.

Prior to beginning the group, the writer wrote a letter to the teachers of potential group members explaining his proposed study and asking for their co-operation and assistance in it. (appendix F) Never having experienced intervention of this sort, teachers were somewhat confused, initially, by the writer's approach. During the

MODES OF EXTRAGROUP INTERVENTION					
Intervention at the personal level			Intervention at the systems level		
Individual member	Group	Group worker	Individual Member	Group	Group worker
<p>1. <u>Avoidance</u>: avoiding situations which lead to problematic behaviour.</p> <p>2. <u>Alternate reactions</u>: learning and practising alternative reactions in the group via role play or modeling.</p> <p>3. <u>Manipulation of social/ or physical situation</u>:</p> <p>4. <u>Education of others</u>: in cases where reactions of others to a client are based on ignorance or incorrect information.</p> <p>5. <u>Interpretation</u>: helping participants in interaction become aware of the meaning of their actions to others.</p> <p>6. <u>Evaluation</u>: in addition to interpretation the significant other is helped to see negative consequences for himself as well as the client.</p> <p>7. <u>Co-optation</u>: making the significant other an aid to client change.</p> <p>8. <u>Confrontation</u>: when other methods fail confrontation of the other may be necessary to evoke changes in behaviour or attitudes.</p> <p>9. <u>Bargaining or negotiation</u>: client and relevant other enter an agreement of 'behavioural exchange' to resolve the problem.</p> <p>10. <u>Use of influentials</u>: enlisting powerful persons or bodies to convince relevant others of the need to change.</p>	<p>Methods 3 - 10 apply to the group as well.</p> <p>11. <u>Alliance</u>: the group may combine with other bodies to effect change in a person or situation.</p>	<p>Methods 3 - 11 apply to the group worker as well.</p> <p>12. <u>Advocacy</u>: worker stands with his client in relation to a problematic environmental situation.</p> <p>13. <u>Supervision</u>: worker uses influence through supervision of staff.</p> <p>14. <u>Collaboration/and/or joint planning</u>: worker involves other professionals in treatment plans.</p> <p>15. <u>Consultation</u>: worker as a specialist may act as consultant to other professionals on a problem.</p>	<p>Methods 1 - 10 available to client but not usually powerful enough to evoke change at a systems level.</p>	<p>11. <u>Alliance</u>:</p> <p>16. <u>Mass Communications</u>: to provide for the dissemination of a rationale for systems change via mass media.</p> <p>17. <u>Passive Resistance</u>: non-co-operation with authorities.</p> <p>18. <u>Active Resistance</u>: playing an active role against the system - pickets, marches, strikes.</p> <p>Consequences to all parties should be evaluated in the use of such techniques. Violence is considered unethical conduct.</p>	<p>Methods 3 - 18 are applicable here.</p> <p>19. <u>Authority</u>: worker may use position in agency hierarchy to change attitudes, values and beliefs among personnel or in resources. Personal attitudes may not change in accordance with such changes.</p> <p>20. <u>Planned contagion</u>: the use of special projects may illustrate the use of an innovative method, which may then be employed in other fields.</p> <p>21. <u>Social engineer</u>: related to 20. Worker plans detailed programs with built-in evaluative methods to demonstrate its success.</p>

Figure 14: Summary of extragroup strategies of intervention at the personal and systems levels as proposed by Glasser et al (1974)

intermediate phase I stage of group development he therefore spent time making informal contact with staff, discussing pupils as well as matters of general interest such as news items and sport. In essence, he sought to build up some trust and to establish a viable working relationship with them with regard to the research program. The ambivalence with which the teachers regarded the writer became increasingly evident, however, as the group progressed, and a general process of subtle subversion of the program was apparent in the later stages of group life, especially when an attempt was made to extend 'group learning' into the classroom - i.e. when efforts were made to transfer and stabilise learning in the group to the classroom situation.

A process record of that phase follows.

