

he endeavoured to allow the group autonomy during the more social activity of soccer, although in terms of the Premack Principle this coveted game was made contingent on work in the group.

9.4.1 A process analysis of group task activities and processes

Session 5

- After about forty minutes of disruptive behaviour during which group members switched off the worker's tape recorder, shouted and laughed wildly and left the room to disrupt another group next door, the worker asked them what they had learned that day. 811d
- After a few minutes silence a few boys mumbled "nothing". The worker asked the boys what the purpose of the group was. They replied that the group was for work, fun and talking about problems. The worker proceeded to introduce the subject of contracts and its meaning, and then asked the members if it wouldn't be an idea to establish a contract between themselves for work in the group. An attempt to construct such a contract was at first hindered by the boys who led discussion off at a tangent. 88c 812c
- After a while the worker reflected that everyone seemed to be doing their best to lead discussion away from work. This comment was effective in concentrating discussion on work in the group, and preventing further red herrings being drawn by group members. 810c
- The worker introduced the idea of rewards for hard work to the group, who then became so involved in the idea of work in the group that they considered doing away with all games during group sessions. Realising this to be unrealistic, the worker tempered the resolution by saying it was natural to reward oneself with fun after hard work, and described how he still did it in his own studies. In this session the worker also discussed ideas of making study more exciting by acting out historical scenes and making papier maché maps, to which the boys responded with interest. 810h 810a

Session 6

- The group made a serious effort to work in the session, completing English homework for fifteen minutes followed by discussion and clarification by the worker on some points (direct and indirect speech). At the boys request the worker then covered a chapter of history from a textbook in a quiz, and he showed them how to make summary notes for easy learning. Although there was only time for ten minutes soccer at the end, the boys did not seem to mind. A6a

Session 7

- In response to the worker's suggestion, the group studied for twenty minutes before being 'quizzed' on history. This period was used by the worker to observe the boys' study behaviours to compile a recording schedule. Behaviours inhibiting effective study included looking out of the window or around the room, talking and giggling, shuffling around, pushing others, making distracting noises like sucking a pen, fiddling with items on the desk or personal clothing, and leaving seats. 810a 810g
- On the pretext of a request to leave the room, John, who had observed the worker writing down his observations, came up to see what he was doing. The worker did not try to conceal what he was doing, and when the study period was over explained his actions to the boys. He explained the concept of feedback and how some behaviours stopped people learning effectively. On seeing the uncertain, suspicious response this evoked from the boys, the worker role played some of the behaviours he'd observed them doing during their studies. This brought some laughter, the boys 810h

pointing at each other as certain behaviours were acted out revealing some perception of their study habits. Steve was often singled out.

During the 'quiz-time' that followed the worker noticed that Edward, Hector and Steve rarely proffered an answer, and when they did they were either laughed at by their peers, or their responses so lacking in confidence they were overwhelmed by more aggressive answers from other members. The worker reminded the boys of group purpose saying the group was meant to be a place where the boys could help each other rather than tease each other's efforts. To emphasise this the worker responded differentially to member responses - praising and encouraging efforts by Edward, Hector and Steve and continuing to give them attention when others tried to overwhelm their responses. B12b

Session 8

- A7b No work was done in the session as group members did not bring their books and were not interested in the history the worker had prepared. However, when the boys started drawing graphs on the blackboard the worker used the opportunity to explain and illustrate how graphs could be used to record changes in behaviour, drawing up examples in terms of giggling and talking during study times, improvement in marks and length of time spent in study. He illustrated how behaviours could be counted up and plotted on a graph to show whether behaviour was improving. When the group members started talking or teasing others, the worker merely marked points against "teases" or "talks" on the board, and the boys settled down. When the worker left, the boys were 'playing graphs' on the blackboard - saying "Tony, laughs" and "Harold giggles" as they totted up behaviours and plotted them on graphs. B10h B10h B10d
- A6a
A6b

Session 9

- A7a Again no work was done in the session, members subtly rejecting an activity (constructing papier maché maps) proposed by the worker. After some discussion the worker reflected to the group that no work had been done in the group for a few sessions - and the June exams were drawing close. Reminding them of their contract he suggested they plan studies for succeeding meetings so everyone could bring books. Geography was decided on. B10c B12d
- A10b

Session 10

- A10b After inspecting the scoring schedule the worker had devised for behavioural recording in the group, the members sat down to work. Fischer and Gochros (1975) have noted that the act of recording can change behaviour. During the twenty minutes study period the boys studied quietly and continuously, except for Ivan and Steve whose attention wandered after fifteen minutes. However during the twenty minute discussion period which followed the boys were noisy, all trying to shout each other's answers down. Despite a spoken desire to try to answer questions in turn, only Harold and Ivan attempted this, the others apparently lacking the control to do so, and perhaps trying to impress with their individual knowledge. B10e B10d B10e
- A6a
A6a
A6a

The worker showed the boys how to use the sun for direction finding purposes, illustrating points of the compass to them. B10a

- A10b At this session the worker produced a 'draft' contract which the boys perused and discussed and decided to accept. B12d

Sessions 11, 12 and 13

No work was done in these sessions - session 11 (the day before a public holiday), was attended by three members, while all attended session 12, which was a planning day for the soccer match (session 13).

Session 14

The initial scoring schedule with thirteen behaviour categories and eleven names, covering a forty minute period of study and questions and being marked by the worker who also had to ask questions was impossible to record accurately and consequently a change was necessary. B10d B10e

The new schedule comprised the following improvements:

- a) behaviours were divided into four broad categories for recording purposes: passive behaviours (P), disruptive behaviours (D), aggressive behaviours (A) and wanted or desired behaviours which were to be rewarded (R). This idea was gleaned from the study done by Kubany et al (1971); B10e
- b) studies were divided into three distinct phases - a study period of twenty minutes, a buzz group period of ten minutes for mutual assistance, and a quiz period of twenty minutes;
- c) observations for recording purposes were completed for fifteen seconds at fifteen second intervals during the initial study period, and in the buzz group, and during the quiz period while each member attempted an answer;
- d) the 'quiz master' role was taken by a group member, allowing the worker to devote full attention to the scoring schedule.

