A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF GUIDED GROUP INTERACTION (GGI): A DISCIPLINE PROGRAM IN A MIDWEST SCHOOL

By

Nana P. Makaula

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Educational Administration

1986

ABSTRACT

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF GUIDED GROUP INTERACTION (GGI): A DISCIPLINE PROGRAM IN A MIDWEST SCHOOL

By

Nana P. Makaula

The present study used field research methods to investigate and describe in detail the activities of Guided Group Interaction (GGI) in a junior high school in the Midwest. GGI is a school youth advocacy program specially designed during the early 1970s to be an exemplary program that can be disseminated to schools with discipline problems.

Since its inception, it has been disseminated to 34 school districts in Michigan. Despite its widespread distribution, there is little research to document the functioning of GGI in sites that adopted the program.

The importance of studying programs like GGI has been made apparent by the resounding call in the literature today for information about effective programs for dealing with the seemingly-perennial problem of school discipline. The problem persists in spite of a myriad of programs specifically designed to improve school discipline.

The present study revealed that GGI was not practiced as prescribed by its designers because of stated specific and peculiar conditions at the time (i.e., inadequate time assignment for the group leader) and because of plausible unstated reasons (i.e., resistance to the program). In concert with the findings of

related studies, the study concluded that pre-packaged programs of change have little chance of changing schools in targeted areas of change like discipline since these programs cannot anticipate unique local conditions that could make full implementation impossible.

DEDICATION

To my courageous and inspiring mother,

Nontuthuzelo Makaula,

and to my loving and supportive sister,

Stombe.

DEDICATION

To my courageous and inspiring mother,

Nontuthuzelo Makaula,

and to my loving and supportive sister,

Stombe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the result of the support of my thoughtful committee, colleagues, the people at my research site, friends, and loved ones who contributed professional and personal support.

The kindness and direction provided by Dr. Douglas Campbell as director of my study is deeply appreciated. I give Dr. James Costar my heartfelt thanks for his initial encouragement of my decision to enter the program, his understanding of my needs, and his role as an effective coordinator and chair of my guidance committee. My special gratitude goes to Dr. John Suehr, Dr. Gary Stollak, and Dr. Casmer Heilman for their constant support and understanding during the most trying times.

I applaud my colleagues in the field research methods series for helping me organize my study with constructive review. While I cannot list them all here, my special thanks goes to Mr. Eliot Singer for the commitment and assistance he gave me in planning the study.

Without the warm, accepting attitudes of the people at my research site, this study would have not been possible. I appreciate their cordial and cooperative acceptance of me. In particular, my thanks are directed to the principal, group leader, GGI girls, assistant principals, and staff.

I extend my unending thanks to my typist, Ms. Barbara Reeves, for her efficient and speedy typing and her unfailingly cheerful and helpful nature. Barbara restored my hope and faith in believing my final draft would be done on time after I suffered a mishap with a typing and editing service.

Keith and Robbe Pohl, Bob Hundley, Jon Lacy, Warren and Tony Vincent, Abdou Fall, and the following friends with their families--Lungie Goduka, Buhle Chonco, Yaya Mthombeni, Naana Agymang-Menshah--many other friends I'm unable to list: to all of you, I extend my thanks for having made my life in this country meaningful in so many ways.

To Ms. Carol Gilchrist, to whom I will remain grateful for having been not only a selfless friend but a loving and self-sacrificing and supportive sister, I express my deepest appreciation. Without the computer she freely availed to me to write and rewrite my data and first draft, producing this dissertation would have been more of an ordeal than it was.

My special gratitude and love go to my family: my mother, my late father, my stepfather, my sisters, my brothers, and my caring relatives, especially Aunt Nosi, and friends for their encouragement.

I will not forget to acknowledge and appreciate the contributions of the following organizations: the Oppenheimer Trust Fund, Sage and Altrusa Foundations, United Nations, and Urban Affairs of Michigan State University, particularly its former dean, Dr. Robert Green, for helping me realize the impossible dream of earning university education as a Black South African.

Most importantly, I acknowledge my indebtedness to God Almighty. Amidst millions of gifted Black South Africans, God miraculously made it possible for me to reach this level of my education.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

"The U.S. public continues to regard discipline as the most important problem facing public schools. This has been true in every poll but one since this series began in 1969" (Gallup, 1985, p. 42). This statement from the 17th Gallup Poll of the public's attitude toward public schools indicates that for 16 of the past 17 years, the United States public has ranked school discipline as the number one educational problem. This problem has persisted for almost two decades; yet, as stated by Curwin and Mendler (1980),

> . . . because of the widespread need for improved methods of dealing with discipline, a plethora of approaches and theories have been developed and tried in colleges of education and classrooms throughout the country . . . despite these books, workshops, courses, and in-service training programs, teachers and schools are still searching for solutions to the problems of discipline and the frightening, tiring effects of disruptive youth. (pp. 1-2)

What Curwin and Mendler did not mention is the fact that the federal government has also sponsored the development of exemplary programs and provided funds for the dissemination of those programs to schools with discipline problems. Schools do not face this perennial problem because nothing has been done; instead, as Goldstein, Apter, and Harootunian (1984) have observed, the response of the educational community has been energetic, creative, and sustained. A majority of these programs claim a high degree of success. For both theoretical and practical reasons, research efforts should now be directed toward examining most of the programs which have claimed a high degree of

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

"The U.S. public continues to regard discipline as the most important problem facing public schools. This has been true in every poll but one since this series began in 1969" (Gallup, 1985, p. 42). This statement from the 17th Gallup Poll of the public's attitude toward public schools indicates that for 16 of the past 17 years, the United States public has ranked school discipline as the number one educational problem. This problem has persisted for almost two decades; yet, as stated by Curwin and Mendler (1980),

> . . . because of the widespread need for improved methods of dealing with discipline, a plethora of approaches and theories have been developed and tried in colleges of education and classrooms throughout the country . . . despite these books, workshops, courses, and in-service training programs, teachers and schools are still searching for solutions to the problems of discipline and the frightening, tiring effects of disruptive youth. (pp. 1-2)

What Curwin and Mendler did not mention is the fact that the federal government has also sponsored the development of exemplary programs and provided funds for the dissemination of those programs to schools with discipline problems. Schools do not face this perennial problem because nothing has been done; instead, as Goldstein, Apter, and Harootunian (1984) have observed, the response of the educational community has been energetic, creative, and sustained. A majority of these programs claim a high degree of success. For both theoretical and practical reasons, research efforts should now be directed toward examining most of the programs which have claimed a high degree of

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

"The U.S. public continues to regard discipline as the most important problem facing public schools. This has been true in every poll but one since this series began in 1969" (Gallup, 1985, p. 42). This statement from the 17th Gallup Poll of the public's attitude toward public schools indicates that for 16 of the past 17 years, the United States public has ranked school discipline as the number one educational problem. This problem has persisted for almost two decades; yet, as stated by Curwin and Mendler (1980),

> . . . because of the widespread need for improved methods of dealing with discipline, a plethora of approaches and theories have been developed and tried in colleges of education and classrooms throughout the country . . . despite these books, workshops, courses, and in-service training programs, teachers and schools are still searching for solutions to the problems of discipline and the frightening, tiring effects of disruptive youth. (pp. 1-2)

What Curwin and Mendler did not mention is the fact that the federal government has also sponsored the development of exemplary programs and provided funds for the dissemination of those programs to schools with discipline problems. Schools do not face this perennial problem because nothing has been done; instead, as Goldstein, Apter, and Harootunian (1984) have observed, the response of the educational community has been energetic, creative, and sustained. A majority of these programs claim a high degree of success. For both theoretical and practical reasons, research efforts should now be directed toward examining most of the programs which have claimed a high degree of

success so as to understand why all these efforts do not translate into appreciable changes.

The present study is aimed at investigating and describing in detail Guided Group Interaction (GGI), a peer counseling technique which was developed to be an exemplary program that can be disseminated in Michigan schools with discipline problems. It was introduced during the early 1970s in Michigan's public schools as the School Youth Advocacy program to quell discipline problems at a time when student activism, violence, and vandalism were at their peak. GGI has most of the elements considered important for a positive and effective discipline program according to current literature on school discipline.

Generally, the literature indicates that a discipline program that gives students a chance to participate in the management of students' affairs, as well as a program that seeks to treat causes of misbehavior rather than symptoms, is effective. Furthermore, the American public has indicated a preference for positive solutions that would involve discussion and instruction rather than harsh or punitive measures, solutions that would deal with problem students within the school system, rather than placing them in alternative schools (Gallup, 1985). Although GGI does not include formal instruction, it is still in accord with the kind of a discipline program the American public prefers.

Operational Definition of Guided Group Interaction (GGI)

GGI is a peer counseling technique to change and manage student behavior. GGI students are supposed to counsel one another in the presence of an adult group leader. GGI aims at utilizing the power of peer influence to change undesirable behavior. Peer leaders, both negative and positive, are put into a counseling group where they can examine their own inappropriate behaviors. The idea of having both negative and positive peer leaders in a counseling group is to

reverse and defuse the power of negative leadership, thus avoiding the negative labeling that could result if negative peer leaders were to be isolated. Designers of the program had hoped that, because of the group experience, peer leaders would command positive leadership in peer groups and that positive cultures would be a consequence. Thus GGI was also considered to be a preventative program because of the assumed ripple effect.

As a School Youth Advocacy Program, GGI advocates involvement of students in the administration and management of students' affairs. For example, GGI students can discuss what appears to be a general problem in the school and bring those problems to the attention of administrators. GGI participants can function as teacher aides and help control classroom misconduct and misbehavior. Misbehaving students can be counseled by the GGI graduates, and/or participants, who may suggest an appropriate course of help where feasible. GGI members can be used in other community-based programs (e.g., addressing a parent group or PTA meeting). The historical development of GGI in public schools of this state, its rationale, aims, and goals will be fully discussed in the literature review.

Purpose of the Study

Field research methods were used in this study to investigate and describe in detail all the activities of the GGI program in Howard Junior High School. The study describes how GGI participants counseled one another in GGI meetings and how non-GGI students were counseled by GGI students. Typical problems brought to meetings by group members and the kind of non-members' problems that were brought to GGI for discussion are described in detail. What GGI participants could not do in the school community to further the purpose of GGI is described. This is to demonstrate the scope of the GGI program in this

reverse and defuse the power of negative leadership, thus avoiding the negative labeling that could result if negative peer leaders were to be isolated. Designers of the program had hoped that, because of the group experience, peer leaders would command positive leadership in peer groups and that positive cultures would be a consequence. Thus GGI was also considered to be a preventative program because of the assumed ripple effect.

As a School Youth Advocacy Program, GGI advocates involvement of students in the administration and management of students' affairs. For example, GGI students can discuss what appears to be a general problem in the school and bring those problems to the attention of administrators. GGI participants can function as teacher aides and help control classroom misconduct and misbehavior. Misbehaving students can be counseled by the GGI graduates, and/or participants, who may suggest an appropriate course of help where feasible. GGI members can be used in other community-based programs (e.g., addressing a parent group or PTA meeting). The historical development of GGI in public schools of this state, its rationale, aims, and goals will be fully discussed in the literature review.

Purpose of the Study

Field research methods were used in this study to investigate and describe in detail all the activities of the GGI program in Howard Junior High School. The study describes how GGI participants counseled one another in GGI meetings and how non-GGI students were counseled by GGI students. Typical problems brought to meetings by group members and the kind of non-members' problems that were brought to GGI for discussion are described in detail. What GGI participants could not do in the school community to further the purpose of GGI is described. This is to demonstrate the scope of the GGI program in this

setting. The study concludes by relating the described activities of the GGI program in this setting to the aims and broad goals of GGI as outlined by its designers. In other words, congruence between the theory and practice of GGI is described.

Problem Statement

The problem is that little is known about the practice of GGI in public schools. Other than the national surveys which revealed disappointing results about federally funded programs like GGI to improve schools (Marvin, McCann, Connolly, Temkin, & Henning, 1976; Berman & McLauglin, 1978), the only research study known to have directly examined GGI is Petrock's (1976). Petrock investigated the impact and outcome of implementation of the GGI program in the four experimental schools where GGI was first introduced in this Midwest state. Petrock lamented that GGI had no theoretical base, no literature adequately explaining what it was and how it worked, and no empirical research aimed at understanding the GGI process to support practices associated with it. He further noted that the little research connected with GGI mainly centered on the effects of a GGI-based program and not with explaining the process of GGI. During his study, he observed that each practitioner at the four experimental sites had his/her own stylistic variation of conducting GGI meetings and managing GGI-based programs. He attributed this variation to the fact that GGI was a difficult program to understand.

Unlike what Petrock believed was the reason for differential implementation of the program, in this study it is assumed that reasons for differential implementation could also be explained by the local conditions that could force the program to adapt to local conditions. The aim of this study is to

provide a detailed analytic account of the process of GGI and identify factors that might be associated with the functioning of GGI in this setting.

Need for the Study

Petrock's (1976) study had focused on the outcome of implementation efforts, although he recognized the need for the GGI process to be studied. The results of Petrock's study demonstrated that GGI produced no significant impact in almost any of the measures of impact. It was only self reports of GGI participants that gave significant positive results of the program's impact on its participants, although these self-reports were sharply contradicted by negative reports of teachers about GGI participants. The study also indicated that implementation of the program was not uniform in the four experimental sites. For theoretical reasons, knowing that the program has or has not achieved its stated goals may not be as informative as knowing why the program has or has not achieved its goals in one setting or another. As Gold and Mann (1984) put it, ". . . it is extremely important to study the underlying process by which programs seek to achieve their goals rather than focusing on outcomes" (p. 160). It is this kind of knowledge that can inform future theory and practice.

Because educators are still searching for new positive models to help them deal constructively with the problem of discipline (Bybee & Gee, 1982; Curwin & Mendler, 1980; Goldstein et al., 1984; Feldhusen, 1979; First & Mizell, 1980), there is a compelling need to study programs that appear promising in their conceptualization and claims of success (Gold & Mann, 1984). Although most writers in this area point out that there is no single program that can be suitable for all settings, it is still important to study promising programs intensively so as to identify factors influencing the success or failure of those programs in specific settings. As Brookover, Beamer, Efthim, Hathaway, Lezotte, Miller,

Passalacqua, and Tornasky (1982) have stated, ". . . the need for information on successful and positive (discipline) programs cannot be overemphasized" (p. 177). From case studies, potential adopters can vicariously learn about specific conditions which determine the success and failure of a "promising" discipline program. The holistic approach of qualitative research illustrates the relationships and interconnectedness of factors influencing the functioning of such programs. That there is a need for information about positive programs is further evidenced by the new 1984 National School Safety Center (NSSC) which has made the dissemination of information about outstanding discipline programs one of its primary goals (Nicholson, Stephens, Elder, & Leavitt, 1985).

Significance of the Study

There are several programs that are specially designed to control and/or manage behavior. Gold and Mann (1984) observe that data are rarely collected to test either the effectiveness of these programs or their theoretical assumptions. They contend one has to glean hints from the empirical literature on how separate components of the program might work if they were integrated. Gold and Petronio (1980) argue that one could fill a large book with brief descriptions of the many different kinds of attempts to reduce delinquency. Nevertheless, they add, "We know very little about what really works, and we suspect from what careful research has been done that very few methods have worked at all" (p. 517).

The analytical descriptive approach assumed in qualitative research necessitated the examination of the theoretical assumptions of the GGI model in areas where undesirable and unintended consequences were produced. The study illustrates how these assumptions were translated in practice in this particular setting.

Myrick and Dixon (1985), after a review of literature on effective counselor interventions with students who have negative attitudes and behaviors, came to the realization that counselors only report results of successful programs arranged for students with negative attitudes and/or behaviors. They urge counselors to describe the methods they used. They believe there is a need for such data. The present study provides information about the group process of GGI, a program that was intended to help students with behavior problems, as practiced in this setting and factors influencing the group focus and style. Illustrations of what was actually done in GGI group meetings and why are contained in the study.

As stated before, Petrock (1976) points out that GGI has no theoretical base, no literature adequately explaining what it is and how it works, and no empirical research aimed at understanding the GGI process. What Petrock probably meant is that research has not been conducted to validate and justify different aspects considered essential for effective functioning of the GGI process. This study depicts how different aspects of the GGI program operated in practice and illustrates unintended consequences of the prescribed operations.

This study is not evaluative, but descriptive. Yet, as Wirt and Kirst (1982) argue about descriptive studies, "the description of a purported reality is invariably accompanied by normative evaluations" (p. 25). Wirt and Kirst see descriptive and evaluative studies indefinably merging into prescription--recommendations for changing the reality to achieve normative objectives to close the gap between the real and the ideal.

It should be pointed out that although the analytical descriptive approach of qualitative research bears strong resemblances to some evaluative research methods, such as process evaluation, which most typically require detailed descriptions of program operations or engages in normative evaluations as

suggested by Wirt and Kirst, ethnography is still significantly different from the approach of evaluative studies. It is not just the process of accomplishing desired goals that is important to this approach, but in particular the meaning actors give to their actions or the process itself. In this study, for example, it is demonstrated how the meaning local people attached to GGI affected the process and focus of GGI.

Delimitations of the Study

The study does not provide information about which objectives were accomplished and how well, because the study did not seek to evaluate the impact of GGI in this setting along the parameters and measures of impact given by the designers of the program. Instead, the study sought to understand the focus of the program and its value from the meaning local people give to program. The meaning local people had of the program was then related to the broad goals of the GGI model in order to demonstrate how the program had translated itself in this setting.

Detailed information about group dynamics is not provided because the focus of the study was not on group dynamics per se. In group meetings the focus was on the content and purpose of discussions where the intent and meaning of the program could be culled. The general aim of the study was to observe the processes by which the GGI program achieves its goals in this setting. GGI meetings happen to be one of the processes.

The study did not seek to evaluate the functional value of all the different aspects and procedures recommended for the GGI program.

Results of this study cannot be generalized beyond the studied case, although implications of the findings, when viewed against findings of related studies, speak to general policy issues.

Research Questions

This study describes what local people understand GGI to be, how it works, and what participant observations demonstrates to be actually happening. The focus was on the following areas: (a) recruitment to GGI, (b) GGI sessions, and (c) the role of GGI participants in the school community. Research questions included the following.

1. Why and how were GGI participants chosen for GGI, according to (a) teachers, (b) administrators, (c) counselors, (d) GGI participants, and (e) group leaders?

2. How did teachers, counselors, administrators, and group leaders think GGI worked (e.g., by what mechanism--psychological, perhaps--do these role groups think GGI changes attitudes or behaviors)?

3. Based on observations, what actually went on during GGI meetings?

    a. What were the duties, responsibilities, rights, and obligations of members in the group and the group leader?

    b. What were appropriate topics for discussions?

    c. What were inappropriate topics for discussions?

4. What did GGI group participants think GGI was all about?

Summary

Discipline is regarded by both the public and educators as the number one problem facing American schools today. This problem has unabatedly continued as the greatest problem facing public schools today, despite the many programs that have been installed in schools to ameliorate the problem. This study used field research methods to investigate and describe in detail the activities of the GGI program in one setting. GGI is centered around peer counseling. In its theoretical conceptualization, GGI appears to be a promising and positive approach to managing student behavior. The study attempted to satisfy the need

for information about positive and creative discipline programs. A call for information about such programs is echoed in most current literature on school discipline and at the federal education administration sectors (e.g., the National School Safety Center). The study focused on the meaning local people attached to the program so as to understand why it worked in some particular way and not in others in this setting. The forerunner of the present study by Petrock (1976) had revealed that GGI was differentially implemented in the first four experimental sites where GGI was first implemented. By studying GGI ethnographically, it was believed that environmental factors which influence the functioning of the GGI program in this particular setting could be identified. The present study is not evaluative, but descriptive. It describes what was done in the program and why what was done was done.

A summary of the contents of the next chapters is briefly presented here. Chapter II contains a review of literature related to the study. The first part is a review of literature on school discipline, and the second part is a review of literature on the historical development of GGI as a method of changing behavior. Chapter III discusses the methods used in the study and the rationale for using them. Chapter IV describes the immediate setting of the GGI: the GGI classroom, school, and community.

Chapter V presents the findings. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part is mainly testimonies of school staff about GGI. Part two is predominantly observational data which are still intertwined with testimonies of school staff and GGI participants. The third part discusses GGI from the perspective of GGI group participants, although observational data support and augment testimonies of group participants.

for information about positive and creative discipline programs. A call for information about such programs is echoed in most current literature on school discipline and at the federal education administration sectors (e.g., the National School Safety Center). The study focused on the meaning local people attached to the program so as to understand why it worked in some particular way and not in others in this setting. The forerunner of the present study by Petrock (1976) had revealed that GGI was differentially implemented in the first four experimental sites where GGI was first implemented. By studying GGI ethnographically, it was believed that environmental factors which influence the functioning of the GGI program in this particular setting could be identified. The present study is not evaluative, but descriptive. It describes what was done in the program and why what was done was done.

A summary of the contents of the next chapters is briefly presented here. Chapter II contains a review of literature related to the study. The first part is a review of literature on school discipline, and the second part is a review of literature on the historical development of GGI as a method of changing behavior. Chapter III discusses the methods used in the study and the rationale for using them. Chapter IV describes the immediate setting of the GGI: the GGI classroom, school, and community.

Chapter V presents the findings. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part is mainly testimonies of school staff about GGI. Part two is predominantly observational data which are still intertwined with testimonies of school staff and GGI participants. The third part discusses GGI from the perspective of GGI group participants, although observational data support and augment testimonies of group participants.

for information about positive and creative discipline programs. A call for information about such programs is echoed in most current literature on school discipline and at the federal education administration sectors (e.g., the National School Safety Center). The study focused on the meaning local people attached to the program so as to understand why it worked in some particular way and not in others in this setting. The forerunner of the present study by Petrock (1976) had revealed that GGI was differentially implemented in the first four experimental sites where GGI was first implemented. By studying GGI ethnographically, it was believed that environmental factors which influence the functioning of the GGI program in this particular setting could be identified. The present study is not evaluative, but descriptive. It describes what was done in the program and why what was done was done.

A summary of the contents of the next chapters is briefly presented here. Chapter II contains a review of literature related to the study. The first part is a review of literature on school discipline, and the second part is a review of literature on the historical development of GGI as a method of changing behavior. Chapter III discusses the methods used in the study and the rationale for using them. Chapter IV describes the immediate setting of the GGI: the GGI classroom, school, and community.

Chapter V presents the findings. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part is mainly testimonies of school staff about GGI. Part two is predominantly observational data which are still intertwined with testimonies of school staff and GGI participants. The third part discusses GGI from the perspective of GGI group participants, although observational data support and augment testimonies of group participants.

Finally, Chapter VI contains a summary of the previous chapter, discussion, interpretation, and conclusions, as well as implications of the study and recommendations.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This section presents a review of literature related to the study. It is divided into two parts. The first part reviews literature on school discipline so as to depict the state of the art and efforts that have been made to improve school discipline and to relate the GGI effort to current trends in matters concerning school discipline in the United States. Part two reviews historical development and factors surrounding its adoption in public schools of this state.

School Discipline

Introduction

Discipline, Bybee and Gee (1982) reckon, has always been a concern for school personnel, but over the past three decades there has been an increase in violence, vandalism, and disruption in schools. Rich (1981) states that despite concerted efforts to recognize student rights and develop educational alternatives, school violence increased throughout the 1970s. Bauer (1985), like almost all other authors reviewed, considers student misbehavior one of the most serious problems facing American schools today. The disruptive behavior of some students, especially in secondary schools, is widely believed to be impeding the efforts of teachers to maintain enough order to impart knowledge and skills (Goldstein et al., 1985; Gold & Mann, 1984; Curwin & Mendler, 1980; Feitler, 1980).

Is Discipline Really a Problem in American Public Schools Today?

There is a minority of educators who believe that discipline is no worse than before. Ianni and Reuus-Ianni (1980), cited by Brookover et al. (1982), for example, lament that the public believes that crime is escalating because the public does not keep up with the research findings which point to the contrary. These educators also argue that school violence appears to be worse than before because the media now focuses more attention on this problem than before. Although no studies which point to the contrary were encountered in this review, the truth may be that whether or not school discipline is worse than before, it is worse if it is perceived as worse by the general public. A social problem is defined not so much by empirical reality as by concerns of the general public or leaders of public opinion (Gold & Mann, 1984).

The picture is confusing. It appears as though it depends on definitions of terms like violence. Wayne (1985), for example, contends that when the term violence is used to define what he calls petty annoyances and trivial disruptive behaviors, it only confounds the true picture of school violence. He argues that school violence is rare. Most authors appear to embrace a broad definition of violence as exemplified in the following definition given by Feitler (1980): "(violence) . . . any act or threatened act that has strongly negative physical or psychological consequences or which intentionally damages property . . ." (p. 80). Marvin et al. (1976), in a national survey, established that educators preferred this broad definition of the term violence.

The response to the perceived alarming state of school violence during the 1970s was the commissioning of a series of fact-finding commissions such as the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency (1971-1975), Safe School Study (1974-1978), a commission from Research for Better Schools (1975-

1976). These commissions were set up to investigate the extent of crime, violence, vandalism, and disruption in the schools. The aim of these commissions was to investigate the extent and magnitude of discipline problems so as to find solutions to them. Without exception, they all confirmed that school violence was a big problem in American schools. The problem still persists because the findings of these commissions had been confirmed by recent surveys conducted in the '80s. For example, the 1980 NEA national survey of teachers indicates that one of every 20 teachers was assaulted on school premises during that school year (Feitler, 1980). A statewide survey conducted by the Detroit Free Press in Michigan revealed that 46% of all Michigan teachers had been threatened with violence during the 1983-84 school year. One of every five teachers had been assaulted by a student, and three of 100 had been assaulted by a parent. Another study in Boston found that during the 1983 school year, 63 crimes had occurred for each 100 students (Bauer, 1985; Baker, 1985).

The results of these commissions and surveys have culminated in the establishment of the National School Safety Center (NSSC) which was opened in June 1984. According to President Reagan as quoted by Nicholson et al. (1985), the center is ". . . addressing the needs of our nation's schools in the areas of school safety and restoration of (good) discipline" (p. 492). Reagan is reported to be waging a campaign against unruly behavior in schools and is focusing on improved discipline and the reduction of school violence in an effort to foster excellence in education (Bauer, 1985). It is projected that the trend of violence and disruption in schools is likely to rise or remain as high as it is throughout the 1980s (Nicholson et al., 1985; Bybee & Gee, 1982).

Factors Confounding the Degree of Problems of School Discipline

Possible solutions to the discipline problem can only be realized when a realistic and accurate assessment of the problem is made. Bauer (1985) asserts

> . . . the simple truth is that there is a problem of lack of discipline in our schools. And this lack of discipline in our schools prevents many students from learning. The general public, teachers, and students have all expressed concern over the issue of school discipline. (p. 489)

On this regard, Baker (1985) urges that if discipline is to be improved in American schools, educators must first agree that a problem exists. In the same vein, Goldstein et al. (1984) contend the failure to reduce school aggression in American schools is due in large part to a failure of perspective. Bybee and Gee (1982), in acknowledging the problem of school violence, state that the extent and intensity of school and classroom disruption--discipline problems--are unprecedented in American education, if not in the history of education.

The apparent decline of violence in schools today could be resulting from the fact that attention in recent years has been focused on criminal acts of violence and vandalism (Bybee & Gee, 1982). This focus obscures the reality and extent of the problem because criminal acts are only part of the problem that confronts teachers daily in their classrooms (Baker, 1985; Bybee & Gee, 1982; Hurley, 1982; Alschuler, 1980). Uncivil behavior interferes with the process of teaching and learning. Still, whether or not criminal acts of violence have declined is not clear. The Safe School Study, for example, revealed that at least 157,000 incidents of crime and violent disruptions occur in American schools in a typical month. Of these, only 50,000 are reported. Under-reporting is one factor that clouds the accurate estimate of the problem. Many different reasons for this under-reporting are given by different authors.

Alschuler (1980), for example, states that only 10% of rebellious acts are reported. Some administrators pressure teachers not to report incidents that would reflect poorly on their ability to run the school. Similarly, some school boards pressure educators not to tarnish a school system's public image for fear of losing the next bond issue or tax levy. Parents as well often pressure teachers and administrators not to report their children to the police. Besides these pressures, some teachers avoid or ignore problems because of the resulting hassles of reporting. From Cusick's (1983) study, it is apparent that the need for school personnel to project the impression to the public that schools are orderly and safe is of overriding importance and is, as a result, consuming most of the energies of school personnel.

Students as well do not report shake downs, extortions, thefts, or beatings because of fear of retaliation (Alschuler, 1980). Teachers too do not intervene because of fear of retaliation. Baker (1985) cites an incident in New Orleans where a teacher helplessly watched two boys throw a smaller boy off a second floor balcony. The fear of intervention has made some classrooms appear placid when, in reality, they are not (Baker, 1985; Alschuler, 1980; Duke & Meckel, 1980). Baker (1985) reports that in many classrooms teachers and students have worked out a compromise, a tacit understanding that allows them to coexist in a state of truce. A teacher "agrees" to let troublesome students sit in the back of the room, read comic books, and ignore lessons. In return, these students tacitly "agree" not to disrupt the class--at least not too often. Arrangements like these were seen by Cusick (1983) to be motivated by the need to "keep the lid on" so as to convince administrators and the public that schools are orderly. Cusick further speculates that students are so used to violence around them at school that they seem not to take much notice of it.

Alschuler (1980), for example, states that only 10% of rebellious acts are reported. Some administrators pressure teachers not to report incidents that would reflect poorly on their ability to run the school. Similarly, some school boards pressure educators not to tarnish a school system's public image for fear of losing the next bond issue or tax levy. Parents as well often pressure teachers and administrators not to report their children to the police. Besides these pressures, some teachers avoid or ignore problems because of the resulting hassles of reporting. From Cusick's (1983) study, it is apparent that the need for school personnel to project the impression to the public that schools are orderly and safe is of overriding importance and is, as a result, consuming most of the energies of school personnel.

Students as well do not report shake downs, extortions, thefts, or beatings because of fear of retaliation (Alschuler, 1980). Teachers too do not intervene because of fear of retaliation. Baker (1985) cites an incident in New Orleans where a teacher helplessly watched two boys throw a smaller boy off a second floor balcony. The fear of intervention has made some classrooms appear placid when, in reality, they are not (Baker, 1985; Alschuler, 1980; Duke & Meckel, 1980). Baker (1985) reports that in many classrooms teachers and students have worked out a compromise, a tacit understanding that allows them to coexist in a state of truce. A teacher "agrees" to let troublesome students sit in the back of the room, read comic books, and ignore lessons. In return, these students tacitly "agree" not to disrupt the class--at least not too often. Arrangements like these were seen by Cusick (1983) to be motivated by the need to "keep the lid on" so as to convince administrators and the public that schools are orderly. Cusick further speculates that students are so used to violence around them at school that they seem not to take much notice of it.

Alschuler (1980), for example, states that only 10% of rebellious acts are reported. Some administrators pressure teachers not to report incidents that would reflect poorly on their ability to run the school. Similarly, some school boards pressure educators not to tarnish a school system's public image for fear of losing the next bond issue or tax levy. Parents as well often pressure teachers and administrators not to report their children to the police. Besides these pressures, some teachers avoid or ignore problems because of the resulting hassles of reporting. From Cusick's (1983) study, it is apparent that the need for school personnel to project the impression to the public that schools are orderly and safe is of overriding importance and is, as a result, consuming most of the energies of school personnel.

Students as well do not report shake downs, extortions, thefts, or beatings because of fear of retaliation (Alschuler, 1980). Teachers too do not intervene because of fear of retaliation. Baker (1985) cites an incident in New Orleans where a teacher helplessly watched two boys throw a smaller boy off a second floor balcony. The fear of intervention has made some classrooms appear placid when, in reality, they are not (Baker, 1985; Alschuler, 1980; Duke & Meckel, 1980). Baker (1985) reports that in many classrooms teachers and students have worked out a compromise, a tacit understanding that allows them to coexist in a state of truce. A teacher "agrees" to let troublesome students sit in the back of the room, read comic books, and ignore lessons. In return, these students tacitly "agree" not to disrupt the class--at least not too often. Arrangements like these were seen by Cusick (1983) to be motivated by the need to "keep the lid on" so as to convince administrators and the public that schools are orderly. Cusick further speculates that students are so used to violence around them at school that they seem not to take much notice of it.

Bybee and Gee (1982) state there are some educators who deny that the problem exists on the grounds that adolescents are expected to fight and violate rules; therefore, a majority of these problems can be considered normal. Yet, the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency has warned that discipline problems are reaching serious proportions. The range and type of violent crimes found to exist in American schools include virtually every type found on the street. Estimates of the degree of under-reporting vary, but not the fact of under-reporting. Even with unknown statistics, the reported acts of violence, vandalism, and disruption are high enough to justify the public, government, and educators' concern about discipline in American schools today. What can be surmised from the above arguments is that discipline is still a pressing problem in American schools.

Causes of Disruption and Violence

Alienation which results from several interrelated factors is believed to be the central cause of school disruption and violence. There are numerous factors and conditions outside of the school setting which have a tremendous impact on what takes place in school and are totally beyond the school's ability to control. Some theorists believe that school disruption results from larger societal factors such as housing patterns which create and intensity racial imbalance, unemployment, poverty, and violence. Since schools are part of society, they are, therefore, influenced by societal ills (Bayh, 1977). The factors numerated above help explain why, as stated by authors such as First and Mizell (1980), discipline policies impact more on those who are different (e.g., minorities) than on the average student.

Some other societal changes such as technological advancement have made schooling almost the only gateway to success. In the past, schools catered solely

to college preperatory students. Those who could not deal with academic demands simply dropped out of school and joined the manual labor force. With technological development, the need for manual force has rapidly declined and left a large group of unemployable youth. The public then became concerned about increasing numbers of uneducated and unemployable youth. Such concern resulted in many changes to the educational system. Thus, the school was forced to take responsibility for educating "non-academic" students. The resulting change in student body composition has affected classroom and school discipline (Gold & Mann, 1984; Bourgeois, 1979).

There is also the argument that school has sown the seeds of crime through its organizational structure, rules, and regulations. Most literature reviewed considered oppressive practices of the school a major cause of disruption and violence. Alschuler (1980) supported this view by citing a number of studies indicating students were dissatisfied with the despotic governing styles of schools. He cited Frymier et al.'s (1974) study, commissioned by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum, investigating oppressive practices existing in schools across the country. The study's sample included 10,731 students in grades 4-12 in 140 representative school districts across the country. Questions determining oppressive practices were to be answered. The results included the following:

1. 80.5% said they did not have a chance to write rules and regulations.
2. 73.1% said everyone must do the same thing at the same time.
3. 71.2% claimed they needed permission to do anything.
4. 85.7% responded that teachers make decisions about what they should learn, even when they should sit in class.
5. 44.4% said what they say is important to them as students is not studied.

6. 80.4% said they cannot change the things they do not like, even when they think a teacher's decision is unfair.

7. 71.5% said they cannot get decisions changed.

Alschuler (1980) cited three other national surveys which found equally pervasive student dissatisfaction with oppressive school practices. For example, of the students responding to a Harris Poll (Life Magazine, 1969), 88% said participation in policy making was important, while 66% wanted participation in curriculum decisions. In the 1970 Gallup Poll, 83% of the students said they wanted a greater voice in making rules, and 77% wanted similar participation in determining the curriculum. De Cecco and Richards' (1974) study concluded that of all injustices students perceived in schools, their exclusion from the decision-making process in their schools was the worst.

All factors given above regarding school rules and policies are factors contributing to student alienation because students lack self-affirmation and self-determination. Haney and Zimbardo (1980), cited by Alschuler, saw students as "conscripts" in a system where they have no control and they compared schools to prisons. The connection between oppressive school policies and rebellion is seen by most advocates of just schools.

Also, curricular and extracurricular conditions that are repetitive, unpleasant, and irrelevant are known to be conducive to classroom and school disruption. Other school-related precipitators of disruption and violence outlined in the Safe School Study report are (a) the large size of schools (i.e., school's impersonality) encourages vandalism and violence, (b) arbitrary and unnecessary punitive enforcement of rules promotes crime and disruption, (c) schools emphasizing good grades and using grades for disciplinary purposes have a high rate of vandalism, and (d) a principal's leadership style has a great impact on a school's climate and discipline. First (1980) added that adults insensitive to

cultural differences and teachers' classroom management styles also promote disruption and violence.

Other causes of disruption and violence lie with individual students (e.g., mental, emotional, perceptual, or psychological disorders such as depression). The school experience may be alienating because of students' inability to adjust and cope with the school situation and its demands for various reasons. Because of these inabilities, students often suffer rejection from school personnel which, in turn, trigger disruption and violence. Some students experience nothing but repeated failure in school. This promotes disenchantment with school (Gold & Mann, 1984; Feitler, 1980). The Safe School Study indicated violent students are more likely to be those who have given up on school, do not care about grades, find courses irrelevant, and feel that nothing they do makes any difference.