12.2 A process analysis of extragroup intervention relevant to the life of the research group

Session 27

After their first use of the token economy, the group members started talking about how unfair their teachers were towards boys like Hector, Tony and Steve. They told the writer that such boys could hardly move without Mr. T shouting "You sit still boy" in a threatening manner. The worker, seeking to establish cause-effect relationships between group members' class behaviours and teacher responses, asked what made teachers so angry. The boys identified fighting, talking in class, making noises and not working. The worker reflected that they seemed to know what made their teachers angry, but the boys erupted in anger asserting the teachers were unfair. Harold burst out that the worker should speak to Mr. T as he was saying things like "Mr. A is useless", "You boys would stab Mr. A in the back if he came to Western at night" and "Who is Mr. A - he's nothing". Harold continued saying Mr. T said one thing to the worker, but another once his back was turned - and with shouts of encouragement from the group members stated the worker should punish Mr. T by punching him in the eye. The worker tried to evoke some discussion on the effectiveness of this method, but before he'd finished his sentence, the boys shouted that Mr. T had driven up outside. The boys' fear of being exposed was apparent in their restless behaviour and looks they gave the worker. They said "now die meneer will see how friendly he wave and speak to you": Mr. T waved and on approaching tried to involve himself in a congenial chat. The worker felt trapped, his dilemma being an awareness of the members' fear of exposure and possible repercussions if he told Mr. T what had been said to him, while at the same time being aware that he had to appear consistent to them in not playing Mr. T's game.

Although not the time or place for a confrontation, the worker felt it necessary to show the boys he had taken cognisance of their statements without exposing them.

The worker explained (truthfully) that he had to rush off owing to a dentist appointment. Mr. T enquired whether lunch was still on the next day, and on confirmation of this turned toward his car. The group members at this point were unable to resist an opportunity for retaliatory aggression. Mr. T's pride and joy was his car - the boys asked in loud voices whether the worker's car could 'take' Mr. T's in a race, and then fell about laughing hysterically when they confirmed amongst themselves that it could.

The message got home and Mr. T turned - but when he looked at the worker, they both burst out laughing - the commonality of adult responses fortunately over-riding the crude aggressiveness of the group members. The worker and Mr. T left on amicable terms.

Evaluation: Mr. T was consistently portrayed as, and was by his own admission, an advocate of violence to control pupil behaviours in class. However he was interested in the boys, making home visits and learning about their family backgrounds. An ignorance of alternative control methods, a low frustration tolerance and cultural norms perhaps contributed to his use of aversive control methods. The group members' trust in the worker had risen to the point where they were sharing Mr. T's negative remarks to him. However this placed the worker in the difficult position of having to respect group confidentiality while at the same time having to take some affirmative action to defuse a volatile situation while avoiding 'taking sides'.

Six weeks previously, the worker had written a report-back on the group for teachers, and added some relevant notes on the learning process in children and means of modifying behaviour. (appendix G) The teachers obviously did not read these notes, and to try and encourage them to do so, as a basis for introducing an extragroup interventive process, the worker asked the two teachers concerned to 'drinks and lunch' to discuss the notes and the program as a whole. He planned an indirect confrontation of Mr. T's behaviour and attitudes.

During the lunch, Mr. P took out his copy of the notes, and after placing them on the table, told the worker that he had been very impressed with the ideas proposed for behavioural control in the classroom, agreeing with the failure of 'beating' to manage difficult boys. The worker enlarged on some alternative programs, including time-out procedures and positive reinforcement programs, in which the two teachers expressed great interest but maintained could not be put into practice owing to the inflexibility of the educational system. The worker said that he was acquainted with Dr. N (Chief Inspector of Schools) and asked if permission were obtained from this source, whether they would be interested in implementing some programs. Both teachers gave a positive response.

The worker then told the teachers how he had once implemented such a program in an institution, which despite its apparent potential was proving ineffective. Some investigation revealed the superintendent of the institution, while friendly and agreeable to the program to the worker, to be subtly sabotaging it in his absence, often by making derisory remarks about him. Mr. P nodded, saying one had to have faith in things to make them work. Mr. T agreed, but the indirect confrontation was effective - he was very quiet for about five minutes, a slight frown on his forehead.

Mr. P, returning to his notes, said he had been very pleased with the new ideas (he had forty years teaching experience) and felt they were very fortunate to have someone like the worker to help them. Enhancing this new alliance, the worker recognised that the teachers were actually the 'frontline' workers, but that he hoped to help them a little in their special problems. He said he did not envy their jobs - up to forty in a class of both sexes, in a poor environment, with an age range of twelve to nineteen years.

Mr. T, recovering a little, said he had been so impressed with the first page of the report (on environmental factors) that he had read the notes to the boys in class. (see session 28, p.163) Some discussion evolved as to the position of the Coloured person in the Republic of South Africa. After listening to the teachers' opinions a while the worker made the following points - that education was vital to people if they were to ever influence their environment, that it was not possible to just take poverty away or change family circumstances of children, that he viewed the classroom as very influential in the lives of children and the teacher as being a significant persons in a child's development as a result, and finally that he realised the futility of trying to counsel people out of poverty - hence his more action oriented approach. The teachers agreed.

