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STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE

by

J. E. RICHARDSON, J. F. FORRESTER,
J. K. SHUKLA and P. J. HIGGINBOTHAM

edited with a foreword by
C. M. FLEMING



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FOREWORD

THE study of children in their social relationships, the effect of membership of groups, the school as a social therapeutic institution. These are relatively novel phrases and like all such fresh phrases they point to a new emphasis in the observation of human beings and in the formulation of basic hypotheses as to their nature. Much that they denote is very recent in its structure and its procedure. Much that they connote is very old and has its roots in the long history of educational thought.

This book of studies in social psychology, while offering a distinctive contribution, is therefore admittedly in its contents both very old and very new. Much of its language and its interpretation is not to be found prior to the fourth or fifth decade of this century. Certain of the procedures it describes have been in use for many hundreds of years. All had their recent antecedents in the 'play-way', the 'individual work', the 'project methods', the 'group activities', to which educational discussion was devoted in the 1910's and 1920's; but their more immediate origins may be traced in the experimental work of the 1930's and the 1940's conducted in the University of London Institute of Education with the co-operation of the late Professor H. R. Hamley.

In the 1920's and the 1930's a transition was being effected in psychological interpretation from the study of individual children in laboratories and the treatment of individual patients in consulting rooms to some awareness of the significance of the school life and home background of problem pupils and some study of the social environment of juvenile delinquents. This recognition of society as a background to humanity affected teaching methods first through an emphasis on the social relevance of the curriculum—in terms of an arithmetic which led to more intelligent utilisation of public resources and a study of English usage which contributed to better

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citizenship. The concern of reformers in the middle years was with the child and society—the pupil and his social background. More recently it has passed beyond this to an endeavour to understand the meaning for a child of his membership of groups, the influences of groups upon individuals and of individuals upon groups, the interactions and tensions within groups, the social forces which operate in homes and schools and clubs, and the effect of differing types of social climate and group atmosphere upon the behaviour of pupils in classrooms and children in their homes.

The studies here presented deal with group experiences as observable in the teaching of English and of citizenship, with surveys of attitudes, and with enquiries into the accompaniments of friendship. They cover a period of about six years from the time of Forrester's enquiry into the attitude of adolescents towards their own development to the years in which the sociometric techniques of Moreno and his associates were deliberately applied to classroom procedures in the fashion described in the record of experimental work given in Part I. All of them fall into place when seen in the present-day setting of an interpretation in terms of the socialising effect of school membership, the therapy of groups and the admittedly great complexity of a human nature for whose description the earlier individualistic terminology is now believed to be inadequate. Each of the investigations is relatively small in itself—dealing with a few dozen or a few hundred pupils—but in their totality they are highly significant and they are in accord with many other enquiries whose scope is indicated by the bibliographies appended.

Together also they form a contribution to educational research which is of value not merely to teachers but to parents, club-leaders, employers and magistrates. To all such workers they bring evidence not only as to the methods being adopted to foster successful learning in schools, but as to the attitudes held by boys and girls towards their own development. They serve further to confirm the belief that the most effective incentives are not merely materialistic, competitive or individualistic in nature.

Human beings are inescapably social. They have been born into membership of groups and are conditioned to such membership. They are so made that their primary attribute is co-operation and their first need that of receiving appreciation from, and making contributions to the intimate small circle of their closest associates.

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Boys and girls require not only affection and acceptance in their homes, but the opportunity of taking a responsible share in the activities of their companions—in working hours as well as in moments of leisure. The most effective schooling is therefore that which permits some degree of group activity and some measure of classification by friendship, just as the highest morale is found in those industries in which men and women are not only aware of the meaning of the service they render, but are convinced of the appreciative regard in which they are held by those with whom they come in contact.

Co-operation in such working hours is recommended not merely as an aid to more effective output, but as a means by which mental health and wholesome attitudes may be fostered—in individuals as well as in groups. And this finding has a significance which extends beyond the classroom. Racial prejudice and intolerance are more liable to be found in homes or schools in which fears and antipathies have been sown by dictatorial methods motivated by distrust of human nature and by the belief that boys and girls are primarily self-seeking and essentially egocentric. International sympathies and the tolerance which contributes to world peace flower best in human soil in which a sense of security and serenity is consequent on the satisfaction of the basic human needs; and human beings appear to find stability only in some measure of insight into the meaning of their activities, coupled with an opportunity to make an acceptable contribution to the welfare of their fellows.