Ineffective Approach to School Discipline

Wold and Windsor (1981) state many people believe most administrators attend to their student management roles by restricting student mobility, providing stiff penalties for school infractions, and increasing student surveillance. Nicholson et al. (1985) comments that student behavior management and school safety require more than stronger locks, alarms, and higher fences. This response is believed to be geared only to problems' symptoms and not causes (Hurley, 1982; Mayer & Butterworth, 1981; Nicholson et al., 1985). The contention is that punitive measures have proved incapable of bringing about lasting improvement in attitudes. Mayer and Butterworth (1981) state that studies have demonstrated the paradoxical effect of this approach.

Some educators are said to be guilty of overusing a single method, especially suspension and/or expulsion at the secondary school level, to solve

disciplinary problems (Baker, 1985; First & Mizell, 1980; Unger et al., 1979). Suspensions are even used to control minor offenses (Unger et al., 1979). Baker (1985) cites that in one school, 45% of all suspensions were for tardiness. He considers this approach ineffective because suspending students who have clearly indicated they do not wish to attend school is more of a reward than a punishment. Mizell (1980) consider extensive use of suspension and expulsion for minor offenses an irresponsible use of power by school personnel. First and Mizell (1980) estimate more than a million and one-half students are suspended from school for one or more days each year.

Many schools are reported to be still using corporal punishment (Baker, 1985; Brookover et al., 1982; First & Mizell, 1980). Corporal punishment is viewed with skepticism and considered ineffective in student management (Baker, 1985; Bybee & Gee, 1982; First & Mizell, 1980). Detention without meaningful activity for students in detention rooms and grade reduction are still widely used, although considered inappropriate and ineffective (Mizell, 1980).

Advocates of just schools believe schools exacerbate disciplinary problems through the use of custodial and punitive methods. Schools' ineffective disciplinary methods have stimulated many questions, both in communities and the court system, concerning policies and practices in American schools. This has resulted in the reevaluation of rights and responsibilities of youth toward school and, conversely, of school personnel toward youth. A number of court rulings have redefined values for educators and provided protection for students' rights in schools.

Court Decisions

Koff (1979) relates that in Bishop vs. Colow, the court was asked to rule on the matter of a student's hair style. The court stated that school restrictions on

students' hair styles accomplished little more than projection of prejudices and personal distastes of certain adults in authority onto impressionable young students. In Wood vs. Strickland, it was determined that in all probability educators could be held personally liable for actions that violate a student's Constitutional rights to due process (Bybee & Gee, 1982; Koff, 1979; Mahon, 1979). In Tinker vs. Des Moines Independent School District, the court ruled that "students do not shed their Constitutional rights at the schoolhouse door." Freedom of speech for students was further upheld in this case (Bybee & Gee, 1982; Koff, 1979).

Regarding Gault, the Supreme Court rejected the closed nature of proceedings against juveniles, saying juveniles should be given similar due process protection afforded adults. Before a youth can be found guilty and punished, there must be (a) a notice of charges, (b) right to counsel, (c) right to question witnesses, (d) immunity from self-incrimination, and (e) right to a review of the decision. In Goss vs. Lopez, the court ruled that a 10 day suspension could cause sufficient damage to a student's educational program to warrant due process of hearing, however informal. More recently, the court refused to rule that the imposition of corporal punishment was tantamount to cruel and unusual punishment under the Eighth Amendment in the Ingram vs. Wright decision.

There is speculation that school authority may have been eroded by most court decisions. Baker (1985) feels recent court decisions may have had a chilling effect on the willingness of school officials to enforce disciplinary standards since school personnel seem to fail to act to reduce and/or prevent disruption and violence.

These court decisions illustrate that American societal values are changing. The authority of school officials over school children is no longer

students' hair styles accomplished little more than projection of prejudices and personal distastes of certain adults in authority onto impressionable young students. In Wood vs. Strickland, it was determined that in all probability educators could be held personally liable for actions that violate a student's Constitutional rights to due process (Bybee & Gee, 1982; Koff, 1979; Mahon, 1979). In Tinker vs. Des Moines Independent School District, the court ruled that "students do not shed their Constitutional rights at the schoolhouse door." Freedom of speech for students was further upheld in this case (Bybee & Gee, 1982; Koff, 1979).

Regarding Gault, the Supreme Court rejected the closed nature of proceedings against juveniles, saying juveniles should be given similar due process protection afforded adults. Before a youth can be found guilty and punished, there must be (a) a notice of charges, (b) right to counsel, (c) right to question witnesses, (d) immunity from self-incrimination, and (e) right to a review of the decision. In Goss vs. Lopez, the court ruled that a 10 day suspension could cause sufficient damage to a student's educational program to warrant due process of hearing, however informal. More recently, the court refused to rule that the imposition of corporal punishment was tantamount to cruel and unusual punishment under the Eighth Amendment in the Ingram vs. Wright decision.

There is speculation that school authority may have been eroded by most court decisions. Baker (1985) feels recent court decisions may have had a chilling effect on the willingness of school officials to enforce disciplinary standards since school personnel seem to fail to act to reduce and/or prevent disruption and violence.

These court decisions illustrate that American societal values are changing. The authority of school officials over school children is no longer

limitless. Legislative and judicial decisions are influenced by the values of the larger society. Charges against teachers for civil and criminal damages reflect the militancy of parents. The courts have recognized and reaffirmed students' rights. This necessitates cautious actions toward behavior management of students. Pressure for more democratic management of schools is apparent. Yet, Duke and Meckel (1980) observe that ". . . although the student rights' movement and several recent court decisions have challenged a variety of school rules (e.g., dress codes) and sanctions (e.g., suspensions), we find little evidence that school practice has changed much" (p. 16).

Effective Approach to School Discipline

The consensus appears to be the view that democratic involvement of students in the administration of their affairs reduces student rebellion and disruption although this is without research evidence. Bybee and Gee (1982) argue that active involvement of students in a school's social and political structure provides stronger lessons in moral education than formal presentation on topics such as "law in America" or "democracy in action." Mizell (1980) states that for all the talk about irresponsible students, there is too little initiative by schools to teach students responsibility by giving them the opportunity to exercise it. Bybee and Gee (1982) exhort that to the extent which it is possible to encourage student involvement in matters pertaining to curriculum, formulation of rules, discipline procedures, and student rights and obligations, two valuable goals of moral education might be served. First, students are more likely to accept rules and procedures developed through mutual interchange and discussion. A more responsible student body can be produced through involvement in the governing process. Second, mutual discussion and involvement between students and school personnel may well provide a practical

limitless. Legislative and judicial decisions are influenced by the values of the larger society. Charges against teachers for civil and criminal damages reflect the militancy of parents. The courts have recognized and reaffirmed students' rights. This necessitates cautious actions toward behavior management of students. Pressure for more democratic management of schools is apparent. Yet, Duke and Meckel (1980) observe that ". . . although the student rights' movement and several recent court decisions have challenged a variety of school rules (e.g., dress codes) and sanctions (e.g., suspensions), we find little evidence that school practice has changed much" (p. 16).

Effective Approach to School Discipline

The consensus appears to be the view that democratic involvement of students in the administration of their affairs reduces student rebellion and disruption although this is without research evidence. Bybee and Gee (1982) argue that active involvement of students in a school's social and political structure provides stronger lessons in moral education than formal presentation on topics such as "law in America" or "democracy in action." Mizell (1980) states that for all the talk about irresponsible students, there is too little initiative by schools to teach students responsibility by giving them the opportunity to exercise it. Bybee and Gee (1982) exhort that to the extent which it is possible to encourage student involvement in matters pertaining to curriculum, formulation of rules, discipline procedures, and student rights and obligations, two valuable goals of moral education might be served. First, students are more likely to accept rules and procedures developed through mutual interchange and discussion. A more responsible student body can be produced through involvement in the governing process. Second, mutual discussion and involvement between students and school personnel may well provide a practical

means of teaching for citizenship values in concrete and meaningful setting too often ignored by educators.

Although strong arguments for democratic involvement of students in the running of schools are made, problems associated with this approach are almost nonexistent in the literature. This perhaps is the result of a lack of research or a commitment to the approach. Cultice (1969) is the only author encountered in this review who documented problems associated with this lauded approach. He argues that the program should never be based primarily upon student disciplinary functions nor employed for the purpose of emancipating teachers. He suggests that emphasis should be on bettering the conditions of students and preparing them for citizenship. He also warns that a complicated machinery should be avoided. He cites the following as potential problems.

1. A school may establish a student council machinery which is too complex, especially in a large secondary school. Such machinery, in addition to losing student cooperation, is apt to invite teacher apathy.

2. A misunderstanding of the meaning of the concept of student participation by students, teachers, and sometimes parents is another potential problem area.

3. Teachers oblivious to or uninformed of the guiding philosophy and objectives of a student participation program may construe it to mean an abrogation of administrative authority or an effort to relieve them of a measure of unpleasant faculty duties.

Team approach to school discipline is almost a buzz word in the literature on successful discipline programs (Joyce, Hersh, & McKibbin, 1983; Goldstein et al., 1984; Alschuler, 1980; Duke & Meckel, 1981; Nicholson et al., 1985). Alschuler (1980) states that when teachers are forced to stand alone, they are in danger of being overwhelmed by discipline problems. The democratic involvement of students is still the heart of a team approach. This approach is broader than a student council approach. Some authors discuss the team approach as involving the working together of a school's community groups: administrators,

counselors, teachers, and students. Other broaden the term to include the involvement of parents and community members and agents. This approach though unresearched appears a promising management approach to student discipline. In industry, the team approach to management has been demonstrated to be effective. All potential problems outlined by Cultice (1969) can be circumvented by this approach because constant reappraisal of methods and strategies employed is an essential part of the team approach.

Seeking to treat causes instead of treating symptoms is another seemingly effective approach to discipline. Most of the time, the causes are in the system. Factors that promote disciplinary problems in the system need to be diagnosed and rectified (Alschuler, 1980; Duke & Meckel, 1981; Bybee & Gee, 1982). Conversely, problems that lie within individuals also need to be identified and long-term solutions devised.

A firm, fair, and consistent system of student management with explicit rules and regulations is another key to reducing disruption according to the findings of the Safe School Study. This approach is especially effective when students are encouraged to set their own standards of behavior (Cultice, 1969; Bybee & Gee, 1982). The visibility of a principal and other staff members is regarded as an important factor in reducing violence and vandalism.

There are several approaches to effective school discipline. What has been reiterated in literature is the fact that no one model would be suitable for all settings. For any one method to be effective in a particular setting, it must be compatible with the specific needs of the school in which it operates. Covering each and every local strategy devised to effectively deal with the problem of discipline is impossible. In the following discussion, only broad areas from which the discipline problem is often approached will be discussed.

Programs that are used generally to control behavior can be classified into four major categories developed by Marvin et al. (1976), the Research for Better Schools (RBS) people: (a) security systems, (b) counseling services, (c) curricular/instructional programs, and (d) organizational modification. They were commissioned by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), the agency charged with implementing federal crime control programs, to seek information about the extent and magnitude of disruption and violence in schools and existing programs devised to reduce and prevent disruption and violence. This was to be a data base from which action to improve the situation in schools would evolve. The RBS team came out with the categories shown in Table 1 after collapsing 137 programs from descriptions given in telephone surveys and a literature search of existing programs across the country devised to reduce and prevent violence and disruption in schools.

Table 1
Distribution of 137 Programs by Program Focus (from RBS Report)

Type of Program	Number of Programs
Security systems	23
Counseling services	30
Curricular/instruction programs	36
Organizational modification	39
Other	9
TOTAL:	137

The distribution appears to be the same now as it was at the time of their study. Literature abounds with programs that can be classified under the

organizational modification and curricular/instructional categories. Information about effective security systems is scarce. There are several programs developed under the second and especially third and fourth categories. Designers often claim the programs have proved effective in reducing disruption in schools, although the success claimed in these programs does not competently register against the perceived increase in school violence. A majority of the programs that claim success appear to be a cookbook variety. Others are so comprehensive as to include anything and everything with fuzzy goals and objectives. Most typically they are untested, intuitive insights (Goldstein et al., 1984). Some of them have been developed and field tested by university professors of colleges of education. Whether positive results reported in the "tested" programs stem from the effects of brief field testing, which most typically yield positive results because of the experimental, Pygmalion effect, or from the intransferability of the programs themselves, is unknown.

The four broad categories are not exclusive. A school with a healthy working environment where the democratic principle of administration is espoused would still need security systems in its building although these would be more unobtrusive than in schools that rely on high security systems. This would be true about counseling services which would usually be expected to be an integral part of all the systems outlined above.

Counseling Programs to Improve School Discipline

The central focus of this study is on a counseling program that was specially designed to help with disruption and violence in schools. A brief review of similar efforts documented in the literature will be presented here.

Bayh (1977), in discussing strategies to improve the discipline problem in schools, attests that the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA)

appointed a special task force on juvenile delinquency and school vandalism that was to report back to the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency. The APGA task force found that the availability of counseling services in schools could be a significant factor in identifying and treating academic, social, or behavioral problems. The APGA task force reported that there were many counseling strategies that could be used to reduce tension between groups in schools.

One of the counseling models recommended to the Subcommittee by the task force report was a peer group technique found to be particularly helpful in averting group and personal problems from developing into confrontations. In this model, small student-led and counselor-assisted groups could meet to discuss issues such as student rights, responsibilities, self-discipline, self-esteem, or the role of the individual in the community. Such peer group counseling techniques could be used either as a regular part of the school schedule or as a referral for students involved in violation of school rules.

In essence this is what GGI is all about. The program described by the APGA task force, the forerunner of GGI, is called Positive Peer Culture (PPC). Vorrath and Brendtro (1974) outlined the philosophy and success of PPC in some school districts in Michigan. The APGA task force reported the effectiveness of this program in Illinois, although they relied on the reports of program managers.

First (1980), who edited information given on positive and effective discipline programs across the country, mentioned the success of the PPC as extrapolated from reports of building-level administrators where the PPC program was in its first year of operation. She reports findings were mixed when she reviewed results obtained from the school district's research department which indicated that some schools reported dramatic improvement and others did not.

The only study known to have researched GGI in public schools empirically is that of Petrock (1976). According to this study, not all schools in the experimental program had implemented GGI as prescribed. Overall results from the four sites were that there were no significant changes in areas targeted for change.

Guided Group Interaction

Historical Background

Guided Group Interaction (GGI) can be traced back to group psychotherapy sessions conducted at the Fort Knox Center to rehabilitate soldiers who committed military and civil crimes during World War II (McCorkle, Elias, & Bixby, 1958). McCorkle participated in the Fort Knox program. After the war, Bixby and McCorkle introduced the group therapy program to the adult New Jersey Department of Corrections in 1948. Bixby was the director, and McCorkle was to conduct groups at Rahway prison and at Bordentown reformatory. In the beginning, in order to avoid confusion with group psychotherapy practiced by psychiatrists and to avoid any implication that inmates were mentally abnormal or unbalanced, Bixby and McCorkle changed the name of the group activity to guided group interaction. As the title suggests, a therapist was to be active in group discussion, especially in the initial sessions. The major emphasis was on the group and its development rather than on attempts to achieve an exhaustive psychoanalysis of individuals in the group. Thus, Bixby and McCorkle separated their group activity from that of the psychoanalytic orientation from which it was developed.

In 1950, McCorkle became a director of the new, small Highfields Residential Treatment Center for treatment of youthful offenders. No more than 20 boys were admitted at one time at the center. The center experimented

with new types of correctional organization for delinquent youth. The rigidity and complexity of other, larger correctional organizations were eliminated in this experimental center. All security measures, typical of other centers of its kind, were loosened. There were no such things as high fences or locked doors. The center operated with a minimum of regulations. Most rules needed for everyday living were developed in group meetings.

McCorkle's contention was that the reasons most reformatory institutions failed in their rehabilitative efforts was due to the large size of these institutions and their focus on the mechanics of administration rather than on interpersonal relationships. He also identified rules and regulations which emphasized regimentation and enforcement as another source of problems typical of larger reformatory institutions. All residents were admitted to Highfields as a condition of their juvenile court probation. If they failed to adjust at Highfields, they were only in violation of their probation and were to be rearraigned for new court hearings.

In 1952 McCorkle published an article which delineated basic tenets and facets of a GGI program. He defined GGI as ". . . using free discussion in a friendly supportive atmosphere to re-educate the delinquent to accept the restrictions of society by finding greater personal satisfaction in conforming to social rules than following delinquent patterns" (p. 23). McCorkle saw GGI as combining psychological and sociological approaches to the control of human behavior. The psychological approach was aimed at changing a boy's self concept from delinquent to nondelinquent. The sociological approach was an attempt to reverse the process of delinquency in the same way it was learned; i.e., a boy would learn nondelinquent behavior which would be approved by peers, believing that delinquent behaviors were learned through peer support. McCorkle explained that GGI had the following assumptions about the group experience:

with new types of correctional organization for delinquent youth. The rigidity and complexity of other, larger correctional organizations were eliminated in this experimental center. All security measures, typical of other centers of its kind, were loosened. There were no such things as high fences or locked doors. The center operated with a minimum of regulations. Most rules needed for everyday living were developed in group meetings.

McCorkle's contention was that the reasons most reformatory institutions failed in their rehabilitative efforts was due to the large size of these institutions and their focus on the mechanics of administration rather than on interpersonal relationships. He also identified rules and regulations which emphasized regimentation and enforcement as another source of problems typical of larger reformatory institutions. All residents were admitted to Highfields as a condition of their juvenile court probation. If they failed to adjust at Highfields, they were only in violation of their probation and were to be rearraigned for new court hearings.

In 1952 McCorkle published an article which delineated basic tenets and facets of a GGI program. He defined GGI as ". . . using free discussion in a friendly supportive atmosphere to re-educate the delinquent to accept the restrictions of society by finding greater personal satisfaction in conforming to social rules than following delinquent patterns" (p. 23). McCorkle saw GGI as combining psychological and sociological approaches to the control of human behavior. The psychological approach was aimed at changing a boy's self concept from delinquent to nondelinquent. The sociological approach was an attempt to reverse the process of delinquency in the same way it was learned; i.e., a boy would learn nondelinquent behavior which would be approved by peers, believing that delinquent behaviors were learned through peer support. McCorkle explained that GGI had the following assumptions about the group experience:

1. that delinquents will benefit from a social experience where, in concert with peers and a leader, they can freely discuss, examine, and analyze their problems of living without the threats so common in their previous learning experiences; and

2. that the mutual give-and-take of group discussion will stimulate the inmate to some insight into the relationship between what takes place in the learning situation and his immediate problems of living.

McCorkle concluded by stating that GGI can be but one aspect of the total rehabilitation program of an institution. Its full significance, he explained, will be realized only if it is related to the total program of which it is part. Its goal of strengthening the inmate by enabling him to find himself is reinforced and made meaningful by its integration into the total program of the institution.

GGI in Michigan Public Schools

Until the 1960s, GGI was almost exclusively used in correctional institutions. Harry Vorrath, a former group leader at the Highfields Residential Treatment Center, pioneered the use of GGI in public schools by refining the correctional schools' version. He renamed his refined version Positive Peer Culture (PPC) which he introduced in public schools in Illinois and boys' training schools in Minnesota and Michigan during the 1960s.

When student activism, violence, and vandalism were at their peak during the late 1960s and early 1970s, schools were expelling and suspending students in great numbers. The idea was to preserve a climate conducive to better learning (SYA Handbook, 1976). These actions by schools created other problems for society at large. Courts were pressed to find placements for young offenders. Costs of institutional care for school rejects were skyrocketing. Several legislative acts and legislative bodies were formed on a national level to address this problem. One example is the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Act designed to prevent young people from entering the failing juvenile justice system and to

assist communities in creating more sensible and economic approaches for youngsters already in the system (Bayh, 1977).

In Michigan, the Departments of Social Service and Education collaborated to develop an exemplary program to be disseminated in public schools to assist with students' behavioral problems. Funded by a ESAE Title III planning and implementation grant which allowed state departments great freedom in formulating innovative projects to achieve a broad range of objectives (Marvin et al., 1976), the collaborative effort between departments was aimed at:

1. developing a program to be conducted in public schools for assisting the reintegration and maintenance of Department of Social Service wards in the community,

2. developing a model program for assisting school personnel in managing difficult students and preventing behavior problems, and

3. preventing delinquency in the community by using the public school as a medium of prevention.

These goals were to be achieved through a school youth advocacy (SYA) program which used the logic that ". . . allowing youth in schools self-determination and participation in the disciplinary process, alienation and its negative effects could be dispelled" (SYA Handbook, p. 27). Fine-tuned by removing the institutional flavor of its predecessor (in correctional institutions), GGI was chosen as a youth advocacy program to change and manage student behavior.

What Is Guided Group Interaction (GGI)?

GGi is defined as ". . . a peer counseling technique which utilizes the power of the peer influence and small group interaction to teach self-reliance, personal responsibility, problem-solving skills, and three social behavior values:

1. no one has the right to hurt him/herself,

2. no one has the right to hurt another human being, (and)

3. people have an obligation to help others" (SYA Handbook, p. 38).

Students selected for GGI were to be peer leaders chosen by teachers and/or students. Participation in GGI had to be voluntary and endorsed with parental approval. To avoid negative labeling, both positive and negative peer leaders were to be in one group. A good balance between positive and negative leaders was to be struck so that no group would have an excess of negative leaders. In fact, the success of the group process was said to be contingent on a skillful balance of negative and positive leaders. The following were the reasons for selecting peer leaders: (a) other students would more readily accept the program if peer leaders were involved in and accepting it, (b) school personnel would accept or tolerate the program if they saw negative students being worked with, and (c) change was more likely to occur in other students who came in contact with leaders in peer groups.

Under the supervision of a trained adult group leader, a GGI group was to meet for one hour every day to learn formalized problem-solving by analyzing behavior and general problems in a school. Three types of meetings could occur:

1. regular daily meeting for members' personal problems;
2. emergency meetings for support in cases of attempted suicide, runaway, arrest, and any other crisis or emergency in a building; and
3. special meetings which are of three types:
    a. intra-building meetings where all GGI groups of one school meet to work on a building-wide problem;
    b. joint meetings between groups at different buildings to work on inter-building problems; and
    c. presentations for staff meetings, inservices, PTA, student body orientation, etc.

Membership in a group was to be treated as an elective course with participants receiving one credit per term. Group members were to be scheduled to have at least 65% of classes with two other group members so as to enhance

cohesiveness and to give members the chance to support one another with desirable behaviors outside of group meetings. Boys and girls groups were to be separated. A group size of about 8-12 participants was considered ideal. Groups were to be open-ended, and students were to be gradually incorporated into a group and gradually removed. Groups were expected to reach maturity in about 12 weeks. By this time, it was believed, members would be ready to be utilized as aides or representatives on various governing boards as student spokespeople.

Groups were expected to be given opportunities in a variety of situations to exercise their skills. They were to be involved in making recommendations for disciplinary actions or student administration policy as well as giving advice in personal matters. By allowing the group this input, it was believed, GGI would give participants an excellent opportunity to become good citizens in a participatory democracy. The goals of the group experience were:

-- to improve students' attitudes toward self,

-- to improve students' attitudes toward others,

-- to improve students' attitudes toward school,

-- to improve students' attitudes toward faculty and staff,

-- to increase cognitive growth and maintain students' school productivity.

The ultimate goal of the GGI program was the development of self-sustaining climate of positive cultures in school that will lessen incidents of truancy, vandalism, substance abuse, and stealing among the school's population. GGI meetings were seen as an experience that would give participants a chance to analyze their values and an opportunity to practice democratic decision making since students were to be given powers to run their affairs in group. It was hoped that skills gained in the democratic management of groups would prepare GGI participants for democratic management of the school.

Thus, the goals of GGI as presented by the designers of the program were broad and comprehensive. Those who redesigned GGI for public schools intended to introduce a program that redressed some of the major factors believed to cause disruption and violence in schools:

1. lack of self-determination and affirmation: they assumed that the program would allow students a voice in decision making as GGI participants were supposed to discuss with administrators issues affecting the well being of students in the building or district;

2. concentrating on the symptoms of misbehavior: they assumed that misbehavior was perpetuated by peer group values and that reversing the values of peer group leaders would automatically change values of followers. The group experience was particularly intended to provide chances of getting down to root causes of individual misbehavior; and

3. lack of acceptance of school regulations: it was assumed that rules would be readily accepted by students since GGI participants would have a say in the way rules and regulations affect and impact students and could suggest a review and revision of some regulations if they negatively affected students. Furthermore, GGI participants could be involved in the enforcement of rules and regulations since it was recommended that they should be used as teacher-aides who could help in the management of misbehaving students in classrooms.

Although the designers of the program assert that it is validated and does not require adopters to reevaluate and validate procedures contained in it, there is little evidence to prove that all the program's procedures have been systematically evaluated. Formative evaluation was a stipulation and expectation of the Title III fund, but like most other Title III programs of change (as revealed by Marvin et al., 1976), formative evaluations of the GGI program were incomplete. Petrock (1976) found that program objectives and measures were constantly changing even at the time of evaluation. From Petrock's study and the incomplete progress report of the formative evaluations outlined in the GGI package, it can be surmised that formative evaluations were to be based on measures of outcome rather than on process evaluations. Group leaders were

expected to keep records of group activities, especially activities accomplished by the groups to be collected later for evaluation. The very records on which formative evaluation was to be based were incomplete.

Conclusions Drawn from the Review of Literature

Trends in school discipline seem to indicate the following:

1. an increasing emphasis on students' rights;
2. a call for more humanistic and productive methods of handling school discipline;
3. a call for programs that treat causes of discipline problems instead of symptoms; and
4. the need for all school constituencies (administrators, teachers, counselors, students, parents, and community agencies) to be involved in the development and enforcement of school rules.

State of the Art and Implications for the Study

> From this review of problems, the causes, and the cures, for violence, crime, delinquency, vandalism, and truancy in the high schools, it is apparent that we know the problem very well, the causes only moderately well, and the solutions least well of all. There is very little evidence from research to guide practitioners in developing programs to deal with disciplinary problems. Only in the field of behavior modification is there a sizeable body of research. (Feldhusen, 1979, p. 242)

The above quote aptly sums up the state of knowledge about school discipline. Solutions are least known despite a multitude of programs developed over the years to abate this problem. True, there are many programs to curb aggressive and disruptive behavior. They vary considerably in terms of their financial support, focus, conceptual base, duration, and level of implementation (Goldstein et al., 1984). As Feldhusen (1979) and Gold and Mann (1984) have noted, few of the many available programs have undergone systematic evaluation. Many of these programs are based on intuitive insights rather than

research evidence. Without exception they all claim a high degree of success. The validity of their claims of success may be less a matter of what they do than a result of the fact that they do something (Goldstein et al., 1984). There is an apparent need for studies to examine the claims of success and theoretical adequacy of "successful" programs.

In recent years, most research efforts have been expended toward measuring the extent and magnitude of the problem. Beyond this effort, what has been done is cataloguing what is reported to be working by program managers nationwide in survey research studies or from stories of success in literature written by program developers. At this point when most educators are known to be searching for constructive, productive methods of handling discipline, research efforts should go beyond cataloguing what is reported to be working and seek to explain what makes programs work or not work. A few studies such as Berman and McLaughlin's (1978) which followed-up federally-funded programs to improve schools have taken on this course of research.

Summary

Rich (1982) reports that school discipline has not improved despite concerted efforts during the 1970s to increase educational alternatives and recognize students' rights. Duke and Meckel (1980) observed, ". . . although the students rights' movement and several recent court decisions have challenged a variety of school rules (e.g., dress codes) and sanctions (e.g., suspension), we find little evidence that school practice has changed much" (p. 16).

The standard response to increased student behavior problems traditionally has been more rules and/or harsher sanctions (Mayer & Butterworth, 1981; Duke & Meckel, 1980; Wold & Windsor, 1981). Schools are criticized by both the public and scholars in the field for their punitive and custodial approaches to discipline.

Scholars argue that schools are failing with discipline because of the ineffectiveness of the punitive and custodial measures they often adopt to manage student discipline.

Of the available positive and creative methods of dealing with discipline problems, little is known about their scientific bases and effectiveness (Feldhusen, 1979; Gold & Petronio, 1980; Goldstein et al., 1984; Gold & Mann, 1984).

Discipline is not perceived as a major problem by the public, but a majority of educators and students as well admit that it is a problem. Cusick (1983) dramatically depicts how much this problem consumes the energy of school personnel, even at the expense of subjugating learning and teaching to secondary roles.

From this review, it became evident that although there is a preponderance of methods to improve school discipline, very little research has been done to verify and validate the scientific base of methods claiming success.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Entry Negotiations

For professional development reasons, the researcher desired exposure to a guidance and counseling unit of a high school. The researcher was hoping to work as a volunteer-observer in a counseling department in one of the schools surrounding her university so as to understand its internal, real-life operations. Obtaining a site to play the volunteer-observer role was not easy. It was known to students in the education departments of the university that neighboring schools had became defensive and tired of being a readily-available learning laboratory for the university and of being under its microscope. Near the end of spring, 1984, the researcher began to negotiate for access into a counseling unit. Toward the end of summer, the researcher met a friend who had been in a not-so-far-away school in the recent past, doing fieldwork research for a university class. The friend informed the researcher that she was impressed by a counselor she had observed a few times, one who was working with "special needs" students. The friend was willing to help the researcher gain access to the school but she was leaving the following day for Japan. She gave the researcher the name of the counselor, Mr. Smith.

The researcher contacted Mr. Smith when schools reopened in the fall, using the friend as a reference. The researcher explained that she simply wanted to observe counselors working and that she had heard about his program. Mr. Smith did not remember the researcher's friend, but the international dimension of the researcher's story appeared to be a door-opener. The researcher

volunteered for an interview which was set the following week on Monday, October 1, 1984, at a few minutes before 8:00 am.

The researcher was entered the building 15 minutes before the meeting time and inquired about Mr. Smith's office from the first adult she met who then asked a boy to accompany the researcher. Since the researcher had used an entrance far from Mr. Smith's office, a few minutes' walking was necessary across the building. The escort suddenly stopped in front of three adults, one of whom was Mr. Smith. He thanked the escort and greeted and welcomed the researcher to the building. He introduced the researcher to the other adults, explaining why she was there and how she came to know about the school. He said something like, "We are getting international," joking with the other adults. When the bell rang, student traffic came from all directions, jamming the hallway in no time; and Mr. Smith's attention was taken away from the researcher as he was greeted and greeting from all directions. By the time the second bell rang about five minutes later, no student was in the hallway and Mr. Smith invited the researcher to the GGI room. He introduced the researcher to a group of about 10-12 teenaged girls, informing them that the researcher had permission to observe the group.

After the two sessions that morning, Mr. Smith introduced the researcher to the counselors, explaining the researcher's desires. They were all willing to be observed and questioned by the researcher at any time she wished; thus the researcher had access to the whole counseling department. Mr. Smith also took the researcher to the principal's office for introduction. The principal acted as if he knew the researcher were going to be in the building. Mr. Smith advised the researcher to ask her major professor to formalize the site visits by writing the principal a letter of appreciation for the favor the principal had done the researcher as a gesture of courtesy (see Appendix A).

Although the researcher had access to the whole counseling unit, her interest and focus were centered around GGI because of (a) the intriguing nature of GGI (the more the researcher observed and read about the program, the more questions were raised in her mind); (b) the fact that the group leader of GGI in this building was a consultant on GGI, giving the researcher the anticipation that she could learn the prototype of GGI; (c) the welcomed, new experience of observing a group counseling; and (d) career-development reasons explained in Appendix F.

The researcher was enrolled in a fieldwork research methods class requiring a field-based research project. Therefore, by the end of fall term, the researcher had to negotiate a change of status from being a casual observer to that of a researcher. She had already ascertained from her notes written after every site visit that a worthwhile study contributing to the understanding of the nature of GGI could be conducted. By this time, the researcher had established rapport with both the group leader and the building principal. She clearly explained her short- and long-term intentions about the data she was going to collect, making a promise to treat GGI information with confidentiality. Mr. Smith and the building principal had no objections, but the authorization of research had to come from the school district's central office. The principal gave the researcher the name of a contact person there, assuring her he would support her because authorization could not be issued without permission at the building level.

During the second week of January, the researcher initiated the district-level research site entry negotiations by telephoning the contact person. She was advised to fill out forms sent to her before her request could be considered. Upon receipt of the returned forms, she was to allow five working days for processing and was informed the results would be mailed to her as soon as

possible. On the seventh working day, the researcher inquired about the results of her request. She was told by the coordinator of the district's Evaluation Services Committee that she could pick up the response letter from the central office.

When she arrived at the central office, the Evaluation Services Committee coordinator reiterated and justified the limitations and terms of the permission she was being granted (see Appendix B) and impressed upon her the confidential nature of information dealt with in GGI meetings. In the coordinator's opinion, GGI was a "pseudotherapy," and students were not only talking about confidential information concerning themselves but their parents as well. From this conference, the researcher realized the need to take more stringent steps toward protecting the confidentiality of students and making the school anonymous. As a result, all the names appearing in this study and those of the school and town as well are pseudonyms. The researcher was also advised to seek permission from students' parents (see Appendix C), all of whom gave permission for observation.

Method

This study used fieldwork methods, also called ethnography, case or field study, interpretative, qualitative, or field research. These methods are naturalistic, observational, descriptive, contextual, open-ended, and indepth (Wilcox in Spindler, 1982). They are naturalistic because the investigator takes care to avoid purposive manipulation of variables in the study. In these methods, participant and nonparticipant observation are used to acquire firsthand sensory accounts of phenomena as they occur in a real world setting (Goetz & Le Compte, 1984). With their rich descriptive detail, fieldwork research methods aim to provide the reader with a vicarious experience of what it was like to be in

the setting. Fieldwork research is holistic or contextual and analytical as well. It assumes that to understand why things take place as they do, one must look at the relationship between the setting and its context (Wilcox in Spindler, 1982).

This approach does not seek to substantiate a theoretical framework; it addresses the need for basic research. It is open-ended because the researcher does not begin with apriori standardization of concepts, measures, samples, and data, but seeks to discover and revise these as more is learned during the study (McCall & Simmons, 1969). The design is continually modified and developed by the researcher throughout the study (Burgess, 1984; Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). The approach is intentionally flexible in its design to maximize discovery and description. Fieldwork research is multimodal or eclectic in approach, using direct observation, informant and respondent interviewing, document analysis, systematic counting, and self-analysis to arrive at an indepth understanding and description of the actors' world.

The appropriateness of this approach to study how GGI functions in the real world is the direct observation of the social process and its complex interdependencies that is afforded by fieldwork research. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) believe an outsider's sensitivities are valuable in new situations because people who work at anything for a relatively long period of time often lose sensitivity to common, recurrent experiences and tend to thrust them into the background, if for no other reason than they get in the way of whatever else they are immediately sensitive to. As an outsider in this setting, therefore, the researcher had an advantage in the observation and analysis of events and activities that could have easily escaped notice of the insiders. As an outsider, the researcher could see properties lost to insiders and relate them to other properties, thereby discovering something that could be of value to theory or to hosts.

Furthermore, direct observation is virtually important in obtaining firsthand information about the process of any social activity. Often, as in many national surveys, information about programs like GGI, their goals, functioning, and effectiveness are almost always furnished by program managers. As noted by McDonnel and McLaughlin (1980, what could be learned from Berman and McLaughlin's field studies which followed up federally-funded programs is that "... simple project descriptions cannot accurately convey projects' goals and activities. Projects' goals often mask important secondary objectives and do not offer information about a project's organizational objectives" (p. 25).

As McCall and Simmons (1969) have pointed out in some instances, some actors may distort information in order to justify their own actions or to elevate their own status. An attempt to circumvent this pitfall by a survey that would include the opinion of other role groups in the setting may not be enough because, as McCall and Simmons have stated, there are many actions and relationships which the actors in one setting are simply unaware of, particularly in complex organizations where each category of persons is typically uninformed about what goes on in other sectors of the organization. Sometimes actors for reasons known to themselves would not communicate facts or deviant acts, but would be motivated to distort them. Therefore, for reasons outlined above, it became evident that fieldwork research methods might yield better results than a questionnaire or an interview survey research study in obtaining information needed.

Data Collection

The primary data collection mechanism was participant observation which was supplemented by interviewing and document analysis. These techniques--participant observation, interviewing, and document analysis--provided cross-

checking of data to assure validity. Data collected with one method could be verified by another method.