The new schedule was more easily scored, provided more accurate information about when behaviours occurred, and differentiated clearly between 'behavioural' and 'knowledge' capacities of individual members. B10d

A full presentation and discussion of results occurs in Chapter 14, scoring sheets appearing in appendix D. The group scored one hundred and fifty points during this session which was used as the first baselining session.

Session 15

- A6a The new schedule was used from session 14 onwards. The group obtained one hundred and fifteen points in this session, losing points during quiz time when they lost control interrupting each other, shouting, leaving their seats and becoming totally unruly. B10d B10g
- Behaviours which appeared to have been modified in the process of recording were now returning to a level where they had been prior to introduction of the schedule.

Sessions 16, 17 and 18

No work was done in these sessions, owing to terminal exams having just been completed, sessions 16 and 17 being devoted to soccer, and 18 to a social event (a visit to the University).

Session 19

- A7b Despite an agreement to study history, only three boys attended the session.

Sessions 20 and 21

Despite messages to group members that work had been shelved for these sessions, only four and five boys attended them.

Session 22

Soccer match.

Session 23

In view of research requirements the worker introduced an observer to the group to record the behavioural schedule. The boys already knew B as he was the leader of the

- group they had played soccer against in sessions 13 and 22. The worker explained to the group that B was interested in how they were learning and wanted to observe so that he could assist other groups in future. Group members were agreeable to this, but boycotted the study period, telling the worker they had forgotten to bring their books.
- A10b 812d
- A7b

Session 24

- The observer and the worker recorded behaviours while the group studied Geography.
- A6a Despite relatively controlled behaviours in the study and buzz group periods, the group became so disruptive in quiz time that the process collapsed in disorganisation after fifteen minutes. 810g

Session 25

- Group members informed the worker they had left their books in a classroom which was subsequently locked and they could not study without them. As the boys later revealed they could enter this room at will, this session was recorded as a nil achievement (boycott).
- A7b
- The worker distributed to each boy a copy of contract, behaviour schedule and scoring schedule, and explained the idea of 'rewards' at individual and group levels for work done in the group. Individual rewards were to be a sweet for every six points earned, and group rewards, outings or soccer matches for total points gained. The boys were very excited and asked the worker if he could come to the group more than twice a week so they could earn points quickly. In addition, some discussion evolved as to whether or not prowess in soccer should be rewarded. Realising this to be unfeasible, the worker informed the boys that as soccer would already be a reward for group achievement, in itself, he didn't feel they could be rewarded for this as well. This was accepted.
- A10b 810h 812d
- A10c 812e

Session 26

- This was the last baselining session and was recorded by the worker and the observer.
- A6a The group attained one hundred and fifty-five points for the session. The token economy and behaviour schedules were discussed by members and the worker told them that on the attainment of four hundred points by the group they could play soccer against B's group at the University soccer fields - great excitement ensued. 810g 810h

9.4.2 Summary evaluation of task activities and processes in the group

This phase of group development was used for the observation and baselining of study behaviours, prior to the introduction of a token economy. During this process the worker moved gradually from the general introduction of concepts and ideas surrounding behavioural feedback and recording, to the introduction and use of specific behavioural schedules for the group. Open discussion in the group of every step in this process was carried out,

the worker trying to prevent unnecessary fears and suspicions being aroused, while involving group members in the development of the end product of his observations and recordings - the token economy.

The observation phase extended from session 5 to 13, and the baselining phase from 14 to 26. During the baselining phase the group boycotted work on three occasions out of six study periods that had been planned.

9.5 Social activities and processes in the group

During the course of this stage of group life the worker, through observation and the use of a sociomatrix, identified and in some situations tried to modify the structure of the group in terms of leadership and other member roles. Social activities in the group (i.e. soccer) were used in terms of the Premack Principle to increase low probability behaviours (study), and to enhance the group's attractiveness to members.

In addition, the group members were allowed considerable autonomy in the actual organisation and planning of soccer games, whereby the worker attempted to improve decision making and planning abilities amongst the boys, modify communications and social structures in the group and help the group take responsibility for its own functioning.

9.5.1 Membership

Fluctuations in group attendance were closely observed by the worker as indicators of group cohesiveness, and as guidelines for modified program planning. During the formative stage of group development the following boys dropped out:

Graham who did not attend any sessions,

Gordon for whom the group apparently held no attraction, and

Pierre who was rejected by the group and whose drop out (from the group) was regarded by the worker as 'healthy', continued attendance likely to prove harmful to his self-esteem.

Tony was absent from the group from sessions 7 to 10, once running away when he saw the worker approaching. Despite the open discussive atmosphere the worker had tried to create in the group, Tony was clearly afraid to tell the worker he no longer found the group attractive. To heighten group attractiveness and cohesiveness, the worker introduced periodic soccer matches and outings for the group. Tony immediately returned to the group (session 12), and except for missing three sessions during the school holidays along with the majority of members, he missed only one further session (session 24).