All this is not explicit in every chapter of this book; but something of this sort is the implication which its findings can justifiably be said to carry; and in this is to be found its significance and its challenge to further enquiry and research.

C. M. FLEMING

London, 1951

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PART ONE

CLASSIFICATION BY FRIENDSHIP: SOCIOMETRIC TECHNIQUES APPLIED TO THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH

CHAPTER ONE

GROUP RELATIONS AND EDUCATION

PSYCHOLOGISTS in many fields have during the last twenty years given increasing attention to interpersonal relationships. From factories, hospitals, schools and clinics researches have been reported which have not only shown the interconnections of these fields but have together provided a fund of information about the behaviour of human beings in groups. In these enquiries a social group is regarded as a unit and the investigator concerns himself with a total situation rather than with an isolated segment of human experience.¹ Groups in factories, homes, clinics, schools, clubs and residential institutions have therefore been studied in functional situations in order to interpret the behaviour both of those groups and of the individuals comprising them. Under Moreno and Lewin in the United States of America² two different but related techniques of studying the dynamics of human personality have been developed, which culminated in the foundation of the Sociometric Institute in New York in 1942 and in the setting up of the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1945. In England evidence of the same spirit is to be seen in the work of the University of London Institute of Education and of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations.³ Hoggarth in 1938, for example, reported the results of comparative study of individual and group methods of teaching mathematics.⁴ Four methods were used: in the first the boys worked individually without regard to the progress or difficulties of the others; in the second, one boy worked in front of the others at the blackboard; in the third the class co-operated in solving the problems; in the fourth the boys worked in co-operating groups of three, each at its own blackboard. Hoggarth found that the use of group methods led to improvement both in attainment and attitude, that the group-blackboard method was the most popular of the four and that certain individuals became

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less shy and made new friends after experiencing it. He himself found this method more effective since it enabled him to supervise the work efficiently and deal with mistakes promptly. Horne in 1943 reported an experiment in a Free Topic method of teaching science.⁵ The boys in his experimental group were allowed complete freedom to make what use they liked of the books and apparatus provided and were given the master's help only when they asked for it. Whereas in the control group, which continued to be taught by the traditional demonstration method, the usual distribution of interest, toleration and boredom was apparent, the experimental group developed real enthusiasm for the subject and learned to organise their own programmes of work. Although at first the boys worked individually, a desire to co-operate in groups of two or three was showing itself in the second year of the investigation. These attempts at group work were at first unsuccessful, owing to outbursts of quarrelling and jealousy, but by the end of the year all such difficulties had disappeared and the boys were working efficiently in groups. Simpson in 1947 measured the effect of group discussion on the understanding and appreciation of films⁶, and found that boys who had discussed films understood them better and were more capable of concentrating on those particular aspects which were relevant for the particular needs of their class. The importance of social incentives in education was also demonstrated experimentally by C. M. Lambert in 1944, when she studied the nature of the interests shown by secondary school children in the various subjects of the curriculum.⁷ In comparing eight different trends of interest (utilitarian, humanistic, creative, activity, scientific, vocational, æsthetic and social) she found that, considering all subjects as one, the social interest (defined as 'interest in working and co-operating with others') ranked second for the whole group and either first, second or third for each year level.

These findings suggest that teachers could with advantage give more opportunities for co-operative work than they have done in the past. There still exists among many teachers a tendency to discourage children from helping one another and to promote rivalry rather than co-operation. The result of this is to make many children seek help from one another surreptitiously in the effort to collect marks and thus to lose all sense of personal satisfaction in achievement. This kind of satisfaction can be enhanced by group co-operation, as experimental investigations have shown. It is possible that freedom to

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co-operate openly at certain times may induce in children a more honest and self-respecting attitude to work than do constant exhortations to work alone and unaided.

The gradual evolution of twentieth-century thought on the nature of the 'group mind' is typical of the changes that have affected psychological theory generally. It is a far cry indeed from Le Bon's conception of the group mind to the views expressed in the writings of Lewin and Moreno. To Le Bon, writing in 1895,⁸ the effect of the collective mind was such as to obliterate all individual acquirements and to force each member of the group to yield to instincts which he would normally have restrained. Thus, through the emergence of the racial unconscious, individuals in groups showed always an 'average' character, and even came, under the influence of the group, to exhibit entirely new characteristics. Groups were therefore invariably impulsive and changeable, apt to go from one extreme to another, in need of excessive stimulus and satisfied with mere illusions. To Moreno a group is a constantly changing structure, affecting and being affected by the individuals who enter it. In every group of individuals, brought together by biological or social processes, there exists a pattern of relationships which determines the behaviour both of the individuals and of the group as a whole. These relationships can be described as feelings of attraction, indifference or repulsion; they may or may not be exchanged mutually and they extend beyond the boundaries of single groups to form networks spreading over the large communities in which they operate. Since the behaviour of every individual in a given community is directly affected by his position in that community, it follows that his behaviour may be modified by an improvement or deterioration in his social status. The educator or therapist is therefore in a position both to diagnose his needs (by observing where his spontaneous preferences lie) and to satisfy them by giving him opportunities for association with those chosen companions.