Observations

Gold (1979) has identified four possible roles the researcher can assume in observing. They are summarized below:

1. complete participant: the researcher's true identity and purpose of the study are not known by those observed. The researcher interacts as naturally as possible so his/her true identity is not discovered. While this role offers possibilities of learning aspects of behavior that might otherwise be kept away from an outsider, it raises ethical questions about studying people without their consent and knowledge. Several other methodological problems are also involved. First, the researcher stands the risk of exposure and failure of the study. Second, because it is a pretended role, the researcher may be so self conscious about revealing self that s/he is handicapped in collecting data needed. Third, the researcher may perform the new role so well that s/he may "go native" and no longer be sensitive to data s/he otherwise would have been sensitive to, therefore collecting and reporting no data and findings;

2. participant-as-observer: the researcher participates as well as observes, but the identity and intent of the researcher is known to those observed or studied. The researcher observes formally and informally and tries to develop relationships with the observed so as to understand them. The researcher may sometimes try to identify with the observed. There is still a danger of "going native" if the researcher over-identifies with the researched;

3. observer-as-participant: the researcher in this role is involved only in short-term, formally-arranged observation periods. Because the visits are brief, there is a danger of being superficial, the likelihood of misunderstanding informants and of being misunderstood by informants. The brevity of the visits also introduces a lot of room for bias; and

4. complete observer: the observer attempts to observe those studied in ways which make it unnecessary for them to take her/him into account. Those observed would not know the researcher is observing them. This role is identified with eavesdropping and reconnaissance in which the researcher is removed from sustained interaction with the informants. Ethnocentrism is the danger that might result from this approach as the researcher may reject an informant's views without ever getting to know them.

The above observational roles need not be used exclusively and independently. Even where a dominant role is chosen, the researcher may find it necessary to work out a plan that might maximize the benefits of her/his observational role. This researcher, for example, had varied the degree of her participation according to settings and activities. Because she was concerned about not distorting the very process she was trying to capture conceptually, this researcher conducted passive observations in the GGI group meetings. The intention was to be as unobtrusive as possible and to ensure that the flow of events would not be influenced by her presence in the group.

At the beginning of her visits to the meetings, GGI participants invited the researcher's opinions and comments about issues they discussed. The researcher would politely smile and shrug her shoulders, never volunteering a comment or opinion. After a few attempts at bringing the researcher into discussions, participants ceased to invite her to make contributions in GGI group discussions. The complete observer role she assumed in GGI made it easier for the researcher to note behaviors and take down words that were used by participants. Active participation would have limited her note-taking task. In other informal settings such as hallways, bathrooms, lunch room, or any place outside GGI meetings, the researcher was an active participant observer, asking questions about things observed and heard and answering questions about herself. Answers about the study were well-guarded.

Frequency of Observations

When the researcher first visited the research site in the fall of 1984, she thought it suitable to visit the site every day and attend two sessions daily so as to follow the beginning and wrapping up of themes and problems tackled in GGI. After a month, the researcher blended so well into groups that her absence in

The above observational roles need not be used exclusively and independently. Even where a dominant role is chosen, the researcher may find it necessary to work out a plan that might maximize the benefits of her/his observational role. This researcher, for example, had varied the degree of her participation according to settings and activities. Because she was concerned about not distorting the very process she was trying to capture conceptually, this researcher conducted passive observations in the GGI group meetings. The intention was to be as unobtrusive as possible and to ensure that the flow of events would not be influenced by her presence in the group.

At the beginning of her visits to the meetings, GGI participants invited the researcher's opinions and comments about issues they discussed. The researcher would politely smile and shrug her shoulders, never volunteering a comment or opinion. After a few attempts at bringing the researcher into discussions, participants ceased to invite her to make contributions in GGI group discussions. The complete observer role she assumed in GGI made it easier for the researcher to note behaviors and take down words that were used by participants. Active participation would have limited her note-taking task. In other informal settings such as hallways, bathrooms, lunch room, or any place outside GGI meetings, the researcher was an active participant observer, asking questions about things observed and heard and answering questions about herself. Answers about the study were well-guarded.

Frequency of Observations

When the researcher first visited the research site in the fall of 1984, she thought it suitable to visit the site every day and attend two sessions daily so as to follow the beginning and wrapping up of themes and problems tackled in GGI. After a month, the researcher blended so well into groups that her absence in

them was conspicuous. Almost all group members individually asked the researcher whereever they met her in the building where she had been during a previous meeting. She often felt obligated to tell Mr. Smith when she was going to be absent. During the spring of 1985, the researcher started reducing the number of her visits to the site to an average of three times a week. By this time, group members were keen to volunteer an update of events that happened during the researcher's absence when they chatted informally in places like the lunchroom (see Appendix E for a tabulation of hours observed in the lunchroom).

Recording

At the times when the researcher was in the field as a casual observer, she relied on retrospective notetaking. She had planned to record GGI meetings with either an audio or video recorder so she could be free of the chore of writing detailed notes during meetings. The school district denied her permission to machine-record meetings. Because the Evaluation Services Committee knew that students in GGI were talking about confidential information, it was concerned about protecting the privacy of these students. The researcher considered this denial an inconvenience and appealed the limitations of the permission conditions with no success (see Appendix D). Observations in GGI meetings often meant constant recording of almost every detail.

In groups meetings, the researcher always occupied a seat outside the discussion circle at a position where she could see everyone's face and movements. At the beginning of note-taking, group members appeared to want to guess topics of importance and interest to the researcher. Their attempts to do this were defeated by the fact that she wrote even during moments when nothing seemed to be happening. What they did not know was that moments of

"nothing happening" or laissez-faire were as valuable to the study as moments of high action when discussions were focused and tense.

Observations Outside of GGI

Although the central focus of this study was GGI meetings, halfway through the winter term the researcher decided to use the students' lunchroom instead of the staff one in order to relate with and observe GGI students. She realized the need to observe GGI students outside the meetings because (a) fieldwork research is holistic, requiring a researcher to look at relationships between the setting of an observation and its context; (b) relating to GGI students would enable the researcher to find answers to puzzling statements elicited during meetings; and (c) literature on GGI had suggested that the GGI group experience would change students' behavior toward positive behaviors. Thus, the researcher was motivated to search for GGI's group experience's spillover benefits that could be observed outside of GGI. The researcher decided to observe GGI students and their fellow students in other settings where there was action, e.g., classrooms, teacher-parent meetings, sports' practice, entertainment, prize awarding ceremonies, etc. Because of this, the researcher was once surprised by a question that one 13-14 year old boy asked her: if she were studying to be a principal or assistant principal. When asked to explain why he thought so, he replied that the researcher was everywhere and in everything in the school. Lunchroom was observed about three times a week from the middle of February to the end of May, while classrooms were only observed about three times a week during the month of May. The researcher observed randomly selected eighth grade classes that had one or two GGI students (see Appendix E for a tabulation of classes observed).

Interviews

Two kinds of interviews were conducted: informal and formal interviews.

Informal Interviews

Informal interviews were ongoing. They were seldom arranged and were short and conversational in style and tone. For example, the researcher informally interviewed the group leader after every GGI meeting to ascertain that she had not misinterpreted words, meanings, feelings, and implications of some issues raised in the meeting. Since in ethnography actors' perceptions and the meanings they attach to their actions are important in understanding the social situation, informal interviews were carried out with GGI group members during lunch hours. Teachers, especially those with whom the researcher had built a rapport, were informally interviewed about GGI students and the GGI program during casual conversations. This was especially true with special education teachers. The researcher would ask questions about things she wanted clarification on with regard to school policy and rules and relate them to GGI. Informal interviews with teachers were not limited to the school building. GGI was a springboard for conversations whenever the researcher met the teachers in the community.

Formal Interviews

Formal interviews were longer and lasting anywhere between 30 and 45 minutes. They occurred at pre-arranged times and places. Role groups in the school building who were considered most likely to give concrete and factual information about GGI were formally interviewed: the building principal, assistant principals, counselors, and six eighth grade teachers. Eighth grade teachers were selected because GGI was for eighth graders only. Toward the end of the study, the group leader was formally interviewed in two lengthy sessions

so as to verify conclusions and overall impressions the researcher made of the program. An informant in the Social Services Department, founding members of the GGI program, was formally interviewed.

All formal interviews were semi-structured and tape-recorded for later review. They were semi-structured because the researcher had developed interview guides for each group of prospective interviewees. As interviews progressed, the researcher revised and augmented guides for subsequent interviews whenever information worth probing was elicited. Thus, the use of interview guides was not to standardize interviews, but to act as reminders of the areas the researcher wanted to cover in each interview. Gorden (1980) aptly explained the use of guides as follows.

> The interview guide, in contrast to an interview schedule, provides only an outline or a checklist of the topics and subtopics to be covered but does not specify a sequence. In some cases, it might also include several ways of wording questions or various probes which might be useful in pursuing the subject. The interviewer is not only free to vary the sequence of topics and subtopics to fit the particular situation but he may also return to a topic more than once. He is free to omit questions suggested by the guide if he feels that the information was already obtained indirectly. He is free to add questions and reword others when this help conveys the meaning. (p. 60)

The researcher did not rigidly follow the sequence of topics in the interview guides during interviews but simply ascertained that all information desired was covered. Questions were open-ended and interviewees were invited to volunteer any unsolicited information or comment about the GGI program and its participants.

Documents

Both official and anecdotal records about GGI were scanned. Before the researcher began informal interviews with GGI participants, she solicited anything they could write about themselves or the GGI group experience. To

facilitate free expression of thoughts and feelings, members were given the option not to identify themselves if they so wished. The aim was to get personal feelings of members so as to learn what GGI meant to them. The Social Services Department's documents about the GGI program were solicited. The researcher was particularly interested in obtaining updated information about the program.

Data Analysis

Analysis of data was an ongoing process that went along with data collection. This was done so as to search for patterns and linkages. The process began with recording behaviors, topics, and reactions of members and the group leader to actions and topics introduced in GGI. This was followed by detailed write-ups following every visit to the site. In these write-ups, themes of topics covered in GGI and what they implied were noted. As data grew in amount, it became possible to code topics covered in each meeting under thematic categories.

Patterns emerged about what were acceptable behaviors and topics in GGI as many of them recurred over time. The researcher could then make assertions about what appeared to be happening in GGI. These assertions necessitated collecting data by other methods in order to ascertain if assertions arrived at through analysis of data from observations had any validity. Thus data had to be analyzed during data collection so as to interrogate and validate data by verifying emerging patterns.

A deliberate search for discrepant cases was made so as to guard against possible bias which might inadvertently result from an unconscious focus on data that confirmed assertions already made. Discrepant cases were analyzed for meaning and scanned to see if they did not demand modification of assertions or if they did not need the development of sub-assertions to account for exceptions to the rule. The ongoing interrogation of data facilitated classification of data

and identification of properties of each category. Categories were then compared to find differences and underlying relationships or linkages among them. These underlying linkages in turn led to the discovery of the key linkage or the overall meaning that could be extracted as a theory that explains why things happened as they did in GGI.

Research questions were formulated so as to focus on patterns that had emerged and to capture the meaning local people had of GGI. Questions were developed after several observations at the time when a theory about what seemed to be happening was discernible (i.e., the isolation of the GGI program).

Active pursuit of meaning and efforts to obtain a convergence between the researcher's and participants' perceptions were carried out throughout data collection and data analysis. This practice promoted a more self-conscious attempt to control for researcher's bias because the researcher did not rely on observations alone to answer the questions set for the study, but on triangulation of evidence. Triangulation of evidence (i.e., checking one set of data against another) also controlled for participants' reactivity because what the researcher received as an answer from any one participant could be checked against other sources.

Summary

Fieldwork research methods were used to gather data that could describe the functioning of GGI in this setting. Because fieldwork research methods allow direct observation of the social process, they were considered appropriate for this study. The primary data gathering strategy was participant observation. Interviewing and document analysis complemented and supplemented data collected through participant observation. Cross-checking of data collected with one method provided verification and validation of data.

Observation of GGI meetings constituted the basic data gathering. To obtain a global view of the setting, observations were also carried on outside of GGI meetings. This was not only a methodological imperative, but a legitimate necessity for understanding the scope of GGI since it was intended to go beyond the GGI meetings.

The analysis of data was an ongoing process of identifying patterns and linkages. Patterns could be coded into categories which were then compared to find differences and relationships or linkages among them. These underlying linkages led to the formulation of a theory about the functioning of GGI in this setting and factors influencing its functioning. Questions were formulated to elicit patterns that had emerged.

CHAPTER IV

REVIEW OF THE SETTING

The Community

Howard Junior High School is in the north of Edenvale, a small city in the Midwest. It is in an old, inner-city neighborhood. According to the Bureau of Census Neighborhood Statistics Program developed by Edenvale's Planning and Municipal Development Division from the 1980 census of population and housing, 4.3% of the housing units in Howard's neighborhood were built in 1970 or later, while 53.1% of the housing units were built before 1940. Cheap housing is abundant in this area. As a result, many students who attend a local community college reside in this neighborhood. Generally, the north side of Edenvale is not a business area; stores and business establishments are scattered in a few streets in this residential area. The outside appearance of some stores found here, like the housing units surrounding them, are weather-worn and appear sooted or washed-out with old paint peeling off the walls. The insides of most of the stores are dingy and dark. In fact, most of the stores are used furniture or antique stores, Salvation Army-auspices stores. A majority of them are small family, non-franchised type stores and restaurants and/or bars. Franchised fast food stores occur randomly, mainly around the neighborhood's factories and schools.

The racial composition of this area is mixed. It is one of the city's areas with a majority percentage of minorities. These minorities constitute blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and a large population of Asian refugees. The

community is largely in the lower socioeconomic level and is patched here and there by pockets of upper middle class income families.

As of the 1980 census, 21.8% of the people in this neighborhood were determined to be living in poverty, and 40.6% of the children under 18 years of age were in this poverty bracket. The official data base of Howard Junior High illustrated that, for academic year 1984-85, 46% of students in this school were eligible for free lunches and 24% were students from families on ADC. According to this data base, 45% of the students' parents were not high school graduates. The 1980 census indicated that more than 50% of the persons eligible for work were in the labor force. The school's data base sheet also indicated that 36% of the students were from one-parent families. A sizeable number not reflected in this data base were from remarried families. Over the years, the school has attracted students from low income families because of the availability of cheap housing around it.

The School Building

Howard Junior High School had a student population of about 850 during the 1984-85 school year, including 28% black, 13% Hispanic, 2% Asian, and 55% white students. The school was in transition to become a middle school by the next academic year. It was neat, well-maintained, and did not reflect the picture of the community it served. The building was strikingly clean with almost graffiti-free walls. A somewhat permanent dialogue and philosophy-free graffiti occurred as isolated streaks in the girls' bathrooms, often in the form of insults such as, "Stacy, you are a bitch."

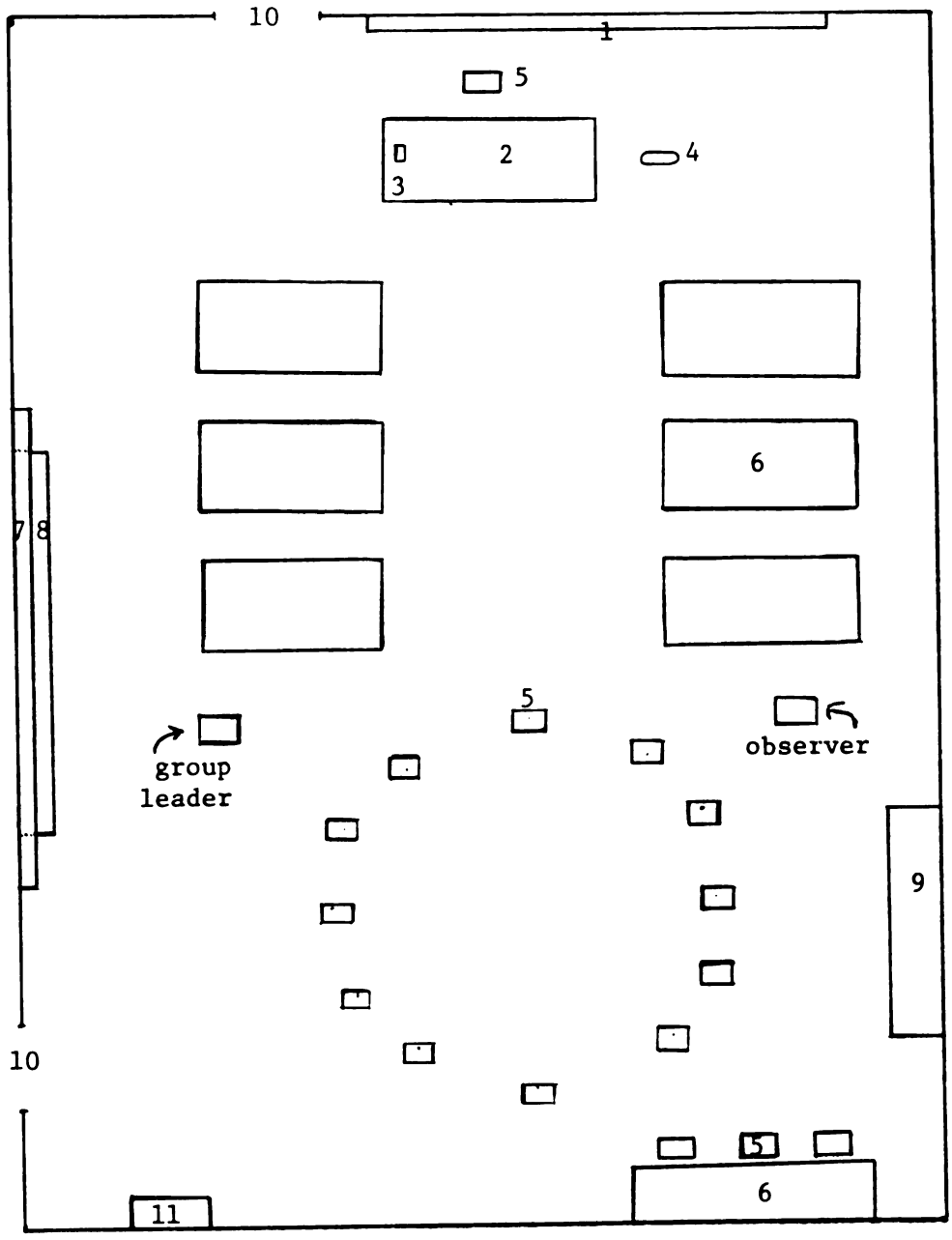
The fact that the building was as clean as it was was no surprise because some adults appeared to make special efforts to keep the building clean. For example, it was not uncommon to see the principal picking up papers as he

moved up and down the hallways supervising class shifts. He once told the researcher, "visibility prevents a lot of nonsense," so he and the two assistant principals supervised the arrival and departure of buses as well. Cleanliness of the building might perhaps be attributed to this visibility policy as irresponsible behaviors such as scratching and scribbling on walls could be arrested by it. According to the principal, it was also commendable for teachers to supervise class changes, and they could often be seen standing in the doorways of their homerooms during these intermissions. Mr. Smith, guards, assistant principals, and the principal routinely stood or walked up and down hallways during class changes. Occasionally, counselors also were seen doing this surveillance job.

The GGI Classroom

As of February 18, 1985, GGI was conducted in one of the least-utilized classrooms in the wing that was the last to be added to the original building when the enrollment increased some few years before. It was one of three carpeted classrooms intended to be an office, and it had been one for bilingual education teachers in the recent past. The former GGI room, now an office for a special education official, was more of an office than a classroom. It was small and accommodated only about 12 closely-arranged chairs without a table.

The new, carpeted GGI room was equipped with classroom furniture and accessories (see Figure 1). There was a wide chalkboard, a teacher's table and chair, trash can, students' tables and chairs facing the teacher's table, and a notice board with two charts displaying Mexican cuisine. GGI brought in a box of tissues, and a hand-drawn GGI chart with names of some members randomly scribbled on it. A supply of tissues was an essential accessory because crying was common in GGI.



Key:

1. chalkboard	2. teacher's table	3. tissue box
4. trash can	5. chairs	6. tables
7. notice board	8. drawer	9. cupboard
10. doors	11. telephone	

Figure 1. The layout of the GGI classroom.

The room had few tables and was convenient for the formation of a discussion circle, a ritualistic seating arrangement in GGI. Upon arrival, GGI group I students simply pulled out chairs to the back of room and left them there for group II. Group II members might or might not return the chairs to their tables before leaving the room, depending on the availability of time at the end of the discussion. At the time of this research, the group leader (with the help of the researcher) had taken it upon himself to leave the GGI room in good order by returning chairs to their places, picking up papers, turning off lights, and locking the door before returning to his office in the counseling unit.

Other than the physical characteristics of the GGI room mentioned above, the GGI room was similar to a regular class in other ways:

1. GGI was scheduled like any other class at a fixed time within the time boundaries of a class period;
2. GGI required students assigned to it to meet every morning (first and second hour for the 1984-85 school year for groups I and II, respectively), just as they would for a regular class;
3. GGI was treated as an elective course with students' receiving one credit per term; and
4. GGI had one adult working with a group of young people.

Despite the above-stated similarities between GGI's physical and organizational arrangements and those of a regular class, GGI had some technical and operational features that were unique to it. For example, although GGI was a credited class, there were no in-class written work, homework, assignments, class projects, or oral or written exams for it. The group leader did not come with a planned lesson or agenda for each group meeting. No formal lecturing was done in GGI. Predicting the course and outcome of each GGI meeting was impossible. What was to be discussed in each GGI session depended on GGI members. They were given a chance to discuss their concerns and problems of whatever nature.

GGI was striving to give students a classroom environment that was different from what they had been socialized to. GGI members were given the option to decide one another's grades. How this was done is described in Chapter V. The chance to democratically decide grades was a unique feature of GGI which was intended to further the purposes of GGI—giving students the right to decide group matters. Although students earned grades in GGI at the end of each term, there was no judgment made about whether students had met or completed all requirements of GGI. Tables 2 and 3 show membership in GGI during the 1984-85 school year.

Table 2
Membership in GGI Group I During the 1984-85 School Year

Name	Race	Duration in GGI
Beth	white	9/84 - 6/85
Debbie	white	9/84 - 6/85
Jeannette	black	9/84 - 6/85
* Mary-Ellen	white	9/84 - 6/85
Jill	white	11/84 - 6/85
Marcia	black	9/84 - 2/85
Tracy	white	9/84 - 2/85
Tricia	white	9/84 - 2/85
Jackie	white	1/85 - 6/85
Shirley	Amer. Indian	1/85 - 6/85
Susan	Amer. Indian	1/85 - 6/85
Patty	black	1/85 - 3/85
Judy	white	4/85 - 6/85
Marge	white	4/85 - 6/85
Vicki	Hispanic	4/85 - 6/85

* indicates member who was moved from one group to the other

Table 3
Membership in GGI Group II During the 1984-85 School Year

Name	Race	Duration in GGI
Betsy	white	9/84 - 6/85
Carol	white	9/84 - 6/85
Cindy	black	9/84 - 6/85
Elaine	black	9/84 - 6/85
Emily	black	9/84 - 6/85
* Karen	white	9/84 - 6/85
Nancy	white	9/84 - 6/85
Dianne	black	9/84 - 2/85
Lucy	white	9/84 - 2/85
Melody	black	9/84 - 2/85
Michelle	black	9/84 - 2/85
Gail	white	1/85 - 2/85
Valerie	white	3/85 - 5/85
Sara	black	4/85 - 6/85

* indicates member who was moved from one group to the other

As the above tables demonstrate, most students in both groups were enrolled in GGI for the whole school year. They also illustrate the following:

1. A total of 13 of 30 students enrolled in GGI during the course of the 1984-85 school year were minorities.

2. Group II enrolled more minorities than group I.

3. There was more mobility in group I than in group II. Group II was almost a closed group as only three new members were added to the original group throughout the school year, while eight new members were added to group I.

Another striking feature of GGI seen in the above tables is the fact that GGI was unisexual. Only girls were in GGI during the 1984-85 school year. Detailed descriptions of how GGI girls were selected is presented in Chapter V.

Summary

The community surrounding the school was mainly in the low socioeconomic level. It was a community with a large population of minorities,

and the school reflected the same high percentage of minorities in its enrollment, over 40%. Similarly, during the 1984-85 school year, GGI enrolled more than 40% minority students. GGI was scheduled like a regular class, and it was conducted in a classroom. The organization of this class was different: students gathered in a discussion circle every morning rather than sitting behind tables facing an adult (teacher). The group leader did not come to the GGI classroom with a planned lesson. What was discussed in GGI meetings were topics members brought. Typically, topics of discussions were of social and emotional nature.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

Part One

1. Why and How Were GGI Participants Chosen for GGI, According to (a) Teachers, (b) Administrators, (c) Counselors, (d) GGI Participants, and (e) Group Leaders?

When this study was conducted during the 1984-85 school year, only girls were in GGI. The group leader and principal informed the researcher there had been boys' groups in the past, but they were eliminated when Mr. Smith, the group leader, was given a half-time assignment at Howard Junior High School (8:00 - 10:45 am). The group leader explained girls were considered a priority because they (a) were getting into more trouble than boys in that building because of group gossip and (b) had a tendency to form camps and fight one another in groups (Fieldnotes, 10/24/84). He reiterated the same points later in the study during an interview.

> The reason for only girls is that they seem to have more trouble with junior high school girls, the girls between the grades of seventh and ninth grades. It's usually where most problems are: the gossip, the falling in love . . . . More girls, the statistics have been shown, in junior high school are having more trouble at home with their parents than boys. They have trouble with their mothers more than boys with their mothers or boys with their fathers. So it is because girls have shown and demonstrated more problems within the school and also outside the school than the boys have. (Tape recorded interview, 5/6/85)

The following discussion demonstrates reasons why participants were chosen for GGI differed among teachers, between teachers and administrators, and between counselors and administrators.

Ms. Hall, a teacher of more than 10 years in the building, told the researcher the following:

> Most people don't know anything about GGI. I'm not sure either, but I think it was introduced at the time when schools in this area had a lot of racial problems. But since we no longer have serious racial problems, GGI is now geared toward--eh--mh--emotional problems. (Fieldnotes, 7/12/85)

Mr. Smith once told the research that GGI was introduced in this school building to quell racial problems some years ago.

One of the teachers in the school, Mr. Scott, responded thus about GGI:

> I have no idea of what GGI is or what it is doing--I don't know how and why those students are in GGI--and I think most teachers don't know why too (Mr. Scott's tone was one of resentment if not anger) . . . . I see them crying in there--just because they are next to my homeroom. I seriously don't think many people know what they are doing in there. (Interview notes, 5/30/85)

With the exception of Mr. Scott, all teachers interviewed both formally and informally saw GGI as helping its participants with their social and/or emotional problems. No teacher interviewed knew why only girls were chosen for GGI. They made it clear to the researcher that they were not sure what was happening in GGI meetings.

Two of the three counselors in the school, Mr. Williams and Mr. Gilbert, believed that students in GGI had more familial and peer-related problems than other students. Mr. Gilbert said, "GGI is a program where students who basically have problems--I guess all students do, but I think the majority of students there have problems more than the average . . . ." (Tape recorded interview, 3/1/85). Neither counselor knew how students were chosen for GGI. In fact, Mr. Williams said, ". . . there are some students that I wonder what type of problems they could have had that could have fostered their getting into GGI in the first place other than the reason I have already mentioned (an easy grade)" (Tape recorded interview, 2/26/85). In contrast to the evidence of the briefing sessions attended

by the researcher, Mr. Williams believed it was easy for Mr. Smith to get clients for GGI because of "an easy grade."

The counselor who knew why and how GGI participants were selected worked as a GGI group leader some years ago when the program was first introduced in the state. She recommended students she thought would benefit from group counseling for GGI.

The impression teachers and counselors had of GGI was different from that of building administrators. When the principal was asked why he chose to have GGI in his building, he replied:

> Well, from my point of view it is a very, very helpful program in taking kids with negative attitudes—negative leadership skills—and either neutralizing or turning those attitudes around . . . . If a kid is a leader of a subgroup within the building, if we change his attitude, we may change the attitudes of several other kids often respecting and following that youngster. So, for me, it's a management tool. I can manage the building more effectively if we somehow neutralize some of those negative attitudes. It's a real asset if . . . actually not only neutralizing but actually turn him around to work for us by solving problems constructively. I look at is as an opportunity to train leaders--eh--who are out there--helping us manage the building in a positive way. (Tape recorded interview, 2/22/85)

Although the principal's view of GGI was different from that of his teachers and counselors, it was similar to that of his assistant principals. Assistant principals were responsible for discipline problems in the building. When asked if GGI were of any help to discipline in the building, they both singled out problem students in GGI whom they believed had changed as a result of their involvement in GGI. They thought GGI was also helping general discipline in the school. They imagined GGI was not only helping GGI participants to change their negative behaviors, but also changing behaviors of those students around GGI participants and converts, too. One assistant principal argued that most misbehavior and misconduct occurring in the school

by the researcher, Mr. Williams believed it was easy for Mr. Smith to get clients for GGI because of "an easy grade."

The counselor who knew why and how GGI participants were selected worked as a GGI group leader some years ago when the program was first introduced in the state. She recommended students she thought would benefit from group counseling for GGI.

The impression teachers and counselors had of GGI was different from that of building administrators. When the principal was asked why he chose to have GGI in his building, he replied:

> Well, from my point of view it is a very, very helpful program in taking kids with negative attitudes--negative leadership skills--and either neutralizing or turning those attitudes around . . . . If a kid is a leader of a subgroup within the building, if we change his attitude, we may change the attitudes of several other kids often respecting and following that youngster. So, for me, it's a management tool. I can manage the building more effectively if we somehow neutralize some of those negative attitudes. It's a real asset if . . . actually not only neutralizing but actually turn him around to work for us by solving problems constructively. I look at is as an opportunity to train leaders--eh--who are out there--helping us manage the building in a positive way. (Tape recorded interview, 2/22/85)

Although the principal's view of GGI was different from that of his teachers and counselors, it was similar to that of his assistant principals. Assistant principals were responsible for discipline problems in the building. When asked if GGI were of any help to discipline in the building, they both singled out problem students in GGI whom they believed had changed as a result of their involvement in GGI. They thought GGI was also helping general discipline in the school. They imagined GGI was not only helping GGI participants to change their negative behaviors, but also changing behaviors of those students around GGI participants and converts, too. One assistant principal argued that most misbehavior and misconduct occurring in the school

was often supported and reinforced by peers. They assumed GGI participants reinforced the positive behaviors of their associates or followers.

GGI participants believed they were in GGI not because they had more problems that other students, but because they chose to be in GGI. They believed everyone had problem. Some students related they were in GGI to help others and receive help with their problems, too. The kind of problems they were talking about were mundane, day-to-day social problems (boyfriends, sibling rivalry, parents, etc.). Others attested they had no problems, but were only in GGI to help those who did have problems. Still others told the researcher they were in GGI because it was a better elective for them than swimming, typing, or gym (see pp. 69-70, 130). These individuals confessed they hated those electives because of the efforts demanded of them.

The Selection Process

At Howard Junior High School, the researcher was told by the group leader that the selection process for 1984-85 GGI participants began with the circulation of a selection form to teachers (see Figure 2), stating that teachers should help select outstanding positive and negative leaders. The criteria for choosing these leaders were not stated in the form, other than the fact that girls should be extroverted. Teachers were not required to justify or explain their categorization of individual students or the criteria they used. The group leader arranged this selection process in an anonymous fashion. He dropped selection forms into the mail slots of eighth grade teachers.

The researcher failed in her attempt to determine the criteria teachers used in selecting positive and negative leaders from teachers themselves through interviews conducted for this study in May of 1985. Some teachers vaguely remembered the form left in their mail slots at the beginning of the 1984-85

was often supported and reinforced by peers. They assumed GGI participants reinforced the positive behaviors of their associates or followers.

GGI participants believed they were in GGI not because they had more problems that other students, but because they chose to be in GGI. They believed everyone had problem. Some students related they were in GGI to help others and receive help with their problems, too. The kind of problems they were talking about were mundane, day-to-day social problems (boyfriends, sibling rivalry, parents, etc.). Others attested they had no problems, but were only in GGI to help those who did have problems. Still others told the researcher they were in GGI because it was a better elective for them than swimming, typing, or gym (see pp. 69-70, 130). These individuals confessed they hated those electives because of the efforts demanded of them.

The Selection Process

At Howard Junior High School, the researcher was told by the group leader that the selection process for 1984-85 GGI participants began with the circulation of a selection form to teachers (see Figure 2), stating that teachers should help select outstanding positive and negative leaders. The criteria for choosing these leaders were not stated in the form, other than the fact that girls should be extroverted. Teachers were not required to justify or explain their categorization of individual students or the criteria they used. The group leader arranged this selection process in an anonymous fashion. He dropped selection forms into the mail slots of eighth grade teachers.

The researcher failed in her attempt to determine the criteria teachers used in selecting positive and negative leaders from teachers themselves through interviews conducted for this study in May of 1985. Some teachers vaguely remembered the form left in their mail slots at the beginning of the 1984-85

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: David Smith

TO: Howard's Staff

RE: GGI Girls' Group

DATE: September 4, 1984

The GGI (Guided Group Interaction) Program will begin soon.

In order for this program to be a success, I will need positive and negative leaders: students who stand out in your mind who have influence, whether positive or negative.

Please list below those students whom you feel could benefit from this program.

GIRLS ONLY

EXTROVERT - POSITIVE	EXTROVERT - NEGATIVE
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

I will be interviewing students for the next two weeks. Please bear with me.

Thank you,

David Smith

Figure 2. Selection form.

school year. Mr. Scott told the researcher he did not know how or why students were in GGI. When asked if he received the selection form in his mail slot at the beginning of the year, Mr. Scott remembered the form and sounded resentful about the negative and positive categorization of students on the form. He

thought it likely to be biased. He argued if a teacher were not getting along with an otherwise-good student, that teacher was more likely to categorize the student as negative. He confessed he never selected any student because he thought it unfair to categorize students that way. He told the researcher the most important fact that made him not select anyone for GGI was his ignorance of why those students had to be chosen for GGI. In the remaining five eighth-grade teachers interviewed, two remembered receiving selection forms and suggesting names they could not recall. On the whole, interviewed teachers appeared to believe that the criteria used to select GGI students for GGI were the emotional and social problems students had.

Students were given no chance to select people they thought should be in GGI. In reality, as later discussions will indicate, GGI was not known to most students in this building, including eighth graders, the very group GGI selected to focus on (see p. 125). However, the group leader informed the researcher the selection process did not end with teachers; he also interviewed nominees for screening and placement. He related that he had to have an idea of the kind of problems each nominee had. Balancing negative and positive leaders in a group was considered crucial to the success of the group process. Those he considered eligible were given the privilege of either accepting or refusing the offer to be in GGI. GGI is supposed to be voluntary. Those accepting the offer were given handbooks, written by the group leader, that explained what was done in GGI. These handbooks were to be taken to their parents and included permission forms to be signed, indicating whether or not parents granted permission for their individual children to be in GGI.

Subsequent selection procedures observed by the researcher were different from those related by the group leader. For example, the selection procedures witnessed by the researcher did not involve teachers and individual screening

interviews for placement as was the case in the beginning of the year's selection period. The researcher observed the selection process of candidates to replace seven GGI participants from the two groups (three from group I and four from group II) who had been taken out of GGI before the end of the school year so as to "revitalize" the groups. GGI is supposed to be open-ended. At the time when the group leader was to replace the seven GGI participants, the new superintendent of this school district suggested that Article III students be involved in GGI. This was not surprising because the principal had informed the researcher that, at the time of this research, GGI was funded by the Article III fund of the state of Michigan. He explained it was a fund "dealing with kids who are reading or doing math two or three levels below grade level" (Tape recorded interview, 2/22/85).

For this selection period, the group leader had a list of eighth grade Article III students. The group leader informally asked an assistant principals to suggest names of students who could be in GGI; one student was suggested this way. Another was suggested by the ex-GGI leader counselor. In addition, the group leader picked 15 names from Article III students. He invited the 17 candidates to a briefing about GGI in the social room. During this briefing, he told candidates that GGI was an elective class like gym and that they would be graded on it. He explained that students in GGI talk about anything and could "laugh, cry, help, or be helped" by others with their problems. He pointed out that they were not selected for GGI because "you are bad--there are no bad people in GGI, or because you are not doing well in your classes" (Fieldnotes, 3/13/85). He told them they were chosen because they were believed to be strong enough to be able to help those who needed help in GGI and to receive help if they needed it with their own problems. He made it clear that participation was voluntary. After the briefing, he invited those who wanted to be in GGI to remain behind.

behind. These interested candidates were told they should pick up handbooks to take to their parents for permission to be in GGI and to consult with their counselors for schedule changes if they decided to be in GGI. After all students had left the room, the group leader complained to the researcher in despair, "You saw this tall girl who was here (pointing)? I really wanted her to be in GGI. This is the second time she is turning the offer down."

The girl he was talking about was easy to remember because of her striking face and tall and slender body. He explained that she had a lot of problems and really needed to be in GGI. One of the assistant principals had suggested that she be considered for GGI because of her problem with stealing (she had been caught in her office). She also had familial problems known to the staff.