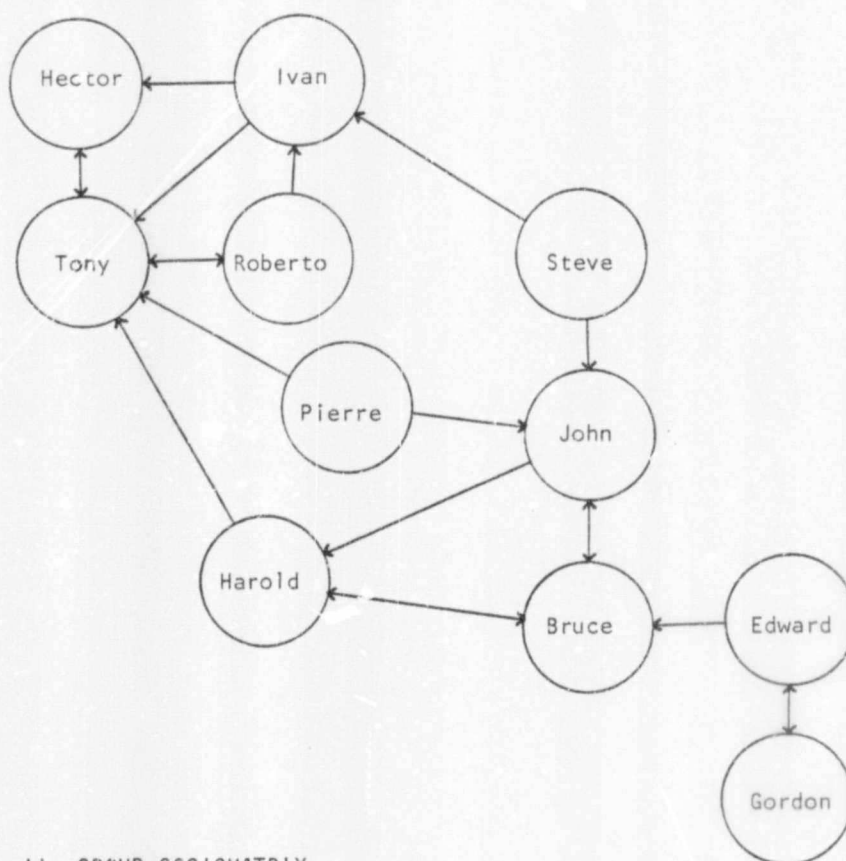
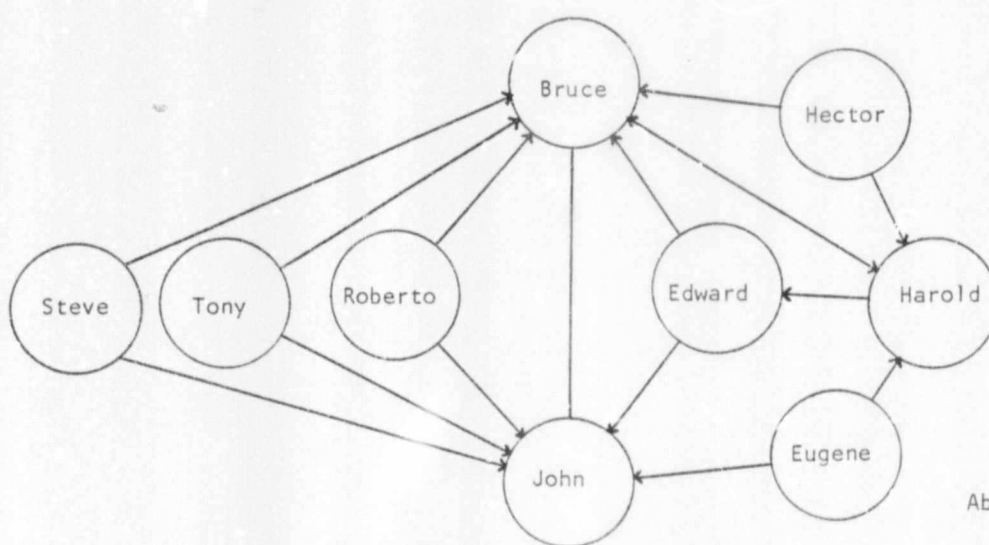
A full discussion of membership factors is presented in Chapter 13, p.171.

9.5.2 Roles in the group

Members' roles in the group were assessed through observation and the use of a sociomatrix. The sociomatrix (figure 9) revealed significant changes in group structure and role differentiation between sessions 2 and 16.

Table 4: Tabular summary of sociomatrices compiled in sessions 2 and 16

<u>Session 2</u>	<u>Session 16</u>
<u>Subgroups</u> : 1. Tony, Hector, Ivan, Roberto 2. Harold, John, Bruce	none apparent
<u>Isolates</u> : Pierre, Steve, Edward, Gordon	difficult to identify on sociomatrix - observations showed Steve and Eugene as possible isolates
<u>Leaders (popular)</u> : Tony (5 nominations) Ivan, Bruce, John (3 nominations each)	Bruce (7 nominations) John (6 nominations) Harold (3 nominations)
<u>Leaders (task)</u> : not asked for	Harold (4 nominations) John (2 nominations) Bruce and Steve (1 each)

I GRC SOCIOMATRIXSESSION 2II GROUP SOCIOMATRIXSESSION 16

Absent: Charles
Ivan

Figure 9: Comparison of sociomatrices compiled in sessions 2 and 16

Social leadership in the group changed from Tony (session 2) to Bruce and John (session 16), the sociomatrix revealing a sort of ripple effect of liking around these members. In addition, owing to the centralised flow of group relations, the group appeared more cohesive in session 16 with subgroups being less apparent.

The sociomatrix was not able to show isolates in the groups but observation showed that Eugene occupied this role, with Steve adopting that of a scapegoat.

9.5.3 Scapegoating in the group

As the group developed Steve rapidly assumed the classic role of scapegoat. With regard to the scapegoat role, Konopka observes

He is not rejected for something he is himself, but something the group projects on him - group projection frequently being as unconscious as individual projection ... (and that) ... the irrationality and usually unconscious motivation of "scapegoating" makes work with it especially difficult. (Konopka, 1963, pp.57-8)

Feldman (1975) describes the scapegoat as sharing a symbiotic relationship with the group - eliciting negative reactions from the group by his behaviour, but not being rejected from nor withdrawing from the group. The scapegoat often fulfils a useful role for the group, drawing negative feelings onto himself and freeing the group's energies to concentrate on task achievement.

Steve fulfilled such a role. The writer presents a process record of his development in this role, and describes the methods employed to try and ease Steve's discomfort in the role.

9.5.3.1 A process analysis of scapegoating in the group

Session 7

A8b While illustrating behaviours inhibiting effective learning, group members identified Steve as exhibiting such activities. In addition, his attempts to answer
A9c questions were laughed at by his peers, or overwhelmed by their more confident responses. B11c

The worker, at this stage, tried to model more appropriate responses to Steve's efforts, paying special attention to his responses and consequently having to ignore more aggressive responses from others. B11c

Session 8

A8b When the boys again overwhelmed Steve's efforts in the group, the worker reflected their behaviour back to them by role playing how they kept him 'out of the way'. He B11c
reiterated why he had chosen boys for the group, and asked the boys how they were B12b
helping someone by laughing at him when he had difficulty answering questions. The boys agreed this was negative behaviour. The worker realised that teasing was an established mode of behaviour amongst the boys and would not be easily effected.

Session 9

As a result of some surreptitious teasing in the group, Steve left, but rejoined it during the game of soccer at the end.