EARLY INVESTIGATIONS INTO GROUP BEHAVIOUR

Scientific investigations into the nature of group behaviour appear to have begun with F. H. Allport in 1920, when he conducted a series of experiments with word association tests, using as his subjects a group of students at Harvard and Radcliffe Colleges.⁹ He found that his subjects produced a greater variety of ideas when working

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together than when working alone, and concluded from the quality of these ideas that there was 'some sort of attitude assumed by the individual in the group' which directed his ideas towards outside objects, and to the actual presence of others, so that he became 'objective rather than egocentric, present rather than retrospective'.

The results of a further experiment, in recording thought processes, suggested that there was in group work a spreading out of thought rather than a strong output of originality, and that group thought was 'extensive' whereas individual thought was to some extent 'intensive'. The experiences of Travis¹⁰ with stutterers, using the same kind of word-association test, appeared to contradict Allport's findings, since the majority of his subjects did better work alone. Here, however, the result was obviously affected by the subjects' inhibitions: the physical defect and the 'social morbidity' arising from it formed a vicious circle from which the neurotic subject could not escape. In the light of later developments in Group Psychotherapy one can imagine these same stutterers, in a different situation, benefiting by the presence of the very companions who had inhibited their efforts in Travis' test situation.

In 1927 and 1928 South and Watson in a similar fashion investigated different aspects of co-operative mental activity. South,¹¹ using two kinds of tests involving æsthetic and emotional judgments and two involving logical deductions, found that small groups of three were better for the former kind of exercise and larger groups of six for the latter; all groups were more efficient when given a time limit. Watson,¹² using a word-building test, compared individuals and groups and found that the product of group thinking was superior to that of even the best member of the group, but that the quality of the group performance depended mainly on the ability of the best members.

In 1932 an experiment was recorded which not only contributed to this accumulating evidence on the phenomenon of co-operation but also represented a significant advance in methodology. M. E. Shaw¹³ was the first in this line of investigators to attempt to record the interactions of the individuals in a group. Her subjects, psychology students at Columbia University, worked first individually and then in groups of four to solve a set of problems which had been so devised as to ensure diversity of opinion and lively discussion and to demand a logical series of decisions. It was found that the groups achieved a larger proportion of correct solutions than the individuals,

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largely because the subjects when working together rejected incorrect suggestions and checked mistakes and so did not err so soon in the logical thought process as when they worked separately. These conclusions were drawn not only from the number of correct and incorrect solutions submitted but also from detailed notes taken by observers dispersed among the groups. J. F. Dashiell in his survey of these experimental studies referred to Shaw's research as 'a genuine beginning' in the empirical scientific investigation of discussion, and foresaw later developments in such methods of recording: he believed that 'a fruitful avenue' for the refinement and elaboration of the technique of recording was opening up, and that the use of full stenographic notes and detailed schedules for tallying and checking ought to provide 'more and more penetrating analyses'.¹⁴

Since co-operative group work inevitably involves discussion and necessitates some degree of compromise or modification of individual opinion, research workers next turned their attention to the effect of majority decisions on individual judgment. Wheeler and Jordan¹⁵ found that individuals whose opinions were endorsed by the group were strengthened in their beliefs, while those who found themselves in disagreement with the majority tended to modify their views. Jenness¹⁶ carried out a series of experiments using committees of three and four to determine the number of beans in a sealed bottle; he found that ninety-three per cent of the individual judgments changed after group discussion and that although the accuracy of the group judgment was not improved, the majority of the individual opinions were.¹⁷

This growing belief in the importance of group behaviour was the driving force behind a number of important researches in the fields of industry, psychotherapy and social science which are relevant to any discussion on educational method. The new spirit was evident in the study of working conditions which was carried out between 1927 and 1933 at the Hawthorne Works of the Western Electric Company, Chicago, a study which was characterised by a genuine interest in the human factor in industry and by a willingness on the part of the investigators to go out in new directions of enquiry whenever unsuspected truths emerged. It inspired at Iowa University a series of investigations under Lewin's direction into the dynamics of group behaviour and the relative merits of authoritarian and democratic control in clubs, factories and housewives' groups. It led to the practice of a new kind of therapeutic treatment of psychoneurotic

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patients in many different clinics and hospitals in America; and it promoted the rapid spread and development of those sociometric techniques for discovering and modifying group structure which were first used on a large scale in Moreno's study of the New York State Training School for Girls.