From the recruitment efforts of March 13, 1985, described above, Mr. Smith was only able to get one GGI client from the 17 candidates he interviewed.

About four weeks' later, on April 4, 1985, Mr. Smith changed his recruitment strategy. He invited four GGI veterans, two from each group, to participate in a panel informing 12 potential candidates about GGI. These candidates were eighth grade, Article III students, and none was in the previous group of recruits. Mr. Smith introduced GGI, explaining where it fitted into the curriculum. He explained requirements much as he had done with the previous group of candidates, adding "nobody flunks GGI." He then gave the panel the floor.

Jeanette: In GGI we talk about our problems and help others with their problems. You don't have to have problems to be in GGI . . .

Jackie: Yeah, it doesn't mean that you have more problems when you are in GGI. You can go in to help others with their problems--but everybody has their problems. I mean, no one has <u>no</u> problems.

behind. These interested candidates were told they should pick up handbooks to take to their parents for permission to be in GGI and to consult with their counselors for schedule changes if they decided to be in GGI. After all students had left the room, the group leader complained to the researcher in despair, "You saw this tall girl who was here (pointing)? I really wanted her to be in GGI. This is the second time she is turning the offer down."

The girl he was talking about was easy to remember because of her striking face and tall and slender body. He explained that she had a lot of problems and really needed to be in GGI. One of the assistant principals had suggested that she be considered for GGI because of her problem with stealing (she had been caught in her office). She also had familial problems known to the staff.

From the recruitment efforts of March 13, 1985, described above, Mr. Smith was only able to get one GGI client from the 17 candidates he interviewed.

About four weeks' later, on April 4, 1985, Mr. Smith changed his recruitment strategy. He invited four GGI veterans, two from each group, to participate in a panel informing 12 potential candidates about GGI. These candidates were eighth grade, Article III students, and none was in the previous group of recruits. Mr. Smith introduced GGI, explaining where it fitted into the curriculum. He explained requirements much as he had done with the previous group of candidates, adding "nobody flunks GGI." He then gave the panel the floor.

Jeanette: In GGI we talk about our problems and help others with their problems. You don't have to have problems to be in GGI . . .

Jackie: Yeah, it doesn't mean that you have more problems when you are in GGI. You can go in to help others with their problems--but everybody has their problems. I mean, no one has no problems.

Betsey: Some of them are no big deal. We talk about anything in GGI—boyfriends, stuff like that (giggling). It's a place where you can come and be yourself.

Nancy: Sometimes it can get violent--I mean, really rough. Then you really don't know how to handle things. But I like it; you can be yourself and learn about other people--I mean, who they are, how they think, and their problems.

Jeanette: What we talk about doesn't get out of the GGI room. The stuff we talk about is not supposed to be known to other people. This is important.

Jackie: People wouldn't say nothing if what we talk about was getting out.

Betsey: If you don't like gym, you might just as well be in GGI. I hate gym and typing.

Mr. Smith interrupted the testimonies of the GGI veterans to explain to the recruits that they were selected because, "You can deal with GGI. GGI is not easy; it is a problem-solving class." He gave the candidates a chance to ask questions and no one did. Mr. Smith invited the interested to remain behind and signed permission slips of the uninterested for readmission into the respective classes they left for this briefing. Six students remained behind. They were told they should pick up handbooks for their parents and consult their individual counselors for schedule changes. Four of the 12 recruits joined GGI. Three were placed into group I and one into group II. As was the case with the placement of these additional members, it seemed that the group to which a student were assigned was determined by that student's schedule.

Both the selection procedures narrated by the group leader and those witnessed by the researcher suggested that there was no way of guaranteeing positive and negative peer leaders would be selected into GGI because

1. students were not given a chance to choose students they regarded as influential, outstanding, or their leaders (the group leader indicated they were not supposed to be given a chance);

2. teachers had no clear criteria to use in choosing positive and negative peer leaders; and

3. the superintendent's recommendation that Article III kids be included in GGI cast further doubt as to whether peer leaders would be in GGI.

It also became evident that the group leader had no control over who would and who would not be in GGI among nominated candidates. This was illustrated by the girl who twice had turned down the offer to be in the program (see p. 69). In the best judgment of both the group leader and the assistant principal, the girl needed to be in GGI. The group leader could do nothing about it because GGI was voluntary. This voluntary nature also implied that the strategic balancing of negative and positive leaders would not be feasible because volunteers might form a distribution skewed to either side. The way group placements were arranged for additional GGI members suggested it depended on the schedule a counselor could work out with a student. The group leader could only tell students to inform their counselors where he would like them placed, if possible. The group leader expressed regret about this constriction to the researcher. Although he needed new people in group II, student schedules didn't allow such placement. This explains why there was more mobility in group I than in group II.

How Did Teachers, Counselors, Administrators, and the Group Leader Think GGI Worked?

With the exception of one teacher—an ex-elementary school counselor, one counselor--an ex-group leader, an art teacher, a trained GGI leader, and those who substituted for the group leader during his absence, no teacher or counselor spoke knowledgeably about GGI. Administrators had a good understanding of GGI as outlined in its model. The only people with first-hand information about GGI were those substituting for Mr. Smith. It was generally believed GGI dealt with confidential information only those in the group should know. Mr. Scott

sounded displeased about the inaccessibility of GGI as will be demonstrated later.

Teachers

Of the six eighth grade teachers interviewed, only one spoke about GGI with certainty. Statements made by all other teachers about what GGI was or what it was doing in the school came from vague recollections of what they assumed the program might be doing. They were obviously guarded and cautious because statements they made were bracketed by expressions like "I guess . . ." "that's what I think . . ." "I may be wrong, but I think . . . " "I can only guess . . ." "what I personally think is . . . but check with other people."

This uncertainty was true for all other teachers the researcher interviewed except for those substituting for Mr. Smith during his absences. Mrs. Evans, an English teacher and former elementary school counselor of seven years, was the only teacher who spoke with certainty about GGI. She said, "GGI is peer counseling. I know about how GGI works. My husband was a GGI leader, too. GGI gives students a chance to solve their problems . . ." (Interview notes, 6/5/85). She felt GGI was providing "something that is otherwise missing" in the school system--helping students with "developmental problems and social relationships problems." She explained that high school counselors were not providing social and emotional development counseling to the average student. She believed counselors were only talking to students about classroom and home problems when those problems interfered with school achievement and never about the "social relationships problems" that many students experience in their daily lives at school. That students were burdened by problems in their daily lives at school was revealed to Mrs. Evans by stories they wrote in their journals for her English class. She encouraged students to keep journals they could share

with her alone. Most students confided their problems to her in those journals. She told the researcher she spoke privately with one girl who had suicidal thoughts to try to talk her out of such thoughts. She was certain, therefore, that a program like GGI was vital to the school. She believed students in GGI could talk to their peers about their problems and come to understand that most people have problems too.

Ms. Colbert, a special education teacher (not an eighth grade teacher) who had on occasion acted as a substitute GGI group leader when Mr. Smith was absent spoke with confidence about GGI and its role in the school building: "a viable alternative to 'counseling' because counselors do not focus on behavioral and social problems" (Fieldnotes, 5/23/85). She felt counselors were too busy with paperwork or preparing students for careers to deal with students' behavioral and/or social problems.

Similarly, although less confident than the two preceding informants, Mr. Gordon, an eighth grade teacher, thought GGI was a much-needed program because "schools do not address emotional and psychological needs of developing children—feelings are not touched at all" (Interview notes, 6/5/85). He believed GGI had helped a student (Lucy) in his history class. He said the program changed her attitude; in his opinion, she was no longer the angry child she used to be before she joined GGI. He told the researcher he never attended any GGI meeting and, therefore, had no first hand information about what was happening in GGI because of the confidential nature of the program. He recalled that some years ago when GGI was introduced in this school district, teachers and parents were told in a PTA meeting that GGI was going to give students a chance to talk about their problems.

Ms. Torres, a special education teacher who had an eighth grade GGI student in her special reading class, told the researcher that she did not know

what Mr. Smith was doing in GGI but that she had seen a remarkable change in Karen's attitude and behavior, and her guess was that GGI had perhaps contributed to her change. She defined Karen as having been an acting-out child who threw tantrums whenever efforts were made to correct her dyslexia. She told the researcher that Karen was the most defiant student in her class when they first started in the fall of 1984, but was one of her best students by the end of the year, receiving four awards from four different special education teachers in an award ceremony specially arranged for special education students.

Like Mr. Hanes, Mr. Scott saw no change in students who were in GGI. Mr. Scott explained it as follows.

> The way I see it (GGI) is that it's a free hour. They sit there and talk and cry . . . about what? Nobody knows what the goals of the program are. People are asking how come GGI is not evaluated, why there are no males in the program? I simply don't know what the program does. Mr. Smith does not give us any feedback . . . I see no difference in the kids who are in GGI from other kids . . . I'm not against GGI; but just like most other people, I'm wondering why he cannot come out with the goals and be evaluated according to those goals. (Interview notes, 5/30/85)

Mr. Hanes stated that he knew nothing about GGI except that Mr. Smith was helping the GGI kids with their problems. To his understanding, they were not supposed to be told what students were talking about in GGI because everything was supposed to be confidential.

Counselors

Other than the former GGI group leader among counselors, they knew no more about GGI in this building than teachers. What they said about GGI was not first hand information, but assumptions. Mr. Williams was uncertain about what GGI was doing in this school. He viewed it with suspicion as he said:

> I think some students may look upon it as an easy way . . . if they are quite on time, don't give the teacher any problem, don't give their teacher any difficulty--ah--that's an automatic A, and I think a lot of

> students get into GGI because of that reason as well. If I'm wrong, I'm sorry but I think that's what it comes out to be. (Tape recorded interview, 2/26/85)

Mr. Williams knew that students were talking about their problems in GGI, "problems with peers." He assumed that students were given the chance to talk freely about their problems as he said, ". . . as I understand--I've never attended any of the GGI sessions--they have a chance to discuss problems on restricted basis and they are not unduly criticised because of that."

Another school counselor, Mr. Gilbert, stated that he knew little about GGI.

> I have not had a lot of contact with GGI. Mr. Smith has been the teacher. But I have a general feeling that students--what they say in there is basically confidential . . . . I have the idea that they can freely talk anyway they want about anything they want to in there. (Tape recorded interview, 3/1/85)

When asked what GGI was doing in that school building and how it worked, he replied with uncertainty,

> . . . students with problems . . . have a chance to talk things over (in GGI). It's basically the idea of peer influences--with people of their same age listening and, I think, what he does is kind of moderates the thing--and, again, I'm not there to see what he is doing--but I would think that--eh--the teacher would try to take a little bit of a back seat and let the kids talk more and not impose his ideas much. (Tape recorded interview, 3/30/85)

The counselor who had worked as a GGI leader some years ago said about GGI:

> I know what GGI is--it's Guided Group Interaction. It's a form of peer counseling, and it is a behavior modification system for changing undesirable behavior through group pressure . . . . It's only as good as the group members and the group as far as bringing about change . . . GGI is group counseling. I see it as group counseling. (Tape recorded interview, 2/27/85)

Although two of the three counselors in this school building had only a fuzzy idea of what GGI was and what it was doing in the school building, on the whole counselors regarded GGI as a peer counseling group despite the fact that

they did not see GGI as part of the counseling department. They all made it clear that it had nothing to do with the counseling department. One counselor considered it to be an "added blessing" while another considered it to be a program the school (administrators) wanted.

Administrators

What the principal thought the GGI program was doing in his school building and how it worked are presented here. He saw GGI as:

1. turning around kids with negative attitudes,
2. a leadership training opportunity,
3. a constructive problem solving (activity), and
4. a program that was aiding his administration.

When asked if GGI participants were given a hands-on experience in administration and management of the school, he replied:

> Not now. In the past there were times that we felt so strongly about the capabilities of these youngsters that we actually had them go out and be aides to the teachers and help teachers with the problems in the classrooms. Whether or not that will happen again, I don't know. (Tape recorded interview, 2/22/85)

The researcher inquired about the reasons for the discontinuation of that practice. The principal told the researcher "they were thinking about it" and suggested she asked the group leader about it.

The principal also regarded GGI as a problem solving class. Although he never attended any group meeting because he did not want to appear as though he were prying or "eavesdropping," he knew that GGI was dealing with "real life stuff." He believed that students were bringing problems to the group and that positive solutions were sought with the most viable of these decided upon. Those with solutions to implement were monitored by the group so as to follow through

on chosen solutions. "They consciously monitor each other during the day," he informed the researcher.

The principal's understanding of what GGI was doing and how it operated was still different from that of his staff. He viewed GGI as a tool aiding him to manage the building as well as a problem solving class. His staff took GGI to be some form of counseling that was only helping students in the program with emotional problems. One of the assistant principals, due to the ripple effect assumed about GGI, assured the researcher that the program was doing some good in the building. He stated that GGI could not be expected to solve all discipline problems but "we are better off with it than without it" (Fieldnotes, 6/6/85).

The Group Leader

Mr. Smith attested that GGI was not working as it should have been for two reasons: (a) the limited time he had in Howard Junior High School and (b) the kids schools are dealing with today--"the selfish generation" (Interview, 5/6/85). "You should see GGI when the group leader is full-time in a building. It's different from the GGI we had this past year" (Interview, 8/14/85). He believed that had he been full-time in Howard Junior High School during the 1984-85 school year, he could have taken GGI beyond group meetings. He was convinced GGI could have assumed one of its legitimate functions in a school--"helping teachers to teach." He gave the example that in the past, when teachers were having problems in classrooms with certain kids, they did not have to send the kids away from classes because they knew they could get help from GGI students. They could "just make a phone call" to the GGI office to get help; and, if the problem were severe enough, it would be attended to by the group leader. GGI graduates, those who had been through the program, had an office in the

counseling department and a telephone at which they could be reached. According to Mr. Smith, this was how GGI was some years ago in the building where he had previously worked. He pointed out that

> . . . in order to do that, you have to do several things: prepare the kids for it and then, the most important thing, prepare the teachers to use them and use them rightly. I haven't been able to do that because I haven't had the time. (Tape recorded interview, 5/6/85)

He told the researcher that the 1984-85 GGI kids left him a little disappointed because they did not progress as fast as he had hoped and wished, due in part, he said, to the "kind of kids we are dealing with now--it's a very selfish group. They are more inward than giving out." In order to give out, they always look for what they would get back. "I want . . . me . . . I . . . my . . ." typified this generation's outlook, according to Mr. Smith. "The '60s—these are their children that are now in the schools today," he further explained as the root of the problem.

He said because of (a) lack of time and (b) the self-centeredness of this generation, he had to spend a lot of time helping GGI participants "deal with self." He imagined that had he been full-time in the school, he could have worked hard to heighten their sense of responsibility and their willingness to help others in the building. He could have always been there to prompt and support them if time had allowed it. He believed he could have followed GGI students into their classrooms, conferred with individual teachers about their behaviors, and how they could be beneficially used in each class.

In short, in Mr. Smith's opinion, GGI was not at the time of this research what it should have been. Its focus was limited. It was limited to what was happening in GGI meetings.

Part Two

Based on Observations, What Actually Went on During GGI Meetings?

What Were the Duties, Responsibilities, Rights, and Obligations of Group Members and the Group Leader?

A pattern emerging from nearly all observations was that there was no pre-packaged or predetermined agenda brought by the group leader to meetings. Bringing problems to meetings for discussion appeared to be the exclusive duty of group members. It was still members' responsibility to initiate discussions. There was a standard procedure to begin the group process. Figure 3 is a flowchart depicting two possible circuits the group process might go through when it begins. Under abnormal circumstances, as when a member comes crying to the group, the pathway is A-H. Under normal circumstances, as when there is no pressing problem, the pathway is A through any variety of B: AB-H or AB-I.

Under normal circumstances, the standard opening procedure in GGI is for members to go around the circle every morning to find out if individual members have had problems since the last meeting. Those who affirm are given a chance to briefly describe their problems. These problems are not discussed until everyone had been given a chance to give brief descriptions of the problems encountered as of the last meeting. For those affirming, the pathway is BEF. For those disaffirming, the pathway may be BCF, BDF, or BDEF. From F, the group process may move to I if there is no member with a problem, to H if there is only one member with a problem, and through G to H if there is more than one member with a problem. Group members decide to whose problem a meeting should be awarded. Seriousness, emotional impact, and urgency of the problem are bases on which decisions to award a meeting are made.

Part Two

Based on Observations, What Actually Went on During GGI Meetings?

What Were the Duties, Responsibilities, Rights, and Obligations of Group Members and the Group Leader?

A pattern emerging from nearly all observations was that there was no pre-packaged or predetermined agenda brought by the group leader to meetings. Bringing problems to meetings for discussion appeared to be the exclusive duty of group members. It was still members' responsibility to initiate discussions. There was a standard procedure to begin the group process. Figure 3 is a flowchart depicting two possible circuits the group process might go through when it begins. Under abnormal circumstances, as when a member comes crying to the group, the pathway is A-H. Under normal circumstances, as when there is no pressing problem, the pathway is A through any variety of B: AB-H or AB-I.

Under normal circumstances, the standard opening procedure in GGI is for members to go around the circle every morning to find out if individual members have had problems since the last meeting. Those who affirm are given a chance to briefly describe their problems. These problems are not discussed until everyone had been given a chance to give brief descriptions of the problems encountered as of the last meeting. For those affirming, the pathway is BEF. For those disaffirming, the pathway may be BCF, BDF, or BDEF. From F, the group process may move to I if there is no member with a problem, to H if there is only one member with a problem, and through G to H if there is more than one member with a problem. Group members decide to whose problem a meeting should be awarded. Seriousness, emotional impact, and urgency of the problem are bases on which decisions to award a meeting are made.

Part Two

Based on Observations, What Actually Went on During GGI Meetings?

What Were the Duties, Responsibilities, Rights, and Obligations of Group Members and the Group Leader?

A pattern emerging from nearly all observations was that there was no pre-packaged or predetermined agenda brought by the group leader to meetings. Bringing problems to meetings for discussion appeared to be the exclusive duty of group members. It was still members' responsibility to initiate discussions. There was a standard procedure to begin the group process. Figure 3 is a flowchart depicting two possible circuits the group process might go through when it begins. Under abnormal circumstances, as when a member comes crying to the group, the pathway is A-H. Under normal circumstances, as when there is no pressing problem, the pathway is A through any variety of B: AB-H or AB-I.

Under normal circumstances, the standard opening procedure in GGI is for members to go around the circle every morning to find out if individual members have had problems since the last meeting. Those who affirm are given a chance to briefly describe their problems. These problems are not discussed until everyone had been given a chance to give brief descriptions of the problems encountered as of the last meeting. For those affirming, the pathway is BEF. For those disaffirming, the pathway may be BCF, BDF, or BDEF. From F, the group process may move to I if there is no member with a problem, to H if there is only one member with a problem, and through G to H if there is more than one member with a problem. Group members decide to whose problem a meeting should be awarded. Seriousness, emotional impact, and urgency of the problem are bases on which decisions to award a meeting are made.

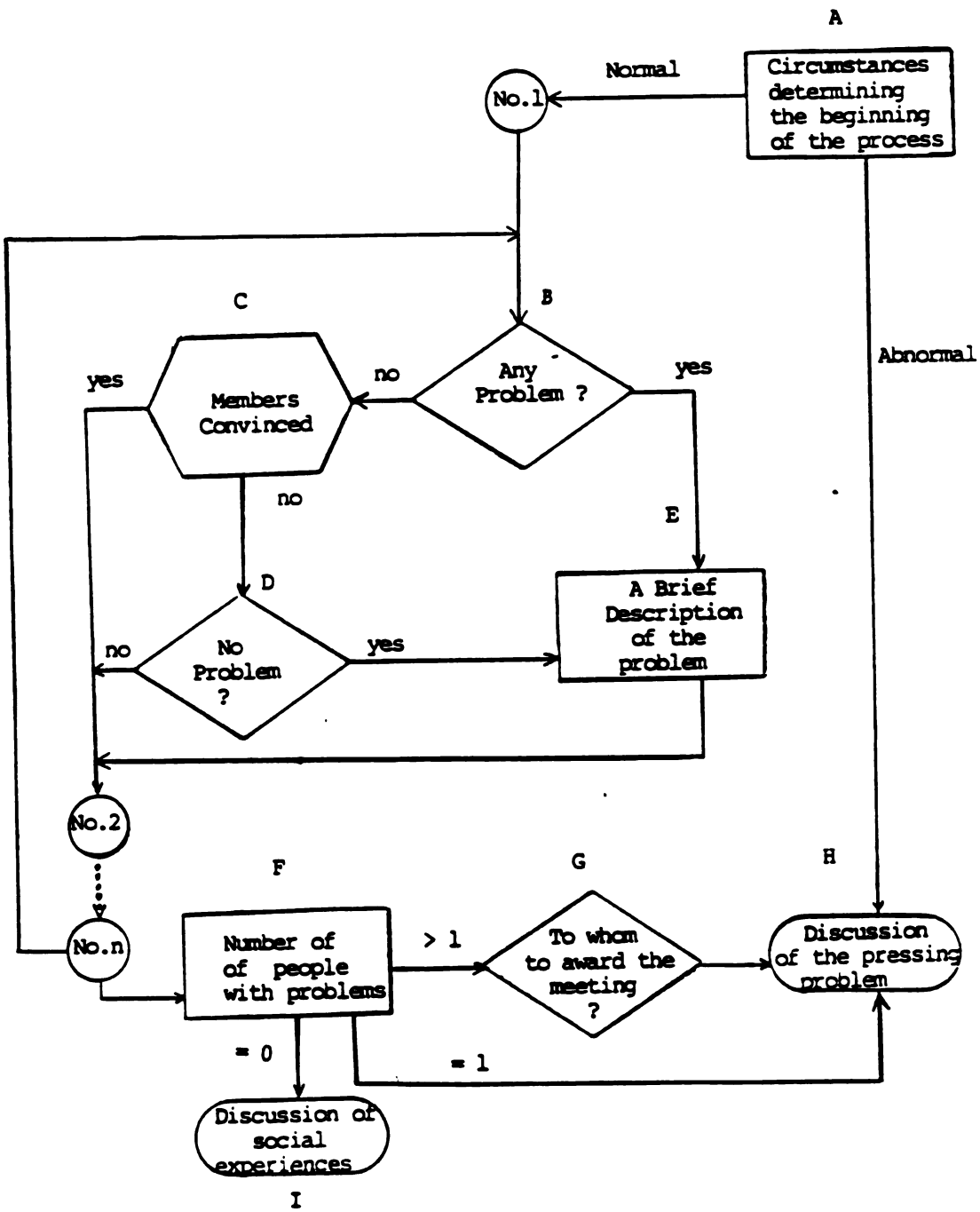


Figure 3. The Guided Group Interaction (GGI) process.

In the following vignette, the standard procedure was overlooked.

Jill: You guys, I need your opinion on this. I don't think I should walk to my mum and say, "I think you married low class; you should get a divorce from him."

Patty: Does she think she should get a divorce from him?

Jackie: Why do you want them to divorce? (Fieldnotes, 2/18/85)

Before she could reply, the group leader reminded them of the standard procedure for beginning group discussion. Members short-circuited the procedure of beginning the process (A-H) when circumstances did not indicate such a need. When the standard procedure was followed, it turned out that Patty had had a problem with her mother over the weekend, too. Because Jill had sounded emotional about her problem, the meeting was awarded to her problem.

What the above vignette demonstrates is that group members were also responsible for igniting group process. The group leader was responsible for the group's structure. He had to see to it that rules were adhered to, set boundaries by prohibiting certain actions and topics, and monitor the direction of the group process through reinforcing, rephrasing, and questioning to stimulate discussions. Discussing and examining problems brought to the groups was members' responsibility, especially because GGI had been built on the concept of peer counseling.

D'Andrea and Solovey (1983) define peer counseling as

> . . . the use of active listening and problem-solving skills . . . to counsel people who are our peers--peers in age, status, and knowledge. Peer counseling, then, is both a method and a philosophy. The basic premise behind it is that people are capable of solving most of their problems of daily living if given the chance. The role of the counselor in peer counseling is not to solve people's problems for them but rather to assist them in finding their own solutions.

In many ways, during the 1984-85 school year GGI met the basic premises of a peer counseling group in its structure, philosophy, and method. Only eighth grade girls were eligible for GGI. Girls in lower grades were considered too

young to deal with the assumed confrontational nature of GGI and responsibilities ensuing from it. The designers of the GGI program intended it to be more than just another counseling group; they wanted it to be a political forum for students as well.

GGI, as a youth advocacy program, was introduced into the school system to provide students a chance to have a say in the management of the school. It was assumed that GGI would facilitate participative management in a school (involvement of students in solving behavior problems). GGI group meetings, according to its proponents, were to be run in a manner that would give GGI participants the power to make decisions about group members and matters affecting them. In other words, participative management had to begin at the group level.

When GGI members first came to the group, they were told they were supposed to run the group. Unclear was what rights and obligations group members and the group leader had. Group members did not appear to know exactly what was expected of them in running the group. This expectation was reiterated and questioned by members each time they were dissatisfied with the group's conditions.

The following vignette demonstrates this uncertainty about what was meant by members running the group.

> Jeannette announced that she wanted to get out of GGI. Jill said she knew she was getting out because GGI was "just a social group." Mr. Smith inquired why she was looking at him when she was saying that. She replied that he was the teacher. "So?" Mr. Smith asked. "You told us we are supposed to run the group, but have you ever thought that we don't know what it is we are supposed to do?" Jill asked. "But we are supposed to run the group. We do have problems, but we don't want to talk about them," Jeanette defended. Mr. Smith inquired, "So should I come here and tell you what you should do every day?" "What are you here for? I'm bored with this," Jill stated. "Why are you angry at me? I'm the only one you can take out your anger the way you want to--I'm not bothered about that" Mr. Smith inquired. Jill did not reply. (Fieldnotes, 3/27/85)

Apparently, Jill did not know what was expected of the students because she had had a similar complaint about a month before this incident. Her anger might have stemmed from the frustration of not knowing what their responsibilities and those of the group leader were. The researcher learned when groups were first organized, members were told what was expected of them. The researcher was not at the research site at that time, nor was Jill. Jill joined group I late in the fall of 1984. This suggests that she, as might be the case for other late-comers, did not know who was responsible for what between the group and group leaders.

It is possible that Jill never believed the students had any power as group members. Actually, when she was angry with Mr. Smith before the above incident, she burst out with "don't tell me all that technical shit" when reminded that they were to run the group (Fieldnotes, 2/28/85). Another possibility is that Jill was a person who preferred to work with concrete goals and objectives--i.e., knowing exactly what was expected of them as a group at any given time.

The above discussion demonstrates, duties and responsibilities of group members did not receive explicit review or update. Many a time what the group members were supposed to have done and did not do was implied in Mr. Smith's complaints when reprimanding the groups. For example, on February 18, Mr. Smith returned from a sick leave. He was displeased about some negative reports received from Ms. Vincent, his substitute, especially about group II. Mr. Smith was harsh and stern with both groups. Just after group I settled down, he matter-of-factly asked the following:

> "Has Patty been getting any help from this group?"
> "No," was the quite group response.
> "Where's Tracy?" Mr. Smith asked.
> "She is always not here or late," one of the group members responded.
> "Have you told her that?" Mr. Smith asked.
> "Several times," was the group response.

Similarly, when group II came in, Mr. Smith asked the following.

> "Is Carol getting help in this group?"
> "No," the group quickly responded.
> "It's your fault," the leader accused group II.
> "It's your fault, too," Elaine counter-accused.
> "I take responsibility, too," the group leader admitted. (Fieldnotes, 2/18/85)

He singled out individuals known to have the most problems in each group to demonstrate how the groups had failed to do what they were supposed to do, i.e., help people with problems. In essence, he told both groups that they were only playing around. Also implied in the first vignette cited above is that group I members should have confronted Tracy about her habitual tardiness.

Creating tension, it seemed, was one of the strategies Mr. Smith frequently employed to spur the groups into assuming the responsibilities of running the groups and helping one another. He sometimes used this strategy to refocus the groups when they detoured into meaningless discussions during GGI sessions. Almost without exception, he pointed out what they should have been concentrating on instead of wasting time.

In the following case, he brought group I back on track by saying, "People have problems here. You don't sense it because you don't pay close attention to one another." Marcia retorted, "How can we? People choose not to tell their problems even if we go around the circle and ask. Beth, for example, has a problem; she doesn't tell us" (Fieldnotes, 2/27/85). Mr. Smith objected to group members who, when asked during the ritual of going around to find out about problems since the last meeting, quickly replied "no problems" and immediately lapsed into small group discussions. The BCF pathway presented the least effort of all possible pathways. The above reprimand implied that members should not take the "no problem" response from members at face value, but probe further

where a response were not convincing. It turned out that Beth was feeling low because of a problem with her boyfriend.

Attempts to implement the ideal of giving members a chance to run the groups was a source of role confusion to the members. Mr. Smith was obliged not to usurp all powers for himself, but to give members a chance to exert influence on and control over one another. Mr. Smith earnestly believed if he did not intervene in all wrong-doing in group meetings, in time group members would be obliged to confront and correct one another with wrong doing. His belief is well illustrated in the way he treated Melody, a girl who was outstanding with negative leadership in group II.

During the fall of 1984, use of cosmetics, eating candy, and chewing gum were prohibited during GGI meetings. Mr. Smith had problems enforcing the chewing gum regulation, reminding members about it at every session. He was forced to assume the role of a police officer. Melody gave Mr. Smith the greatest problem with this rule. At the beginning of each session, Mr. Smith reminded the girls to throw their gum into a rubbish bin. Melody did not do so. She pretended to take her gum out and stopped chewing for a few minutes; then she defiantly resumed chewing after a while as hard and loud as she could. Sometimes Mr. Smith gave Melody a second reminder, but he generally ignored what she was doing.

One Wednesday morning, the 14th of November, 1984, Melody took her defiance a step further. Before Mr. Smith came into the classroom from his class shift supervision, Melody distributed big suckers to everyone in GGI. When Mr. Smith entered the room a minute or two after the GGI participants had settled down, he found everyone with a sucker in her mouth. He was taken aback and sternly ordered them to remove the suckers. He asked who brought them and was told it was Melody. He said nothing.

After the session, Mr. Smith explained to the researcher that Melody was deliberately setting him up against the whole group. He interpreted what she was doing as a struggle for power. He thought Melody wanted to win the group to her side. He was convinced that if he lashed out at Melody for bringing the suckers, she would have had the group's sympathy on her side because they were all eating. He told the researcher he never allowed himself to be caught in such ploys. Despite Mr. Smith's insights into what he believed to be Melody's ulterior motives, whose responsibility it was to deal with Melody's persistent defiance of rules was not clear. Mr. Smith optimistically believed the group would soon get tired of her defiant behavior and would straighten her out.

Later observations proved Mr. Smith wrong. Instead, Melody formed a strong coalition that controlled the group and thwarted every sensible voice against it. For example, when members were given a chance to decide grades for one another during the marking period in February, 1985, Melody and her clique conspired to give Nancy, an honor roll student, the lowest grade in the group. When grades were decided by group members, a name would be taken from the alphabetical class list, and, going around the circle, each member would suggest the grade she believed the member deserved. The average of all suggested grades would be what that member received as a grade.

When Nancy's grade was decided, Melody asked to be passed when it was her turn to suggest a grade for Nancy, as did members of her coalition--Emily, Lucy, and Dianne. One of the coalition members, Michelle, was absent. The turn came back around the circle to Melody, who again passed, as did the other three girls. The third time around, Melody turned to look at her friends, as if to say, "Who wants to go?" Lucy responded with a C3 for Nancy, the lowest grade anyone had suggested for any member in the group. Mr. Smith asked why Lucy was giving Nancy that grade. She replied, "It's because she likes interrupting

people when they'll be talking about their problems." The other three girls gave Nancy Bs.

Members of the coalition were apparently untouchable. They could say irrational things in the group, and no one questioned them because they defended one another. Nancy was the only person who, on occasion, dared to challenge their thinking and reckless responses to other people. The dirty looks and retorts she received indicated they resented her. They also communicated disapproval by rolling eyes to one another, as if to say "there she goes again."

After the group meeting, Mr. Smith confessed to the researcher that he did not like what happened with Nancy's grade. "This group disappoints me," he reflected. He hoped someone would take up the prompt of challenging Lucy when he started questioning her for the low grade she maliciously suggested for Nancy. In a reverie, he said, "Something is wrong with this group."

The following day, Mr. Smith tried to prompt the group into reviewing what had happened the previous day by asking, "Who is the power in this group?" Nancy quickly answered, "Melody and Emily." No one else made a comment, and the case was closed. Toward the end of the session, Mr. Smith reprimanded the group for pursuing small group discussions instead of getting down to business, implying the failure of the group to challenge the power of the coalition. He warned, "Things will have to change. This group is controlled by a few people, and you allow it to go that way" (2/26/85). Mr. Smith was so unhappy with the conspiracy against Nancy that he decided to move all members of the coalition, with the exception of Emily, out of the group in an attempt to "revitalize" the group and remove it from the strong grip of negative leadership.

Generally, group grading always produced schisms and extreme dissatisfaction in members. For example, when grades were decided by the group in February, Beth in group I was absent. When she returned, she strongly

complained that her grade was lower than Tricia's and "Tricia don't say no damn good thing here . . . she got a BI." Yet, this was all in the principle of giving members a chance to decide group matters. Group grading could produce anomalies where people who had never received A's in other classes could receive A+'s in GGI. Ironically, people like Nancy who enjoyed A's in other classes received the lowest grades in GGI. This was discovered by the researcher when she reviewed both academic and discipline records of GGI participants to get their profiles as students.

When the groups first came together, how clearly spelled the responsibility of group members to confront one another was difficult to establish. The researcher gathered from group members that they were told they were supposed to help one another with problems. To them, methods of accomplishing this did not involve confrontation. Informal interviews indicated that group members expected Mr. Smith to intervene when people were misbehaving in the groups. They avoided confronting one another for wrong doing because they took that to be the group leader's responsibility. Group members, it seemed, also avoided confronting one another because, as Elaine once told the researcher, "When you tell people they are wrong, they'll be cutting and rolling eyes at you. People get mad!" (Fieldnotes, 5/21/85). Perhaps group members were angry at criticisms coming from peers because they thought group members had no right to tell them anything. An alternative explanation would be that their lifetime socialization at school conditioned them to expect and accept criticism from adults but not from peers.

In addition, perhaps what was confusing to members was the fact that Mr. Smith imposed limits in some instances. They, therefore, had the right to expect his intervention in all wrong-doing in the group. For strategic reasons, the group leader had the right to selectively decide when to intervene and when not to.

This very right was the source of confusion and conflict. It made Mr. Smith appear inconsistent when, in reality, it might have been all in the attempt to make the members feel as if they were running the group. Group members did not seem to understand his selective intervention. Instead, they were sometimes angered by it as demonstrated by the following vignette:

> In group II, Karen took out a candy and ate it. Mr. Smith objected and ordered her to take it out. With her face pulled into a frown, Karen angrily asked Mr. Smith, "Why didn't you stop Elaine yesterday?" She angrily snatched the candy from her mouth and wrapped it back into its wrapper. (Fieldnotes, 4/10/85)

Apparently, Karen interpreted Mr. Smith's objection as a violation of her rights. If other people in the group ate candies without getting into trouble, she should have the same right, too. By this time, Mr. Smith had relaxed rules and was now allowing chewing gum and candies if eaten quietly. A close look at the occasions when Mr. Smith openly prohibited violation of rules reveals that timing was important. He appeared more likely to prohibit violation of these rules when they were most likely to disturb the group process and focus. This discretion might not have been obvious to GGI participants, hence the anger and reference to those who had previously engaged in acts that violated these regulations.

What Were Appropriate Topics for Discussion in GGI?

GGI participants were allowed to discuss freely any personal problems and concerns in group meetings. These problems and concerns were both of a confidential nature and somewhat directly impinging on members' lives. Examples are found in the following vignette:

> Michelle came into the GGI room crying. Nancy was crying, too. The two were hugged by friends who whispered soft words. A tissue box was placed inside the discussion circle for easy access to those who offered crying members tissues to dry their faces. It was tense and quiet in the group.

This very right was the source of confusion and conflict. It made Mr. Smith appear inconsistent when, in reality, it might have been all in the attempt to make the members feel as if they were running the group. Group members did not seem to understand his selective intervention. Instead, they were sometimes angered by it as demonstrated by the following vignette:

> In group II, Karen took out a candy and ate it. Mr. Smith objected and ordered her to take it out. With her face pulled into a frown, Karen angrily asked Mr. Smith, "Why didn't you stop Elaine yesterday?" She angrily snatched the candy from her mouth and wrapped it back into its wrapper. (Fieldnotes, 4/10/85)

Apparently, Karen interpreted Mr. Smith's objection as a violation of her rights. If other people in the group ate candies without getting into trouble, she should have the same right, too. By this time, Mr. Smith had relaxed rules and was now allowing chewing gum and candies if eaten quietly. A close look at the occasions when Mr. Smith openly prohibited violation of rules reveals that timing was important. He appeared more likely to prohibit violation of these rules when they were most likely to disturb the group process and focus. This discretion might not have been obvious to GGI participants, hence the anger and reference to those who had previously engaged in acts that violated these regulations.