Session 12

A8b While the group was trying to plan for its soccer match the next session, Steve kept leaving his seat and walking around the classroom, distracting the group as Harold
A8d tried to organise the team. After initially refusing to respond to Harold's glares he returned to his seat at his chosen pace. B11b

Session 13

After making disparaging remarks about their smaller, poorly equipped opponents, the group lost its soccer match through poor teamwork. Half-time saw disgruntled group members pour out accusations and complaints against the referee and the opposing team. The final whistle and defeat saw a continuation of this. After listening a while the worker said he'd thought them capable of winning but they had made mistakes - Harold agreed this was the case and the group's mood changed slightly to 'wait until the return match'.

A8b On the drive home, Steve took the coveted front seat next to the driver of the Kombi before anyone else could. He said he knew the way home via a short cut, but it became increasingly apparent he did not, this revelation drawing an outburst of teasing and abuse from the group. During the remainder of the trip, any attempts by Steve to
A8d join in the group's interaction were met with mockery and teasing. The dynamics of
A8b the situation were clear - Steve takes a coveted position being unable to carry the responsibility of it, the group's anger simmering after its defeat is directed onto him; one individual drawing the anger of the group onto himself while the group re-establishes its cohesiveness and confidence through a unified attack on him. After alighting from the vehicle the boys continued to tease Steve, who was nearly crying,
A8d chasing his tormentors and trying to hit them. All were involved. To this stage, the worker being wary of exacerbating the problem by overtly protecting Steve, had not intervened. However, it became clear that this was necessary at this stage to try and alleviate Steve's torment. The worker asked the group what Steve had done to be

A8d teased so badly, Ivan replying "it's okay, we always tease him; he knows we're only playing". The worker said Steve wanted to hit them, and asked if that was playing - B11c
 John said "no, it means he's angry". The worker agreed and said it didn't seem to be B11d
 playing anymore when matters reached this pitch. This stopped the process temporarily, but he heard the boys continue teasing Steve down the street.

Session 14

A8d Hector accused Steve of hiding his cap and threatened to beat him up. For the first
 A8a time, Steve received support, Harold intervening to say Hector had no proof and
 A8b preventing the physical attack.

Session 15

Steve being teased in the quiz period of study, withdrew and refused to try and answer
 A8b questions. Members (perhaps angered by Steve's refusal to play the 'scapegoat game')
 A8d accused him of 'not trying', belying his impossible position: if he participates
 he's teased, if he withdraws he elicits group anger.

Session 16

A8d During the soccer game, John hit Steve after some impulsive foul play. Harold
 A8a immediately supported Steve, being angry with John for 'hitting' on the soccer field.

Session 18

A8b During the visit to the University, Steve was being teased by his peers and wandered
 off by himself for a while.

Session 23

The worker planned a strategy to expose Steve's scapegoat role, and when the group
 boycotted task activities, he involved the boys in a discussion and role play to try B11c
 and evoke some 'experiential understanding' of the problem.

In essence the worker gave Steve's problem to the group (knowing something of his
 life situation), disguising it as the problem of another boy so that he would not feel
 exposed, and asked for their help in solving the situation. The worker took an
 active, directing role in the ensuing drama, keeping it alive when it might have
 collapsed and actively directing members in their acting. The process is reported
 verbatim below, an observer having been present to keep close track of process.

Worker: (after calling the group close) I'm doing some work in another area
 and I'm trying to help a guy like any of you who's about thirteen or fourteen years
 old. He's got some real problems - his father ran away when he was small, and now
 his mother's gone and he has no parents to look after him. He has nowhere to go and
 he wanders around and is given food by friends and relatives. Sometimes he sleeps
 in the bush.

Ivan: Is this Kiptown?

Worker: Yes.

Ivan: It's a bad place with people who like to fight.

Steve: It's very dirty - no-one cleans there.

Edward: Is the boy at school?

Worker: Yes, he goes but he misses days.

Ivan and Edward: The Welfare is the place - they must come and help him.

Worker: How can the Welfare help him? How do you think this guy feels - I'm

asking because I'm sure you know lots of guys like him.

Harold: He feels heartbroken: he needs mothercare.

Steve: The Welfare are the ones to do that.

Ivan: They (the Welfare) come to find such boys and then they put them with other ladies so that they can get the mother love. I know an old lady who could look after such boys. Or they can go to St. Nicholas Home - but that isn't too good because they all fight and bully there, and if you go there you just want to fight as well.

Steve: And they smoke dagga and lots of bad guys were there at St. Nicholas.

Edward: Can't you bring him to this group, sir?

Worker: Well, I'm afraid it's too far but I'm hoping you'll be able to help me work with him.

Ivan: Such boys are hard for a 'mother' who looks after them - even when she wants to give him a home. It means when she buys me a shirt, she must buy him shirt too. (Ivan is related to Steve: his mother is at present looking after Steve).

Worker: Yes it seems some boys give other problems, they don't stay at the 'mother's' home and they run away and sleep out late.

Ivan: Yes, and then the mother tries to be kind but she must hit the boy because he doesn't listen to her.

Worker: Okay show me what happens when this goes on - Ivor would you like to be the mother. pretend you are her, what does she do and say?

Ivan: Well she says

Worker: You need a boy, pick someone to be the 'bad boy'.

Ivan: Edward

(Edward up to the front with Ivan)

You've come home late

Worker: But he hasn't run away yet - out you go Edward. (Edward leaves and re-enters room). (Worker trying to make the situation as vivid as possible for group members).

Ivan: You have stayed out again I do my best to feed you and clothe you and give you a house to stay in - I treat you like my own son but you still run away. Now what do you say?

Edward: I'm sorry, I won't do it again.

(Both boys start to return to chairs).

Worker: But does he stay?

Harold: No sir, he will run away again soon.

Worker: Edward, out of the door now what does mother do Ivan?

Ivan: (to Edward, as he returns) I speak to you nicely and still you come late

Worker: Is that how she says it? Does she still try to speak nicely?

Ivan: No she's angry.

Worker: Well sound angry then.

Ivan: (shouting) You're late again - I speak nicely to you and you do nothing. I must hit you because you don't listen bring me the sjambok.

Worker: Who brings it - pick someone.

Ivan: Bruce, you're my son, bring the sjambok.