Evaluations: The worker's strategy of inviting the teachers to lunch to discuss notes they had not read was effective not only in making them read the notes, but also in establishing warm informal ties and attaining some respect for his ideas. His reference to Dr. N was influential in enhancing his own status, and his indirect confrontation of Mr. T was all the more effective for the spontaneous interest shown by Mr. P. The worker's strategy of raising teacher esteem by recognising their significance as 'front-line workers' while perceiving his own role as more of a background one added to the overall effectiveness of this extragroup intervention.

Session 28

When the worker arrived for the group session the boys were waiting for him - angry and upset. Tony shouted "there's no work today", and Ivan added "it's an emergency meeting".

All the boys were shouting at once, but it emerged that Mr. T had insulted the boys and that they were under the impression that his comments were based on the notes the worker had written and from which he had read to them. The worker had written notes to the teachers to explain the group's purpose and progress, the token economy system, learning in children and some possible behaviour modification strategies for the classroom (see appendix G). The worker had tried to reveal some awareness and understanding of problems facing teachers in a socioeconomically deprived area. Mr. T's comments to the class were a somewhat liberal interpretation of these notes. A summary of the notes and their interpretation to class members is presented.

Written in notes

1. The children you deal with every day, and who are in the group, come from a very poor area, with overcrowded rooms in shack-type houses. They have poor study facilities and probably little encouragement from parents for studying.
2. There is probably little competition between friends for success at school, school achievement not being regarded as important. Other activities such as soccer are probably more important than school work.
3. There are probably few successful businessmen or professionals in their community to identify with or imitate.
4. Marks, star charts and class promotion are not as likely to be important to children who come from communities

Interpretation by Mr. T to class

- Mr. A says you all come from "pondokkies", you never bath, you stink under your arms and you people in Western are like animals.
- Mr. A says you don't care about school and that all you think about is soccer - and that's all you do in the group.
- Mr. A says that you are useless.
- You bite the hand that feeds you - you'd stab Mr. A in the back if he came here at night.

homes, and friendship groups which don't place much importance on education.

5. Subjects learned in school are probably not seen as particularly relevant (i.e. have little intrinsic motivation value) to their lives.

It has been put forward that children from poor socioeconomic areas have poor language development resulting in poor vocabulary and grammar, in speaking and written work. However a study by Bruner seemed to indicate this might not be as serious as first thought - he showed that when a child wrote an essay, on a subject 'real to his world' (e.g. a fight with my friend) far fewer grammatical and spelling areas were evident than when asked to write on something 'not in his world' (e.g. a flight to Durban).

Mr. A says you can't speak and your English is terrible.

You people in Western are like animals.

The worker asked the boys to gather around him - once they had done this he explained he had met with the teachers to explain to them what work the group was doing, and showed them a graph on which he had plotted their work progress which he had shown the teachers. The boys stayed close to the worker even after he had nothing more to show them, seeming to gain some anxiety reduction in their physical proximity to and around the worker. The boys said Mr. T had said the food was "vrot". The worker said whether it was or not, what was important to him was that he'd spoken to the teachers. He added that he did write notes about the group to explain what they did together, and about the area to help them understand how difficult it was for them to study. He told the boys he had put down what they had told him about the area, reminding Roberto and others about recent discussions about overcrowding and poor housing facilities. He asked the group whether he had ever been rude to them. All the boys replied in the negative. The worker said that he was capable of telling them if he thought they were smelly - he didn't need to tell Mr. T. The boys looked relieved and agreed amongst themselves this was the case. After allowing them some time to vent their anger, the worker asked what the boys would like him to do. They concluded that he could not speak to Mr. T as that would make him angry and hit and shout. The worker concluded that the only way seemed to be to work harder in the group to show Mr. T that it was not useless - he reminded them of the voluntary nature of the group, and gave them the opportunity to reconsider their membership of the group. A shocked silence followed before Harold and Edward affirmed "we want the group - we'll work hard and show him". Some discussion followed amongst group members reaffirming the value of the group.

Evaluation: The worker's notes for the teachers appeared to have been used as a 'weapon' by Mr. T, through distorted communication, against the group members. It was difficult to evaluate the truth of the matter, and the worker was of the opinion that the source of poor communication was the antipathy existing between Mr. T and the boys. His notes appeared to have been poorly interpreted by a frustrated teacher, and then again by hostile group members, whether or not Mr. T intended to be destructive in his communications. An important revelation was that Mr. T had told them the group was useless prior to reading the notes and the lunch, but not subsequently.

