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ABSTRACT

This project investigated two major areas: (1) ways in which social science research and employment agency experience could be melded so as to make practical knowledge available to these agencies, and (2) ways of convincing employment agencies to use this knowledge. The manual resulting from the investigation focuses on role modeling and role playing because both have potential in improving the employability of disadvantaged persons. Both also have been used widely in experimental and demonstration projects. The intent of this manual is to serve as a direct and practical tool to employment agencies serving disadvantaged persons. It is also directed to counselors, coaches, community aides, crew chiefs, vocational instructors, and basic education instructors. (CK)

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ROLE MODELING ROLE PLAYING:

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a manual for

VOCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
AND
EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

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MANPOWER SCIENCE SERVICES, INC.

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ROLE MODELING AND ROLE PLAYING IN
EMPLOYABILITY DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES

**A Manual for Practitioners, Vocational Workers, and Counselors
Containing Principles, Their Applications in Practice,
and Their Empirical Sources.**

This Manual was prepared by Harvey Bertcher, Jesse E. Gordon, Michael Hayes, and Harry Mial of Manpower Science Services, Inc., in cooperation with the staffs of Downeast WICS (Portland, Me.), Mobilization for Youth, Inc. (New York), United Progress, Inc. (Trenton, N. J.), Watts Labor Community Action Council (Los Angeles), Western Addition Adult Opportunity Center (San Francisco), and Youth Opportunity Center (Denver).

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PREFACE

Why This Manual Was Written

In recent years, the problems of poverty in our country have been given full exposure. No aspect of this problem has been seen as more important than employment. History, inadequate preparation, and closed opportunities have all been cited as factors that are associated with the employment problems of the poor. Jobs that are available for poor people are often degrading, sporadic, low paying and unconnected with any kind of accessible career ladder that might serve as the catalyst for breaking the poverty barrier.

In an earlier day, the Labor Department's work in employment was to help locate and channel industrial manpower where needed and to provide unemployment compensation for those temporarily out of work by reason of industrial fits and starts. In recent years, however, the Labor Department has supported a wide range of programs designed to solve the problems of the unemployed poor. The Manual now before you is the result of one such effort.

Essentially this project was addressed to two main areas of investigation:

1. In what ways could social science research and employment agency experience be melded so as to make practical and valid knowledge available to these employment agencies, and
2. What are effective ways of bringing social science research to employment agencies so that they will become committed to the use of this knowledge, as demonstrated by innovations within their programs?

Why Does the Manual Focus on Role Modeling and Role Playing?

Manpower Science Services, Inc., came into being as a small nonprofit corporation to undertake this particular investigation. Focus was provided through the selection of two program techniques, namely role modeling and role playing. There were several reasons for these selections: (1) both were thought to have great potential for enhancing the employability of disadvantaged persons, (2) both had been used widely in experimental and demonstration projects, but review of their use suggested that they were seldom used expertly and appropriately, (3) neither technique requires advanced or specialized training for effective and easy use by a variety of personnel ranging from paraprofessionals to workers with graduate degrees, (4) they appeared to be appropriate to a variety of settings, and yet did not require elaborate resources, and (5) there was a body of theory and research that appeared to be unknown to employment agencies that directly supported the use of these techniques in particular ways.

What Was the Process That Produced This Manual?

With the aid of the Labor Department, six agencies were invited to participate in the project. Details of the cooperative activity that ensued would not be appropriate here, but a brief description is necessary for the reader to understand the nature of this Manual.

Initially, each agency sent between one and three staff members to Ann Arbor for a get-acquainted and planning session. In this meeting, the scope and direction of the project were presented, and the agencies were invited to participate throughout the duration of the project. Once the agency did so agree, a series of three site visits were projected, with each planned to last one week. It was hoped that site visits of this duration would allow for in-depth understanding of the agency and a number of opportunities for communication, face to face, of Manpower Science Services and agency staff members. Each visit was designed to serve a specific purpose: the first, for orientation to the agency as a whole and, in particular, its use (or lack thereof) and/or its potential for the use of role modeling and role playing; the second (several months later), to jointly develop specific programmatic steps for implementing the use of role modeling and role playing in the program, including (as appropriate) training staff in their use; and third (again several months later), to assess the effectiveness of (a) the uses of role modeling and role playing, and (b) the effectiveness of the partnership itself.

What Is the

What Is the Purpose of This Manual?

From the beginning, it was anticipated that this Manual would be one of the major products of this project. The intent was to prepare a Manual that would have direct and practical usefulness to employment agencies serving disadvantaged persons. Emphasis on practical usefulness led to the rather novel format of the Manual, in which principle, examples, and supporting literature are presented simultaneously, but on distinctly different portions of the printed page, so that the reader can select the content that has the greatest significance for him. In addition, examples (for the most part) grew out of information gathered during the site visits.