THE WESTERN ELECTRIC RESEARCHES ¹⁸

The Western Electric Researches had a dynamic quality which was new in industrial studies. In seeking for clues to the industrial problems of the day, these investigators turned their attention to representative groups of workers and studied not only their attitudes to their jobs and to their employers but also their relations with one another, their home conditions, their extra-vocational interests and any other information which might contribute to an understanding of the total pattern of their existence. A preliminary experiment in the effects of varying lighting conditions had revealed that psychological factors as well as physical factors were contributing to the morale of the workers; the purpose of the subsequent investigations was to discover the nature of these psychological factors. Six girls, working on the assembly of telephone relays, were selected to work in a special room apart from the rest of the department. This group, which was in existence from 1927 to 1933, came to be known as the Relay Assembly Test Room. The girls were told that they would be under observation for research purposes, but were assured that their future would in no way be in danger. They were given certain privileges, such as permission to talk while at work, and were constantly consulted as to the changes which were to be introduced. The findings revealed no correlation between changes in output and changes in working conditions. What they did reveal was a new factor of deeper human interest: the accumulated records of the human activity in that test room became in fact a fascinating record of the social development of a group. Patterns of attraction and repulsion, of leadership and submission, of popularity and isolation took shape as time went on and these proved to be affecting individual output far more closely than any physical conditions such as light, humidity, fatigue or hunger. The group developed cohesion; social customs came into being; leaders emerged and won recognition. It was observed that friends stimulated each other to greater output and that if they were separated by a change in seating arrangements the

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correlation between their rates of work was destroyed. Similarly, the removal of one personality from the test room had some effect on the psychological atmosphere or social climate of the group.

Struck by the marked contrast between the good morale in the test room and the poor morale in the department, the investigators deliberately shifted their attention from the study of conditions of work to the study of human relations, and organised an extensive interviewing programme. This brought to light facts hitherto unsuspected about the complex inner organisation of many of the workers' groups and unveiled antagonisms towards the management of which supervisors had been dimly aware but which they had been incapable of modifying. The fourth phase of the investigation was then planned with the aim of directly observing a group at work, without radically altering its normal working conditions or changing its existing relationship with the management. In November 1931 the Bank Wiring Observation Room was set up, the personnel consisting of nine wiremen, three soldermen and two inspectors. Whereas the girls in the Relay Assembly Test Room had developed a highly co-operative attitude towards the management, the men in the Bank Wiring Observation Room continued to organise themselves against the management, deliberately keeping their output on a level which was neither noticeably low nor noticeably high. The observers found that the group shared certain sentiments, among which disapproval of 'rate-busters', 'chiselers' and 'squealers' ranked high. There was a good deal of informal helping of one man by another and 'job-trading' was fairly common: records of this kind of social intercourse revealed that the group was divided into two cliques and indicated that special friendships existed between some of the men.

Interpreting all these findings, Roethlisberger and Dickson pointed out the danger of treating men in industry as though they were unrelated by ties of feeling and custom. When, for example, a new machine is introduced into a department its advent is liable to break up established customs and work habits and so disturb social relationships. Such changes with their accompanying emotional disturbances are apt to arouse hostility even if they have been planned to facilitate the workers' tasks.

To the educationist as well as to the industrialist the Hawthorne researches carry an important lesson. In any work situation, whether its purpose be the production of manufactured goods or the acquisition of knowledge and skills, the interpersonal relations both within

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the working group and between the group and its overseers are of paramount importance. The reward incentive, whether it take the form of workers' wages or of school marks and prizes, is insufficient to ensure good morale. T. N. Whitehead, commenting on the Hawthorne Researches, draws attention to the importance of group integration, which, he says, evidently depends on 'the mutual support of social sentiment and social action' and results from 'routine relations between people developed over a period of time'.¹⁸ Gordon Allport expresses this view in a different way by the term 'participation'. The worker is participant or 'industrially active' when he is 'busily engaged in using his talents, and having pleasant relations with foreman and fellow worker'. He points out that this co-operative satisfaction through group participation can be found in other walks of life—in schools, in administrative departments, in the armed forces, wherever, in fact, groups of people are to be found working together towards a common end.¹⁹

INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE EFFECT OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF LEADERSHIP

Between 1938 and 1945 experimental evidence of the relationship between certain kinds of leadership and certain kinds of group behaviour was accumulating. It became evident that satisfying group activity was characteristic of democratically organised groups rather than of autocracies and that the behaviour of the same group of individuals might undergo startling modifications as a result of changed leadership policy.