Positively, the incident provided evidence of sufficient trust in the worker to allow for discussion of events, rather than dropping out - the modeling and reinforcement of a 'talking it out' norm revealed its value at this stage. The worker was able to

clarify what he had written, model alternatives to aggressive responses, reinforce the discussive approach, and motivate both a vote of confidence (and cohesiveness) in the group, and the need to study hard to prove the value of the group to their teachers. In addition, the worker communicated that he had asked teachers to set English and arithmetic homework for him to help them with, and that he was trying to help Mr. T find other ways of controlling the boys than "hitting".

During their angry outbursts in the group, it was revealed by the boys that Mr. T had told Hector he would fail him regardless of his final marks on tests, and that Harold, Steve, Tony and Hector were "useless" and the only reasonable boy in the group was John.

Despite positive aspects, Mr. T's behaviour placed enormous external pressure on the group, shaking trust in the worker, destroying a day's work in the group and humiliating group members. Whether or not his interpretation of the notes was a deliberate attack or misguided behaviour - only the affects on the group were important, and they might easily have been more destructive had not the group developed some cohesiveness and norms of open discussion of problems.

Shortly after this incident the worker, unable to contact Dr. N to discuss introduction of classroom programs, approached the headmaster and deputy headmaster of the school with his ideas. However, they were clearly reluctant to give him permission to employ any ideas without permission from the relevant authorities (such as Dr. N), despite being interested in them. 7

Session 33

Group members reported that Mr. T was now saying "misbehaviour", "where's your behaviour sheet?", "Mr. A's just bribing you" and "you're big boys yet you have to be bribed to work with sweets, like children". The boys felt exposed and humiliated in front of their peers by such actions. In addition, he was telling Tony, Charles, Hector and Edward that they were "just wasting the worker's time". This had negative effects on attendance by Tony to some extent (see p. 134) and elicited some revision of the token economy in the group (see p. 133).

The following day the worker decided that he would have to confront Mr. T with his behaviour and its effects on group members, for the sake of the group's cohesiveness 10 as well as member pride and willingness to work on task.

The worker met Mr. T at the school. He explained that he had been concerned that some group members felt victimised in view of their group membership, and seemed to 3 feel that they were wasting the worker's time in view of comments made by Mr. T. Mr. 10 T responded by saying that the boys never appreciated anything done for them, that they were rude and insolent - and the worker had been coming for so long and the boys showed no improvement in behaviour. The worker sympathised with Mr. T's 'frontline' position 7 in the classroom, but explained that none of the boys were wasting his time and he had expected difficulties when selecting the boys for the group. Mr. T mellowed a little, saying not all the boys were so bad and mentioning how surprised he had been when Edward had said to him recently "We want equal rights and yet we act like wild animals we can't even act proper ourselves". The worker agreed that the boys sometimes showed greater understanding than was expected of them - and that was what worried him, that such potential could be wasted. Mr. T asserted that he understood that but that he just wished that the boys appreciated what was done for them more. The worker empathised that it sometimes was hard to work for something when one received so little reward, but added that "in our professions" such "rewards" are only seen years later, 7 and that sometimes one expected appreciation from others when they did not know how to give it yet. Mr. T said "but some of these boys would stab you in the back if you came here at night, Mr. A!" The worker said he didn't know about that, the matter

that concerned him was that he had seen big changes in the boys' behaviour in the group but the problem seemed to be that they were not taking this learning out of the group to the classroom where it really mattered (refusing to be deviated from his strategy despite Mr. T's attempts to evoke a response on an emotional level which would neutralise the confrontative nature of the discussion). Mr. T responded excitedly that that was the problem - the boys weren't bringing back their learning to the classroom. When Mr. P joined them the worker showed them a behavioural schedule he had prepared for classroom use, and asked what the teachers thought about using it to assist in the transfer of learning from the group to the classroom. The teachers expressed great interest in doing this, but the worker said he would have to put it to the boys in the group before employing it. Before leaving the worker listened supportively to the teachers' complaints about how hard it was to be a teacher, with poor working conditions and low salaries. The worker observed that despite these hardships they remained teachers and that perhaps if one loved one's job it was difficult to just leave it - Mr. T responded that he could get a better paying job but that he loved working with youngsters - "It's when they don't listen that it's so difficult".