Who Helped Manpower Science Services Develop the Ideas in This Manual?

Appreciation is expressed to the six cooperating agencies for the splendid cooperation they provided. It is simply not possible to list the names of all staff who participated, but it was clear that a wide range of staff were interested and wanted to help. The six agencies were: Downeast WICS (Portland, Maine), Mobilization for Youth, Inc. (MFY) (New York City), United Progress, Inc. (UPI) (Trenton, New Jersey), Watts Labor Community Action Council (Los Angeles), Western Addition Adult Opportunity Center (San Francisco), and Youth Opportunity Center

(YOC) (Denver). Where examples in the Manual pertain to a particular program, the agency is identified.

For What Kinds of Clients Is the Material
in the Manual Most Appropriate?

Throughout the project, we have had a particular image of the kinds of clients to whom these techniques would be addressed. In fact, we have several images: militant black youth; Puerto Rican youth; shy, unsophisticated and frightened poor youth and adults; disadvantaged persons with very limited experience outside of the ghetto; and so forth. The generalizations in the Manual are not applicable to all kinds of clients, nor are they as important for some as they are for others. We have tended to emphasize the very unsophisticated client who has had too little experience to be able to understand the fairly common signals which people use to guide their behavior in new situations. This emphasis grows out of our feeling that it is people like these who require the most explicit efforts by agency staff if they are to move through employment programs successfully. The bright, inquisitive client who makes it his business to know what is going on and has developed various ways of coping with systems and bureaucracies may present other problems to agencies, but generally does not require the level of careful feedback about where he is in the program, where he is heading, and how well he is doing as does the less sophisticated client. The point is that an emphasis on spelling things out carefully to a client through immediate feedback, rewards, and signs of progress is not meant to imply that disadvantaged clients are naively stupid, uncomprehending, or easily confused. Rather, our emphasis is that this kind of specificity is essential for some clients while it apparently does little harm to those others who do not need it.

Who Would Find the Manual Useful?

The Manual is directed to all of those people working to improve the employability of disadvantaged persons. In particular, we had in mind persons in the following positions: counselors, coaches, community aides, crew chiefs, vocational instructors, basic education instructors, employment agency administrators; in short, all of those on the firing line who are working to break through the employment barriers that face poor people across the country.

Jesse E. Gordon, Project Director
Harvey Bertcher
Michael Hayes
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TOPICS IN THIS MANUAL

The following are the general topics with which this Manual deals. This same list will appear in various places throughout the Manual. Each time it appears, there will be a box around a different section of the list. The box marks the topics to be covered in the next section of the Manual. By reproducing the whole topic list each time, you will be able to use it as a summary and reminder of the points you have already covered, the material which you will next concentrate on, and what is yet to come. We hope this device will help you to keep aware of the context of the various topics and their interrelationships.

I. INTRODUCTION (pp. 5-12)

This section presents the Definitions of Terms as Used in This Manual (p. 5): Role (p. 5), Role Modeling (p. 5), and Role Playing (p. 6).

In order to establish objectives for the use of these techniques, one needs to know how to go about Selecting Behaviors To Be Modeled (p. 7) by specifying what the client should be able to do, when, and how well. Typical client needs for which role modeling and role playing are useful include learning job skills, getting along with others, using good work habits, and avoiding behaviors that endanger employability.

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (pp. 16-28)

There are several factors which need to be considered in order for a client to imitate a model's performance. The first step involves Making a "Contract" with the Client (p. 16) so that he knows what it is that he must learn and do, and how to go about accomplishing his goals. Planning for the Use of Models (p. 19) enables you to avoid inadvertent negative models. For a client to know when to imitate, Specifying the Cues (p. 20) and providing Consistent Models (p. 22) are important, so that the client does not get confused. Once the client knows what behaviors he is to acquire, directs his attention to the right models, knows when to engage in those behaviors, and has had opportunities to observe the correct behavior often enough, Practicing the Behavior (p. 24) is necessary so that the client gets used to distractions, makes the response in the variety of situations in which it is appropriate, and has opportunities for perfecting his newly acquired behavior and fitting it into a sequence of appropriate actions.