(Bruce complies). (Ivan pretends to beat Edward - they both start laughing).

Worker: Do you laugh when you're hitting someone or they're hitting you?

Ivan: It's only a game sir?

Worker: Yes it's only a game, but you're trying to show me what it's really like so that I can understand better to help this other boy - do you laugh?

Ivan: No (pretends to beat Edward more seriously: occasional laughter from the group).

Worker: Okay, now what happens?

Harold: He stays home for three weeks, then he goes again.

(At this stage, the group was beginning to enter the atmosphere of the whole set-up, the worker using physical setting and emotions shown by members to make it as real as possible).

Edward: (out and re-enters)

Worker: This is the third time, now what will you do, mother?

Ivan: I take him to the police station.

Worker: Who's the policeman?

Ivan: Steve.

(Steve sets up a police station in the corner. Ivan and Bruce march Edward down).

Steve: I've heard about you - you are a bad boy and for that I'll beat you. This is your last chance before real trouble. (pretends to beat Edward).

Worker: But he doesn't listen - he runs away again, what now?

Harold: He gets sent to the Welfare.

Worker: Who's the Welfare Officer?

(John sets up office in the middle of the room).

John: (after listening to the story) This is your last chance, if you're bad again I'll send you to Tokai (a reformatory).

Worker: (noticing group unsure here) How does this work now, how does the Welfare Officer know if Edward is staying at home?

Harold: He must visit to see and to talk to Edward. (after ascertaining that Edward has been gone for three weeks, John visits).

Worker: (keeping the process alive) Look at Edward creeping along the wall, like he's scared but he looks like he doesn't care.

John: (puts Edward in Steve's cells and then phones Harold (Tokai)). At this stage the boys were so absorbed in the 'play' that John shouted at Harold for not answering the phone properly!) Mr. Harold, have you got a place for a naughty boy there?

Harold: There's always room at Tokai for naughty boys, send him.

Worker: (walking around to Edward in the cells) Look at Edward sitting here, what does he feel - his parents are gone, his 'mother' doesn't want him, he's in trouble with the police and the welfare - is he sad or angry or what?

Edward: He's angry.

Worker: What does he want to say?

Edward: I'm very angry

Worker: What does someone look like when they're angry? Do they sit there with head hanging down, and whispering or do they shout and jump (illustrates).

Ivan: But he's not angry because he's heard it's big and brave to go to Tokai and he's got some friends there, so he wants to go.

Worker: Okay, off he goes. You're all boys in Tokai now - Mr. Harold, what happens now?

Ivan: Well all the boys act friendly at first but then they fight him.

Worker: Okay, Edward arrives (all members shout greetings and wave), now what happens? (Members start to push Edward - worker joins in to encourage members and they continue harder). There's a fight in Tokai, Mr. Harold, what are you going to do?

Harold: Nothing ... (but stops the fight).

Worker: Now what's going to happen Edward - you've got all these other guys into trouble.

Ivan and others: We beat him up and fight him (fight scene re-enacted).

Worker: stops it and points out how they've told him what happens to boys who go to Tokai. Edward, deserted by his parents, starts wandering, a 'mother' tries to look after him but he doesn't listen. She takes him to the police who beat him, and then to the Welfare and then Tokai, which turns out to be a bad place. What alternatives were there - were there no friends who could have done something?

Ivan: He needs friends and school to take his mind off his worries in his mind.

Worker: Yes but there's another problem here - you see with all these hard times, he tries to act tough, and he teases and bullies and fights his friends. Although they're the only ones who care for him, he gets so angry with his hard times he sometimes does these things. (gathers group members around) Now we're playing soccer and I'm the boy, and Edward kicks me (acted out) so I start pushing all of you around and bullying and teasing - now what do you say?

Ivan: You're a bully.

Steve: A skollie

Worker: What do you do to bullies?

(Group attacks worker, pushing, pulling and punching) So you attack him - okay Ivan you're me now, go over there (indicates corner). (Worker physically separates scapegoat and group). What can you do?

Ivan: They might talk to me and someone come on my side from the group.
(silence)

Worker: Okay if no-one does, where does he go? To the gangsters?

Edward: Yes they look after him and wait outside school to beat up his old friends, but then they give him the blame.

Ivan: Yes, they take the small boy when they're in trouble and make him take the blame. Then the small boy take the blame 'cos he thinks he's brave and going to be the leader of a city gang

Edward: And if he talk they hurt him.

Worker: So he's doing things the group doesn't like and no-one likes him and he goes to the gangsters and perhaps to Tokai anyway. Is there anything we can do to help?

Steve: We can tell him to still be friends and come back.

Worker: Tell him.

Steve: (stepping forward) We are sorry and we want to be friends and for you to come back to school and help you. (looking uncertain - looked tearful a little earlier).

Ivan: No (hesitates) but maybe later when I want to go with you again.

(turning to worker)

We are not like the white school children - we have to act big in standard five. And also if someone is out of the group, they won't ask him back - it is forever. Then all he can do is ask the group.

Worker: What if there is someone like me in the group? Can he do anything to help?

Edward: You must talk to him and tell him to come back

Ivan: Yes, but here in Western there was a big guy - all the gangsters were afraid of him and he called a meeting of all the gangs. They came 'cos they were scared and he would hurt them if they didn't - and he told them they should be friends, and then fight the Whites or the Blacks but not each other, but they still do.

Worker: Yes, but in a little group like this what happens in a fight?

Ivan: (in a long monologue) Well if Tony kick me and I hit him, then Harold help me and others hold Tony, and others help him, etc.

Worker: So even if there are fights you always have friends in the group to help you.

(non-verbal agreement from group - nodding).

At this point the worker terminated the role play, and the group played soccer for the rest of the session.

The role play included a warm-up period when the worker presented a problem 'case' for discussion, before the members took various roles for enactment of the situation. The role play was used as a strategy to help Steve who was 'trapped' in a scapegoat role in the group, the worker trying to open up his difficulties to the group in a non-focused way, to develop members' insight and explore not only what such a boy's future held but ways of helping him. Ivan's articulation and ability to project himself into the situation helped motivate the group in the role play.