Evaluation: It was difficult to assess Mr. T's exact motives for subversive actions to the group but his ambivalence and frustration in his job were clear. Whether his statements to, and exposure of, group members was merely thoughtless or directed at subverting the group was not clear. However, the worker was empathetic in his confrontation, recognising the difficulties facing Mr. T, and supportive and definite in his offer of a classroom behavioural program to transfer learning from the group. This resulted in a clear response of interest in the boys and the program from the teachers, and enabled the worker to form an alliance in meeting problems with them. It was hoped this would at least neutralise their roles as subverters to the program, and at most involve them fully to the mutual benefit of pupils and teachers in the classroom.

After some discussion, the group members agreed that the proposed program would be worth "a try" and that it could be evaluated on a continuing basis.

Having established from both teachers and group members a willingness to try the classroom schedule, he called a meeting for all parties to discuss the implementation of the program. A 'contract' between teachers and group members was agreed on to the effect that the program did not involve other pupils in the classroom, and as such the teachers would not expose them to their peers, only marking the schedules when classes were finished. In addition, they would not make remarks about the schedule or shout or hit boys, but merely say their names in strong tones to give them to understand that a behaviour would be marked on the schedule. The schedule would only be completed on group days. In essence it was agreed that this would be a private matter communicated and understood in the public classroom by means of agreed signals.

After a week, Mr. P reported that he and Mr. T were very pleased with the effects of the schedule on the boys' classroom behaviour, and that the boys now appeared to be "aware" of what they were doing. The worker, reinforcing these comments, added that the boys were pleased with the program and the teachers administration of it, recounting the boys comments about how they were now trying to ignore others who distracted them in class. He added that group members had observed that teachers seemed to be shouting less, and said that a result like this no doubt eased the teacher's burden. Mr. P said in response that a whole "new tone" had been set in the classroom and if it continued and behaviour became more manageable, teaching progress would be "unlimited". The worker said it was pleasing to hear that both parties were benefitting from the program, as this had been his aim in implementing it.

Session 43

Before the session began, the worker found Mr. T marking exam papers in a classroom, and after some discussion about how tired Mr. T looked and the extra work exam periods involved, the worker asked about the behaviour schedules. Mr. T said he had been too busy to complete them, but added "Can you believe it Mr. A, Steve the naughtiest boy in the class, came to me and asked if I had done his form and given him twelve points!" 10/9

The worker said he was sorry Mr. T had not had time to do the forms, especially as it seemed the boys were beginning to show some thought about their behaviour and its consequences. Mr. T agreed this was significant but said he knew Isaac would soon be back to his old tricks. The worker asked if Mr. T would be prepared to try the 4

schedule the following term even though the groups had finished - and Mr. T, agreeing that the schedule seemed to work, expressed willingness to do so. The worker explained that although the groups would have ended he would continue weekly visits for reward purposes. Mr. T said that he could not reward the boys himself as sweets would be stolen from the classroom.

The follow-up program: post groupWeeks 1 and 2

After the school holidays when the group was terminated, the worker allowed the pupils and teachers a few days to 'settle into' the new term before approaching teachers to re-implement the token economy schedule.

On approaching the teachers again it became immediately clear that there was little interest in the proposed program, the subject being politely changed every time the worker brought it up. There was a clear message of "don't bother us".

At the end of the week the worker employed another strategy to try and keep the program going. At a function held by the University, to which representatives from field instruction centres (including Mr. T and Mr. P) were invited, the worker, on request, gave a short address on his research. He took the opportunity to pay public tribute to these two teachers for their interest and contributions to the study. Unfortunately Mr. P was not present but Mr. T made a special effort to come and talk with the worker after the function.

The following week when the worker returned to the school, Mr. P said how sorry he had been to miss the function and that Mr. T had told him all about it. Mr. T confirmed this when he joined them. When the worker again broached the subject of the 12

follow-up program in the classroom, a marked change of attitude was evident. The teachers were very keen to implement the program, and it was agreed it should start the following week, a schedule being completed on two days a week to start off with.

Week 3

The worker brought the schedules to the school and discussed with teachers and ex group members how it should be implemented, again. The worker returned on Friday mornings to evaluate the schedules and 'reward' the boys involved.

On the first occasion this occurred, all the boys except Mike and Edward did well on the schedule. The worker refused Edward's requests for "just one sweet", reminding him of the reinforcement contingency they had agreed on. This stand was endorsed by 13

Mike and the other boys.