N. C. Kephart,²⁰ working in Wayne County Training School for high-grade mentally defective children, experimented with democratic methods of organisation in a cottage group in an attempt to produce better social cohesion and to reduce misbehaviour and truancy. A council of five boys was set up with authority to deal with disciplinary cases and responsibility for planning activities. Although at first many of the boys joined in the activities only from selfish motives, the council was eventually able to secure their willing co-operation and baits such as prizes became unnecessary. Sociometric tests* given before the experiment began and after five months of self-government revealed that the group had become better integrated: a powerful, aggressive clique which had been responsible for

* See page 19

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much of the earlier trouble had been reduced in size from eight to four, while unconnected small groups had become linked by new bonds of friendship. Records of behaviour and attendance showed a corresponding improvement during the period of the experiment. A similar experience was reported in 1939 by O. H. Mowrer²¹ of the Department of Psychology at the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University. The experiment was carried out with a cottage group at the New Haven Children's Center. The children, who had arrived at the cottage suffering from resentment and hostility, were just emerging from a period of recovery, during which they had enjoyed complete freedom. The problem which presented itself was how best to handle the re-educating process and give the necessary training in good social habits. Instead of demanding cleanliness, honesty and respect for property on moral grounds, the Staff inaugurated a system of self-government, and, merely pointing out that the exercise of such habits made living conditions pleasanter for everyone, let the group undertake its own re-education. The effect of this procedure was a remarkable decrease in the infringement of rules and a great improvement in adult-child relations. The children did, in fact, become responsible for their own behaviour and at the same time adopted a friendly attitude to the Staff, whom they had formerly regarded as their natural enemies.

A carefully conducted research into the effect of three different kinds of control was carried out with boys' clubs by Lewin, Lippitt and White between 1939 and 1940.²² The investigators claimed that their method represented a distinct breakaway from the usual procedure in that they sought to record not merely 'certain predetermined symptoms of behaviour', but 'the total behaviour' of the group. Working with clubs of ten-year-old boys (five in each) they compared the effects of three different kinds of leader-control: authoritarian, in which the leader gave all orders and made all decisions, democratic, in which the leader co-operated with the children, and laissez-faire in which the children were left completely free. In order to take into account such variables as club personnel, leader personality and sequence of club experience each group was observed under both authoritarian and democratic leadership, and two groups were observed under all three types of control; each of the leaders acted the rôles of both authoritarian and democratic leaders at least once. It was therefore possible to study the transition from one atmosphere to another in each group and to compare the

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behaviour of the four groups under the same kind of control. The records contained quantitative running accounts of the social interactions of the children and the leader, analyses of group structure as it became evident in the course of activities, accounts of significant individual actions and changes in group feeling, and continuous records of all conversations. Interviews with the boys and with their parents and teachers also took place, so that the boys' attitudes towards the club leaders might be ascertained and their behaviour patterns in other situations described.

Through these procedures the investigators endeavoured to put into practice Lewin's theories of dynamic field psychology and so build up a more valid picture of social behaviour than the usual limited kind of recording could produce. The different effects of the three types of control were striking: under authoritarian leadership the boys remained in ignorance of the purpose of their activity and became either apathetic and submissive or irritable and rebellious; under democratic leadership they took a full share in planning objectives and setting standards and became highly co-operative both with one another and with the leader; under laissez-faire they deteriorated into undisciplined gangs without goals, standards or satisfactions. Perhaps the most significant sign of this difference was that boys under authoritarian rule lost interest in their work as soon as the leader went out of the room, whereas under democratic rule the leader's departure produced no change in behaviour, the boys remaining absorbed in their tasks. Under laissez-faire the boys were equally disorganised whether the leader was present or absent. When their opinions on the different leaders were asked for, all the boys but one pronounced the democratic leader the best, but the other two received about equal votes as second choice. These differences in reaction were partly accounted for by the fact that clubs which came back to authoritarian control after experiencing a democratic organisation were no longer prepared to accept dictatorship willingly, whereas after a purposeless laissez-faire club they might welcome a return to stricter discipline. The relations between club members were affected directly by the leader's policy during any period; democratic control was observed to bring about greater social cohesion, shown by the increase in friendly conversation and co-operative work. The investigators attributed the low morale under authoritarianism to restriction of movement, denial of the need for sociability and opposition to or mere detachment from the leader's objectives.