Steve's tension (restlessness and tearfulness) was apparent during the discussion of the plight of the scapegoat, and notably it was he who stepped forward to ask Ivan (in the role) to rejoin the group. Ivan's initial refusal was disappointing but realistic in terms of the cultural attitudes revealed by the boys during the course of the role play. If anything, the role play presented the worker with a fuller picture of Steve's plight - the boys explaining the process by which he would end up in a reformatory, or as a gangster, and relating the "dog-eat-dog" philosophy of survival in their community (stories of gang fights, murders, and illegal weapons being common conversation topics amongst group members). The message was that the rejected isolate had to beg to be accepted back into the group, and that in their world there was little time for sentiment or to be 'a child'. The worker decided it was timely to end the role play on a discussion of "there's always a friend in the group" knowing that Harold had been making efforts to befriend and protect Steve in recent weeks. In addition, not all group responses were unsympathetic especially in the early phases of the role play when the boys suggested bringing the 'problem boy' to the group and trying to give alternatives to helping him.

The role play was a successful medium for discussing Steve's scapegoating plight in the group in a non-focused way - opening up a discussion and enactment of his situation in its cultural context, future alternatives and results of his situation, evoking some expressions of concern from the group and awareness of the group's power of mutual aid, and providing Steve with a chance to 'experience' his own situation in a 'play' setting and literally tell other members how he would like to be 'asked back to the group'.

A classroom incident at this time served to reinforce the role play's lessons, and to strengthen 'caring' attitudes to Steve from group members.

Session 26

When the worker arrived, the members were waiting for him, very upset. They told him Steve had been badly beaten up by Mr. T in class after he had been pushing Eugene. They were scared Steve would go to reformatory and asked the worker to help him. The worker spent time discussing the incident in the group and reassuring Steve he would not go to a reformatory. B11d

While a negative school experience for Steve, this incident seemed to crystallise the supportive strengths of the group around him, confirming that the members recognised his plight and were concerned for him. The recent role play, in the worker's opinion, had opened group members' awareness to the situation, the incident confirming what they had experienced in 'play', in reality. The role play might be seen as having helped the group 'tune in' to Steve's special needs at a significant moment in group life.

While the group continued to tease Steve in later sessions, some of the malice seemed to have disappeared, and once the token economy was introduced members efforts changed from teasing his academic efforts and overwhelming his responses, to giving him whispered cues as to correct answers to help him gain more points (both for himself and the group). As such the token economy also served to change attitudes and behaviours towards Steve, proving to have therapeutic interpersonal results, in addition to improvement of study skills.

9.5.4 Cohesiveness and autonomy in the group

The worker used group purpose and program to make the group attractive to members, build group bond, and develop social skills amongst group members such as leadership, independent planning and decision making and assumption of responsibility for group functioning.

9.5.4.1 A process analysis of cohesiveness and autonomy in the group

Session 3

The worker explained in detail why and how he had selected group members, in terms of school performance, ability to help each other and age. At the end of the session (summary in Chapter 9) Harold, in a discussion of the next meeting, said all should attend or none - "It's a group, man!" B12b

Session 4

Responding to these early expressions of group cohesiveness, the worker gave responsibility for the care of the soccer ball to the boys in an effort to reinforce group bond and to initiate feelings of responsibility for the group amongst members. B11e

Session 5

Roberto informed a boy who tried to join the group that it was not open and he would have to leave - giving evidence of the growth of some 'group feeling'. A8a

Session 12

- The worker encouraged the group members to elect their own captain and vice captain for the soccer match (Harold and John), and then allowed these two to organise team positions, conduct 'team talks' and arrange for team shirts. In addition, he made the group responsible for the collection of group funds to pay for their own refreshments - Roberto, the maths whizz, working out how much each boy should bring and then collecting the money. The boys living in an area inaccessible to shops, the worker took responsibility for buying refreshments as directed by them, and for providing transport for the matches.
- A8b
- A8b

B11d
B11e
B11b

Session 14

- A8a The worker did not 'interfere' at all in the group's 'team-talks' in the soccer match (session 13), and in this session encouraged Harold to evaluate the game and suggest improvements in teamwork.

B11e
B11a

Session 16

- A10b A local pastor approached the worker with the possibility of a boy he knew joining the group - after he left Harold said that such boys could not join the group, it was only for the present members.
- A8a

- A8a Roberto changed days of extra study at St. Barnabus to enable him to remain in the group.

The worker involved the boys in a planning discussion for activities during the school holidays.

B11d
B11e

Session 18

- In session 13 Charles had not turned up for the soccer match because he had no money to contribute to the group fund. The members had voted to pick him up and, if necessary, lend him money so that he could play. In this session a visit to the University was planned - all the boys appeared wearing jackets and ties. Eugene arrived late, and on seeing him approach the vehicle without a jacket or tie, the group members burst out laughing (perhaps more out of anticipatory excitement than ridicule) but Roberto told them to stop. Tony, supporting him, explained that Eugene's family was very poor. By the time Eugene arrived at the vehicle the laughing had stopped, but he looked uncertain on seeing the ties and jackets. The worker tried to ease his position by saying he was glad to see Eugene hadn't worn a tie as he hadn't either, but this was not as great a relief as when a group member produced a tie for him to wear.
- A8a
- A8d
- A8a

B11d

Session 22

- A9a After boycotting group meetings during the school holidays, the group members arrived for their soccer match against B's team. When the worker asked the boys if they had arranged for refreshments for the opposition, as B's group had done for them last time, they looked surprised, and were stunned when he suggested an apology might be in order. Harold shamefacedly explained to the opposing captain that owing to poor planning, no refreshments had been organised. Hereafter the group became more positive in its decision making, giving a positive 'no' to meetings it did not want, whereas members had previously mouthed a 'yes' then not arrived.
- A10b
- A8d

B11c
B12d

9.5.5 Mediating group sanctions and defining limits of behaviour:
establishing behavioural norms in the group

This phase of group development saw the worker and group members placing limits on each other's behaviour, group structure and attempting to establish behavioural norms in the group.