Week 4

When the worker arrived at the school both teachers were still completing the schedules - it being clear they had not attempted to do so on the relevant days and that they were working from memory rather than actual recordings of behaviour. Both teachers were

full of complaints about the boys' behaviour, saying they had taught at many schools but this was the worst in terms of pupil behaviour. The worker agreed the boys' performance on the schedules appeared poor and said that he would reiterate to them that the proposed visit to the Magaliesberg was contingent on their classroom behaviour. The boys agreed with the worker that they had done poorly on the schedules and said they would try harder the following week - and to help Steve, who obtained consistently low scores. The worker then spent time discussing with the teachers problems of introducing a schedule that was only used once a week (the teachers were obviously completing these schedules late, and only one as opposed to the two suggested). The worker emphasised that habits established over a period of seven years were unlikely to be changed on such a system - a daily schedule applied consistently was necessary to provide for the necessary consciousness and pressure for the development of new behaviour patterns. The teachers agreed.

10

1/4

Week 5

When the worker arrived at the school both teachers were again disappointed in the boys' behaviour and the worker revised the idea of a daily schedule. Mr. T was angry and stated all the boys had behaved poorly in class, to the extent where he had thrown Hector out of class. He threatened to fail Hector although he said he would try and squeeze the others through at the end of the year!

The worker suggested that perhaps he could sit in in the class over the next week for an hour a day to mark schedules. The teachers agreed reluctantly.

10

12

Later, the boys told the worker that the teachers were using the schedule to record a week's rather than a day's behaviour. This was obviously why scores were so low and revealed misuse of the program to the extent where teachers were almost using it as a 'weapon' to enforce behaviour, the emphasis again being on negative as opposed to high reinforcement for positive behaviour patterns. High beginning requirements are not conducive to learning on a reinforcement schedule/token economy.

Week 6

Early in the week, the worker phoned Mr. P and spoke to him about the use of the schedules, re-explaining why they should be used on a daily rather than a weekly basis - he replied that they had already started to do this and were using a schedule a day that week. The worker suspected that this effort was made to prevent him having to attend classes for observation purposes - while not planned it worked to the benefit of the application of the token economy.

2/10

Evaluation

Efforts to introduce an alternative method of control to corporal punishment, in the classroom, were frustrated by lack of willingness to participate by teachers, despite interest and effort by pupils to fulfil their side of the contract. The way in which teachers chose to interpret and communicate their understanding of the educative, and control measures introduced by the worker was often destructive to efforts made by pupils. The writer is unable to specify the exact reason for teachers' behaviours, but proposes that they may have been based in a number of factors, including:

- (a) apathy/lack of interest in the program,
- (b) feelings of hostility toward the writer,
- (c) feelings of hostility toward the pupils involved,
- (d) a lack of incentive to assume the extra work, necessary in completing the behavioural schedules,
- (e) misinterpretation of material and methods presented by the writer,
- (f) feelings of threat evoked by new ideas.

Extragroup interventive strategies

1. Education
2. Interpretation to improve understanding or communications
3. Feedback to improve understanding or communications
4. Bargaining/negotiating
5. Contracting
6. Use of influentials
7. Co-optation
8. Consultation
9. Reviewing progress/evaluating and giving positive reinforcement
10. Confrontation
11. Advocacy
12. Helping group members relate their behaviour to consequences/looking for alternatives to improve relations with significant others external to the group/motivating behaviour change in the environment
13. Modifying behaviour in the environment

Figure 14: Fold out summary of extragroup strategies employed by the worker:
analysis sheet

A SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF ASPECTS OF THE RESEARCH

CHAPTER 13 - A SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF ASPECTS OF THE RESEARCH GROUP

13.1 Selection, membership and attendance

The process of selection of group members is described in Chapter 6 of this study.

At best the selection procedures carried out by the writer can be described as guidelines. It is significant, however, that 'late choices' such as Pierre and Gordon dropped out after brief group experiences. Neither of these boys was revealed as popular in the classroom (see sociomatrix, p.80), and there was therefore little guarantee of their acceptability by the group as a whole. Ivan, whose membership was also unusual (Chapter 7) in that he was not originally selected for the group, also adopted a some individual role in the group (13.2.5).

The selection of models was to some extent successful (13.4) in terms of social factors.

Analysis of attendance by group members

The group's life can be divided into two broad periods - that preceding the token economy and the token economy itself.