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These findings were corroborated in 1942 by A. Bavelas²³ of the Child Welfare Research Station at Iowa University. Working under Lewin's direction, he carried out a programme of training in the principles and techniques of democratic leadership and studied the effects of this training on the morale both of the leaders and of the youth groups which they controlled. Two playground supervisors and four craftwork instructors were selected for the investigation. At the first testing records were made of the number of instances of authoritarian and democratic control; three of the leaders were then given three weeks' training in democratic methods and at the end of the fourth week all six were retested by the same quantitative recording methods. The retest showed that the three trained leaders had practically ceased to use dictatorial methods and were instead giving the responsibility for making decisions to the children and encouraging them to work in groups, while the untrained leaders had become more autocratic and gave few opportunities for co-operative work. The effect of this on the children was marked: whereas before the experiment members had attended the club irregularly and drifted from one group to another, the three groups with democratic leaders now showed constant membership and a new enthusiasm for the tasks they undertook. At the same time the three leaders, who had previously disliked their work, were now aware of a new sense of purpose and achievement. Bavelas emphasised in his report that the training course which had effected these changes of attitude was itself conducted democratically, so that the leaders, through discussion, mutual criticism and a kind of psychodramatic acting out of different situations, were themselves experiencing membership of a democratically organised group.

These indications of people's fitness to make their own decisions were confirmed by an enquiry of a somewhat different nature conducted by Lewin's group of investigators at Iowa. Alex Bavelas, Marian Radke and Dana Klusirich experimented with groups of housewives and factory workers to ascertain whether changes in food consumption habits, care of babies and rate of work output could be effected more easily by lecture methods or by group discussion. In every case the discussion method proved better: housewives could not be persuaded by even the friendliest of lecturers to cook more hearts, sweetbreads and kidneys or to increase their milk consumption, but did so after discussing the matter among themselves under a capable group leader; mothers instructed individually in the

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use of orange juice and cod liver oil for their babies often remained unconvinced, whereas after group discussion the majority began to use them; workers who fixed their own target far surpassed what had formerly been considered the ceiling, while others who were merely addressed on the subject showed little change in output.²⁴ Since each discussion was led democratically these findings were closely related to the earlier experiences with boys' clubs, where self-governing methods had improved morale and efficiency.

In 1945 and 1946 the American Association for Applied Psychology published the findings of a well-integrated series of experiments conducted under the leadership of H. H. Anderson.²⁵ This research gives further evidence of the advantages of democratic methods of teaching and affords an interesting parallel to the two studies of youth clubs reviewed above. Anderson's terms 'dominative' and 'socially integrative' correspond closely to the terms 'authoritarian' and 'democratic' as used by Lewin, Lippitt, White and Bavelas. Anderson defines domination as behaviour which tends to obstruct the spontaneous behaviour of another and is the expression of resistance against change; in contrast, integrative behaviour promotes the interplay of differences and is flexible, adaptive, objective and co-operative. The investigators first set themselves to devise categories of these two types of behaviour on the part of teachers and a second set of categories for the classroom reactions of children. The validity of the categories and the reliability of the recorders were carefully checked and the machinery of recording was set up for the first investigation. In a study of two second-grade teachers and children J. E. Brewer found that in one room, where the teacher used more integrative contacts and tended to promote co-operation rather than competition, the children showed fewer signs of distraction, boredom or resistance and participated more freely in discussion and problem solving, whereas in the other room, where the teacher was more dominating, inattention and conflict occurred frequently. Anderson next studied two fourth-grade and three sixth-grade classrooms to ascertain whether the observational method was applicable to older classes, and found further evidence to support Brewer's earlier belief in a measurable relationship between the classroom behaviour of teachers and children. Two follow-up investigations were then undertaken: M. F. Reed made a study of the two second-grade teachers with new groups of children and of the original second-grade children with their new teachers in the third grade, and

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Anderson and Brewer made consecutive studies of two third-grade teachers at the beginning and end of a five-month period. Reed's study revealed that the behaviour patterns of the two teachers persisted even with different sets of children, the one still stifling initiative and creating misunderstanding and conflict, the other still trying to work with the children rather than against them. The third-grade children, on the contrary, did not show the same behaviour patterns as they had done the previous year, but responded to the personalities of their new teachers. These findings were supported by the other follow-up study, which showed that the two third-grade teachers had not changed their methods during the five months intervening between the tests, and that the more dominating one was meeting increased hostility, while the more democratic one was establishing more satisfactory relations with her class. This evidence seemed to show that children between the ages of seven and twelve have, in Reed's words, a high degree of flexibility in meeting their environments.