III. ROLE PLAYING (pp. 32-55)

There are several ways to present behavior that is to be imitated, e.g., by showing a film of the desired behavior; by having the model say, "Watch me," and then demonstrating the action; by having a counselor or instructor point to someone else's performance; by arranging situations so that a client can hardly help noticing and imitating someone's behavior; etc. Another extremely effective procedure that can "highlight" the behavior to be learned is role playing. This technique puts the to-be-learned behavior on display, allows for clarification of the cues and response, permits practice and repetition, and can eliminate major distractions. Thus role playing is a way of providing practice which uses all the principles stated in earlier sections of this Manual. In addition, role playing can be an enjoyable way to learn, in part because it is safe, i.e., "mistakes" are not harmful to anyone.

The various Uses of Role Playing (p. 32) include diagnosis (p. 32), rehearsal (p. 33), problem-solving (p. 34), modeling (p. 35), attitude change (p. 36), and producing self-awareness (p. 38). Correct Timing of the Role Play (p. 39) is crucial to effectiveness. Sequencing the Role Play (p. 41) includes an optimal pattern of demonstration first, followed by private or semi-private practice, then imitation of the demonstration, and finally, improvisations containing the newly acquired behavior. Before Starting the Role Play (p. 45), particularly in a group setting, the leader needs to make sure that the participants are ready for it: they need to know and trust each other, to realize that they can make mistakes without penalty or embarrassment, to know what it is that they are going to do, to experience the role play as rewarding, to realize the relevance of the role playing, to be involved in deciding what they will do in the role play, and to concentrate on the behaviors in the role play rather than on acting skills. All these principles also apply to Individual Role Playing (p. 50).

There are some Special Role Playing Situations (p. 51) for changing attitudes through role reversal and for reducing fears and anxiety about applying for, getting, and keeping jobs through the use of successive approximations.

IV. REWARDS (pp. 59-81)

When the role performance to be learned through imitation and tryout has been effectively highlighted, the client is in a position to learn (in an intellectual or cognitive sense) new or different ways of behaving in certain situations. However, for the client to actually use that learning in action, by behaving in ways like the model, at least one of two conditions must be met: (1) the client must see the model being rewarded for his response to the cues, and/or (2) the client must expect and in fact receive rewards for responding to the cues in a fashion similar to the model. Accordingly, the ways in which rewards to the model and the client are presented and experienced has crucial significance for making role modeling as effective as it can be.

In order for rewards to be used effectively, it is necessary to know What Rewards Are (p. 59) and how they work. In order to summarize the various combinations possible, the Manual presents a table of rewards, preceded by

Definitions of Terms (p. 60) used in the table: reward sender, reward receiver, the other, extrinsic reward, intrinsic reward, and vicarious reward. The Table (p. 63) and the various patterns are then presented: Rewards from Model to Client (p. 64), Rewards from Others to Clients (p. 66), Feedback from Client to Model (p. 67), The Importance of Rewarding the Model (p. 68), Clients' Expectations of Being Rewarded Like the Model (p. 70), Self-rewards (p. 71), and Direct Rewards to the Client (p. 72).

The table discusses rewards in terms of the people involved, the roles they play, and the types of rewards. Other factors also to be considered are The Timing of Rewards (p. 76) as timing affects the power of the reward, its function as a feedback to the client, and its ability to pinpoint the behavior which was successful; Frequency of Reward (p. 79) which describes when one should use reward every time the correct behavior occurs and when rewards should be intermittent; and the Use of Rewards in the Contract (p. 81).

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (pp. 85-99)

Until now, this Manual has focused on ways of directing a client's attention to the specific behavior to be imitated, including role playing as one such way, and on how to use rewards. Now we will look at the use of similarities between the model and the client as another part of learning by imitation. Agency personnel may not always have similar interests, experiences, or common characteristics with their clients; however, this does not have to exclude them from acting as models under certain conditions. Various kinds of people can serve as models, including The Expert as Model (p. 85) and The Controller of Rewards as Model (p. 86). Prestige as a Basis for Being a Model (p. 87) does not require the model to be similar to the client. However, The Role of Similarities (p. 88) indicates that shared characteristics can be helpful, and in some cases crucial. The Important Bases of Similarity (p. 93) describe the kinds of similarities which are often important to clients. Finally, one must consider ways of Making the Similarities Useful (p. 98) so that clients will be aware of them.

VI. CONCLUSION: PUTTING THIS MANUAL TO WORK (pp. 100-101)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (pp. 102-113)

USING THIS MANUAL

In using this Manual, we suggest that you read the left-hand column first, and then return to read the right-hand column for examples of the material presented on the left-hand side of the page.

Principles

The following ideas have been set forth on this section of the page to:

1. State important principles that are based on research and theory,
2. Put these ideas down on paper in a way that will be useful to you in your work.