Table 5: Tabular summary of attendance of experimental group sessions

	A	B
Maximum possible attendances by group members	279	218
Actual number of attendances	210	187
Attendance rate	75,2%	80,7%
Maximum possible attendances on 'reward' days	33	53
Actual number of attendances	29	48
Attendance rate	87,8%	90,5%
Maximum possible attendances on 'non-reward' days	246	165
Actual number of attendances	181	128
Attendance rate	73,5%	77,5%

A - pre-token economy phase

B - token economy phase

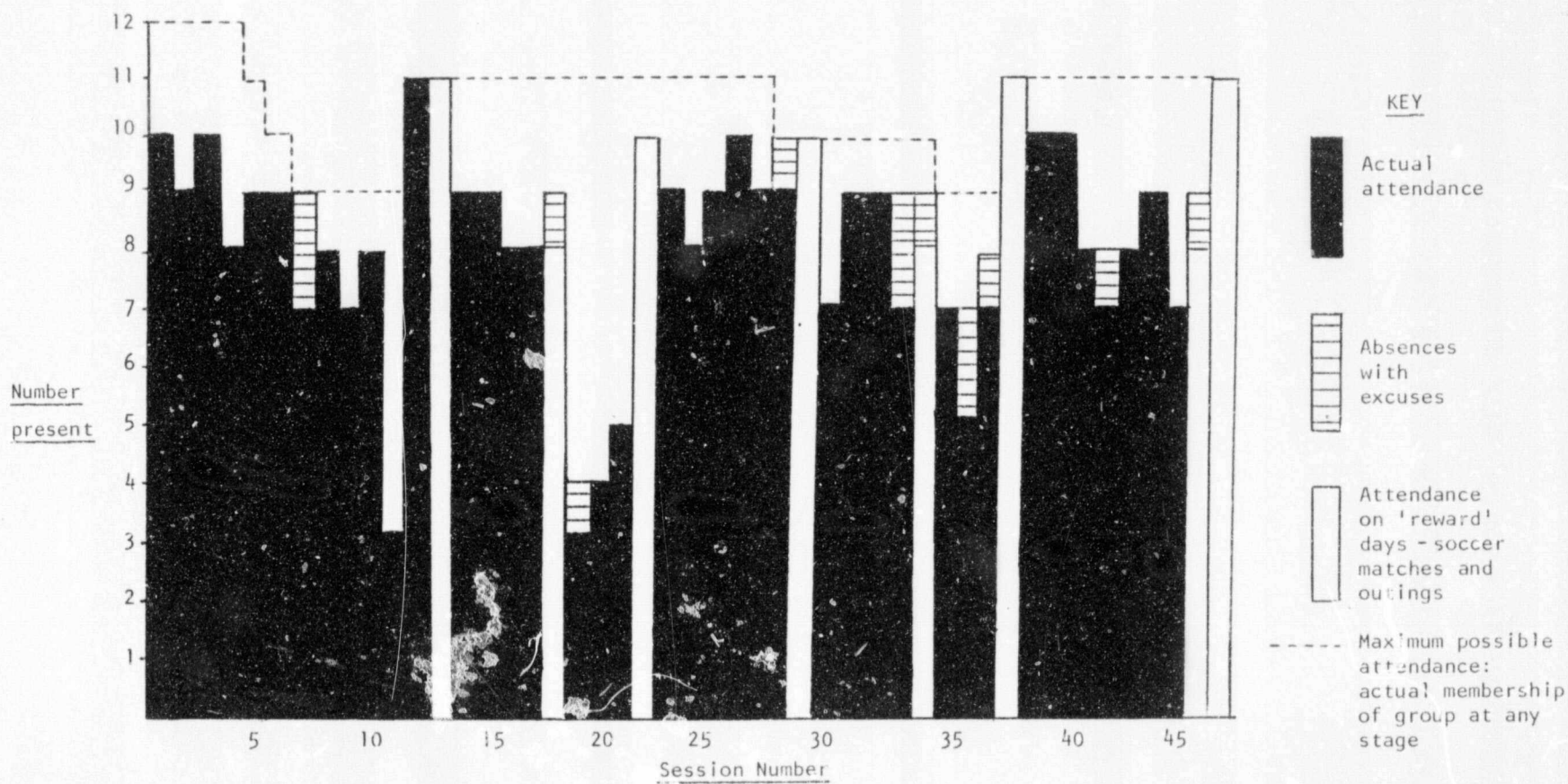


Figure 16: Histogram of group attendance over 47 group meetings

Attendance rates in the group during the two periods in question are difficult to compare, early drop outs in group life having occurred, it being likely that a more cohesive core of members would remain. However, the number of excused absences during the token economy period was higher than had previously been the case (9 vs 4) indicating possibly a higher rate of 'genuine' absenteeism or increased responsibility toward the group. The token economy appeared to improve group attendance slightly but not significantly, from 75.2 percent to 80 percent. 'Reward days' were attended more than 'work days' in the group.