9.5.5.1 A process analysis of mediation of sanctions and definition of behavioural
limits in the group

Session 3

- A10b After some discussion, the worker defined limits to the group in terms of age, and size. In doing so he continued modeling a desired mode of interaction in the group - that of open discussion. The worker quietened chaotic discussions by playing back on a tape recorder the members interaction and decision making processes. The boys agreed they should control such discussions in an orderly manner (see Chapter 8, p.95). 87b 812d

Session 5

- A10b After running around wildly, shouting and singing, all the members gate-crashed another group in the adjacent room. The worker said nothing, deciding to wait out the process rather than impose any limits at that stage. The boys were puzzled by his behaviour, eventually returning to the room and looking at him expectantly. To the worker's question the boys said they had achieved 'nothing' in the group that day and some discussion on group purpose occurred, leading to the topic of means of control exerted by teachers in the classroom. The boys told the worker their behaviour would have led to a beating from a teacher in the classroom, and after talking about the causal relationship between behaviour and punishment, the worker asked group members what he should do in such cases. The boys suggested he beat them - the worker reflected he thought this would make them angry, as he had seen how angry they felt after teachers beat them. The worker stated he would not be beating anyone in the group, and that he preferred to talk about things. 810c 812d 811f

- A10b While 'testing' the limits of behaviour and worker responses in this manner, the group started placing limits on the worker as well. Unable to tell him openly at this stage that they did not want to be recorded, they simply unplugged his microphone and packed it away during the chaos at the beginning of the session.

Session 9

- A9a Steve, Hector and Harold distracted the group by walking around and drawing on the board during attempts to hold a discussion on activities. The worker asked how the group could discuss anything when people seemed to do what they wanted regardless of anyone else. Hector suggested beatings, and when the worker reiterated his opinion on this, responded by saying he needn't hit them on the bottom, only on the ha. The worker asked if there weren't other ways of controlling the boys. Jo sending 'naughty boys out of the room' but Harold said that wasn't any good. A10b would just play outside happily until asked to return. Time-out procedures were deemed ineffective but Harold suggested that if it were implemented during soccer ('ball') it would be a good 'punishment'. The group rejected the idea that all be 812d

punished for the actions of a single member.

During the soccer game at the end of the session, Harold lost his temper and started punching Hector. On being sent off for five minutes, Harold stormed off, taking his books and going home. Positively, the group did not disintegrate in the face of this crisis involving a leader and continued playing.

The worker was concerned that Harold might not return to the group but the next day he joined an informal soccer group at the worker's request. After the worker had kicked the ball to him a few times, the gesture was returned, and the situation defused. The worker reminded the boys he had only imposed a limit they had agreed on in the group. In a later session it was Harold who stopped John hitting Steve in a soccer game (session 16) and he only again displayed aggressive behaviours in the termination phase of group life.

Session 12

The worker's 'talking' approach was revealed to have been accepted when two new members Eugene and Charles) joined the group, and group members exhorted them not to sit quietly but to talk as the group was a place to say what they thought.

Other examples of mutual testing of limits in the group included the members' sarcastic remarks to each other in Afrikaans about it being an 'English' group, while withholding their true capabilities in the language. Only when the worker explained he was from Rhodesia and that his Afrikaans was poor but he was willing to try and speak it did the group relax, promise to try and teach him Afrikaans and begin to speak more English.

The worker's modeling of an attitude and behaviours toward Steve were soon imitated by Harold who protected him from unfair scapegoating in session 14 (p. 116), a fight in session 16 (p. 116) and even nominated him as leader of the group in a questionnaire in session 16.

9.6 Negotiating contract

Having formulated goals the worker and group members may enter a contract regarding the problems to be worked on, and the means to be utilised in this process.

'The treatment contract is an agreement between two or more persons in which there must be mutuality of understanding concerning treatment goals (product), reciprocal obligations relating to treatment means (specifications) and ultimate expectations (terminal behaviour)'. (Croxton, 1974, p.176) Vinter (1974) maintains that a contract has its roots in ethical and practical considerations, seeking to avoid manipulating clients towards ends they do not accept, and to increase the chances of clients working toward goal achievement and remaining in service. It is a flexible process maintaining a goal orientation but changing with group development. In essence a contract is a clear statement of purpose, tasks and commitment to work which falls within the philosophies and nature

of the agency and profession, and the needs and expectations of the client; and forms the basis of purposeful work toward goal attainment on an individual and group level. Croxton (1974) proposes that the development of a treatment contract in social group work usually follows the ensuing sequence: an exploratory phase, a negotiation phase, a preliminary agreement, a working agreement, secondary contracts and termination and evaluation of work completed and objectives reached. In the exploratory and negotiation phases the worker has the responsibility of openly stating his purposes for forming the group, identifying areas of common ground, discussing value orientations surrounding purpose and to ensure opportunities for all members to share their views and expectations of the group and to facilitate involvement in it. These processes and a preliminary agreement were conducted during group origin and formation phases (Chapters 7 and 8). The preliminary agreement is often no more than a statement of willingness to try out the process. 'With all groups, the worker's responsibility is to make certain that goals are formulated clearly and specifically in relation to the group members' problems and that the group reaches some initial consensus on these goals'. (Schopter and Galinsky, 1974, p.140)

Croxton observes that

Even if the matter is thoroughly discussed, the client may often feel he is being coerced or manipulated; he is unsure of his grounds, his ability to negotiate, and his bargaining power. He may only agree passively to participate in the enterprise without having negotiated on any terms. (Croxton, 1974, p.181)

After a period of flexible negotiation the group may reach a working agreement where there is consensus on the nature of the problem and goals to be pursued. In addition, secondary contracts involving member/member agreement to assist each other may occur.

The importance of clear goal formulation and a treatment contract cannot be minimised.

A basic contract must be achieved between client and worker no matter what the negotiation sequence if effective treatment is to result. Failure to negotiate and reach agreement in clear, precise terms leaves both the worker and the client in ill-defined, ambiguous positions ... (and) results in an inefficient, ineffective, discouraging treatment process, for the therapist and most especially the client. (Croxton, 1974, p.181-2)

In the research group a final working agreement was reached in the twenty-fifth session, after a period of trust, testing and observation and baselining of relevant behaviours for diagnostic purposes had taken place.

In the research group negotiation of contract, and limitations of worker's behaviour was often 'tested' and defined in non-verbal ways. For instance, in session 5 the group members informed the worker of their unwillingness to have sessions tape recorded by simply unplugging the microphone and packing it away. Membership limits were tested and defined in session 3 not by discussion, at first, but by the introduction of a non-member's presence to the group.