Examples

The examples that follow are meant to show you how the ideas (in the left-hand column) have been or could be used by programs that try to work with disadvantaged people so that they will obtain work and succeed in vocational careers.

In some cases, this column will describe illustrations of how the principle in the other column works. In some cases, this column will suggest some things you will have to consider in order to make the principle work in practice. And in some cases, this column will list several different ways in which the principle can be built into actual practices in an agency, so that you will see that there are many different ways in which the same principle can be made to work. Then you can develop your own ways of putting the principles to work so that they will fit into your agency and how it does things.

Literature

On this section of the page we will present a summary of research and theory that provides the basis for the ideas spelled out above. If this material interests you--fine! If not, skip it and read only the material on the upper portion of the page.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Definitions of Terms as Used in This Manual

1. ROLE:

The collection of behaviors, attitudes, expectations, motives, feelings, and ideas that go along with being in a particular situation, such as a job. People are in roles of workers, counselors, clients, etc.

A new worker soon discovers that his role in a shop includes being on time, getting along with the other men at the same time that he competes with them for a promotion, pacing his work so as not to go faster or slower than the rest of the crew, etc. He may also find out that as a new man he is expected to do many of the dirtier jobs, as part of the role of "new man in the shop." If he is black, he is likely to be sensitive about getting what appears to be unfair treatment; he may see the assignments of the "dirty work" as reactions to him and his color, rather than as parts of the role of "new man in the shop." Accordingly, it is likely to be helpful to him in learning his role to tell him that, if it is not a matter of racial prejudice, the dirty work will be only temporary and is given to him primarily to see if he can "take it."

2. ROLE MODELING:

Learning how to be and act in a role by imitating someone else performing that role.

The new worker finds several ways to learn how to perform his role: he can ask others how to do something, he can read a manual about his job, he can attend some talks given about his work, etc. Another way to learn is by keeping his eyes open and watching more experienced men do the job. By modeling (imitating) their behavior, he learns (for example) when to bear down and when it is all right to relax. He frequently finds that people tell him to do one thing, but do another themselves. If he's smart, he'll be guided by their actions, not by their words.

The simple programmed instruction booklet by Thomas and Feldman (1964) is a good introduction to role theory. A fuller statement can be found in Biddle and Thomas (1966). Flanders (1968) has recently reviewed all of the major work on imitative learning in a comprehensive fashion. In addition to numerous articles referred to throughout this Manual, significant books on the subject have been written by Miller and Dollard (1941), and Bandura and Walters (1963).

I. INTRODUCTION (cont'd)

A. Definitions (cont'd)

3. ROLE PLAYING:

A procedure in which individuals act out the role of imaginary people for the purpose of learning new or modified behaviors and attitudes.

Many people think of role playing only as a very formal kind of technique, with scripts, audience, etc. However, role playing may also be as informal as any conversation between a counselor and a client.

A common use of role playing is to prepare job applicants for hiring interviews by having them pretend that they are in such an interview. This allows others to suggest more effective approaches and to provide feedback on something the applicant may be doing incorrectly; in addition, others can demonstrate effective interview responses, thus providing a model for the applicant, who then can practice imitation of the model in a subsequent role play.

A number of excellent books and pamphlets are available that describe and discuss role playing. Corsini (1966) discusses the use of role playing in psychotherapy and includes an annotated bibliography of 133 items on the subject. Chesler and Fox (1964) describe the use of role playing in the classroom. Corsini, Shaw and Blake (1961) describe the use of role playing in business and industry.

I. INTRODUCTION (cont'd)

B. Selecting Behaviors To Be Modeled

When a model is to be used to foster imitation by clients,* three things must be made clear:

1. Just what is it that the client is to be able to do?
2. Under what conditions should the client do this?
3. How well should the client be able to do this?

It should be noted here that a counselor may himself serve as a model, or he may arrange things so that someone else serves as a model. Actually everyone is a model, but they don't always use that status to bring about particular objectives with the client.

At the Youth Opportunity Center, a counselor wanted one of his former clients to visit a group the counselor was working with and to describe his work experiences. Before coming to the YOC, this boy had had a serious arrest record and had been in prison. At this point in time, he was doing quite well as a baker: he had stayed on the job for five months, had received one pay increase, and had been asked to serve on a company committee that was to deal with the problems of minority group member employees. The counselor realized that this young man could be an invaluable role model, for he was a YOC alumnus who was doing well on a job he had gotten through the YOC.

In general the counselor hoped the group members would pick up and model the young man's enthusiasm about his work and the stability he was demonstrating, in spite of his chaotic background and prison record.