Public and school holidays saw drops in group attendance regardless of whether sessions were to be study or recreation oriented. Twenty-one out of sixty-nine absences (30 percent) in the period preceding the token economy occurred during four sessions (19, 20 and 21) which were during school holidays or (as in 11), the day preceding a public holiday. Two outings during the school holidays boosted group attendance but even so, including these two sessions (18 and 22), twenty-five out of sixty-nine absences (36 percent) occurred during the school holiday period. 50 percent of group absences occurred during 15 percent of group sessions - the school holidays.

Two possibilities appear likely to explain this factor. Firstly the group having a study orientation may have appeared unattractive to members during vacation periods. However, even when definite plans were made for recreation rather than 'work' in the group, attendance was still poor.¹ A second reason may therefore have been an association between the school, and the group work program, in the pupils' perception; a holiday in the former representing a release from commitment to the latter.

Analysis of drop outs in the group

The group experienced five drop outs in its life of forty-seven sessions.

- (i) Graham - Expressed no wish to become a member of the experimental group when approached during the origin and formative stages of group life.

1. Overall experience in the schools program indicated that students also experienced difficulties in group attendance during school holidays. It is possible that the holidays represented a complete break from any formalised commitment to anything organised for the children in the deprived areas.

- (ii) Gordon - Attended two sessions then dropped out after session 4. Selected as a possible model in the group, in view of his adequate school performance, it became clear that the group held no particular attraction for him. He already belonged to a good soccer side in the community so even the group's activities did not interest him.
- (iii) Pierre - Dropped out in session 7 after attending two out of a possible four sessions. It was immediately clear to the worker that Farouk was a rejected isolate in the group, and under considerable pressure to drop out (see sessions 1 and 3 in the formative stage of group life). Despite efforts by the worker, the group was clearly determined not to have him as a member, and the worker considered his continued membership of the group as likely to be a painful experience. Pierre's decision to drop out of the group was therefore regarded as 'healthy' and adaptive by the writer. While it may have been possible to work constructively on the matter of Pierre's isolation in the group in some circumstances, the fact that he would continue to have daily contact with group members outside the group at school, made such intervention unlikely to succeed.
- (iv) Charles - Joined the group in session 12 and dropped out in session 27 after attending six out of a possible sixteen meetings. Clayton had no motivation to attend study sessions of the group, and aroused the ire of the other members when he only attended 'fun days'. In addition, he aggravated dislike by other members when he said he had no money for the group outing (session 13) and they lent him cash, only to see him spending his own money at the shops later. Group members reported that he did not want to work in the group; and preferred to attend gambling schools in the afternoons. The worker suspected he may have been subject to some extragroup pressure to drop out.
- (v) Tony - Dropped out in session 35 after attending twenty out of a possible thirty-four meetings. After Tony missed six of the first eleven sessions, the worker introduced soccer matches against other community groups, an activity Tony found attractive enough to attend the group regularly from sessions 12 to 18. Then, like the majority of the group, he missed sessions during the school holidays, from which time he showed progressively little interest

in the group. After attempted intervention by the worker, and confrontation by the group, Tony continued to miss group sessions and was judged to have dropped out after session 34.

Tony's peers ascribed his drop out to an unwillingness to work, and to some pressure from the teacher, Mr. T, who told him he was wasting the worker's time'. However the worker suspected that there was more to the matter. A sociomatrix of the group compiled in sessions 1 and 2 revealed Tony to be a popular group member (see Figure 17, p.177). However, his non-participative behaviour gave little indication as to why this should be the case, and the worker suspected Tony had brought status to the group, derived from some external source. Later observations showed Tony to be usually in the company of older, bigger boys. Tony failed to attain any leadership status in the group, and a sociomatrix completed in session 16 revealed a complete loss of importance in the group (Figure 17, p.177). The writer is of the opinion a loss of status and failure to attain a leadership role in the group may have been significant factors in Tony's drop out. (See Heap (1977) on status).

Critical phases of group life in terms of drop outs appeared to be the formative phase when Gordon, Pierre and Graham dropped out, and the introduction of the token economy/work phase when Tony and Charles dropped out. The beginning phases, firstly of group life, and secondly of increasing demands for formal work in the group seemed significantly related to drop out by members.

13.2 Group structure

The structure of the research group is analysed in terms of roles, and norms and values.

13.2.1 Roles

Role has been defined as a set of behaviours expected of people who occupy specific positions in a social relationship and may be seen as the product of interplay between individual's needs and resources, group situations and forces acting on the group from the environment. (Heap, 1977)

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