What Were Appropriate Topics for Discussion in GGI?

GGI participants were allowed to discuss freely any personal problems and concerns in group meetings. These problems and concerns were both of a confidential nature and somewhat directly impinging on members' lives. Examples are found in the following vignette:

> Michelle came into the GGI room crying. Nancy was crying, too. The two were hugged by friends who whispered soft words. A tissue box was placed inside the discussion circle for easy access to those who offered crying members tissues to dry their faces. It was tense and quiet in the group.

This very right was the source of confusion and conflict. It made Mr. Smith appear inconsistent when, in reality, it might have been all in the attempt to make the members feel as if they were running the group. Group members did not seem to understand his selective intervention. Instead, they were sometimes angered by it as demonstrated by the following vignette:

> In group II, Karen took out a candy and ate it. Mr. Smith objected and ordered her to take it out. With her face pulled into a frown, Karen angrily asked Mr. Smith, "Why didn't you stop Elaine yesterday?" She angrily snatched the candy from her mouth and wrapped it back into its wrapper. (Fieldnotes, 4/10/85)

Apparently, Karen interpreted Mr. Smith's objection as a violation of her rights. If other people in the group ate candies without getting into trouble, she should have the same right, too. By this time, Mr. Smith had relaxed rules and was now allowing chewing gum and candies if eaten quietly. A close look at the occasions when Mr. Smith openly prohibited violation of rules reveals that timing was important. He appeared more likely to prohibit violation of these rules when they were most likely to disturb the group process and focus. This discretion might not have been obvious to GGI participants, hence the anger and reference to those who had previously engaged in acts that violated these regulations.

What Were Appropriate Topics for Discussion in GGI?

GGI participants were allowed to discuss freely any personal problems and concerns in group meetings. These problems and concerns were both of a confidential nature and somewhat directly impinging on members' lives. Examples are found in the following vignette:

> Michelle came into the GGI room crying. Nancy was crying, too. The two were hugged by friends who whispered soft words. A tissue box was placed inside the discussion circle for easy access to those who offered crying members tissues to dry their faces. It was tense and quiet in the group.

> Nancy was the first to be questioned by Mr. Smith about her crying. She explained she was accused of cheating on a test and she was called names and given dirty looks by a bunch of boys for something she did not do. She explained she was suspected of cheating because her friend sat next to her when they were writing a test. (It sounded as if that was what people often did when they wanted to cheat.) She told the group that Kay (the friend) insisted on sitting next to her when she suggested sitting somewhere else. She was consoled by the group and told not to worry about what they said if she knew she did not do it. By the end of 15 minutes, Nancy was smiling and answering questions without sobbing.
>
> Mr. Smith turned the focus of the group from Nancy to Michelle by asking what was troubling her. Sniffling, she said, "I don't want to tell" because if she did, everyone would think "I'm a whore." The group expressed shock at what she seemed to believe and assured her that she could trust them.
>
> She explained that she missed her period and was afraid she was pregnant again. This time, her sister was threatening that she would have the baby. She broke into a fit of crying. She told the group when she last had her period and sex. She said she and her boyfriend broke up two weeks earlier before she became concerned and that they were not on speaking terms. Michelle was still awaiting results of a blood test, but she was convinced she was pregnant. She told the group she had all the symptoms, the "morning sickness stuff." One of the girls told her that morning sickness could come if she thought she was pregnant, even if she were not.
>
> Things moved slowly since Michelle's narration was occasionally interrupted by crying. The group stayed over for the next hour because the meeting was emotionally charged when the bell rang. (Fieldnotes, 1/16/85)

It was an accepted practice for members not to leave for class when there was a member who needed support, especially when the troubled member was in a fit of crying. Michelle was shaking with heavy sobs when the bell rang at the end of the second hour. When troubled members were not engulfed in a fervor of crying, problems of great concern were set aside for the next meeting.

In instances where members were crying or emotional about their problems, group members often moved with some hesitation in questioning and commenting. There would be lapses of silence. Group members' voices would be subdued and consoling in tone, and members appeared to make efforts to use the right words to communicate empathy. Typically, the atmosphere would be tense

and subdued. The group focus would be totally on the troubled member and would be intermittently shifted to those who uttered something.

Also worth noting is the fact that the group process took the A-H pathway and was begun by the group leader (see Figure 3). The pathway was legitimate because there were members with obvious pressing problems. The group leader was compelled to begin the group process since it was tense in the group and members tended to be more reserved on such occasions. Therefore, Mr. Smith had to break the ice to get the group process going. At its best, peer counseling in GGI included attentive listening, questioning, exploration of feelings, volunteering opinions, or giving advice on the issue at hand.

The above vignettes demonstrate that personal problems and concerns of any magnitude, be it fretting over name calling and dirty looks received from peers or worrying about devastating personal crises such as a possible pregnancy, were acceptable topics of discussion. Typically, the nature of personal problems discussed seldom if ever included personal frustrations with school work. Reasons for this bias are discussed later in this chapter. Topics of discussions centered around familial and social relations' problems and day-to-day social experiences.

Familial problems. When GGI group members first came into the group, they were required to tell a "life story," i.e., where they were born, how many people were in their families, their feelings about members of the family, etc. Questioning by other members as the life stories were told helped to complete profiles of members' family situations. Following is an example of a life story told by Elaine.

> Elaine told the group she was living with her divorced mother. She said her mother was white and her dad black. The group asked if the marriage did not work because it was a mixed race marriage. Elaine replied that she did not think so, but she thought they divorced

and subdued. The group focus would be totally on the troubled member and would be intermittently shifted to those who uttered something.

Also worth noting is the fact that the group process took the A-H pathway and was begun by the group leader (see Figure 3). The pathway was legitimate because there were members with obvious pressing problems. The group leader was compelled to begin the group process since it was tense in the group and members tended to be more reserved on such occasions. Therefore, Mr. Smith had to break the ice to get the group process going. At its best, peer counseling in GGI included attentive listening, questioning, exploration of feelings, volunteering opinions, or giving advice on the issue at hand.

The above vignettes demonstrate that personal problems and concerns of any magnitude, be it fretting over name calling and dirty looks received from peers or worrying about devastating personal crises such as a possible pregnancy, were acceptable topics of discussion. Typically, the nature of personal problems discussed seldom if ever included personal frustrations with school work. Reasons for this bias are discussed later in this chapter. Topics of discussions centered around familial and social relations' problems and day-to-day social experiences.

Familial problems. When GGI group members first came into the group, they were required to tell a "life story," i.e., where they were born, how many people were in their families, their feelings about members of the family, etc. Questioning by other members as the life stories were told helped to complete profiles of members' family situations. Following is an example of a life story told by Elaine.

> Elaine told the group she was living with her divorced mother. She said her mother was white and her dad black. The group asked if the marriage did not work because it was a mixed race marriage. Elaine replied that she did not think so, but she thought they divorced

and subdued. The group focus would be totally on the troubled member and would be intermittently shifted to those who uttered something.

Also worth noting is the fact that the group process took the A-H pathway and was begun by the group leader (see Figure 3). The pathway was legitimate because there were members with obvious pressing problems. The group leader was compelled to begin the group process since it was tense in the group and members tended to be more reserved on such occasions. Therefore, Mr. Smith had to break the ice to get the group process going. At its best, peer counseling in GGI included attentive listening, questioning, exploration of feelings, volunteering opinions, or giving advice on the issue at hand.

The above vignettes demonstrate that personal problems and concerns of any magnitude, be it fretting over name calling and dirty looks received from peers or worrying about devastating personal crises such as a possible pregnancy, were acceptable topics of discussion. Typically, the nature of personal problems discussed seldom if ever included personal frustrations with school work. Reasons for this bias are discussed later in this chapter. Topics of discussions centered around familial and social relations' problems and day-to-day social experiences.

Familial problems. When GGI group members first came into the group, they were required to tell a "life story," i.e., where they were born, how many people were in their families, their feelings about members of the family, etc. Questioning by other members as the life stories were told helped to complete profiles of members' family situations. Following is an example of a life story told by Elaine.

> Elaine told the group she was living with her divorced mother. She said her mother was white and her dad black. The group asked if the marriage did not work because it was a mixed race marriage. Elaine replied that she did not think so, but she thought they divorced

> because her mother nagged. The group asked how she felt about her father, and she answered she liked him and that she always visited him during weekends. She narrated that her mother was jealous of her and her dad. Her mother did not like her visiting her dad because she thought her father was spoiling her. She said she could talk on the phone as long as she wanted in her dad's house. She said her mother was also jealous of her dad because she always wanted to find out from Elaine who her father was seeing. She went on to say that one time her father was going out with a real cute lady and her mother was always criticizing the lady and saying she was ugly. The group asked if she liked her mother. She answered she did, although she was always getting on her nerves. She told the group what she and her mother usually did, e.g., going to church and prayer meetings, even when Elaine did not feel like it. (Fieldnotes, 10/18/84)

Life stories were snapshots of familial conditions and were preparatory ground for peer counseling. By the time individual members brought problems to the GGI groups, other participants (peers) as well as the group leader had a fair understanding of individual members' family situations. They knew the concerned individual's thoughts and feelings concerning family background. The following exchange between Betsey and Mr. Smith indicates the vital utility of the life story in GGI.

Betsey told the group leader that she wanted to move in with her mother. Mr. Smith reminded her that she once said she did not want to live with her "for some reasons."

> Betsey: I said she was a whore and a bitch, but at least she wants me. My dad and Janet (stepmother) don't want me there.
>
> Mr. S: What about the boyfriend she stays with? You said you hated him.
>
> Betsey: She broke up with him (she quickly added).
>
> Mr. S: But if you called her all the names you just called her, you still feel you want to live with her?
>
> Betsey: At least she wants me. (Fieldnotes, 3/22/85)

Without knowing her life story, Mr. Smith would not have been able to challenge Betsey to think twice about her desire to live with her mother.

All the concerns and problems brought to the groups about immediate family members were permissible in GGI, especially if they were sources of concern for individual members. The most frequent problems and concerns brought to GGI were squabbles group members had with their mothers. Mother-related problems and concerns included friction over household chores, double messages, rationing of television watching and time spent on the telephone, choice of friends, denial of privileges for punishment, and mothers' boyfriends. How common the "mother problem" was is well portrayed by the following comment:

Shirley: I have a problem. It's my mother. She is a big problem.

Mary E: Everybody's mother is a problem! (Fieldnotes, 2/26/85)

Mary-Ellen's response captures the general view GGI participants had about their mothers. They saw their mothers as naggers. Without exception, anything reported with "nyea, nyea, nyea" was a summary of everything their mothers said in what they regarded as nagging. In many instances, this was mothers' efforts to call them to order, as in the following instance.

Valerie: My mom got on my nerves yesterday. She asked me to get the dishes just when I started watching "The Love Boat." She said, if you start doing that you won't get--nyea, nyea, nyea—those dishes done. I told her to give me a break and to get the hell off my back. I said I'll get the damn dishes after my program.

Emily: Is that how you speak to your mom? My mom wouldn't let me. She . . .

Elaine: Mine, too (the same from several other group members).

Valerie: Mine won't say nothing. I speak anyway I want.

Gail: You know what I think? I think you are abusing your mother.

Choral responses: Yeah; yeah, why are you so mean to your mother? My mom would kill me. I know mine would disown me, etc. (Fieldnotes, 3/22/85).

Comments like these randomly dropped into the choral responses quoted above formed the bulk of peer counseling in GGI. Pressure for members to change their behaviors or attitudes was rarely applied. In fact, during the period of this study which included 119 hours of observation in each group, in only one instance in each group was direct pressure for members to change their behaviors applied, and that was on least-threatening members. Pressure was perhaps vicariously experienced by members in instances where they felt different from most people in the group as when group members told Valerie that they would not speak that way to their mothers.

Problems and concerns brought to the group were not limited to complaints about mothers, but also included complaints about other adults and family conditions.

Elaine: Something bugs me. We slept with a man yesterday in our house. I saw him when I was going to the bathroom this morning. I think he is from Saudi Arabia.

Emily: You know him?

Elaine: Yes, I do. He is my aunt's boyfriend.

Nancy: Did your mother see him?

Elaine: She works at night and my aunt is supposed to be watching me.

Lucy: Boy, my aunt is a whore! I have no business to say that--she is my aunt. But I know it's true. She sees different guys almost every weekend. I'll be embarrassed because they'll be sitting in embarrassing ways with her boyfriends. I'll go into my room so I don't see them, but I'll be more embarrassed when I hear them at night.

Elaine: What does your grandmother say?

Lucy: Nothing. She keeps away. I guess she gets embarrassed, too.

Michelle: I was embarrassed by my dad, too. I found him in bed with a white girlfriend almost my age. How would you feel when your father goes out with girls your age?

Choral response: That's gross. That's bold. Boy! That's b-a-d! etc.

Gail: Was your father embarrassed when you caught him?

Michelle: He was mad at me. I told him I didn't do nothing. All I did was walk into his apartment. The door was open, so I didn't have to knock. I didn't know she was there. (Fieldnotes, 2/28/85)

The group zig-zagged around Elaine's concern, dropping in comments about similar situations and experiences and how they felt and handled those situations. This was how peer counseling in GGI proceeded sometimes--sharing of similar situations and the ways in which those situations were handled. The group process was not always linear.

The group finally returned to question Elaine about her concern. She was asked what she was going to do about it. She replied that she wanted to blackmail her 20 year old aunt, threatening to tell on her. Gail advised her to wait until she did something wrong, and if her aunt threatened to tell on her that she would also tell on her aunt. "I do that every time," "Me, too," etc., several group members offered, throwing in support for the blackmail. "Why would you do that?" Mr. Smith asked as if surprised. Emily picked up the cue of disapproval from Mr. Smith's question and disagreed with the group's advice. She advised her not to do that, but to ask her aunt to tell her when there would be someone in the house. Mr. Smith nodded in approval.

Some of the family problems and conditions were of the type concerned individuals could do nothing about. Such conditions included the absence of a parent or parental rejection or violence in households. For example, Lucy had a distressing family background she could do very little to change. Lucy was an attractive white girl. Her mother committed suicide and she was in the custody of her grandmother. Her father had recently been released from jail after serving a sentence for a drug felony, and he wanted nothing to do with her. GGI

Choral response: That's gross. That's bold. Boy! That's b-a-d! etc.

Gail: Was your father embarrassed when you caught him?

Michelle: He was mad at me. I told him I didn't do nothing. All I did was walk into his apartment. The door was open, so I didn't have to knock. I didn't know she was there. (Fieldnotes, 2/28/85)

The group zig-zagged around Elaine's concern, dropping in comments about similar situations and experiences and how they felt and handled those situations. This was how peer counseling in GGI proceeded sometimes--sharing of similar situations and the ways in which those situations were handled. The group process was not always linear.

The group finally returned to question Elaine about her concern. She was asked what she was going to do about it. She replied that she wanted to blackmail her 20 year old aunt, threatening to tell on her. Gail advised her to wait until she did something wrong, and if her aunt threatened to tell on her that she would also tell on her aunt. "I do that every time," "Me, too," etc., several group members offered, throwing in support for the blackmail. "Why would you do that?" Mr. Smith asked as if surprised. Emily picked up the cue of disapproval from Mr. Smith's question and disagreed with the group's advice. She advised her not to do that, but to ask her aunt to tell her when there would be someone in the house. Mr. Smith nodded in approval.

Some of the family problems and conditions were of the type concerned individuals could do nothing about. Such conditions included the absence of a parent or parental rejection or violence in households. For example, Lucy had a distressing family background she could do very little to change. Lucy was an attractive white girl. Her mother committed suicide and she was in the custody of her grandmother. Her father had recently been released from jail after serving a sentence for a drug felony, and he wanted nothing to do with her. GGI

provided support and an opportunity for ventilation and reflection for people who lived under frustrating conditions they were unable to change. An excerpt from Lucy's letter written for the researcher brought out this aspect of GGI. In a confidential letter, she wrote,

> . . . there was a time I wanted to die & I was gonna kill myself. I tryed. Well the group found out & they helped me alote made me get my life strighten out. They made me feel real bad because they all started crying well Emily did she told me to think about all the pain I would be putting my family threw . . . (Fieldnotes, 2/28/85)

In another letter written by Cindy to Mr. Smith, there can be seen the suggestion that GGI provided support and time for reflection in cases where members were faced with overwhelming familial conditions.

> Mr. Smith,
>
> Hi how are you? Me not so good. There has been alot of commotion at home. We now have 10 people living in our house. My aunt her 4 kids. me. My grandma, My sisters & her son, My aunt's boyfriend & My Uncle. Ever since my My Uncle got back from Missouri My Aunt has been on the house constantly she even took back an old boyfriend who is bad news. My grandma puts up with it and doesnt say anything but I cant hold it back anylonger. Sometimes I just want to go to my room & cry but crying doesnt do any good. I tell people about & they say live with it (I want better treatment) I have tried to many times to live with it I cant handle it sometimes I feel like im, going crasy I even feel like commiting suicide but there is no one I can tell my true feelings too that will listen. Anne is so caught up in her husband she hasn't time for me. All im asking for is a little care and help!
>
> Love
> Cindy

When Cindy came to the group the following day, her problem was discussed.

> She told the group that the worst frustration with her home situation was that nobody worked but they still could afford "booze" and that the ashtrays were always full when there was no food in the house. She narrated that all they had the previous day were hot dog buns. She said she used to count on Anne, her sister, but not anymore. She felt ignored by both her white sister and and her white husband when she went to visit her in one of the Southern states where Anne lived with her husband. She suspected her sister's husband was prejudiced because Cindy was black. She also pointed out that she was scared to leave her grandmother who had had three strokes already at the age of 62. She was afraid she would die. She

> explained, "Grandma doesn't know how to say no." She thought her grandmother was afraid of her sisters, aunts, and uncle.
>
> The group leader rephrased her concern and said, "What I hear you saying is that you wish to leave the house but you care a lot about your grandmother. Is that what you mean?" She agreed. Members of the group asked questions and interjected suggestions and reactions along with her narration. (Fieldnotes, 4/10/85)

A few days later, a card with the following message was posted on the notice board:

> To GGI Group II
>
> Thank you for your support.
>
> Cindy. (Fieldnotes, 4/16/85)

Some other common problems discussed in GGI were sibling related. How much time and attention were given to such problems depended on the nature of each problem.

> Dianne came to group II concerned about her brother. She sneaked into her 17 year old brother's room when he was out and saw a gun hidden under his pillow. She was afraid and didn't know what to do, partly because she would be asked what she was doing there in the first place. She imagined her brother would beat her up for reporting the gun to their mother.
>
> The group asked if she were close to her mother. They asked if she could tell her mother about the gun but ask that her mother not tell her brother where the information came from. The group made her realize the risks of not telling her mother. They asked how she would feel if her brother were to shoot someone. They asked if she would not feel guilty and responsible because if she had told someone about the gun she could have saved her brother from a jail sentence. She finally agreed to tell her mother that evening and report to the group on Monday. (Fieldnotes, 10/12/85)

The following Monday, Dianne reported she told her mother about the gun. Her mother took the gun without revealing where she had received the information. A friend had given her brother the gun. The matter was also referred to the friend's family.

Most sibling-related concerns were those involving common sibling rivalry. Such concerns were discussed when members did not have personal problems to talk about. How most members appeared to feel about their siblings, especially

> explained, "Grandma doesn't know how to say no." She thought her grandmother was afraid of her sisters, aunts, and uncle.
>
> The group leader rephrased her concern and said, "What I hear you saying is that you wish to leave the house but you care a lot about your grandmother. Is that what you mean?" She agreed. Members of the group asked questions and interjected suggestions and reactions along with her narration. (Fieldnotes, 4/10/85)

A few days later, a card with the following message was posted on the notice board:

> To GGI Group II
>
> Thank you for your support.
>
> Cindy. (Fieldnotes, 4/16/85)

Some other common problems discussed in GGI were sibling related. How much time and attention were given to such problems depended on the nature of each problem.

> Dianne came to group II concerned about her brother. She sneaked into her 17 year old brother's room when he was out and saw a gun hidden under his pillow. She was afraid and didn't know what to do, partly because she would be asked what she was doing there in the first place. She imagined her brother would beat her up for reporting the gun to their mother.
>
> The group asked if she were close to her mother. They asked if she could tell her mother about the gun but ask that her mother not tell her brother where the information came from. The group made her realize the risks of not telling her mother. They asked how she would feel if her brother were to shoot someone. They asked if she would not feel guilty and responsible because if she had told someone about the gun she could have saved her brother from a jail sentence. She finally agreed to tell her mother that evening and report to the group on Monday. (Fieldnotes, 10/12/85)

The following Monday, Dianne reported she told her mother about the gun. Her mother took the gun without revealing where she had received the information. A friend had given her brother the gun. The matter was also referred to the friend's family.

Most sibling-related concerns were those involving common sibling rivalry. Such concerns were discussed when members did not have personal problems to talk about. How most members appeared to feel about their siblings, especially

younger ones, is aptly expressed by the choral response members gave in the following vignette:

> Jackie was excited that her grandfather was going to take her to his house. She told the group that the last time she was there, her grandfather bought her everything she wanted. "It's nice when you are the only child and get everything you want."
>
> Mr. S: You don't mean that?
>
> Jackie: If you had my sister, you would understand!
>
> Choral response: or my brother . . . my sister . . . and my brother. Oh, God, he is such a pest! You know how mean my brother is?

The following are other examples of these problems discussed in GGI:

> Jill related that her brother acted as mean as always the previous day. She narrated how he ransacked grocery parcels when she returned from the store with her mother, saying Ken flung out groceries and picked out what he wanted. She said he acted as if he were crazy. Ken and Jill were both adopted children. Tracy suggested that her parents should take him to a juvenile home because he was making everybody's life miserable. (Fieldnotes, 2/22/85)
>
> Shirley: I called my sister a bitch. I feel bad. I've called her names before, but not that. (Fieldnotes, 5/24/85)

Social relations problems. The category of social relations problems includes both same-sex and heterosexual peer relations as well as sexual relationships' problems. These problems ranged from pain suffered from being ignored by persons considered friends to emotional pain suffered because of a rape or an abortion. A sample of vignettes illustrating the kinds of topics covered under this category is presented below.

> Jackie: Pam is my friend, but she ignores me when she is with Terressa—she treats me so bad. I don't know why I ever let her. I don't want to hang around her anyway because I don't smoke and I don't get drunk when I am with Betsey, but my mom does not like Betsey; she thinks Pam is an

> angel . . . . She doesn't like Betsey because she thinks Betsey talks bad about her stepmom. She goes "I know Janet is not good to her, but she has no business to go around talking that way about her" . . . . She thinks Pam is a nice girl because when she comes to my home, she hugs my mom and she goes "hi, mom"--stuff like that. My mom thinks I have an attitude problem. ("My mom, too--mine, too--and mine, too" come as a chorus from most people in the group) (Fieldnotes, 4/16/85)

Discussing Jackie's problem took the whole session because she came to the group feeling miserable about the way she thought Pam was treating her. Group members advised her to tell her mother the truth about what she was doing when she was with Pam. "That's what I did. I told my mother everything I was doing last summer and last fall."

Beth assured Jackie about the credibility and viability of a confession. Group members also tried to show her what the friendship was costing her. They believed her problems would be solved by a confession because her mother would not prefer Pam to Betsey and she would not be under "peer pressure" (Mary-Ellen's term) to drink and smoke.

A similar complaint was expressed by Judy who said, "You know what, you guys? Lucy--the first time she was nice to me was yesterday. I always try to be friends with her. She sits next to me. I'll say 'hi' and she goes" (demonstrating by frowning and looking away) (Fieldnotes, 5/7/85).

Judy sounded relieved that Lucy was now becoming friendlier toward her. She had previously told the group that she did not know what she had done to make Lucy feel so bad about her. The group told her she should do the same thing to Lucy--ignore her, because it would not help to push herself at Lucy. Members with complaints like Judy's were consoled and reassured of their personal worth in both groups.

Generally, it appeared that friendships were taken seriously. They expected friends to demonstrate allegiance and devotion at all times. Some members, particularly in group II, had friends within GGI. Whenever group members suspected there was some trouble between friends, they worked hard to bring the friends back together. Members easily noticed trouble between friends by such simple cues as the seats they occupied.

> When Melody and Emily came into the GGI classroom, they sat apart. When the opening ritual of finding out about problems was carried out, neither of them hinted about a problem. One of the group members asked if there were a problem between them. Emily started crying and said something like, "I don't wanna kiss anybody's butt to be my friend." She explained that she had been pushing herself at a person who was determined to ignore and overlook her. Melody complained that Emily had betrayed their friendship because someone told her that some boys were talking ill of her in Emily's presence and Emily did not defend her or inform her as a friend. Emily explained that she was waiting to find a way to tell her without hurting her.
>
> Group members mediated on each girl's behalf. Emphasis was on the value of friendship. Finally, they exchange apologies, and group members asked them to seal the peace pact with a hug. (Fieldnotes, 11/14/84)

Similarly, group I sensed a problem between Jill and Mary-Ellen when they sat apart. Questioning revealed the following.

> Jill had decided not to have anything to do with Mary-Ellen because her mother advised her to cut Mary-Ellen out of her life. Almost every time she visited the girl at her home or spoke to her over the phone, Jill ended up feeling "pissed off." Mary-Ellen defensively explained, "I've tried to help you with your problems, but you wouldn't listen." Jill explained that she was not talking about her family problems, but about Mary-Ellen's attitude towards her. She explained that Mary-Ellen was always mean to and critical of her, saying things that hurt her, as when Mary-Ellen commented that Jill had the same shirt on for two days when one was pink and the other red.
>
> Mary-Ellen started crying when she heard the things she claimed were jokes reported by Jill to the group. She apologized. The group wanted to know if Jill were accepting the apology so they could make a fresh start. Jill agreed, and at the end of the session they left the room together. (Fieldnotes, 4/10/85)

The somber atmosphere and linear shape assumed by the group process when problems between close friends in the same group were discussed indicated that friendships were highly valued by GGI members. Peer counseling mainly involved mediation and renegotiation of a friendship.

Other same-sex peer relation problems reported with more frequency in group II than in group I were physical fights. Karen, Emily, Lucy, and Valerie reported physical fights with peers. (The researcher witnessed two separate incidents where Lucy and Emily were involved in fights with other students during the lunch hour.) Karen and Emily had two fighting records, while Lucy and Valerie had three and four, respectively, during the 1984-85 school year. Valerie did not finish the school year because of her fighting, truancy, and drug problems. This was the second consecutive year she had been suspended. Melody was once involved in a fight with a boyfriend, but the incident went on the record against him since he publicly beat her. No one in group I had an officially recorded fight, although Marge and Jackie once reported fights they involved in during weekends. These fights were usually over mundane things such as cutting in line during lunch or name calling. Fighting was almost always questioned and received with surprise by the group leader. Members were only interested in the events leading to the fights and made no condemning or judgmental comments.

Some problems and concerns reported to the groups emanated from male peer counterpart relations, as exemplified in the following vignette.

> Betsey complained that some boys in her math class have been calling her names although she "didn't do nothing to them." She mentioned that Keith, who had once turned the whole class against her in the fourth grade, was among the people calling her a "bitch." Emily advised her, "Don't let him." Some group members expressed dislike of Keith and his meanness. Betsey was advised to ignore the boys. (Fieldnotes, 2/21/85)

As the above vignette illustrates, members experiencing fears and frustrations over heterosexual peer relations were strengthened and allayed of fears in groups. Unpopular individuals who troubled a concerned group member were quickly put down to show support to the troubled member. Generally, heterosexual peer relations' problems were reported with less frequency than same-sex and sexual relations' problems in both groups.

Problems with sexual relationships were more commonly discussed in group II than in group I. The following vignette is illustrative.

> Gail was depressed. She explained that she was told the depressing news in confidence and could, therefore, not talk about it. Karen reminded her that "GGI is GGI; say it." She confided that her new boyfriend Jim had told Debbie and Marcia that he was going to break up with her. Karen advised Gail that she should break up with him first "before he breaks up with you; that's what I would do." "What if it's not true?" Nancy asked. Gail thought it was true because Jim had known her informants for a long time and they were good friends. (Fieldnotes, 5/22/85)

Karen's advice was typical of the advice and the move GGI girls took when faced with this kind of problem. In group I, Beth rejected her boyfriend after learning that he intended to do the same to her. Where there were problems to be solved, it seemed group members used their own value systems rather than formally-learned problem solving methods. If any learning were done, it was knowing that the group leader questioned and disapproved of some of their irrational problem solving methods. The only person known to have dealt with the problem of rejection differently was Lucy. She was praised by the group leader for boldness and honesty because, in his observation, most girls preferred to be known to have broken up with their boyfriends rather than the reverse. Lucy had reported the following:

> Her black boyfriend had "fired her." "Do you still like Roger?" asked Dianne. Lucy admitted she did. "So you still think that he is worth trying for?" Betsey asked. Lucy answered that she had two problems with him. First, her grandmother did not like him because he was black; and, second, he was too jealous. "If he is black, what's

> the big deal?" Elaine asked. Lucy explained that her grandmother was not necessarily prejudiced, but she simply thought that black and white people should not go together. The group leader explained that they should understand her grandmother had grown up in a different world. He explained that in the past, black and white dating was not acceptable. (Fieldnotes, 2/22/85)

In similar instances where group members based their arguments on misconceptions or ignorance, the group leader always volunteered factual information. He also represented the adult perspective.

Day-to-day social experiences. That members could bring to each and every GGI meeting real problems and concerns about themselves would have been an unrealistic expectation. If the routine of discovering problems was carried out and everyone responded with "no problem" and if members and the group leader had no reason to suspect that someone were harboring a problem, the practice was to go around the circle to find out what individual members had done since the previous meeting. These discussions never began with what members did within the school after leaving GGI (i.e., after the first or second hour); they always began with what members had done when they left school. Typically, members narrated activities they engaged in during weekdays in a listing fashion.

> "I watched Guiding Light I called Beth and we talked on the phone. After that I went to straighten up my room, and what else? I did my homework--er--mh--I ate dinner and I went to bed." "What did you have for dinner?" someone asked. "We had meatballs (accompanied by a palatal sound) and macaroni," Tracy told the group. (Fieldnotes, 2/21/85)

When individual members told other group members about their activities, they elaborated on exciting portions of their review. Questions about interesting or puzzling aspects of the stories were asked during narrations. These were occasions when several brief topics would be covered in one session, and members would wander from topic to topic. Customarily, several conversations went on at the same time in pairs or small cliques. It appeared that focused

discussions were possible only when members brought emotional or real problems to meetings. Real problems were sometimes "lost" amidst small group conversations when affected individuals were not emotional about them. Discussions about weekend social experiences were more detailed and focused than those about weekday social experiences. Weekend reviews were particularly more focused when narrators revealed interesting details. Any topic was acceptable if members discussed things involving themselves as individuals. Topics ranged from what members ate for dinner the previous day to sexual escapades or drugs used during weekends for fun.

On the surface, these discussions appeared to be of no value. When closely examined, however, the social experiences' discussions revealed that they were serving a worthwhile purpose in peer counseling because, during these seemingly causal discussions, members came to know who other members truly were. Members' values and lifestyles were revealed through these discussions. Just how much social experiences' discussions could further or enhance the purpose and goals of peer counseling depended on the group itself. Had members been questioned about reckless lifestyles, this would have been an ideal use of the social experiences' discussions. Group I approximated this ideal, as shown in the following example of a weekend story told in group.

> Jackie went to visit her boyfriend Kevin who was drinking with his friends at one of their apartments. On arrival, her boyfriend gave her keys to his room so she could go there to wait for him. After waiting for some time, she felt bored and went back to where Kevin was. Kevin said he wanted Jackie to feel as good as he did and that he was going to teach her to mix a drink, Bacardi and Pepsi. She told the group that Kevin was in such a good mood he promised they would be married the following day. She realized that most of the things he said made no sense.
>
> Jackie was offered "speed" by Kevin's friend. "You take that, too?" Jill asked with an obvious tone of astonishment. "No, I used to." Jackie said that she "was feeling good" but had problems walking back home because she wobbled. "Where were your parents?" Mary-Ellen asked reflectively. "They were out of town," Jackie replied. "You must be ashamed of yourself--those are big guys you hang

around with," Jeannette commented. "I know," Jackie admitted. (Fieldnotes, 4/5/85)

Stories like these were not common in group I, and whenever they surfaced they were questioned. During the fall term, Beth and Tracy told stories about wild hit-and-run parties they habitually organized at Beth's home on weekends. Beth's mother had an evening job. By the middle of winter term, they were self-confessed converts.

Conversely, stories of impropriety were normal and almost never questioned in group II. The following is an example of such a story told by Gail.

> Gail told the group that she was mad at Kurt her boyfriend. She told Kurt that her mother was going to be away for the weekend and that she was going to be with her little brother and a friend. She, therefore, expected Kurt to spend some time with them. Kurt promised he would call her after work at about 11:30 pm and arrange to come over. He did not call until 1:00 am and promised he would be over "in a little while." He did not show up, but called again at about 3:00 am to say that he could not make it. Gail stated how angry she was. "I couldn't sleep. I smoked one cigarette after another." The following day Kurt called again to find out if her friend had left (she had). Gail hung up on him.
>
> She thought of calling Ed, Kurt's friend. "You guys know what I did last year with Ed?" The group answered "no." (Gail hid her face with her hands as though she were ashamed of what she did.) The group urged her to say it and reminded her that "this is GGI." She told the group that she walked out on her mother one night after a squabble and went over to Ed's place. She said Kurt never knew about it. "Kurt knows now. I feel terrible about this, but I was drunk the first time." "Does Kurt ever ask you . . . ?" Emily asked. "Nope; he is a dummy." Gail explained that Kurt was not mad at her but at Ed. She told the group that she was through with Kurt but did not think that she could go on with Ed. Someone asked her what Ed was saying about their going together, and she answered that he would not want that to happen because of Kurt. (Fieldnotes, 4/15/85)

Gail's behavior was received without astonishment or disapproval by the group. Her behavior was not questioned by the group even though the content of the story was loaded with socially-unacceptable behaviors for a girl of her age (13-14 years). Evidently, group norms sanctioned this kind of behavior.

The group leader's prompts to question such behaviors had little or no effect when they moved against the group's norms and values. For example, Mr.

Smith fought a losing battle with cigarette smoking and drug abuse. His efforts received no support from group II; as a matter of fact, they were counteracted by condoning comments like the following:

Valerie: Was it nice to get high? (She referred the question to Karen who had just related being "high" the previous weekend).

Karen: Always. It's always nice, but we were sharing a joint--three of us.

Valerie: My mom had coke.

Mr. S: Is that the reason why you smoke marijuana? (to Karen)

Karen: No, Mr. Smith (giggling as though embarrassed).

Karen, Gail, Valerie, and Lucy were regular cigarette smokers and drug users. Elaine claimed to have stopped cigarette smoking during the year she was in GGI. It appeared that group II members believed there was nothing wrong with "getting high" if it were done off school premises where people would not get into trouble. The only time group II criticized the use of drugs was in an instance were Valerie was reported to have been using drugs during school hours. Yet, cigarette smoking on school premises was not strongly criticized by the group.

The group leader focused attention on cigarette smoking and drug abuse as problems by asking "Are you still smoking?" or "When did you last smoke marijuana?" whenever the victims of these substances answered with a quick "no problem" when asked if they had any problems since the last meeting. Group members never made it their business to inquire about such things. The group leader single-handedly pursued the battle against drugs and cigarette smoking even on an informal and individual basis as well. Whenever the drug users and cigarette smokers came to chat with Mr. Smith during the five-ten minute chit-chat time at the end of the lecture, he told them things like, "I don't like what

Smith fought a losing battle with cigarette smoking and drug abuse. His efforts received no support from group II; as a matter of fact, they were counteracted by condoning comments like the following:

Valerie: Was it nice to get high? (She referred the question to Karen who had just related being "high" the previous weekend).

Karen: Always. It's always nice, but we were sharing a joint--three of us.

Valerie: My mom had coke.

Mr. S: Is that the reason why you smoke marijuana? (to Karen)

Karen: No, Mr. Smith (giggling as though embarrassed).

Karen, Gail, Valerie, and Lucy were regular cigarette smokers and drug users. Elaine claimed to have stopped cigarette smoking during the year she was in GGI. It appeared that group II members believed there was nothing wrong with "getting high" if it were done off school premises where people would not get into trouble. The only time group II criticized the use of drugs was in an instance were Valerie was reported to have been using drugs during school hours. Yet, cigarette smoking on school premises was not strongly criticized by the group.