After a process of mutual testing of limits, the worker produced a final working agreement with a schedule for a token economy which was agreed on by group members, in session 25. This followed a prolonged process of negotiation of mutually acceptable task and social behaviours, and continual definition of group purpose by the worker. (see under social processes in this Chapter)

GROUP CONTRACT

1. The name of the group is: Voorwaarts United

2. The members of the group are: Charles
Eugene
Edward
Hector
Roberto
Harold
Steve
Ivor
John
Tony
Bruce

3. The group is for:
 - a) doing homework
 - b) studying
 - c) learning to study better
 - d) helping others to learn better
 - e) having fun together - in games, visits, trips, talking about things, making plans and doing things together

4. The group member's jobs are:
 - a) to come on time for meetings
 - b) to plan ahead what subject they want to work on
 - c) to bring the books they need to each meeting
 - d) to tell the worker if they want to drop out of the group
 - e) to help each other with school work
 - f) helping everyone to have fun together

5. The worker's job is to:
 - a) help the group make rules, play and work together
 - b) help everyone enjoy themselves in the group
 - c) help the members study better
 - d) watch the members study, give the rewards and help the members to make plans for trips together

6. The rules of the group are:
 - a) no fighting or punching
 - b) no teasing or annoying
 - c) no cheating in studies
 - d) to try and learn to study better
 - e) to help others to learn better
 - f) to give others a chance to speak

7. Rewards for hard work are:
 - a) shown on the reward sheet
 - b) one sweet for every six tokens each member gets in his study period
 - c) a big reward like a trip or a soccer match for everyone when the group gets five hundred points. (This will get bigger later on)
 - d) this means that the more who come to the group and the harder they work, the sooner the group gets a 'big' reward

8. Costs of breaking the rules are:
 - a) shown on the reward sheet
 - b) five minutes time-out or two tokens taken away for unwanted behaviour
 - c) this means that the more members of the group tease, or fight, or cheat, the less rewards they get, and the further away the 'big' reward gets.

Signed:

Figure 10: Group Contract

(A) CHARACTERISTICS OF GROUP: INTERMEDIATE I AND REVISION	(B) WORKER ACTIVITIES	
<u>Task activities: intermediate phase I</u>	<u>Use of program: task activities</u>	B10
- increasing involvement of members in goal directed activities	A6 - initiating task activities	B10a
- developing a viable group structure to meet group goals	A6a - clarifying purpose of task activities	B10b
<u>Task activities: revision</u>	A6a - confronting members with evasion of task activities	B10c
- evading work in the group	A6b - observing members behaviour during task activities	B10d
- boycotting work in the group	A7 - compiling a behavioural schedule for recording purposes	B10e
<u>Social processes: intermediate phase I</u>	A7a - testing and modifying behavioural schedules	B10f
- increasing interpersonal ties moderate levels of cohesion emerge	A7b - recording member behaviours/ baselining	B10g
- emergence of specialised roles: task and socioemotional leadership, scapegoats, isolates, etc.	A8 - explaining concepts of observation, recording, behavioural feedback and reward to group members	B10h
- formation of cliques and sub-groups	<u>Use of program: social processes</u>	B11
- acquisition of norms and values and development of social control mechanisms: sanctioning in the group	A8a - fostering interpersonal attraction	B11a
<u>Social processes: revision</u>	A8b - identifying and modifying leadership structures in the group (task and socioemotional)	B11b
- testing the worker's attitudes, consistency and tolerance	A8c - identifying and modifying other member roles in the group (scapegoats, isolates)	B11c
- revising membership of the group	A8d - fostering group decision making	B11d
- revising leadership and other member roles in the group	A9 - fostering responsibility for the group among members	B11e
<u>Negotiation of contract</u>	A9a - identifying and modifying norms, values and social control measures in the group: mediating group sanctions	B11f
- preliminary agreement to try the group for its proposed purpose	A9b - negotiating contract with members: being sensitive to mutual definition of limits while retaining end goals	B12
- negotiating contract with the worker: placing limits on member and worker behaviours: testing contractual limits and group member autonomy	A9c - finalising contract: a written agreement	B12a
- agreeing to/rejecting contract	A10 - preliminary agreement to try the group for its proposed purpose	B12b
	A10a - defining general purpose of the group	B12c
	A10b - clarifying the concept of contract	B12d
	A10c - negotiating contract with members: being sensitive to mutual definition of limits while retaining end goals	B12e

Figure 11: Fold out summary of group characteristics and worker activities in the intermediate I and revision phase of group life: analysis sheet

INTERMEDIATE PHASE II: MAINTAINING THE GROUP TOWARD TREATMENT GOALS

CHAPTER 10 - INTERMEDIATE PHASE II: MAINTAINING THE GROUP TOWARD
TREATMENT GOALS

10.1 Characteristics of a group at intermediate II stage of development

At this stage of a group's development the worker can expect a higher level of group integration, and greater stability in goal-directed activity and group structure. In addition, owing to the length of time group members have shared together, traditions and norms are clearer and mutual influence and group cohesion is increased. Specific goal-required activities are able to be given greater attention, in conjunction with higher levels of co-operation and interdependence between members on these tasks.

Although not all groups experience a revision in group structure, some modification in structure will be apparent with a more complex division of labour. Leadership can be expected to become more diffused among members, and roles are differentiated and increased. These changes are likely to precipitate or accompany changes in operating procedures. (Sarri and Galinsky, 1974)

Northen (1969) notes that there is general recognition of two major emphases in this stage of group development - a more cohesive, interdependent group, and the use of the group as a vehicle for work. She adds that patterns within the group have reached some stability, and group has become a means for both supporting and stimulating its members toward achievement of individual and group goals. Mutual acceptance, interdependence and collaboration to achieve such goals are a characteristic of groups at this stage. 'The focus of the social worker is on maintaining the group as a viable modality so that increasingly the members are able to help each other'. (Northen, 1969, p.190)

Northen (1969) asserts that at this stage there is sufficient congruence about goals that members can work together toward their achievement. In addition, there is usually considerable involvement in the group by its members at this stage, a strong sense of belonging to it.

'The predominant qualities of relationships in this phase are trust, acceptance and interdependence' (Northen, 1969, p.192) and

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