All these studies in methods of controlling and directing groups appear to indicate that friendliness and satisfaction in work are more frequently to be found under democratic rule than under autocracies, and that the behaviour of the same group may change radically as a result of a change in leadership policy.

GROUP THERAPY: CLINICAL RESEARCH

Belief in the efficacy of group experiences in improving social adjustment was also affecting psychiatric practice during these years. The immediate origins of current methods of group therapy have been traced in two widely separated cities—Boston and Vienna. In 1906 Dr. J. H. Pratt of Boston attempted the treatment of tuberculous patients by mass instruction. This group treatment was begun as an economy measure owing to understaffing and pressure of time, but as the work proceeded it became apparent that the patients benefited from the new order, and found the presence of others in a class both sustaining and helpful. By 1908 Dr. Emerson had followed Pratt's example and was using a class method with a group of undernourished children at the Boston Dispensary. In the meantime, on the other side of the world, Dr. J. L. Moreno was studying the spontaneous play of children's groups in the Vienna Meadow Gardens. In 1911 he published his first records of impromptu drama sessions

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at the Children's Spontaneity Theatre and was already developing his theories on the rôle of spontaneity in social development; and by 1927 he had opened the first therapeutic impromptu theatre in the United States of America. These examples of this approach to therapy were reported by Dr. J. I. Meiers²⁶ to the second Round Table Conference of Group Psychotherapy held by the American Psychiatric Association at Philadelphia in 1944. On this occasion Meiers, contrasting the methods used by Pratt and Moreno, expressed his view that the second type of group therapy, in which through 'dramic' methods the group itself became the real therapeutic agent, was gaining momentum over the first 'didactic' method, where the lecturer maintained the rôle of therapist. Reports were also read at this conference by Moreno and others indicating that such psychodramatic methods were also being used for the treatment of psychoneurotic patients, for the training of supervisors in hospitals and factories, for the selection of officers in the armed forces and for the education of feeble-minded children and adults. Moreno, for example, described how his subjects were encouraged to come forward and act out with one another and with 'auxiliary egos' (helpers trained to play supporting rôles) certain of the situations which had given rise to their disorders or problems which they might be required to face on returning to normal life or on taking up new posts as supervisors and foremen. These reports indicated that the method was suitable not merely for the treatment of psychiatric cases, but for the training of normal people in those interpersonal relationships on which an individual's success in any social situation largely depends.

While Moreno and his associates were developing the psychodramatic technique in hospitals, civil resettlement units, child guidance clinics and training institutions, another group of workers, mainly under S. R. Slavson of the Jewish Board of Guardians, was engaged in evolving group activity programmes with maladjusted children.²⁷ Slavson began in 1934 by instituting classes for problem children in New York City. The purpose of these classes was both diagnostic and therapeutic. It was believed that the therapist could, by allowing a child to act as he pleased towards his environment, recognise more easily the symptoms of his disorder, and at the same time allay suspicion and hostility. In a therapy group a child learned to adjust himself to his contemporaries, to the therapist and to the materials provided for his amusement and interest. As time went on

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Slavson and his associates laid increasing emphasis on the potency of group life in character formation. The therapy classes developed into social clubs to which children were invited by personal letters from the club leader. Children who had formerly been unsociable and hostile became so enthusiastic about club meetings that they went to considerable trouble to attend them regularly. A series of articles published in the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* in 1939 and 1944 gave practical instances of the efficacy of these group activity methods. Durkin, for example, experimented with eight pre-school children from over-privileged homes.²⁸ For about two months, for five mornings a week, she observed them in a free-play situation, eliminating prohibition as far as possible. She concluded from these observations that many of the problems of young children could be handled through group relationships and that the method might well have significance for normal nursery school groups as well as for clinical cases. In the same year Gabriel reported how she had come, largely by accident, to use the group method with children whom she had formerly treated individually. The opportunity arose by chance as a result of an arrangement she made to use a neighbouring office as her clinic, thus relieving children from the necessity of travelling long distances to see her. Finding that many of the children came in casually, she decided to establish a therapeutic relationship with the group to avoid neglecting some in attending to others. Like Slavson she left the children free at first to behave as they liked, only gradually introducing restraints as they became sufficiently recovered in mental health to accept them. At the meetings she acted chiefly as observer, and although the children knew she made notes on their behaviour they did not resent this, nor were they inhibited by it. She found that clinging, jealous children became more self-reliant, that withdrawn, isolated children began to take part in group activities and to show a more aggressive spirit and that over-dominating, anti-social children acquired a better sense of comradeship and co-operation. She emphasised in her report, however, that group treatment needed to be supplemented by individual treatment. In 1939 she began a series of investigations with six girls, who had been referred to her for social backwardness; with them, too, the group had a definite therapeutic effect.²⁹