The group leader focused attention on cigarette smoking and drug abuse as problems by asking "Are you still smoking?" or "When did you last smoke marijuana?" whenever the victims of these substances answered with a quick "no problem" when asked if they had any problems since the last meeting. Group members never made it their business to inquire about such things. The group leader single-handedly pursued the battle against drugs and cigarette smoking even on an informal and individual basis as well. Whenever the drug users and cigarette smokers came to chat with Mr. Smith during the five-ten minute chit-chat time at the end of the lecture, he told them things like, "I don't like what

you are doing to yourself." On this one-to-one basis, they promised him they would cut down or quit smoking and drug use. He monitored smokers' and drug users' progress by asking them both in group and individually when they last smoked.

The most common answer he received in group II was "I'm trying but it's hard." People like Karen, Lucy, and Valerie professed it was hard "because everybody is smoking at home and it's hard to resist it," Karen once explained, and she received support from Lucy. Karen's parents, Lucy's grandmother, and Valerie's mother bought them cigarettes. Valerie's mother also shared drugs with her daughter. Elaine's mother never knew she was smoking. Gail's parents caught her smoking and disapproved.

With the whole group's focus on this problem, pressure to change would have probably been felt more by users of these addictive substances. As one counselor in the school building, a GGI veteran, put it, "GGI is only as good as the group members and the group as far as bringing about change." Mr. Smith could not easily bring about desired change in group members if he single-handedly pressured members to change without group and parental support. Jackie was the only person in group I reported to have used and stopped using drugs. She still smoked but was considering quitting smoking and drinking. She received neither the group's nor her parents' support in the use of these substances.

Generally, members did not consider it their responsibility to confront one another with behavior problems. Mr. Smith had trouble making them feel obligated to assume that responsibility, especially in group II where there were more behavior problems. When behavior problems such as sexual escapades and physical fights were brought to the group, they were not questioned by members.

Such stories were ignored by members, particularly in group II where members continued with private conversations as though nothing wrong had been said.

Mr. Smith focused and monitored the group's process by urging group members to pay attention to what people were saying about themselves. Even when he managed to focus the group's attention on what he wanted members to see as a problem, members simply remained quiet. No one dared say anything that might sound like an attack on the person with the problem. When this happened, Mr. Smith called upon individual members to comment on how they would handle the situation. Those called upon were guarded in their responses as evidenced by the observation Gail once made about members' responses. She asked group members, "Do you realize we use 'maybe' when we speak? The thing is, when you don't use 'maybe,' people will jump at you" (Fieldnotes, 2/19/85).

Typically, the structure of the group process in group II took the following shape when there were no emotional problems.

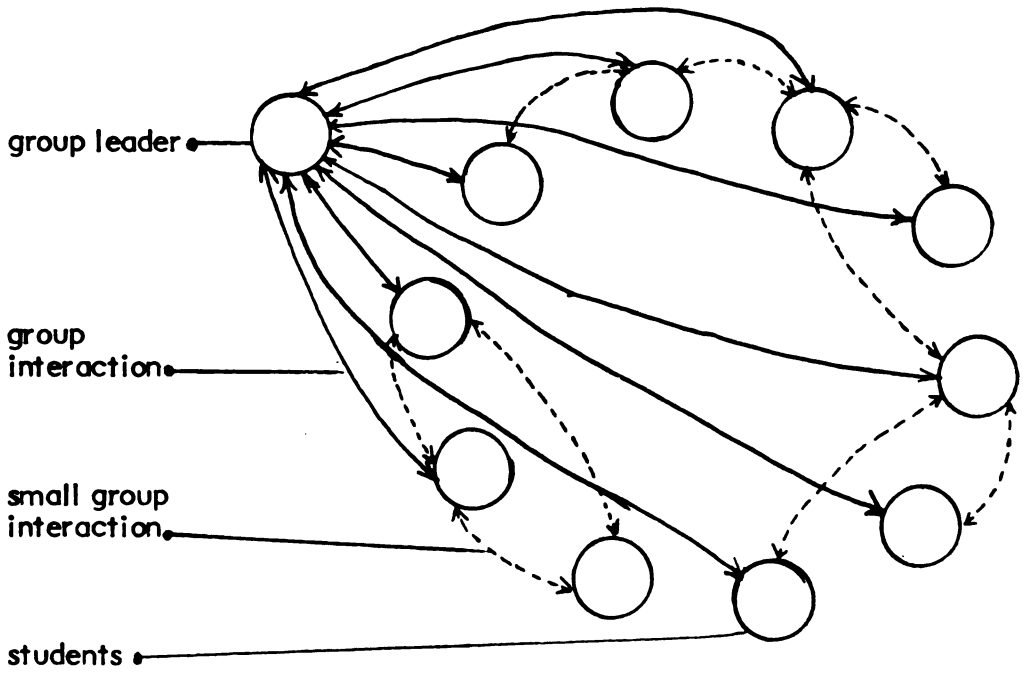


Figure 4. A leader-centered group process.

By definition, peer counseling is not supposed to be leader-centered or leader-led, as demonstrated in Figure 4.

When emotional problems were brought to the group, the structure of the group process took an ideal shape (see Figure 5).

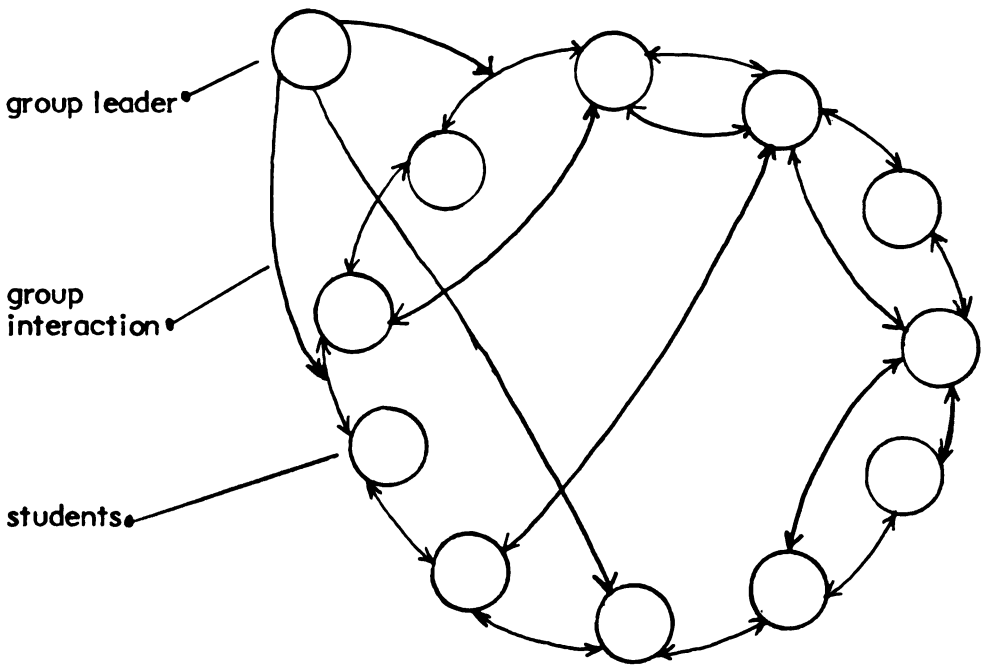


Figure 5. Member-centered group process.

The spontaneous emergence of the ideal group process when emotional problems were brought to the group implied members knew exactly what to do or were more comfortable assuming a supportive role than a confrontive one.

In group I the group process was seldom leader-centered. Reasons why group I seemed better than group II are multiple and not easy to explain; informal leadership, norms, limited mobility (see Table 3), and a high number of individuals with behavior problems and from broken homes in group II were some of the mitigating factors. Perhaps the desire and course to at least question one another about inappropriate behaviors in group II was dampened and completely

extinguished by Melody and her clique when they made it impossible for anyone to question any member of the clique (see pp. 86-87. This might have left the group reluctant to question what any one was doing and that perhaps became an acceptable norm.

Generally, members remained unconvinced that social experiences' discussions were worth their time, as evidenced by the following complaint.

> Beth burst out, irritated, "It's boring here. I want to be out of this group." She was looking at Mr. Smith as she complained. Mr. Smith did not comment, and no one followed up her complaint. (Fieldnotes, 4/16/85)

Jeannette had previously made the same announcement as indicated in the vignette cited on page 82. Beth and Jeanette made the above declarations in group I when no one brought "a real problem" and when the atmosphere was non-commital. In group II, members complained similarly when a week or more passed without someone's reporting a real problem to the group.

The way they understood a problem was perhaps inadvertently implied in the way a problem was defined in the handbook written by the group leader that explained GGI to parents. The handbook's definition of a problem was something that hurts oneself or others. In light of the fact that members were told they were to help one another with problems in the groups, members might have deduced they were expected to help one another with issues that were hurting individuals or others. Although deviant behaviors such as drug use, promiscuity, smoking cigarettes, and drinking alcohol ultimately led to personal hurt, such a hurt is usually remote to young people.

It is understandable why GGI members failed to recognize the utility of social experiences' discussions. These discussions rarely maintained a distinct plot or topic of focus. Topics such as the following did not have an obvious utility in GGI:

What do you say when a guy want to do more than just kissing?
Guess who I like, you guys?
George Hart wants me and he is so ugly.
I like a boy who is 19. Does age matter?
I think I'm going to try Charlie. I don't really like him, but I just want to play around with him.
You took Bill's pin off. What happened?
I just kissed Mark.
We went to the mall, me and my mom, and she bought me designer jeans.
I have a problem--I like two guys: Jerry and . . . I won't tell you.
I think Bob Sheldon is cute—his butt is cute.
I know of someone who did it under the bridge this weekend.
We were not going anywhere. We were just boy-hunting. Who doesn't do that?

Most of these topics were simply thrown out as fleeting comments, although some were worth probing. Many times those problems worth probing, if not followed up by the group leader, simply got "lost" amidst the informal talking so typical of emotion-free sessions.

Although it would not be easy to demonstrate the utility of most of these causal topics of discussion, some of the experiences narrated by group members during these discussions had a hidden educative value because it was during these discussions that members could sometimes correct some misconceptions and irrational fears about their sexuality. For example, Marcia once asked the group if she could become pregnant with her pants on when a guy smothers her with kisses, presses his body hard against hers, and breathes fast as though he were doing something. She was concerned and her fears were allayed by the group. In another instance, Elaine told the group she would be embarrassed to attend the special course on sex education offered to the school by a community agency. Mr. Smith prompted the group to discuss the value of sex education. Group members brought out arguments that in that class people learned about sex organs, sexual diseases and how to recognize and prevent them, and the inception, progression, and consequences of pregnancy. Not every casual social

experience discussion had an obvious or hidden heuristic value and not every topic introduced had behavioral ramifications deserving the group's attention.

What Were Inappropriate Topics of Discussion?

As a general rule, Mr. Smith did not allow members to discuss other people's problems if those problems did not directly involve or affect them as individuals. He regarded discussing other people's problems in the group as gossiping, as demonstrated in the following vignette.

Jeannette: You guys, you know Roberta?

Group response: Yeah, she is weird. I think she is gross. People started calling her a whore in the fifth grade. Yeah, she is. She was on drugs in sixth grade.

Jeannette: She is bad--bad! She always talks about people behind their backs and denies when people ask her. She makes me sick. I can't stand her.

Mr. S: Are we gossiping?

Jeannette: No . . . I . . .

Mr. S: Then why should what she is doing concern us?

Jeannette: It's because I'm mad at her.

Mr. S: All I could hear was that you were calling her names. I don't like it when you talk that way about other people. (Fieldnotes, 3/8/85)

The group did not pursue the discussion on Roberta because Mr. Smith always clamped down on this activity, especially when the gossip was malicious or petty.

Generally, the group leader did not allow any discussion of other people's business, as in the following instance.

Susan: A fight broke out this morning because Sandy Graham called Lucy a nigger lover.

Barb: You know who Sandy goes out with?

Beth: She goes with Matt, but you never see those two together.

Mr. S: Are you guys finished? (continued finding out about problems members had since the last meeting.)

Beth: We are still talking.

Mr. S: You are gossiping. (Fieldnotes, 4/15/85)

The petty gossip about Sandy's boyfriend was preceded by a real problem of an ex-GGI member, Lucy. Problems of former GGI members were not allowed as topics of discussions. Mr. Smith seemed to prevent elaborate discussions of people's problems when they were not in the group to defend themselves against obvious biases accruing from one-sided and second-hand reporting.

This principle was also applicable to current members. Mr. Smith did not encourage members to discuss current members' problems during their absence.

> Yesterday, we was at lunch, and Gail was smoking outside with a bunch of boys," Emily reported during Gail's absence. There was no comment from anyone. "Be quiet! Everybody has their own little group," she complained when no one seemed to have heard what she reported. (Fieldnotes, 2/21/85)

Members appeared more free about criticizing other members' behaviors during their absence, and Mr. Smith always prohibited that practice.

Sometimes members mentioned other people's problems out of apparent humanitarian concern, as in the following vignettes:

> "One of the girls in my class is depressed and she is talking suicide," Tricia reported to the group. No one followed up on what she said. (Fieldnotes, 2/21/85)

> "One of my teachers says there is someone who needs to be in GGI because she has problems," Judy announced. Vickie and Marge followed up the announcement. It seemed that Judy mentioned that person because Marge commented that "she is a Cabbage Patch Doll," and the topic ended up with the three. (Fieldnotes, 5/1/85)

As the above instances illustrate, Mr. Smith did not encourage discussions of other people's problems even if they were not topics of malicious gossip. He simply ignored the announcements of other people's problems. In this way, members' attempts to discuss non-members' problems were not reinforced.

There was an incident where he could not overlook members' attempts to bring non-members' problems into GGI. On this day, GGI's first hour started a little late because Mr. Smith was not in the group. No one knew what had delayed him. When he arrived 15 minutes late, Beth and Shirley were with him. He learned that Mr. Scott had stormed into the room because of noise and threatened he would have the group removed from there if that behavior continued. Mr. Smith expressed disappointment about such irresponsible behavior and told them other teachers and the principal expected GGI members to be responsible. The decision to apologize to Mr. Scott before the end of the lecture was made. As soon as that issue was set aside, Debbie made an announcement.

Debbie: Wendy Robertson is pregnant.

Mr. S: Are you sure? You have to be careful about what you are saying. Are you . . .

Jeanette: She is. But she says she is not. It's only a tumor.

Mr. S: How do you know? Be careful--are you sure? (directing the question this time to Jeannette)

Jeannette: I don't know. There are rumors in the whole school (backing off).

Judy: Yes, she is pregnant. She told Leslie that she is pregnant.

Mr. S: Did you hear her tell Leslie that? Can you be a witness to that?

Jackie: Leslie could be making it up. (Fieldnotes, 5/2/85)

The group gave up on trying to convince Mr. Smith that Wendy was pregnant. He played the devil's advocate so as to prevent them from discussing the topic. Marge turned the focus of the group to Beth and asked what was upsetting her. Beth said "nothing" in a shrill, trembling voice, then broke down crying as if in anger. Group members were both angry and confused about her behavior. Mr. Smith told them not to worry. "But we should have an idea of what is making her

mad," Mary-Ellen demanded and was supported by several group members whose tone conveyed anger and dismay at Beth's refusal to inform the group about what was troubling her. "It's not my problem—is everybody mad at me? I'm not supposed to tell," Beth whimpered. It was time to call on Mr. Scott with an apology, and the group left without getting answers about Beth's problem.

After the group meeting, the group leader told the researcher that Beth was crying over Wendy's pregnancy. He explained that Beth and Shirley approached him about the rumor, and he suggested they go with him to speak to one of the assistant principals. During the lunch hour, the researcher spoke to Shirley and Debbie about the rumor. Shirley explained they were tired of the rumor because it was all over school (group II brought up the rumor when they came to GGI, too). Shirley said they were warned by both Mr. Smith and the assistant principal to be careful about this matter because it could turn out to be a false rumor. The assistant principal promised to look into the matter and advised them not to say or do anything about it. She told the researcher they were a little disappointed because they wanted her to be invited to GGI. Shirley argued that whether the rumor were true or false, they only wanted to help Wendy. They imagined the rumor would probably affect her deeply. They wanted Wendy to be invited to GGI so she could talk about the rumor herself and explain how she was affected by it. Debbie argued along the same lines, saying she was convinced Wendy was pregnant and imagined that she did not have anyone to talk to about the problem. She thought if Wendy were allowed to visit GGI, she could share her problems with others.

This was one of the clear cases where GGI could have extended its services to the school community were it not for the bureaucratic realities demarcating boundaries within which GGI could operate.

mad," Mary-Ellen demanded and was supported by several group members whose tone conveyed anger and dismay at Beth's refusal to inform the group about what was troubling her. "It's not my problem—is everybody mad at me? I'm not supposed to tell," Beth whimpered. It was time to call on Mr. Scott with an apology, and the group left without getting answers about Beth's problem.

After the group meeting, the group leader told the researcher that Beth was crying over Wendy's pregnancy. He explained that Beth and Shirley approached him about the rumor, and he suggested they go with him to speak to one of the assistant principals. During the lunch hour, the researcher spoke to Shirley and Debbie about the rumor. Shirley explained they were tired of the rumor because it was all over school (group II brought up the rumor when they came to GGI, too). Shirley said they were warned by both Mr. Smith and the assistant principal to be careful about this matter because it could turn out to be a false rumor. The assistant principal promised to look into the matter and advised them not to say or do anything about it. She told the researcher they were a little disappointed because they wanted her to be invited to GGI. Shirley argued that whether the rumor were true or false, they only wanted to help Wendy. They imagined the rumor would probably affect her deeply. They wanted Wendy to be invited to GGI so she could talk about the rumor herself and explain how she was affected by it. Debbie argued along the same lines, saying she was convinced Wendy was pregnant and imagined that she did not have anyone to talk to about the problem. She thought if Wendy were allowed to visit GGI, she could share her problems with others.

This was one of the clear cases where GGI could have extended its services to the school community were it not for the bureaucratic realities demarcating boundaries within which GGI could operate.

mad," Mary-Ellen demanded and was supported by several group members whose tone conveyed anger and dismay at Beth's refusal to inform the group about what was troubling her. "It's not my problem—is everybody mad at me? I'm not supposed to tell," Beth whimpered. It was time to call on Mr. Scott with an apology, and the group left without getting answers about Beth's problem.

After the group meeting, the group leader told the researcher that Beth was crying over Wendy's pregnancy. He explained that Beth and Shirley approached him about the rumor, and he suggested they go with him to speak to one of the assistant principals. During the lunch hour, the researcher spoke to Shirley and Debbie about the rumor. Shirley explained they were tired of the rumor because it was all over school (group II brought up the rumor when they came to GGI, too). Shirley said they were warned by both Mr. Smith and the assistant principal to be careful about this matter because it could turn out to be a false rumor. The assistant principal promised to look into the matter and advised them not to say or do anything about it. She told the researcher they were a little disappointed because they wanted her to be invited to GGI. Shirley argued that whether the rumor were true or false, they only wanted to help Wendy. They imagined the rumor would probably affect her deeply. They wanted Wendy to be invited to GGI so she could talk about the rumor herself and explain how she was affected by it. Debbie argued along the same lines, saying she was convinced Wendy was pregnant and imagined that she did not have anyone to talk to about the problem. She thought if Wendy were allowed to visit GGI, she could share her problems with others.

This was one of the clear cases where GGI could have extended its services to the school community were it not for the bureaucratic realities demarcating boundaries within which GGI could operate.

mad," Mary-Ellen demanded and was supported by several group members whose tone conveyed anger and dismay at Beth's refusal to inform the group about what was troubling her. "It's not my problem—is everybody mad at me? I'm not supposed to tell," Beth whimpered. It was time to call on Mr. Scott with an apology, and the group left without getting answers about Beth's problem.

After the group meeting, the group leader told the researcher that Beth was crying over Wendy's pregnancy. He explained that Beth and Shirley approached him about the rumor, and he suggested they go with him to speak to one of the assistant principals. During the lunch hour, the researcher spoke to Shirley and Debbie about the rumor. Shirley explained they were tired of the rumor because it was all over school (group II brought up the rumor when they came to GGI, too). Shirley said they were warned by both Mr. Smith and the assistant principal to be careful about this matter because it could turn out to be a false rumor. The assistant principal promised to look into the matter and advised them not to say or do anything about it. She told the researcher they were a little disappointed because they wanted her to be invited to GGI. Shirley argued that whether the rumor were true or false, they only wanted to help Wendy. They imagined the rumor would probably affect her deeply. They wanted Wendy to be invited to GGI so she could talk about the rumor herself and explain how she was affected by it. Debbie argued along the same lines, saying she was convinced Wendy was pregnant and imagined that she did not have anyone to talk to about the problem. She thought if Wendy were allowed to visit GGI, she could share her problems with others.

This was one of the clear cases where GGI could have extended its services to the school community were it not for the bureaucratic realities demarcating boundaries within which GGI could operate.

Although GGI participants were allowed to discuss any problems and concerns directly affecting them as individuals, problems stemming from members' relationships with their teachers were not given full hearings in GGI. The group leader appeared to be protective and defensive when complaints about teachers were introduced by members in groups.

> Marcia announced she hated Mr. Raines' class because he did not teach them anything. Group members supported her complaints and added that he was an alcoholic. The group leader warned group members about labelling people and making allegations they could not prove or support. "Yes, we can prove that," Marcia asserted. "He is always smelling of whiskey or beer every day," someone explained. "He is always drunk in class—all he does is check attendance and tell us to work quietly."
>
> Mr. Smith's attempts to dampen discussions about mounting evidence against Mr. Raines failed. Members had strong negative feelings about Mr. Raines. They said they resented the fact that he was always yelling at people and that he would sit in front and sleep with "his head falling like this" (demonstrating the head falling to all directions and jerking back into position). "Nobody asks him any questions," they further complained. (Fieldnotes, 2/27/85)

The group leader changed the subject by urging group members to finish going around the circle to find out about problems members might have. In some instances, the group leader simply ignored negative comments about teachers, as in the following:

> "Rick almost punched Mr. Hanes," Susan commented. (Fieldnotes, 3/8/85)

> "Ms. Robinson, that old witch; I hate her!" Karen burst out. With the mention of Ms. Robinson's name, group members groaned and growled and said thinks like "oh, no, she is such a pain." The group started talking about how nosy and irritating she was because she had always attended dance parties in the school uninvited to see to that "nobody kisses or holds hands." "She is acting like she is a principal; she likes getting people into trouble; she is a bitch!" (Fieldnotes, 5/8/85)

Neither the group leader nor group members followed up on Susan's comments about Mr. Hanes in the first instance cited above. When Karen burst out about Ms. Robinson, the group did not bother to find out what Ms. Robinson did to her, but joined in support of the statement that she was always bothering people. The

group leader might have been aware of the fact that Ms. Robinson was perceived as bothersome by students. Perhaps that was the reason he refrained from immediately prohibiting the group from discussing her as a problem. Similar complaints about Ms. Robinson were also made by group I members. In other instances, Mr. Smith rationalized about teachers' behaviors and words such as when Barb reported with obvious displeasure, "You know what Mr. Scott said in my English class yesterday about GGI? He said GGI is just a crying session" (Fieldnotes, 5/24/85). Mr. Smith responded, "Maybe Mr. Scott does not understand what GGI is all about." Generally, it appeared that Mr. Smith were exercising extreme caution by not encouraging students to discuss complaints about teachers. He rarely followed up their hints about teacher-related problems.

There was an instance where he dared to follow up a complaint about a teacher. It was the morning of the 27th of February at the end of the first hour. The researcher followed Mr. Smith when he stepped out of the GGI classroom to supervise class shifts. Betsey and Nancy approached him on their way to class. Nancy told Mr. Smith that Betsey had a problem with the math teacher, Mr. Hanes. Mr. Smith asked what kind of problem it was. Betsey said something like, "That teacher is perverted." Mr. Smith wanted to know what she meant by that, and she explained that Mr. Hanes was always "doing eyes" at her and touching her on her hips. She was now concerned because Mr. Hanes wanted to see her alone—not with Nancy—after school. Mr. Smith did not respond. Betsey added she was not doing well in math, but Mr. Hanes always inflated her grades. The last time her grade was supposed to have been an E but Mr. Hanes gave her a C. They left Mr. Smith and the researcher standing outside to join other group members in the GGI classroom.

As a general rule, when GGI students approached Mr. Smith with their problems privately, he always encouraged them to talk about those problems in the group. This time he did not. When it was Betsey's turn to report to the group if she had any problems, she hinted at her problem with the math teacher but did not want to talk about it. Neither Mr. Smith nor the group members followed up her hint. Mr. Smith appeared to treat this hint about a teacher with the usual nonchalant, noncommital attitude.

After the group session, Mr. Smith called Nancy and Betsey aside to discuss Mr. Hanes' case. He earnestly urged them to consider the consequences of what they were saying if what they said and thought the teacher was doing were not true. Betsey had no doubts. Nancy explained she learned what Mr. Hanes was doing from Betsey and had never witnessed anything herself. Mr. Smith told them he was going to investigate the matter.

In an interview a few weeks later, the researcher learned from Mr. Smith that before he investigated the case he tipped the principal about it because he trusted that the principal would not blow it out of proportion. He asked the principal not to do or say anything until he could find out something more tangible. Mr. Smith told the researcher that he tactfully approached Mr. Hanes to find out facts about the issue. He learned the math teacher did ask Betsey to come in without Nancy whom he suspected of wasting Betsey's time. Nancy was doing well and was in an enriched math program. Mr. Hanes explained that Betsey was not going to be alone with him, but with a few other students who were doing as badly as she was. (Mr. Hanes was among the researcher's interviewees, and he mentioned Betsey's misinterpretation of his efforts to help her. He did not want to dwell on the subject when the researcher wanted to probe further.) Mr. Smith told the researcher that Betsey later retracted it, indicating that she might have misinterpreted Mr. Hanes' actions. "Tom (the

principal) was shocked when I told him about my findings and what Betsey was now saying--you have to be careful not to take everything students say about teachers" (Tape recorded interview, 5/6/85).

From this incident it became clear Mr. Smith deliberately avoided full discussions about teacher-related complaints because of (a) dangers he might face in legal suits if he were not careful and (b) his inability to comment and act on teachers' inefficiency implied in most complaints since that was an administrative duty.

There were some comments worth probing if GGI were explicitly focused on helping members with behavior problems. For example, "Karen, you were kicked out of class yesterday; what happened?" Cindy asked. "It's not anything serious," Karen replied (Fieldnotes, 5/20/85). And "My fourth hour teacher allows me to do anything I want," Melody proudly told the group when members were talking about classes they liked and disliked (Fieldnotes, 2/21/85). Both examples displayed implicit students' behavioral problems, but they were not followed-up on. On the same day Melody made her remark she added that she liked her English teacher because she had told Melody that Melody had changed since joining GGI. She confessed she knew she had an attitude problem and wanted to work on changing it. Mr. Smith praised her for the perceived change and the desire to change further. Ignoring some subjects and topics and focusing on positive ones might have been part of the reinforcement strategies of the well-known behavior modification paradigm.

It is difficult to postulate all topics and subjects that received Mr. Smith's disapproval and sanctioning because he sometimes showed disapproval and approval nonverbally. The functioning of this channel of communication was sometimes inferred from defensive comments and complaints directed to him by group members during discussions, as in the following instances. ". . . you make

me feel like I said something wrong," Michelle paused in her narration and directed the comment to the group leader (Fieldnotes, 2/19/85). "Why are you looking at me that way? I know what you are thinking. I said that funken teacher--it's different--I'm not swearing," Jill defensively explained (Fieldnotes, 4/10/85).

The way members stumbled over words or rephrased their statements to explain what they exactly meant or withdraw certain words during narration whenever glancing at the group leader after saying something unbecoming also indicated the impact of the nonverbal channel of communication and its ability to control what should and should not be said in GGI.

Part Three

What Did GGI Participants Think GGI Was All About?

This section describes GGI group members' perceptions of GGI. Data portraying members' perceptions were gathered from their own testimonies in informal interviews, their utterances and behaviors during group meetings, and solicited and unsolicited documents written by members about GGI.

The following magazine article describing GGI was unsolicited. A student in GGI wrote it for her English class' annual magazine for an assignment to write about anything of interest students wanted others to learn about.

WHAT IS GGI?
by Jeannette Austin

> A lot of people have wondered what GGI is all about. GGI means Guided Group Interaction. How do you get in GGI? Not just anybody can get in GGI. The teacher of GGI asked other teachers to recommend students who seem to need help or students who seem to be strong enough to help people.
>
> What is done in GGI? The student in GGI goes into a classroom and sits in a circle and talks about her own problems and helps other people with their problems.

> Can you come in GGI if you have a serious problem? Yes, you can. Talk to Mr. Smith and tell him the reason why. He might let you come in a group meeting. GGI is confidential. Nothing goes outside the room.

The above article is a concise, formal representation of GGI in this setting at the time of this research. It summarizes important points already made about GGI in this setting and has elements that will be highlighted in this section.

The informal understanding of what GGI was to GGI participants was portrayed well by both the behaviors and utterances of GGI participants in group meetings and their testimonies about GGI. From group members' perspectives, GGI was a place where (a) members were able to reveal their darkest secrets through self-disclosure; (b) a caring, supportive, and accepting adult could be found; and (c) members learned to understand their feelings and be sensitive to other people's feelings.

A Place for Self Disclosure

First and foremost, GGI was a place for self-disclosure. From the beginning, this was galvanized by the requirement to tell life histories. This act was an opportunity for a GGI member to put her life into perspective and examine feelings about factors and events surrounding her life. For some members, telling a life history was a moment of catharsis as some members broke down and cried when reviewing certain areas of their lives. The willingness to disclose oneself to others was made possible by the confidentiality guaranteed and stressed when GGI participants first came together. GGI participants were able to tell others such things as a rape suffered at age nine. As a result, confidentiality was fiercely safeguarded by GGI members.

This fiercely guarded confidentiality was dramatically demonstrated in the way group I members treated Patty, the only seventh grader who requested to be in GGI because she "heard that GGI was a place where you can talk about your

problems." Patty joined a term later than other group members. Within the first month she joined, Patty was accused of telling outside of GGI what had been said there. Group members were angry at her and ready to confront her on the day she was absent. Ms. Vincent, one of the trained group leaders in the building who was substituting for Mr. Smith this day, advised them not to talk about Patty during her absence unless they were planning how best to approach and help her with her problem of talking. Ms. Vincent argued that, as a new member, Patty needed to be told what GGI was about.

The following day, Patty was in the group, and the problem of her talking outside the group was discussed.

> Jackie: Gee, I don't know how to start this. Patty, we want to see how we can help you stop what you are doing. You should try to keep quiet just a little bit. You are holding us back.
>
> (Patty appeared to be taken by surprise and did not respond. Jackie explained they heard Patty told her friends what was said by someone in the group. Patty dropped her eyes to the floor and did not refute or deny the allegations.)
>
> Beth: If you keep on taking things out of the group, we won't be free to say anything we want to say. You know what GGI is about? It is a place where you talk about your problems and no one else should know them.
>
> Marcia: Patty, can we trust you?
>
> (Patty was almost in tears. She responded with a nod. Ms. Vincent intervened and advised that Patty be given a chance to learn as a new member.) (Fieldnotes, 2/14/85)

Unfortunately, about a month later, Patty was again accused of telling. The group lashed out at her with statements like

> Can't you keep your mouth shut? You have a big mouth. How many times should we tell you to keep your big mouth shut? What you are doing is gross! You are bold! I think she is sick, and we are sick of her, too!

The group was so hard on her that the group leader had to intervene. He began by asking, "Why jump on her like that?" He objected to their attacking her without getting the facts from her. Patty quivered with heavy sobs. Mr. Smith asked Patty to explain what she had said. Patty whimpered what she claimed she told a friend. Mr. Smith asked if Joanne, Patty's friend, the informant, were lying. She nodded. Mr. Smith asked if she could say that in Joanne's presence, and she nodded again. Mr. Smith sent for Joanne, and Joanne told the story Patty told her as was told in GGI. Joanne was sent back to her class after her testimony, and the group members were now even angrier with Patty. They started to attack her again with comments like, "You have the nerve to deny what you know you said? You are bold." "I think you're a liar. How come you always lie until you have no way out?" "I don't think that I can ever trust you again." The group leader intervened and sent Patty to his office to stay there until she was called back.

Mr. S: This is not an attack group (he stated as soon as Patty left the room).

Jeannette: She won't learn unless she is yelled at. We were nice to her the first time and she did not learn from that.

Jackie: Yeah, some people won't learn unless they are yelled at.

Mr. S: You can be firm without being harsh on people.

Debbie: (to Mr. Smith) How come you did not yell at Patty and you yelled at Karen?

(Karen was in group I during the fall of 1984. The group supported Debbie's question with comments like "oh, yeah," "yes, Mr. Smith, how come?")

Mr. S: She could not have handled it. People handle things differently; they have different breaking points. I have to do my job and see to it that people's feelings are not unduly hurt. I can't sit here and watch you crush another person as you did. She has problems and she needs your help.

> Mr. Smith reminded them of pressures at her home and her request to be in GGI to talk about those problems. He pleaded with the group to be kind to her. (Fieldnotes, 3/13/85)

The following day the group leader asked Patty to wait in his office again. Some group members reminded him that he had said if, as a seventh grader, Patty could not handle GGI, he would have to remove her. The group agreed she had problems but most members believed she needed a "shrink" because they felt they could not deal with her. "How can we tell her to keep her mouth shut?" Susan asked. "We cannot be free if she is here," Jackie added and everyone agreed. The group told Mr. Smith that if he was considering bringing her back to the group, GGI would never be the same again since her presence would hold them back from talking freely about themselves. Mr. Smith and Patty herself thought it was best for Patty to be removed from the group. Patty felt unwanted and ostracized by the group.

Valerie was attacked in much the same way in group II for allegedly talking outside the group about what people had said in GGI. It was not only the late comers in the groups that were snapped at for alleged telling. Anyone known to have told was confronted by group members. It was the only time heated confrontations were observed in GGI. Group members treated telling as one of the worst things a member could do. When grades were decided by peers, those accused of telling had their grades brought down as a penalty. Karen, Marcia, and Patty all had grades penalized because of telling. Snapping at people who have told appeared to be a prerogative Mr. Smith set when the groups first came together. Understandably, confidentiality was vital to the functioning of GGI. Utterances of GGI participants conveyed the belief that GGI was a place where members could bring out secrets or delicate information about themselves and trust it would be safe with the group, as evidenced by popular cliches like, "This

is GGI; say what you want to say." "This is GGI, remember?" These were used whenever group members were hesitant about sharing information with the group (see p. 102).

GGI Had a Caring, Supportive Adult

Over the period of this study, the researcher saw GGI members crying bitterly, fretting, and venting anger, sometimes directed at the group leader. It was not unusual for members to begin crying at the threshold of the classroom over something that had happened hours or days earlier. Lucy aptly expressed the supportive, accepting attitudes most members expressed about Mr. Smith in her letter to the researcher.

> . . . (Mr. Smith) is one good teacher. You can talk to him about anything . . . . He don't tell you you're wrong or right but he has ways to make you feel alote better. You could walk in the room crying & you feel like it's the end of the world most of the time you walk out feeling good about yourself. (Document, 2/28/85)

GGI members told the researcher that Mr. Smith was different from most teachers and counselors. They believed he was more approachable and never unduly critical of them. They told the researcher that Mr. Smith was the first person they thought of in times of emotional troubles. Jackie wondered why they did not make GGI known to everyone in the school because she believed that most people did not know about it. She said she only knew about GGI when she was recruited for it. That GGI was not known to most students is also indicated in the article opening this section where Jeannette wrote that "a lot of people have wondered what GGI is all about" (see p. 120). Jackie also wondered why they did not have GGI for boys because she said she knew some with problems who would benefit from talking about them in GGI. When the researcher asked if they could talk to counselors about their problems, a choral response from five

GGI members came out in statements like, "No way!" "Counselors are not for that." "They don't talk about people's problems" (Fieldnotes, 4/10/85)

That GGI was a place for support in times of emotional upheavals was indicated by the fact that those who left the program before the end of the year brought their emotional problems to GGI. For example, Melody was once devastated by her boyfriend's calling her names and shoving her around in front of a big crowd. After reporting the incident to one of the assistant principals, she asked permission to be allowed to talk over her problem in GGI. She cried bitterly as she poured out what she thought was making her boyfriend mean toward her. "He is spoiled; just because I refuse to have sex with him, he is always mean to me," she explained (Fieldnotes, 4/16/85).

Some students with friends in GGI were advised by them to ask Mr. Smith to allow them to talk about their problems. For example, in the fall of 1984, a girl who had been hospitalized for an attempted suicide was advised by a friend in GGI to ask Mr. Smith to visit GGI so she could talk about her problem. She was granted permission by Mr. Smith. Another girl who had almost turned purple with crying over a problem with a boyfriend her mother did not like was advised to ask Mr. Smith to be allowed to attend a GGI session to talk about her problem. She, too, was granted permission. This is the reason that Jeannette gave the readers advice to see Mr. Smith if they had serious problems they wanted to discuss (see p. 121).

Generally, free expression of all emotions was allowed in GGI. For example, expression of negative affect and profanity in response to frustration were not prohibited in GGI. Mr. Smith always met negative affect with accepting but dampening statements like, "It's okay to be angry, but . . ." "There is nothing wrong to feel the way you feel about this, but . . ." The "but" following acceptance of the emotions often pointed to questionable behavior. He

was a target of anger at times and most predictably responded with statements like, "I'm the only one you can take out anger on anyway you want; I am not bothered by that. It's okay to be angry at me if you really believe I was doing or saying . . . . " (see p. 82). Statements like these appeared to dilute the intensity of frustrations or anger. The following incident demonstrates how the group leader typically handled expressions of negative affect.

In group II, Karen picked a quarrel with Emily over what Karen had whispered to her. Emily snapped at Karen, telling her she had no business to talk about other people. Karen felt unduly criticized and explained she only commented that the researcher looked sad; therefore, there was nothing bad in what she said. Emily self-righteously reminded Karen she was not to talk about other people. Karen sprang up from her seat and threw the attendance book she was in charge of at Emily saying, "You want to be in charge here? Okay, take charge!" Emily jumped to her feet, too, and threw the attendance book back at Karen angrily, saying, "I'll kick your ass, you bitch! You don't have the right to throw things at me. I don't mind your being angry but don't you be throwing things at me." Without asking for permission from the group leader, Karen took long strides toward the door, telling Emily that she and her friends wanted their will to be done in the group. She said they always whispered to one another, yet were very quick to call people to order whenever other people did the same thing.

Mr. Smith asked Karen where she was going. She replied in a shrill voice, "Sign me out of this group; I wanna be out of here. Sign me out!" Mr. Smith ordered Karen not to go out, but she ignored him and slammed the door behind her. There was a brief moment of silence, with Karen's footsteps heard fading down the hallway. Group members looked at Mr. Smith as though they expected him to say or do something about what had just happened. Betsey, perhaps in an

attempt to draw out a reaction from Mr. Smith, commented that she didn't like what Karen had just done. Mr. Smith still made no comment and showed no reactions on his face. He told Carol to continue with the account she was giving before the drama.

In reality, Mr. Smith empathised with Karen. After the session, he told the researcher that Karen was right. In his opinion, Karen bottled up her anger watching Melody, Emily, Lucy, Michelle, and Dianne dominating the group. He believed Emily was exercising control when she told Karen not to talk about other people.

About three minutes later, Mr. Smith sent for Karen. When she came in, he asked in a calm, non-threatening voice where she had been. "I don't wanna be here; I want you to sign me out of here," she demanded in a deliberately controlled voice. Mr. Smith nodded and said it was okay. Betsey interrupted the confrontation and told Karen she could speak without a "tone." Karen's challenging stare was removed from the group leader. She answered, "Everybody has a tone when angry." In a calm voice, Mr. Smith told Karen, "It's okay to be angry" but that throwing things at people when angry could be dangerous. He told her if she made that a habit, she could break things and injure other people or that others could throw things back at her that could hurt her. Karen slowly went back to her seat. As soon as Mr. Smith finished, Karen said, "I'm sorry, Emily; I shouldn't have thrown that book at you." "I'm sorry, too, Karen; I know I swore at you--excuse my language" (Fieldnotes, 3/8/85).

Carol's problem, interrupted by the squabble between Karen and Emily, was brought back for discussion. Fifteen minute later, Karen left her seat to occupy one next to Mr. Smith's outside the circle. She pushed her chair close to Mr. Smith and rested her head on his upper arm. As she was positioning herself to

rest on his arm, Mr. Smith asked what she was doing. With a shy smile, Karen said, "I want to sit here next to you."

What Karen was doing was not surprising to group members. If it were, the surprise was in the fact that she chose to sit next to him after the explosive anger she leveled at him. Girls in GGI enjoyed sitting next to Mr. Smith and touching him for attention whenever time allowed chit-chat during the last few minutes of some sessions. It was still their habit to send feelers out later to gauge what Mr. Smith really felt about expressions of negative feelings. They went to him and confessed what they thought was inappropriate in the way they behaved during emotional pressure. Statements like, "I know you think that . . . are you mad at me?" "I feel bad about what I said, Mr. Smith. I want to explain why I . . . ." "I know what you are thinking; you think that . . . ." "I know I shouldn't have done (or said) . . . ." were typically mood or feeling gauging.

Mr. Smith's ability to accept negative affect expressed from emotional suffering was of significant importance to GGI members. As Betsey once put it to GGI candidates during a recruitment session, " . . . (GGI) is a place where you can come and be yourself" (see p. 70). Some members were so appreciative of the group leader's accepting attitude they opted to be protective of him. Jackie wrote, "Mr. Smith is a great guy. People take advantage of him sometimes they get mad at him and I don't like it when some people do that. He has to have a great sense of humor not to get mad!" (Document, 3/8,85; see p. 82).

It should be noted that Mr. Smith disapproved of unjustifiable profanity. For example, he expelled Valerie in anger for unjustified abusive language, coupled with defiance. She insisted "kiss my butt" three times to Mr. Smith after he warned her not to talk that way to him. The following day, Valerie came in tears looking for Mr. Smith. She didn't find him because he had had to rush back home that day. A few days later, before she could meet Mr. Smith,

Valerie was suspended from school for the rest of the year, and Mr. Smith blamed the group for having failed to help her.

GGI: A Place to Understand
Your Feelings and Those of Others

A recurrent theme in the solicited confidential letters the researcher asked members to write about GGI was members' perceived ability to handle and accept their feelings for what they were and the ability to understand other people's feelings. For example, Nancy wrote the following:

> My first impression of GGI was that you had to have problems to be in it. I have to admit, I just wanted out of Gym . . . . I learnt a lesson on people, life and most important of all me! . . . . I also am more aware of things. I notice people more. Now I see how cruel the world is sometimes. Last year I was in a way living in my own world. I never realized what kind of problems people I knew had. (Document, 2/27/85)

Similarly, someone else wrote the following:

> I have learnt to relate to people. And how they really are deep down. (Anonymous document, 2/27/85)

Another letter from another anonymous source said the following of GGI.

> GGI has been a real different experience for me . . . . I've saw what different problems todays teenagers have whether they be hey problems, parents, school or anything else. Boy, I thought I had a hard life . . . . The real big reason I wanted in GGI was so I didn't have to go swimming in gym but I learnt something in GGI I did not know. (Document, 2/28/85)

Finally, Mary-Ellen wrote this of GGI.

> GGI has been a great experience for me it helped me not to judge people I really don't know. It's helped with many of my family problems . . . GGI has also helped my personality. Last year I was scarred to death to say anything to anyone I didn't know well. This year I'm trying. It's hard though. (Document, 3/1/85)

Informal interviews with GGI members supported the fact that GGI members believed they learned to understand and accept their feelings. For example, Jill informed the researcher she was no longer as miserable as she was before joining GGI. The researcher reminded Jill she once declared that GGI was

Valerie was suspended from school for the rest of the year, and Mr. Smith blamed the group for having failed to help her.

GGI: A Place to Understand
Your Feelings and Those of Others

A recurrent theme in the solicited confidential letters the researcher asked members to write about GGI was members' perceived ability to handle and accept their feelings for what they were and the ability to understand other people's feelings. For example, Nancy wrote the following:

> My first impression of GGI was that you had to have problems to be in it. I have to admit, I just wanted out of Gym . . . . I learnt a lesson on people, life and most important of all me! . . . . I also am more aware of things. I notice people more. Now I see how cruel the world is sometimes. Last year I was in a way living in my own world. I never realized what kind of problems people I knew had. (Document, 2/27/85)

Similarly, someone else wrote the following:

> I have learnt to relate to people. And how they really are deep down. (Anonymous document, 2/27/85)

Another letter from another anonymous source said the following of GGI.

> GGI has been a real different experience for me . . . . I've saw what different problems todays teenagers have whether they be hey problems, parents, school or anything else. Boy, I thought I had a hard life . . . . The real big reason I wanted in GGI was so I didn't have to go swimming in gym but I learnt something in GGI I did not know. (Document, 2/28/85)

Finally, Mary-Ellen wrote this of GGI.

> GGI has been a great experience for me it helped me not to judge people I really don't know. It's helped with many of my family problems . . . GGI has also helped my personality. Last year I was scarred to death to say anything to anyone I didn't know well. This year I'm trying. It's hard though. (Document, 3/1/85)

Informal interviews with GGI members supported the fact that GGI members believed they learned to understand and accept their feelings. For example, Jill informed the researcher she was no longer as miserable as she was before joining GGI. The researcher reminded Jill she once declared that GGI was

Valerie was suspended from school for the rest of the year, and Mr. Smith blamed the group for having failed to help her.

GGI: A Place to Understand
Your Feelings and Those of Others

A recurrent theme in the solicited confidential letters the researcher asked members to write about GGI was members' perceived ability to handle and accept their feelings for what they were and the ability to understand other people's feelings. For example, Nancy wrote the following:

> My first impression of GGI was that you had to have problems to be in it. I have to admit, I just wanted out of Gym . . . . I learnt a lesson on people, life and most important of all me! . . . . I also am more aware of things. I notice people more. Now I see how cruel the world is sometimes. Last year I was in a way living in my own world. I never realized what kind of problems people I knew had. (Document, 2/27/85)

Similarly, someone else wrote the following:

> I have learnt to relate to people. And how they really are deep down. (Anonymous document, 2/27/85)

Another letter from another anonymous source said the following of GGI.

> GGI has been a real different experience for me . . . . I've saw what different problems todays teenagers have whether they be hey problems, parents, school or anything else. Boy, I thought I had a hard life . . . . The real big reason I wanted in GGI was so I didn't have to go swimming in gym but I learnt something in GGI I did not know. (Document, 2/28/85)

Finally, Mary-Ellen wrote this of GGI.

> GGI has been a great experience for me it helped me not to judge people I really don't know. It's helped with many of my family problems . . . GGI has also helped my personality. Last year I was scarred to death to say anything to anyone I didn't know well. This year I'm trying. It's hard though. (Document, 3/1/85)

Informal interviews with GGI members supported the fact that GGI members believed they learned to understand and accept their feelings. For example, Jill informed the researcher she was no longer as miserable as she was before joining GGI. The researcher reminded Jill she once declared that GGI was

Valerie was suspended from school for the rest of the year, and Mr. Smith blamed the group for having failed to help her.

GGI: A Place to Understand Your Feelings and Those of Others

A recurrent theme in the solicited confidential letters the researcher asked members to write about GGI was members' perceived ability to handle and accept their feelings for what they were and the ability to understand other people's feelings. For example, Nancy wrote the following:

> My first impression of GGI was that you had to have problems to be in it. I have to admit, I just wanted out of Gym . . . . I learnt a lesson on people, life and most important of all me! . . . . I also am more aware of things. I notice people more. Now I see how cruel the world is sometimes. Last year I was in a way living in my own world. I never realized what kind of problems people I knew had. (Document, 2/27/85)

Similarly, someone else wrote the following:

> I have learnt to relate to people. And how they really are deep down. (Anonymous document, 2/27/85)

Another letter from another anonymous source said the following of GGI.

> GGI has been a real different experience for me . . . . I've saw what different problems todays teenagers have whether they be hey problems, parents, school or anything else. Boy, I thought I had a hard life . . . . The real big reason I wanted in GGI was so I didn't have to go swimming in gym but I learnt something in GGI I did not know. (Document, 2/28/85)

Finally, Mary-Ellen wrote this of GGI.

> GGI has been a great experience for me it helped me not to judge people I really don't know. It's helped with many of my family problems . . . GGI has also helped my personality. Last year I was scarred to death to say anything to anyone I didn't know well. This year I'm trying. It's hard though. (Document, 3/1/85)

Informal interviews with GGI members supported the fact that GGI members believed they learned to understand and accept their feelings. For example, Jill informed the researcher she was no longer as miserable as she was before joining GGI. The researcher reminded Jill she once declared that GGI was

Valerie was suspended from school for the rest of the year, and Mr. Smith blamed the group for having failed to help her.

GGI: A Place to Understand Your Feelings and Those of Others

A recurrent theme in the solicited confidential letters the researcher asked members to write about GGI was members' perceived ability to handle and accept their feelings for what they were and the ability to understand other people's feelings. For example, Nancy wrote the following:

> My first impression of GGI was that you had to have problems to be in it. I have to admit, I just wanted out of Gym . . . . I learnt a lesson on people, life and most important of all me! . . . . I also am more aware of things. I notice people more. Now I see how cruel the world is sometimes. Last year I was in a way living in my own world. I never realized what kind of problems people I knew had. (Document, 2/27/85)

Similarly, someone else wrote the following:

> I have learnt to relate to people. And how they really are deep down. (Anonymous document, 2/27/85)

Another letter from another anonymous source said the following of GGI.

> GGI has been a real different experience for me . . . . I've saw what different problems todays teenagers have whether they be hey problems, parents, school or anything else. Boy, I thought I had a hard life . . . . The real big reason I wanted in GGI was so I didn't have to go swimming in gym but I learnt something in GGI I did not know. (Document, 2/28/85)

Finally, Mary-Ellen wrote this of GGI.

> GGI has been a great experience for me it helped me not to judge people I really don't know. It's helped with many of my family problems . . . GGI has also helped my personality. Last year I was scarred to death to say anything to anyone I didn't know well. This year I'm trying. It's hard though. (Document, 3/1/85)

Informal interviews with GGI members supported the fact that GGI members believed they learned to understand and accept their feelings. For example, Jill informed the researcher she was no longer as miserable as she was before joining GGI. The researcher reminded Jill she once declared that GGI was

just a social group (see p. 82). Her response was something like, "Did I say that? Maybe I was mad at Mr. Smith when I said that." She explained that after joining GGI she realized she was not the only person with family problems. This realization helped to alleviate her self-pity and miseries.

Another striking testimony was given by Melody two months after she left GGI. She told the researcher that the GGI experienced had helped her to be sensitive to other people's feelings. She testified all her life she had always wanted her way with teachers, her mother, and everyone around her. She told the researcher she used to feel bad when people disagreed with her without being personal. She stated some of her teachers saw a remarkable change in her, and she wanted to improve on what she was already (see p. 119). Indeed, her claims were supported by the "good citizen" award she received at the end of year recognition ceremony for eighth grade, May 31, 1985.

Testimonies of GGI participants gave the distinct impression that the group experience helped them develop understanding of self and others. The importance of self-understanding and/or self-discipline cannot be underestimated in averting discipline problems; yet it is difficult to imagine how significant the impact of only two groups was on changing the tone of school discipline. Granted, if some of the potential trouble makers were in GGI and their energies were converted into socially-acceptable behaviors, it could be speculated that GGI might have had a preventative role, however negligible it might have been.

Testimonies of the staff and GGI participants as well as observations outside the GGI classroom indicated no specific impact of the GGI program on the school community other than personal gains and the probable indirect effects on school discipline mentioned above.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

In this chapter, results presented at length in the preceding chapter are summarized and summarily related to the overall design, goals, and objectives of the GGI program as outlined by its designers. Discussion of data and patterns emerging from them will follow. Interpretation of data linked both to theory and other related research findings and conclusions will be made. Implications for future practice and policy related to educational reforms and recommendations will be postulated.

Summary

Research questions formulated to probe patterns observed during the course of this study will be restated and followed by a summary of findings under each question. How the patterns emerging from this study differed from the prescribed design, goals, and objectives of the GGI program as outlined by its designers will be highlighted.

1. Why and how were GGI participants chosen for GGI, according to (a) teachers, (b) administrators, (c) counselors, (d) GGI participants, and (e) the group leader?

According to the GGI program's designers, the program should never be coeducational. Because of the group leader's half-time assignment at Howard Junior High School during the 1984-85 year, boys' groups were eliminated. According to the group leader, eighth grade girls were considered a priority because of the problems they demonstrated within the school and the "known" problems teenaged girls seem to have with their mothers at home.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

In this chapter, results presented at length in the preceding chapter are summarized and summarily related to the overall design, goals, and objectives of the GGI program as outlined by its designers. Discussion of data and patterns emerging from them will follow. Interpretation of data linked both to theory and other related research findings and conclusions will be made. Implications for future practice and policy related to educational reforms and recommendations will be postulated.

Summary

Research questions formulated to probe patterns observed during the course of this study will be restated and followed by a summary of findings under each question. How the patterns emerging from this study differed from the prescribed design, goals, and objectives of the GGI program as outlined by its designers will be highlighted.

1. Why and how were GGI participants chosen for GGI, according to (a) teachers, (b) administrators, (c) counselors, (d) GGI participants, and (e) the group leader?

According to the GGI program's designers, the program should never be coeducational. Because of the group leader's half-time assignment at Howard Junior High School during the 1984-85 year, boys' groups were eliminated. According to the group leader, eighth grade girls were considered a priority because of the problems they demonstrated within the school and the "known" problems teenaged girls seem to have with their mothers at home.

The reasons why GGI participants were chosen for the program were not clearly known to teachers. The general view teachers maintained was that participants were chosen for GGI because of their emotional and social problems. Among formally and informally interviewed teachers, none knew why only girls were chosen for GGI.

Administrators considered GGI a program that teaches constructive problem solving and helps with disciplinary problems in school, thus helping the administration.

All counselors except one, an ex-GGI group leader, were uncertain about why or how members were chosen for GGI. They assumed that students in the program had problems with peers or family.

GGI participants did not consider themselves to have any more problems than the average student. Some indicated they had no problems when they joined GGI, but chose to be in the program to avoid electives like gym and swimming. Others believed they were in GGI because they were strong enough to help others with problems, and still others believed everyone had some kind of problem, i.e., mundane problems such as quarrels with peers, boyfriends, and parents.

Apparently, the reasons why GGI participants were chosen for GGI differed among all role groups quoted above.

According to the GGI model, both negative and positive peer leaders should be nominated for GGI by both staff and students. GGI should be voluntary and endorsed by written parental approval. To facilitate a desire to join GGI, those chosen should be told that they were chosen because "they are strong, smart, and can influence their friends" (SYA Handbook, 1976, p. 106). Those committed to joining GGI should be interviewed by the group leader to determine their value systems and group placements. To avoid negative labeling, both negative and positive leaders were to be put together into one group. It was alleged that the

success of GGI depended on a carefully balanced group composition. It was recommended that students taking more than one class together should be put into GGI so they could support one another with positive behaviors outside the group.

Accounts by the group leader of how group members were selected at the beginning of the 1984-85 school year indicate he approximated prescribed procedures. The group leader asked teachers, through a selection form (see Figure 2) circulated through the school's internal mail system, to help with the selection of GGI candidates. Students were not given a chance to nominate their peer leaders. Candidates were briefed about GGI, interviewed, and interested candidates given handbooks, with attached permission slips, explaining GGI to take home to parents.

Subsequent selection procedures witnessed by the researcher were different. Teachers did not help in the selection process. The group leader needed to fill seven openings, three and four from groups I and II, respectively, and candidates were mostly Article III students suggested by the new superintendent. These candidates were invited to a briefing session and were told that they were chosen because there were thought strong enough to cope with GGI, not because they were doing poorly at school. In reality, Article III students were underachievers. This selection endeavor yielded only one client out of 17 candidates. The second recruitment effort was aided by testimonies of GGI veterans during the recruitment briefing, and it yielded four clients out of 12 candidates.

The two selection sessions attended by the researcher demonstrated it was not feasible to achieve the recommended balance in compiling groups because those believed to be needing of or needed by GGI could not be co-opted into joining since participation was voluntary.

2. How did teachers, counselors, administrators, and the group leader think GGI worked (e.g., by what mechanism--psychological, perhaps--did these people think GGI changes attitudes or behaviors)?

Three of the six formally interviewed teachers saw GGI as providing an otherwise-missing aspect in education--the caring for emotional and social needs of students. Two of these three teachers spoke knowledgeably about GGI: a teacher who was an ex-elementary school counselor and whose husband was a GGI leader in some school in the past, and a special education teacher who on several occasions had substituted for the group leader during his absence. Some teachers believed GGI was doing something good; although they knew little if anything about what actually happened in the program, they had seen positive attitudinal changes in some GGI students. Two of the formally interviewed eighth grade teachers saw no changes in GGI students. In fact, one of them, like one of the counselors, considered GGI a "free hour."

The principal believed, through constructive confrontations and group monitoring, that students in GGI were helped by others in the groups to find and implement solutions to school- and community-related problems. Assistant principals singled out some students whose behavior they believed had been changed by GGI. They saw the program as helping participants talk about their problems just as they would in a counseling group. They assumed students were learning constructive solutions to problems in GGI and that participants were transmitting that knowledge to those around them.

Counselors, although not regarding GGI as part of the counseling department, saw it to be a peer counseling program where students were allowed to talk freely to their peers about their problems.

The group leader attested that GGI was limited in its operation because of his half-time assignment in the building and the selfish nature of today's kids,

with the latter reason being secondary to the former. He acknowledged that GGI was limited to group meetings and to dealing with self. He regretted not having had enough time to prepare GGI students, as well as teachers, to be aids in instances of misbehavior in classrooms as he once had in his former building. "GGI was helping teachers to teach," he stated.

What all the role groups said about GGI were assumptions about the program. Other than those teachers substituting for the group leader during his absences (a trained GGI leader and a special education teacher), no one had first-hand information about what was actually happening in GGI at this site. Everyone, including the principal, considered GGI to be out of purview because of its confidentiality. The program had no locally-established goals and objectives and was not formally evaluated. The principal had a close relationship with the group leader and could have received reports about GGI's progress from him. Actually, the GGI package states "it is not necessary to prove the effectiveness and worth of the GGI process" for a school to adopt the GGI model since GGI is a validated program (SYA Handbook, 1976, p. 85).

GGI program designers envisaged the program as more than just a counseling program; they hoped that meetings would be a political forum for students, too. It was assumed that individual schools would allow GGI participants to be involved in the decision-making and behavior management of all students in the whole school. The program's designers also assumed that school staff would work together with GGI participants in improving classroom and school discipline.

3. Based on observations, what actually went on during GGI meetings?

    a. What were the duties, responsibilities, rights, and obligations of members in the group and the group leader?

Duties, responsibilities, rights, and obligations were not clearly stated, but often implied in the group leader's reprimands. He informed the researcher that group members were told what was expected of them when they first came together. They were told it was their responsibility to bring, and talk about, problems. The duty of starting and keeping the group going fell to members. They were also told they were supposed to run the group. Group members seemed not to have understood what was expected of them in this regard. As implied in the group leader's reprimands, it was the members' duty to correct one another for inappropriate attitudes and behaviors. Either because they were ill-informed about their obligations in the group or because they believed they had no legitimate right to do so, members avoided confronting one another for wrong-doing. They also believed it was the group leader's responsibility to correct and confront members for their wrong-doing. Role confusion was apparent because it was the group leader's duty and right to enforce operational rules and limit harmful behavior in the group.

The group leader selectively chose to intervene in wrong-doing. This selective intervention appeared to confound role expectations and compound the confusion. Perhaps members expected him to always intervene in wrong-doing, yet he sometimes wanted to give them a chance to see and correct unacceptable behaviors in the group.

The group leader stayed close to the group process design prescribed in the GGI model: that members be given the chance to "run the group" so they could learn to manage their own affairs and behaviors from the environment of small groups. Thus, they practiced the skills needed in becoming involved in decision making and management of behavior problems in the whole school.

Designers of the GGI model assumed members would willingly confront one another with inappropriate behaviors and that constructive and positive

alternatives would be suggested by peers. It was assumed that positive behaviors, when suggested by peers, would be more acceptable than when prescribed and imposed by adults. Designers of the program also assumed that negative leadership would be overpowered by positive leadership in the group.

b. What were appropriate topics for discussion?

GGI participants were allowed to discuss any personal problems and concerns directly affecting them as individuals. Typically, discussions were centered around family and social (peer and sexual) problems and concerns. Discussions almost never included personal frustrations with school work.

When emotional problems and concerns were brought to the group, the group process was linear. Everyone paid close attention to the concerned or troubled group member. The group process was slower and more deliberate, and the environment was supportive and empathic. Group members explored feelings by questioning and volunteering advice about how they would handle the situation as individuals.

In the absence of real concerns and problems, group members were allowed to discuss their social activities and experiences. Typically, the group process was less focused at this time: it zig-zagged or blurred completely by private, person-to-person discussions. Any topic was acceptable if it directly involved individual members, whether sharing excitement about new love, what an individual ate at dinner the previous night, etc. Group members appeared not to be convinced that social experiences discussions were worth their time. They complained that some people among them were not divulging their real problems.

Designers of the GGI model assumed members would always have a gamut of problems to discuss: their own personal problems, those of other students in school, student-administrative policies in the school building or district, etc.

They envisaged students solving inter-building problems that affected students' well being in the school system as a whole. They expected GGI to be more than just a counseling session.

c. What were inappropriate topics of discussion?

Other people's problems, if they did not directly affect individual members of the group, were prohibited and taken as gossip by the group leader. Indeed, some topics brought out about other people in GGI sounded malicious or resembled petty gossip, yet some were apparently brought to the group out of genuine concern and altruism—the desire to help others in the school community.

Complaints and problems about teachers were not given a full hearing in GGI. The group leader appeared to exercise extreme caution when it came to complaints about teachers' behaviors. Most of the time, he was defensive about teachers' words and actions.

Designers of the GGI program expected problems of all students in the school to be legitimate topics of discussion in the program. They expected GGI members to work hand-in-hand with administrators and staff to find solutions to those problems.

d. What did GGI participants think GGI was all about?

GGI participants believed GGI was a place for self-disclosure where members could talk freely about dark secrets burdening their lives with the hope and comfort that nothing discussed in the group would leave the GGI classroom. GGI participants believed they could find an accessible and accepting adult in the program. They appreciated GGI for allowing them to be themselves. They freely expressed any genuine emotions without fear of criticism or negative repercussions. They could cry, express anger and frustration. Anger was sometimes directed at the group leader.

GGI participants also believed GGI was a place where they could understand and accept their own feelings and those of others. They attested to the fact that they learned to understand problems and suffering other young people were subjected to in their lives. Some students testified they began to accept their own familial miseries when they realized almost everyone had a problem to deal with in his/her life.

It could be surmised from the testimonies of participants that GGI was more of a support and/or personal growth group than an advocacy group with the political power the designers of the program had hoped it would be.

Discussion

The major purpose of this study was to investigate and describe in detail the process of GGI; i.e., how it proceeded in achieving the goal of improving school discipline in this setting. Since ethnographic research is contextual or ecological in approach, the study also aimed at identifying and analyzing environmental factors associated with the functioning of GGI in this setting.

The contextual analysis of GGI revealed that the program was not assimilated into the mainstream of school business operations; GGI was isolated. This isolation is the key linkage to understanding why GGI operated as it did in this setting. It accounts for (a) the varied perceptions different role group in this school had about what GGI was doing in this building and (b) the program's focus on personal and social problems to the exclusion of school- or teacher-related ones.

The fact that there are different roles and statuses in schools with different interests and concerns results in the formation of subgroups with subcultures. Each and every subgroup usually perceives the world and events around it according to subcultural experiences, values, interests, and concerns.

Unless subgroups share information about certain aspects of their environment, they are much more likely to maintain different views and perceptions about those aspects about which they do not exchange information. The limited and unverified subcultural view of reality may be built upon illusions and misconceptions. This cultural phenomenon was clearly evident in Howard Junior High School.

Most teachers, although uncertain about what was actually taking place in the groups, believed GGI addressed emotional and social problems of students in the program. This is not surprising since eighth grade teachers were used to students being late, absent, or emotionally drained in classes adjacent to GGI. All this was explained with the statement that "someone had a problem and group members were helping the individual with that problem." Unlike administrators, teachers did not see the ripple effect of GGI. Some teachers saw attitudes change in some GGI students and attributed that change to the program's group experience.

Administrators, whose concern was the overall discipline in the school, lived with the comfort that GGI was a program aiding them with the overall discipline problem. Apparently what GGI was doing as far as administrators were concerned could be extrapolated from the principal's view that "it is what you don't see more than what you see" (prevention). This implies that GGI was taken to be a "safety valve" by administrators. This was also implied in the words of one of the assistant principals who asserted, "We are better off with it (GGI) than without it." The problem with safety valves is the illusion of security they provide. Administrators in this building were secure with the belief that GGI was aiding the problem of discipline in the building without testing the utility of this safety-valve (GGI). Assistant principals could single out students whose behavior they believed had been positively changed by GGI. The attitude

Unless subgroups share information about certain aspects of their environment, they are much more likely to maintain different views and perceptions about those aspects about which they do not exchange information. The limited and unverified subcultural view of reality may be built upon illusions and misconceptions. This cultural phenomenon was clearly evident in Howard Junior High School.

Most teachers, although uncertain about what was actually taking place in the groups, believed GGI addressed emotional and social problems of students in the program. This is not surprising since eighth grade teachers were used to students being late, absent, or emotionally drained in classes adjacent to GGI. All this was explained with the statement that "someone had a problem and group members were helping the individual with that problem." Unlike administrators, teachers did not see the ripple effect of GGI. Some teachers saw attitudes change in some GGI students and attributed that change to the program's group experience.

Administrators, whose concern was the overall discipline in the school, lived with the comfort that GGI was a program aiding them with the overall discipline problem. Apparently what GGI was doing as far as administrators were concerned could be extrapolated from the principal's view that "it is what you don't see more than what you see" (prevention). This implies that GGI was taken to be a "safety valve" by administrators. This was also implied in the words of one of the assistant principals who asserted, "We are better off with it (GGI) than without it." The problem with safety valves is the illusion of security they provide. Administrators in this building were secure with the belief that GGI was aiding the problem of discipline in the building without testing the utility of this safety-valve (GGI). Assistant principals could single out students whose behavior they believed had been positively changed by GGI. The attitude

change perceived by teachers is still different from behavior change in some GGI students perceived by assistant principals.

Counselors appear to have shut off their interest in GGI. In fact, GGI's isolation from the traditional, general business of school life was dramatically demonstrated by counselors' apparent lack of knowledge about the program. Statements like the following from a counselor poignantly bear testimony to this lack of knowledge.

> There are some students that I wonder what type of problems could have fostered their getting into GGI in the first place other than the fact I have already mentioned (an easy grade, an automatic A). (Tape-recorded interview, 2/26/85)

Somehow this lack of knowledge about GGI overrides accepted theories about organizational communication where spatial proximity and common area of interests are believed to remove barriers of communication (Fisher, 1981). The group leader's office was in the counseling department, and GGI was concerned with students' behavior and/or emotional problems, one of the major raison d'etre of counselors in a school system.

All counselors perceived GGI as a peer counseling program, but did not regard it as part of the counseling department. They embraced the view that GGI was an additional program administrators wanted. Perhaps this is where the whole problem lies. GGI might have been perceived by counselors as a program imposed by administrators. If this were not true, counselors might not have appreciated the need for and value of the program in this school building.

Isolation of the GGI program from the mainstream of the school's business operations still accounts for the focus GGI assumed under the circumstances. If there were no communication among the group leader, teachers, and counselors, GGI could not focus on students' behavior problems in the school as a whole, hence the focus on personal problems to the exclusion of school-wide problems

change perceived by teachers is still different from behavior change in some GGI students perceived by assistant principals.

Counselors appear to have shut off their interest in GGI. In fact, GGI's isolation from the traditional, general business of school life was dramatically demonstrated by counselors' apparent lack of knowledge about the program. Statements like the following from a counselor poignantly bear testimony to this lack of knowledge.

> There are some students that I wonder what type of problems could have fostered their getting into GGI in the first place other than the fact I have already mentioned (an easy grade, an automatic A). (Tape-recorded interview, 2/26/85)

Somehow this lack of knowledge about GGI overrides accepted theories about organizational communication where spatial proximity and common area of interests are believed to remove barriers of communication (Fisher, 1981). The group leader's office was in the counseling department, and GGI was concerned with students' behavior and/or emotional problems, one of the major raison d'etre of counselors in a school system.

All counselors perceived GGI as a peer counseling program, but did not regard it as part of the counseling department. They embraced the view that GGI was an additional program administrators wanted. Perhaps this is where the whole problem lies. GGI might have been perceived by counselors as a program imposed by administrators. If this were not true, counselors might not have appreciated the need for and value of the program in this school building.

Isolation of the GGI program from the mainstream of the school's business operations still accounts for the focus GGI assumed under the circumstances. If there were no communication among the group leader, teachers, and counselors, GGI could not focus on students' behavior problems in the school as a whole, hence the focus on personal problems to the exclusion of school-wide problems

and problems related to school work and teachers. If the focus of GGI were as broad as outlined in the GGI package, then solutions to such problems could not be attained without the cooperative involvement of all parties concerned in the school.

The group leader explained that GGI was limited to dealing with self mainly because of lack of time since he had a half-time assignment in the building. Although this stated reason (limited time in the building) offered a plausible explanation for the limited focus GGI assumed at the time of this study, there were several implicit issues that were inadequately explained by the group leader's limited time in the building. For example, the ignorance of both teachers and counselors about who should be in GGI and why could not be fully explained by the group leader's limited time in the building when the GGI program had been there for more than two years.

Interpretation

When viewing results of this study from a cultural perspective, it becomes less difficult to understand why GGI was not assimilated into the mainstream of the school's business operations. What designers of the model appeared to have overlooked is the fact that schools are institutions with their own distinct cultural traditions and idiosyncracies. For example, a schools' cultural tradition involves specialized role performances of several role groups. What can be seen in the GGI model is a sharp reversal of role performances of almost all role groups in a school:

1. students involved in the decision making and management of a school when experience indicates that not even teachers are meaningfully involved in the decision making of most schools;

2. teachers seeking help from students with behavior problems in classrooms and not turning students over to administrators and counselors for help; and

3. students accepting confrontations and criticisms from peers when their lifetime socialization has taught them to expect and accept criticism from teachers and other adults in the school system.

Failure to consider how the changes outlined in the GGI package may conflict with a school's customary procedures might have encouraged resistance to the program and doomed it to a permanent marginal status. Compatibility, i.e., the degree to which an innovation is perceived as consistent with existing values, past experiences, and needs of adopters, determine whether or not an innovation will be meaningfully adopted in a culture (Rogers, 1983). Changes in the culture are slow and are attributable to the meaning people in that culture attach to the advocated changes.

There are plausible reasons to believe that there are very few, if any, outsiders' pre-packaged programs that can aptly meet the needs of local communities. As Berman and McLaughlin (1978), who conducted nation-wide studies to determine the impact of federally-sponsored programs to improve schools, noted, the problem with packaged approaches to planned change is their inability to anticipate those local conditions or events that require projects' plans and practices to be modified.

However perfect an innovation may appear on its outline, no innovation can be suitable or gain acceptance in all settings believed by outsiders to need that innovation. Change is not just the technology itself and its management, but something that involves people, their values, social mores, and idiosyncracies of communities. This is why nearly every systematic study aimed at assessing the impact of educational innovations has concluded that anticipated outcomes were not achieved or that they were not fully implemented (Herriot & Gross, 1979).

Another observation implicitly supporting the importance of the cultural aspect in adoption of innovations was made by Marvin et al. (1976) who studied

federally-sponsored programs installed in schools to reverse school violence. About the ESEA Title III program, the federal program under which GGI is funded, they wrote, "The experience of the ESEA Title III program indicates that the development and demonstration of exemplary practices will not necessarily result in the widespread adoption of those practices" (p. III). GGI is a "validated" exemplary program developed out of the initiative of the Michigan Department of Social Services to be disseminated to schools with discipline problems. Over the past 13 years, the packaged GGI program has been introduced in 34 school districts as an exemplary program that can solve discipline problems in Michigan's schools.

Conclusions

Conclusions drawn from the results of this study and findings of related studies indicate that exemplary programs may not be translated as outlined in their packages due to local conditions that designers of the programs (outsiders) could not have anticipated. As the introduction of this study and literature review section demonstrated, most programs instituted in schools to solve discipline problems were developed by university professors or other experts outside of school systems. One of the shortcomings of these imported programs, as deduced from the findings of this study, is the inability of outsiders to perceive the reality of a school's culture and build on that reality instead of disrupting it by introducing changes in dissonance with every aspect of a school's cultural tradition. The result of this oversight is the possibility of resistance to the program as implicated by the peripheral position into which GGI was cast in this setting. As Morrish (1976) stated, "It is held by anthropologists that the resistance to change is proportional to the amount of change required in a system" (p. 87).

federally-sponsored programs installed in schools to reverse school violence. About the ESEA Title III program, the federal program under which GGI is funded, they wrote, "The experience of the ESEA Title III program indicates that the development and demonstration of exemplary practices will not necessarily result in the widespread adoption of those practices" (p. III). GGI is a "validated" exemplary program developed out of the initiative of the Michigan Department of Social Services to be disseminated to schools with discipline problems. Over the past 13 years, the packaged GGI program has been introduced in 34 school districts as an exemplary program that can solve discipline problems in Michigan's schools.