A comparable experiment was conducted by Axelrod, Cameron and Solomon at the Mount Zion Psychiatry Clinic, San Francisco.³⁰ Eleven Jewish girls of thirteen to fifteen years of age suffering from

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similar social defects were selected to take part in weekly meetings of one and a half hours' duration. The record of the first eight months of this project is a study of the evolution of an integrated social group out of a set of unconnected, mutually indifferent individuals. The authors describe how at the first meeting the girls remained aloof from one another, speaking only very occasionally to the leader and each giving her whole attention to the craft material she had selected, how at the second meeting one girl initiated a limited kind of conversation by asking another which school she came from, how by the eighth meeting clusters of two and three were forming within which some interchange of suggestions and borrowing of tools went on, how during the fifth month a feeling of dissatisfaction with individual work began to stir among the girls and how games involving the whole group were introduced, and how eventually, as a result of spontaneous co-operative action, a party was planned, one committee being formed to write and produce a play and another to buy food and serve refreshments. From this point the group developed rapidly, and after holding a fortnight's summer camp the girls announced that they wished to organise themselves as a club. Leaders rapidly emerged to deal with this new venture and an open meeting was held at which plans were made and two new members were voted into the group. By this time the group could no longer be regarded as a therapeutic one. It had in fact become by its own co-operative efforts an autonomous society and its transfer to the supervision of the recreational worker in the regular Centre was accordingly arranged. All these girls, originally referred to the clinic for serious maladjustment, thus became active, happy members of the community centre.

In 1942, in response to complaints from teachers and group workers that the materials provided by psychiatrists did not ease the problem of dealing with neurotic children in their groups, an enterprise was begun which came to be known as the Detroit Group Project.³¹ It was believed that in dealing with neurotic cases a group setting had certain advantages over an interview. It was less artificial and therefore less likely to promote resistance and self-consciousness; it gave opportunities for studying a child's behaviour in social situations and for seeing how others reacted to him; and it enabled the leader to modify his own behaviour, to try different groupings, to interpret behaviour on the spot and to judge more accurately the best moment for interfering in any child's activities. The leaders

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encountered difficulties in placing each child in such a way that he and the group benefited mutually from his inclusion, and they had constantly to guard against helping one child at the expense of another. They had to learn to make decisions over changes in the composition of groups and over the introduction of activity programmes, and to develop, as recorders, what Redl called a group memory, especially in dealing with groups of more than eight.

In reviewing this material it is interesting to note that both Slavson³² and Redl³¹ suggest that group activities need not be confined to clinical situations. Every teacher has to diagnose causes of personality difficulty in his dealings with children and every teacher is, to some extent, a therapist. By encouraging group activity he can more easily discover the causes of conflict and can at the same time create situations which may help to resolve it. Group activity gives children opportunities of educating one another, both emotionally and intellectually, and brings about a more fruitful relationship between the teacher and his pupils than formal teaching alone can effect.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOMETRY

It was Dr. J. L. Moreno, the instigator of psychodrama, who invented the technique of measuring individual status and group structure which we now know as Sociometry. In 1934 he published an account of a long-term experiment carried on in the New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson, New York.³³ In this he recorded the steps by which he had arrived at this large-scale investigation. First came the observational method of watching children's spontaneous groupings in the Vienna Gardens, then the partnership method of entering into groups and himself experiencing their tensions, and last the experimental method of testing individuals as to their choices of companions, thus gaining insight into the spontaneous group structures underlying any artificial groupings imposed from above. In a previous experiment carried out in Sing-Sing Prison³⁴ Moreno had discovered how wide were the psychological possibilities of group placement, and had become convinced that the most beneficial groupings were those in which there was a natural affinity between the individuals concerned.

The New York State Training School was an ideal field for such an investigation. It was a closed community, embracing many kinds