Conclusions

Conclusions drawn from the results of this study and findings of related studies indicate that exemplary programs may not be translated as outlined in their packages due to local conditions that designers of the programs (outsiders) could not have anticipated. As the introduction of this study and literature review section demonstrated, most programs instituted in schools to solve discipline problems were developed by university professors or other experts outside of school systems. One of the shortcomings of these imported programs, as deduced from the findings of this study, is the inability of outsiders to perceive the reality of a school's culture and build on that reality instead of disrupting it by introducing changes in dissonance with every aspect of a school's cultural tradition. The result of this oversight is the possibility of resistance to the program as implicated by the peripheral position into which GGI was cast in this setting. As Morrish (1976) stated, "It is held by anthropologists that the resistance to change is proportional to the amount of change required in a system" (p. 87).

Other than the significant finding which was a key linkage in understanding why GGI operated as it did in this setting (i.e., the isolation of the program and plausible reasons for this isolation), there are reasons to believe that the program has been oversold. The suggestion that because the program has already been validated, ". . . certainly, it is not necessary to prove the effectiveness and worth of the GGI process . . . . nor does the district necessarily have to validate the procedures described in this handbook" (SYA Handbook, 1976, p. 88), is deceptive. Unintended consequences of prescribed procedures where accurately followed in group selection and process in this study make the above suggestion unwarranted and unfounded. For example, if, as claimed by the designers of the GGI program, a group's success depends on good balance between positive and negative leaders when there is no way to ensure that a required number of both positive and negative leaders will volunteer to join GGI, how can this balance always be reached? This study established that it was not easy to get individuals believed to be needed or needing GGI into the program due to the GGI's voluntary nature. Also, the assumption that once positive and negative leaders are in a group together, negative leadership will succumb to positive leadership is naive. Of the two groups observed in this site, group II was under a strong negative leadership which grew into a coalition taking control of the group. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that some of the so-called validated exemplary programs are not as perfect as their models imply.

Implications for Practice and Policy

Zaltman, Florio, and Sikorski (1977) state it is widely acknowledged that most changes in education are externally generated. The marginality of the GGI program in this setting is interpreted as resistance stemming from outsiders' failure to make the program compatible with the cultural traditions of the

school. Findings of this study may support the observation Joyce, Hersh, and Kibbin (1983) made about efforts to improve schools that "Change has been attempted in additive ways rarely with an insight into the synergistic nature of the complex process called schooling . . . . these attempts have only served as Band-Aids" (p. 5). What is implied by this is the fact that change efforts that can penetrate a school system's bloodstream, rather than Band-Aids that remain as outliers, are needed if educational reforms are to be successful. How can this be achieved? This researcher embraces the view expressed by Fisher (1981) for business organizations.

> There is only one most important factor in overcoming resistance to change and making organizational development efforts successful; it is the OD (organizational development) practitioner . . . . Many organizations, including General Electric, Polaroid, Corning Glass and General Motors, make use of internal OD staffs. (pp. 396-397)

Internally or locally initiated change appears to be the only promising solution for educational reforms since all school districts and schools have unique needs and/or cultural characteristics outsiders would not easily penetrate and understand. Educators and policy makers need to adopt the concept and principle of organizational development if meaningful and lasting changes are to be made in areas of concern such as school discipline. Fisher (1980) defines organizational development thus.

> Organizational development can be defined as a planned, sustained effort, based on behavioral science knowledge, to change the human and social process of work groups and organizations in the direction of improved problem solving and renewal process. (p. 380)

If schools were to have OD practitioners, there would be no need to acquire new professionals because professionals with skills and knowledge relevant to those of an OD practitioner are already present in school systems: counselors. The call for counselors to assume the role of change agents in schools has been repeatedly echoed in literature on school counseling for more than a decade.

school. Findings of this study may support the observation Joyce, Hersh, and Kibbin (1983) made about efforts to improve schools that "Change has been attempted in additive ways rarely with an insight into the synergistic nature of the complex process called schooling . . . . these attempts have only served as Band-Aids" (p. 5). What is implied by this is the fact that change efforts that can penetrate a school system's bloodstream, rather than Band-Aids that remain as outliers, are needed if educational reforms are to be successful. How can this be achieved? This researcher embraces the view expressed by Fisher (1981) for business organizations.

> There is only one most important factor in overcoming resistance to change and making organizational development efforts successful; it is the OD (organizational development) practitioner . . . . Many organizations, including General Electric, Polaroid, Corning Glass and General Motors, make use of internal OD staffs. (pp. 396-397)

Internally or locally initiated change appears to be the only promising solution for educational reforms since all school districts and schools have unique needs and/or cultural characteristics outsiders would not easily penetrate and understand. Educators and policy makers need to adopt the concept and principle of organizational development if meaningful and lasting changes are to be made in areas of concern such as school discipline. Fisher (1980) defines organizational development thus.

> Organizational development can be defined as a planned, sustained effort, based on behavioral science knowledge, to change the human and social process of work groups and organizations in the direction of improved problem solving and renewal process. (p. 380)

If schools were to have OD practitioners, there would be no need to acquire new professionals because professionals with skills and knowledge relevant to those of an OD practitioner are already present in school systems: counselors. The call for counselors to assume the role of change agents in schools has been repeatedly echoed in literature on school counseling for more than a decade.

Yet this call has always been sabotaged by policymakers who would install and finance quick-fix additional programs and personnel to effect needed changes in schools. Evidence that this approach is not effective is mounting. The truth, as stated by Hawkins (1985), is ". . . the solution is not more programs that intrude into the classroom or impose intolerable administrative burdens on school officials" (p. 30). What is needed are deliberate, systematized, and ongoing change efforts in all individual schools which would respond to local and national needs.

Almost every systematic study conducted to assess the impact of educational reforms came out with the recommendation that locally-initiated programs of change might yield better results than superimposed and remotely initiated and controlled change programs because of the failure of most of the latter programs (Marvin et al., 1976; Berman & McLaughlin, 1978; McDonnel & McLaughlin, 1980). With reaffirmation of counselors as OD practitioners in schools, change would be ongoing, deliberate, and planned. In other words, change would be proactive and interactive instead of reactive. This would allow schools to have some control over the forces of change, whether those forces stemmed from inside or outside the school system (Zaltman et al., 1977).

The OD practitioner role in business organizations as defined by Fisher (1981) is identical to the role outlined in literature on school counseling for a counselor as a change agent or a counselor as a consultant. Yet roles presently performed by counselors in most schools are those of technicians. For example, this researcher observed with dismay two teacher-parent meetings at this research site where teachers consulted with parents about students' school performance as professionals, while counselors were assigned the duty of handing out grade slips to parents. It is regrettable that counselors in most schools are mainly responsible for making schedules, monitoring grades, and checking the

accomplishments of graduation (Aubrey, 1985; Wells & Ritter, 1985). These assignments do not require Master's degrees in psychology or human development and behavior, but, rather, clerical staff with no university degrees.

Current literature on counseling blames counselors for having failed to assume the idealized role of acting as change agents in schools. This is like blaming a victim. It could be that over the years, the idea of a counselor as change agent has been resisted by administrators who have traditionally carried out most of the roles expected of a counselor-consultant. More important, is this author's conviction that professional ideologies alone cannot bestow this idealized role to counselors if actions of policy makers are subversive. Perhaps if policy makers were to recognize counselors as OD practitioners or change agents, counselors' roles would be legitimized to everyone involved: administrators, counselors, teachers, parents, and students. Principals, already burdened by the multiple roles they need to perform to keep the legislative and administrative machinery of schools running, might relinquish the interactive function counselors need to perform as OD practitioners with no feelings of uneasiness.

To argue that a counselor's job is mainly to prepare students for career choices is questionable and of less significance and value to individuals and society in this post-technological era because change is so rapid that a majority of pupils now in junior high school will work at jobs which as yet do not exist (Fullmer & Bernard, 1972). Indeed, many people today are doing jobs no counselor could have prepared them for. Therefore, if preparing students for careers is to be taken as the main function of counselors in schools, this would be an underutilization if not misuse of professional potential. Advocates of counselors as change agents in schools believe counselors have a better chance of reaching a large number of students with social and personal problems since the

whole school staff will be involved in helping students with such problems. The challenge, it would seem, is to make a better use of existing staff, even if that were to mean renaming counselors as OD practitioners. In fact, most professions are named after roles and competencies of incumbents.

How would counselors as OD practitioners improve the unremitting problem of school discipline? If the major function of a counselor-consultant as defined by Fullmer and Bernard (1972) is ". . . getting the parts of the (school) system to work together in a coordinated manner" (p. 2), then schools have a better chance of solving the discipline problem or of assimilating innovative efforts like GGI. In a counselor-consultant role, as Dinkmeyer (1975) explains, ". . . the emphasis is placed on joint planning and collaboration" (p. 65). The importance of getting all the constituencies of a school--teachers, counselors, administrators, students, parents, community members and/or agents--to work together in solving discipline problems cannot be overemphasized. Team approach is almost a catch word in literature on effective school discipline today. What literature on school discipline did not provide is who should bring all these parties together. This study is suggesting OD practitioners (counselor-consultants).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
ERICKSON HALL

EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN • 48824-1034

APPENDIX A

October 26, 1984

Mr. Tom Bratton, Principal
Howard Junior High School
331 Bridge Street
Edenvale, MI 40339

Dear Mr. Bratton:

This is to thank you for allowing Patience (she prefers to be called "Nana") Makaula to observe in your school during this fall term. Ms. Makaula is a doctoral student in pupil personnel administration from South Africa and is very much in need of observing guidance at work in United States schools. She is not conducting a research study but, instead, is observing counselors at work so that she will be able to take many practical ideas home with her to South Africa where she will likely hold a guidance supervisor position for the section of the Ministry of Education dealing with Black schools.

We also appreciate the willingness of Mr. Smith to help her become familiar with the specifics of the Guided Group Interaction program which is of special interest to her. We know this takes time for people who have very busy schedules, so we have made every effort to help her see the necessity for being a silent observer both at school and elsewhere.

I hope that some time in the future we will be able to repay you and your staff for this professional kindness which is appreciated by both Ms. Makaula and Michigan State University.

Cordially yours,

James W. Costar, Professor

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

Edenvale School District
Office of Evaluation Services

972 Underhill Drive
Edenvale, MI 40336

January 29, 1985

Patience Nana Makaula
1405 G Spartan Village
East Lansing, MI 48824

Dear Ms. Makaula:

Your request to conduct research in the Edenvale School District has __X__ been approved,* _____ not been approved.

The following comments apply to your study (*approval is contingent on the following qualifications):

1. written parental permission for each child in the group to be observed must be on file with the school before the observations begin;

2. no audio or video taping of group sessions is to be done;

3. should you require access to student records, the records must be accessed by appropriate school staff in such a way to assure that no student names are revealed; and

4. all interviews with teachers and counselors must be voluntary.

If you have any questions or need additional information, please contact me (899-4532).

Thank you.

Sincerely,

EWolf

Emily Wolf
Evaluation Specialist

cc: Research Review Committee Members

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

1405 G Spartan Village
East Lansing, MI 48823
January 31, 1985

Dear Parent:

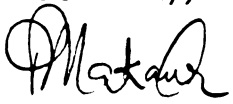
The Edenvale School District has granted me permission to conduct research at Howard Junior High School to fulfill requirements of a research methods class. I intend observing GGI sessions so as to learn about the program--what it is and how it functions. Since your child is in GGI, I, therefore, request your permission to observe your child as part of the group. I wish to emphasize that the focus of my study is GGI as a program and practice of observational methods in research. I will not be evaluating individual participants in the program.

I guarantee that data collected from GGI will be treated with the caution and confidentiality it deserves. I will be sharing completed portions of the final report of the study with the group counselor and the building principal. This is intended to reduce the risk of violating students' privacy. The right is reserved for the group leader and the principal to censor anything they consider an infringement of the students' rights to privacy. They also have the right to terminate the study any time they think the study is jeopardizing GGI students and/or the school.

I hereby extend the right to you to withdraw your permission to observe your child in GGI any time, with no prejudice or repercussions on the child should you have second thoughts about it. I also guarantee that any information gathered during my observation will never be volunteered to authorities for other use. Detach the permission slip below, fill it in and sign it, please, and bring it back to school.

For further information, I can be contacted at this number: (517) 355-0786.

Yours sincerely,



Patience Nana Makaula

I hereby APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ involvement of my child in the observation study of GGI. I understand that I reserve the right to withdraw my approval or disapproval any time I see fit without prejudice or negative repercussions from the school or Michigan State University to my child.

NAME: Signature:

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

1405 G Spartan Village
East Lansing, MI 48823
January 30, 1985

The Research Review Committee
972 Underhill Drive
Edenvale, MI 40336

Dear Sir/Madam:

I am appealing the limitations imposed by item number two on the conditions of my permission to conduct research with GGI students at Howard Junior High School. I appreciate the precautions exercised by the committee on this aspect.

I wish that item number two of the terms of my permission be reviewed in light of explanations and guarantees I am prepared to make to protect privacy of students in this study. Though not stated in my original application, it was my intention to extend the right to students and group leader to request that I do not tape some of the discussions or to delete certain parts of the tape if they so choose.

As a student in a fieldwork research methods course, part of my training involves guidance in handling delicate data without hurting participants of the study. The aim of having a tape recorder is purely for academic reasons since that would enable my instructors to sample some of the taped material so as to ascertain if I am interpreting in my own words what is happening in the field from what people are saying. Evaluations of the accuracy of my interpretations depend on first-hand information.

I guarantee that the material on the tapes will not be played to anyone except my instructors when they need to verify some of the claims and interpretations I will be making of GGI. GGI students and the group leader will have the right to recall tapes or to erase parts of them any time they so desire. Portions of the final report will be shared with the group leader and the building principal before a composite final reported is issued. The principal and group leader will be extended the right to censor some portions of the report if they think it jeopardizes students in GGI and/or the school. Identities of individual students will be protected.

I will appreciate your favorable consideration in this respect. I am willing to come for an interview with some or all of the committee members to explain myself.

Yours sincerely,
P Makaula
Patience Nana Makaula

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

A Summary of Sessions and Places Observed

OBSERVATIONS

1.	Number of sessions in group I	119
	Number of sessions in group II	119
	Total number of sessions observed	238
2.	Number of observations in lunch I	32
	Number of observations in lunch 2	31
	Number of observations in lunch 3	20
	Total number of lunchroom observations	83
3.	Classroom observations	
	English (Ms. Evans)	3
	English (Mr. Scott)	3
	English (Ms. Stuart)	2
	History (Mr. Gordon)	3
	Mathematics (Mr. Hanes)	1
	Music (Mr. Dickson)	2
	Total number of classroom observations	13

INTERVIEWS

Formal interviews	
Principal	1
Assistant principals (two, one each)	2
Counselors (three, one each)	3
Group leader	2
Teachers (six, one each)	6
Social Services Department informant	2
Total number of formal interviews	16

A substantial amount of data gathered for the purpose of this study cannot be quantified. Such data include various official and anecdotal documents reviewed and several informal places observed as well as informal interviews conducted on GGI.

APPENDIX F

APPENDIX F

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

Background Information

My previous work experience motivated the career path I followed and the kind of research I conducted. I worked as a vocational counselor at the National Institute for Personnel Research (NIPR) in Johannesburg, South Africa. In 1981, the government contracted with the counseling department of the NIPR to train the first group of guidance teachers for Black schools. The Ministry of Education intended to redress the unmanageability of Black schools by introducing this innovation. Black schools were plagued by constant riots, violence, arson, and high dropout rates. I was in the training team. As trainers, we relied on theory written in books from America to conceptualize the role of a guidance teacher, know what a guidance program should entail, and figure out how a guidance program could improve the condition of schools. It was not an easy task.

In the year we started the training program, I left South Africa to study agency counseling in America. The development of guidance programs was a priority in my mind. My Master's program entailed learning general theory, techniques, and skills of dyadic counseling. For a doctoral degree, I enrolled in a program with a pupil personnel services focus in the Educational Administration Department at Michigan State University.

APPENDIX F

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

Background Information

My previous work experience motivated the career path I followed and the kind of research I conducted. I worked as a vocational counselor at the National Institute for Personnel Research (NIPR) in Johannesburg, South Africa. In 1981, the government contracted with the counseling department of the NIPR to train the first group of guidance teachers for Black schools. The Ministry of Education intended to redress the unmanageability of Black schools by introducing this innovation. Black schools were plagued by constant riots, violence, arson, and high dropout rates. I was in the training team. As trainers, we relied on theory written in books from America to conceptualize the role of a guidance teacher, know what a guidance program should entail, and figure out how a guidance program could improve the condition of schools. It was not an easy task.

In the year we started the training program, I left South Africa to study agency counseling in America. The development of guidance programs was a priority in my mind. My Master's program entailed learning general theory, techniques, and skills of dyadic counseling. For a doctoral degree, I enrolled in a program with a pupil personnel services focus in the Educational Administration Department at Michigan State University.

Entry Negotiations

As stated in the methodology section of this study, obtaining a site to observe was not easy. During the summer of 1984, my advisor approached some of his former students in the immediate neighboring schools with no luck. This was in spite of guarantees of unobtrusiveness and my willingness to help in the department for no pay. After learning about the defensiveness of neighboring schools, I decided to increase the radius from which to find a school to observe.

It was by chance I met a friend I effectively used as a reference in negotiating entry into my research site. My preference was for a school in a low socioeconomic neighborhood, like Howard Junior High School, as my prospective clientele in South Africa will mainly be from this level. At the time, my desire was simply to observe the internal undertakings of a counseling department. I considered practical experience essential for my professional development because, were I to go back to South Africa with a Ph.D. degree in this area, I would be expected to be more knowledgeable about counseling and guidance.

From the status of a casual observer, it was not difficult, at the building level, to renegotiate my role as researcher. Not all elements of my request were approved at the school district level (e.g., machine recording). I appealed the denial to use machine recording with no success (see Appendix D). This denial did not hurt the study, but was an inconvenience and a source of apprehension at the beginning of note-taking. I was afraid that my writing would stifle GGI participants more than a recorder which I believed they would easily forget after a few days.

Reasons for Focusing on GGI

After attaining access into Howard Junior High School, I focused on GGI. The first two sessions I observed on the first day of my on-site visit showed me

that GGI was interesting and intriguing. In group I a teenaged girl was helped to explore bitter feelings about the father she never knew or heard from. Plausible reasons that could prevent her father from contacting her were explored. The same impressive exploration of feelings and weighing of facts was done in group II with a girl who was tormented by the guilt feelings she suffered when her grandmother intentionally or unintentionally condemned abortions in her presence when the girl had been through one only a few months earlier.

My background in counseling informed me that the sessions I observed were group counseling. After the first two sessions, I asked Mr. Smith the criteria he used in selecting girls for GGI. To my surprise, he told me they were not selected because they had more problems than average students. I inquired about the title "special needs counselor" that my referent said he was called. He explained the title did not mean he was working with emotionally or socially impaired students. He gave me a handbook explaining GGI.

My Experience in the Groups

On my first day on site, I suffered a cultural and/or generational shock. coming from a culture where students wear compulsory uniforms in high school, seeing colorfully dressed students with bright make up and long, multiple dangling earrings was difficult to assimilate. The college-aged population I had met in the three previous years in the USA had not overdressed or used as much makeup as these high school students.

With time, I looked at their colorfulness with quiet amusement and fascination. I also learned their language. For example, they used words like "bold," "gross," "bitch," "whore," etc.--the most hackneyed--with a slight different sense than the standard. It is my conviction that I could not have collected data for this study within the first three months I was at the site

because that was a time for learning and socialization for me. Other than drug-related problems, some of the problems these teenagers discussed were the same ones that teenagers are wrestling with today in urban areas of South Africa.

When I first visited the group, I was concerned that girls in GGI might regard me as an intruder. I became comfortable when they missed me during my absences. This gave me a sense of belonging and obligation to inform Mr. Smith every time I was going to be absent. The groups made me feel I were part of them. At the beginning of my visits, they invited my contributions during discussions, which I was not at liberty to make. My intention was to be unobtrusive. The quarrel between Karen and Emily cited in the text indicates that I could not be completely unobtrusive.

My Relationship with People at the Research Site

Without the warm and accepting attitudes with which the group leader, the principal, and assistant principals received me, I could never have requested to lengthen my stay after the fall term, and this study would never have been conducted. Counselors, teachers, and other adults working in the building were as warm as were the administrators and the group leader. I was privileged to share the lunchroom facilities with staff during the fall term and first part of winter term. I interacted with the majority of staff and received personal invitations from some. I developed a close personal relationship with Ms. Colbert and Ms. Torres. Ms. Colbert substituted for Mr. Smith most of the time.

In November of 1984, when I had been at the cite for approximately a month and a half, the principal invited me to discuss the organization of the school. This was one of the most informative experiences as it gave me a global view of the school and its philosophy and a chance to informally interview the

principal about the position of GGI in the organization. Toward the end of the study, in May of 1985, one of the assistant principals extended a similar invitation which was as informative as the principal's had been.

Mr. Smith's willingness to explain every question I had after every session was exceptionally helpful. As we rearranged chairs in the room after group II participants left the room, we commented about what individuals said or did. It was an advantage to observe a person with Mr. Smith's experience with GGI. He informed me he had used the GGI group modality for a number of years in correctional schools before he was recruited to work full-time in the GGI program in this school district. He was a consultant on GGI modality and was invited to two out-of-state school districts for consultation about GGI while I was at the site. He was not a conventionally trained counselor, but had a licensed private, part-time counseling business. His experience probably made him less defensive about things insecure people would have been defensive about. He did not try to make me believe everything was perfect in GGI.

As Appendix G bears witness, I found GGI girls friendly, and this allayed the fear of intrusion I suffered when I first visited GGI groups. They regarded me as a legitimate member of the groups. They included me in the extracurricular activities they planned (e.g., slumber parties), although none of the out-of-school activities materialized. My interaction with them in the lunch room facilitated an open relationship between most of the GGI girls and me. During the spring term, when my visits to the site were not on a daily basis, the girls volunteered updates of what had happened during the days I was absent. Most typically, they told me about events of tense sessions. Comments like, "Hey, you missed good stuff for your notes yesterday," made me suspect they believed what was newsworthy and interesting for the "book" was such moments. They were keen to help me write the "book" I was writing about GGI, and they

wanted to see their names appearing in my book. That their names would not appear in it because of confidentiality was disappointing to them.

Problems with the Methodology

Probably, because of the good relationship I established with the people at my research site, I had no research-site related problems. The problems I had were with processing my observations into a research study. I unintentionally violated almost all the conventional sequence of beginning a research. I could not start with an approved research proposal because of the emergent nature of this methodology, nor was I able to get the approval of the Human Subjects Committee of the University before beginning the study. I felt deviant and awkward in instances where I had to explain my apparent non-conventional style. Regrettably, the Human Subjects Committee refused to review the methods I used to protect my subjects from social and/or psychological harm because of the timing--asking them to review the adequacy of the methods used after data had been collected. I considered the denial unfair and irrational because if any harm were to be done by the study, it could not be done before the study was published. At the time I sought the review, the Committee had a chance to prevent inadvertent damage from happening.

This does not imply that I collected data without supervision. I was under the directive of my instructors in the research methods series. They knew my intentions and provided relevant guidance with matters concerning ethnicality and appropriateness of methods I used. Later, one of my instructors in that series became the director of this study.

Other than the problems of processing the official approval of the study, I found ethnography taxing in terms of time and effort. Collecting data alone took me the whole academic year. The methodology demanded extensive writing

and reading. The need to establish validity of observations demanded time and special effort, especially because ethnography is much more likely to be accused of bias. Because I was trained in qualitative and quantitative research methods, I was much more aware of the bias charge. The training in qualitative research methods equipped me with the methods of controlling bias--triagulation of evidence, search for discrepant cases, and self analysis.

Benefits Accrued

The methodology I chose granted me an exceptional, hands-on learning experience. As Agar (1980) put it, "Ethnography, whatever else it is, is an experientially rich social experience" (p. 3). No other method of learning could have enabled me to understand the functioning of GGI in this setting, and the GGI model more than field research. The dialectical analysis the method demanded during data collection enabled me to question some acceptable assumptions and ways of doing things that go unquestioned and to be sensitive to contradictions embedded in some of them.

The importance of this experience to my professional development and desire to assist the development of guidance programs in South Africa cannot be overemphasized. As indicated before, I incidentally landed into a program that sought to achieve the same goals the guidance teacher program for Black school in South Africa intended to.

Would I introduce GGI in South Africa were I to be given a chance? Yes, I would, but not for the reasons GGI was introduced here. Instead, I would introduce it for personal and emotional growth and/or support. Impressions I have about the aims of programs like GGI and the guidance program for Black schools in South Africa are cynical. I believe they are programs which avoid real issues--or causes or problems. Perhaps that may be the "dangerous truth," especially for the South African context, I learned from observing GGI.

APPENDIX G

APPENDIX G

1405 G Spartan Village
East Lansing, MI 48823
June 5, 1985

GGI Girls
Howard Junior High School
331 Bridge Street
Edenvale, MI 40336

Hi, Girls,

I want to thank you for the kindness you have extended toward me by allowing me to share your world as young people. When I first came in to attend GGI meetings last fall, I was afraid that you would never accept me. I was wrong. You have always been very warm and accepting, and that I greatly appreciate.

I will have the report ready on my study in about four-five months. As I promised your parents and school authorities, I will protect your privacy. I will not have anyone's real name in the report. If you are interested in the report, you can get a copy from Mr. Smith.

Enjoy your new high school experience. I will miss you. I have grown attached to you.

I love you all.

Yours thankfully,

Nana Makaula

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agar, M. H. (1980). The professional stranger: An introduction to ethnography. New York: Academic Press.

Alschuler, A. S. (1980). School discipline: A socially literate solution. San Francisco: McGraw-Hill.

Aubrey, R. F. (1985). A counseling perspective on recent educational reform reports. The School Counselor, 33, 91-99.

Bogdan, R. C., & Bidlen, D. (1982). Qualitative research: An introduction to theory and methods. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Chamberlain, L. J., & Carnot, J. B. (Eds.). (1974). Improving school discipline. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Cultice, W. W. (1969). Positive discipline for a more productive educational climate. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Curwin, R. L., & Mendler, A. N. (1980). The discipline book: A complete guide to school and classroom management. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Reston.

Cusick, P. A. (1983). Egalitarian ideal and American high school: Studies of three schools. New York: Longman.

D'Andrea, V., & Salovey, P. (1983). Peer counseling: Skills and perspectives. Palo Alto, CA: Science & Behavior Books.

Dinkmeyer, D. (1975). The counselor as a consultant: The rationale and procedures. In J. Carlson, H. Splete, & R. Kern (Eds.), The consulting process. Washington, DC: APGA Reprint Series.

Duke, D. L., & Meckel, A. M. (1980). Managing student behavior problems. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Feitler, F. C. (1982). Violence in the schools: Time to improve the record. In B. D. Johnson (Ed.), Dealing with social problems in the classroom, pp. 79-91. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.

Feldhusen, J. (1979). Problems of student behavior in secondary schools. In D. L. Duke (Ed.), Classroom management: The seventy-eighth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, pp. 217-244, Part II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

First, J. M. (1980a). Causes. In J. M. First & M. H. Mizell (Eds.), Everybody's business: A book about school discipline, pp. 11-14. Columbia: Southern Public Education Program.

First, J. M. (1980b). Some interventions. In J. M. First & M. H. Mizell (Eds.), Everybody's business: A book about school discipline, pp. 59-93. Columbia: Southern Public Education Program.

First, J. M., & Mizell, M. H. (Eds.). (1980). Everybody's business: A book about school discipline. Columbia: Southern Public Education Program.

Fisher, D. (1981). Communication in organizations. Minnesota: West Publishing.

Fullmer, D. N., & Bernard, H. W. (1972). The school counselor-consultant. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Furtwengler, W. J., & Konnert, W. (1982). Improving school discipline: An administrator's guide. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Gallup, A. M. (1985). The 17th annual Gallup poll of the public's attitudes toward public schools. Phi Delta Kappan, 35-47.

Goetz, J. P., & LeCompte, D. L. (1984). Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research. New York: Academic Press.

Gold, M. (1974). Time for skepticism. Crime and Delinquency, 20, 20-24.

Gold, M., & Mann, D. W. (1984). Expelled to a friendlier place: A study of effective alternative schools. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Gold, M., & Petronio, R. J. (1980). Delinquent behavior in adolescents. In J. Adelson (Ed.), A handbook of adolescents, pp. 495-531. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Gold, R. L. (1969). Roles in sociological field observations. In G. J. McCall & J. L. Simmons (Eds.), Issues in participant observation: A text and reader, pp. 30-45. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Goldstein, A. P., Apter, S. J., & Harootunian, B. (1984). School violence. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Gordon, R. L. (1980). Interviewing: Strategies, techniques, and tactics. Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press.

Hawkins, R. B., Jr. (1985). A strategy for revitalizing public education. In J. H. Bunzel (Ed.), Challenge to American schools: The case for standards and values, pp. 29-46. New York: Longman.

Herriott, R. E., & Gross, N. (Eds.). (1979). The dynamics of planned educational change: Case studies analyses. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Hurley, L. (1982). Crusade for the '80s: Is alternative education the best response to student disruption? NASSP, 66, 58-64.

First, J. M. (1980a). Causes. In J. M. First & M. H. Mizell (Eds.), Everybody's business: A book about school discipline, pp. 11-14. Columbia: Southern Public Education Program.

First, J. M. (1980b). Some interventions. In J. M. First & M. H. Mizell (Eds.), Everybody's business: A book about school discipline, pp. 59-93. Columbia: Southern Public Education Program.

First, J. M., & Mizell, M. H. (Eds.). (1980). Everybody's business: A book about school discipline. Columbia: Southern Public Education Program.

Fisher, D. (1981). Communication in organizations. Minnesota: West Publishing.

Fullmer, D. N., & Bernard, H. W. (1972). The school counselor-consultant. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Furtwengler, W. J., & Konnert, W. (1982). Improving school discipline: An administrator's guide. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Gallup, A. M. (1985). The 17th annual Gallup poll of the public's attitudes toward public schools. Phi Delta Kappan, 35-47.

Goetz, J. P., & LeCompte, D. L. (1984). Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research. New York: Academic Press.

Gold, M. (1974). Time for skepticism. Crime and Delinquency, 20, 20-24.

Gold, M., & Mann, D. W. (1984). Expelled to a friendlier place: A study of effective alternative schools. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Gold, M., & Petronio, R. J. (1980). Delinquent behavior in adolescents. In J. Adelson (Ed.), A handbook of adolescents, pp. 495-531. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Gold, R. L. (1969). Roles in sociological field observations. In G. J. McCall & J. L. Simmons (Eds.), Issues in participant observation: A text and reader, pp. 30-45. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Goldstein, A. P., Apter, S. J., & Harootunian, B. (1984). School violence. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Gordon, R. L. (1980). Interviewing: Strategies, techniques, and tactics. Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press.

Hawkins, R. B., Jr. (1985). A strategy for revitalizing public education. In J. H. Bunzel (Ed.), Challenge to American schools: The case for standards and values, pp. 29-46. New York: Longman.

Herriott, R. E., & Gross, N. (Eds.). (1979). The dynamics of planned educational change: Case studies analyses. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Hurley, L. (1982). Crusade for the '80s: Is alternative education the best response to student disruption? NASSP, 66, 58-64.

Ives, E. D. (1974). The tape-recorded interview: A manual for field workers in folklore and oral history. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee.

Joyce, B. R., Hersh, R. H., & McKibbin, M. (1983). The structure of school improvement. New York: Longman.

Koff, R. H. (1979). The toughest game in town. NASSP, 63, 8-18.

Lehming, R., & Kane, M. (Eds.). (1981). Improving schools using what we know, Beverly Hills: Sage.

Mahon, J. P. (1979). Beyond judicial intervention: Student discipline and the courts. NASSP, 63, 68-73.

Marvin, M., McCann, R., Connolly, J., Temkin, S., & Henning, P. (Eds.). (1976). Planning programs to reduce school violence and disruption, research for better schools. Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Justice.

Mayer, R., & Butterworth, T. W. (1981). Evaluating a preventative approach to reducing school vandalism, Phi Delta Kappan, 1981, 498-499.

McCall, G. J., & Simmons, J. L. (Eds.). (1969). Issues in participant observation: A text and reader. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

McCorkle, L. W. (1952). Group therapy in the treatment of offenders. Federal Probation, 16, 22-27.

McCorkle, L. W., Elias, A., & Bixby, F. L. (1958). The highfields story: An experimental treatment project for youth offenders. New York: Henry Holt.

McDonnel, L. M., & McLaughlin, M. W. (1980). Program consolidation and the state role in ESEA Title IV. Prepared for the U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. R-2531-HEW. Santa Monica: Rand.

Mehan, H. (1975). The reality of ethnomethodology. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Miles, M. B. (Ed.). (1964). Innovations in education. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teacher's College, Columbia University.

Mizell, M. H. (1980a). The design/implementation of alternatives. In J. M. First & M. H. Mizell (Eds.), Everybody's business: A book about school discipline. Columbia: Southern Public Education Program.

Mizell, M. H. (1980b). Introduction. In J. M. First & M. H. Mizell (Eds.), Everybody's business: A book about school discipline, pp. xv-xviii. Columbia: Southern Public Education Program.

Morgan, C. A. (1984). A curricular approach to primary prevention. The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 467-469.

Morgan, S. R. (1985). Children in crisis: A team approach to schools. San Diego: College-Hill.

Morrish, I. (1976). Aspects of educational change. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Myrick, R. R., & Dixon, R. W. (1985). Changing student attitudes and behavior through group counseling. The School Counselor, 32, 325-330.

Nicholson, G., Stephens, R., Elder, R., & Leavitt, V. (1985). Safe schools: You can't do it alone. Phi Delta Kappan, 491-496.

Overman, W. (1979). Effective communication: The key to student management, NASSP, 63, 34-39.

Peer, G. G. (1985). The status of secondary school guidance: A national survey. The School Counselor, 32, 181-189.

Petrock, F. (1976). Guided group interaction in public schools: Managing student behavior through peer group advocacy. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.

Rich, J. M. (1982). Discipline and authority in school and family. Massachusetts: Lexington.

Rich, J. M. (1981). School violence: four theories explain why it happens. NASSP, 65, 46-49.

Rogers, E. M. (1983). Diffusion of innovations, 3rd ed. New York: The Free Press.

Sarason, S. B. (1971). The culture of the school and the problem of change. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Schatzman, L., & Strauss, A. L. (1973). field research: Strategies for a natural sociology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

School youth advocacy: An implementation handbook. Michigan Department of Social Services, ESEA Title IV-C, DSS Publication No. 308 (9-76).

Smith, L. M., & Keith, P. M. (1971). Anatomy of educational innovation: An organization analysis of an elementary school. New York: John Wiley & Son.

Spindler, G. (Ed.). (1982). Doing the ethnography of schooling: Educational anthropology in action. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Sweat, C. H., Durflinger, L., & Pate, E. C. (Eds.). (1976). Discipline in the junior high/middle school: 1976 study report of the junior high school association of Illinois. Daneville, IL: Interstate Printers & Publishers.

Unger, K. V., Douds, A., & Pierce, R. M. (1979). A behavior curriculum: Skills training can reduce problems. NASSP, 63, 72-76.

Violent schools--safe schools: The safe school study report to the Congress, Vol. I. (1978). Washington, DC: The National Institute of Education.

Vorrath, H. H., & Brendtro, L. K. (1974). Positive peer culture. Chicago: Aldine.

Wayson, W. W. (1985). The politics of violence in school: Doublespeak and disruptions in public confidence. Phi Delta Kappan, 127-132.

Wells, C. E., & Ritter, K. Y. (1985). School counseling and research obstacles opposing change agents. The School Counselor, 33, 111-119.

Wilcox, K. (1982). Ethnography as a method and its application to the study of schooling: A review. In G. Spindler (Ed.), Doing the ethnography of schooling: Educational anthropology in action, pp. 456-488. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Wirst, F. M., & Kirst, M. W. (1982). The politics of education. Schools in conflict. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Wold, D. C., & Windsor, R. E. (1981). A discipline approach: Student management through incentives: Positive reinforcement. NASSP, 65, 46-49.

Wrenn, C. G. (1962). The school counselor in a changing world. Washington, DC: APGA.

Wright, J. (1979). A participatory model: Students can be effective change agents. NASSP, 63, 44-46.

Zaltman, G., Florio, D., & Sikorski, L. (1977). Dynamics of educational change: Models, strategies, tactics, and management. New York: The Free Press.

Zimmerman, J., & Archibold, L. A. (1979). On-campus suspensions: What it is and why it works. NASSP, 63, 63-67.