He also wanted the model to agree to serve as a "big brother" to a group member that he intended to place on a job in the same bakery. If the baker agreed, he planned to tell him to ask himself several questions:

1. What are the kinds of things I want my "little brother" to do with regard to preparing dough, cleaning up, mixing pie fillings, removing bread from the oven, etc.;

* The term "client" will be used throughout to designate the individual who is supposed to imitate the model; it also stands for counselee, trainee, etc.

The above framework sets forth an outline for instructional objectives as described by Mager (1962). Experience demonstrates that if the model is not self-consciously aware of his own behavior, he may inadvertently fail to behave consistently, thus providing an inconsistent model that is difficult to emulate. Mager (1962) described a way of stating instructional objectives which helps the teacher to specify (for himself as well as his student) what he hopes



I. INTRODUCTION (cont'd)

B. Selecting Behaviors To Be Modeled (cont'd)

2. Since there is a time and place for many things, when do I want him to do each of these things; and
 3. How well? For example, how well should he clean up?
- Finally, what can I do that will demonstrate the correct answer to each of these questions?

In this example, the counselor was using a former client to serve as a model for the clients. And knowing that, whether intended or not, the baker would be used by the new trainee in the bakery as a model, the counselor tried to make sure that the baker used his position to achieve certain specific goals for the new trainee. Being clear about what he wants the trainee to learn by imitation helps the model plan things so that he will see to it that the trainee gets opportunities to observe him in just those performances which he wants the trainee to learn by imitation.

In other cases the counselor, the crew chief, the training instructor may also serve as models themselves, rather than using others to serve as models. The counselor might demonstrate a good approach to a job interviewer by telephoning the interviewer in front of the client; a crew chief could show a trainee how to perform some task by doing it first himself; and so forth.

the student will be able to do at the end of a period of training. McGeehee and Thayer (1961), in reviewing the work of learning theorists, indicate general agreement with the idea that an individual will learn most efficiently if he is motivated toward a goal that is clearly attainable through "learning a particular sequence of acts and/or a body of knowledge [p. 135]." The thought here is that the teacher (model) must be clear on his goals in his own mind, if the student (client) is to achieve them.

I. INTRODUCTION (cont'd)

B. Selecting Behaviors To Be Modeled (cont'd)

Clients who are looking for a job, have recently begun a job, or are involved in job training will profit most from a model who can demonstrate one or more of the following:

1. Skillful performance of work tasks;
2. Successful ways of getting along with other people who are to be worked with on the job, e.g., supervisors, co-workers, customers, etc.; and
3. Ways of behaving on the job that make retention and/or promotion likely, and are personally satisfying, so that the employer would say of him, "He's got a positive attitude toward his work!"

Every job is composed of particular tasks that need to be done with skill and that can be learned by imitating a skillful employee. For example, when working in a lumber yard, an employee needs to know how to use a radial power saw; this involves checking the alignment of the saw blade and making necessary adjustments, measuring for cuts, knowing how to cut the board so as to waste as little wood as possible, knowing how to put the wood in place against the guard, how to draw the saw toward the wood and then push it away, etc.

Clients need to have some guidelines about how to act toward different people, e.g., it's all right, even expected, that one flirts with the switchboard operator but no fooling around is accepted by the supervisor; the customer is always right, and arguing with one is usually wrong; it's important to be friendly to another man in the shop at the same time that you're competing with him for a raise or promotion, etc.

A person's attitude toward his work is usually inferred by others from how he does his job. Having a "good attitude" includes coming to work on time, asking questions in an interview that indicate careful thought about the job, taking good care of tools, asking for help when it's needed (as opposed to the person who is afraid to appear ignorant and therefore doesn't ask), etc.

I. INTRODUCTION (cont'd)

B. Selecting Behaviors To Be Modeled (cont'd)

A model may want a client to stop doing something, or to do less of it. How can a model help here? After all, it's hard to demonstrate doing less of something, or not doing it at all. In such a case, it would be important for the model to select and demonstrate the behavior he wishes to have substituted for the less desirable way of acting. In addition, he must make a special effort to avoid doing the unwanted behavior.

Duke was used to responding to all criticism with an argument or a "smart" remark. The crew chief wanted him to learn to listen to criticism, consider it, and then either make use of it in his work or, where appropriate, disagree in a reasonably polite way. The crew chief also wanted Duke to respond to criticism as constructive and reply with a remark such as "Thanks for the tip," or "Sorry, but I don't get it. Would you show me?", rather than responding with anger to the negative implications of the criticism. Finally, if criticism was given in an insulting way, he wanted Duke to be able to respond by saying something like, "I guess you were right about what I was doing wrong, but I didn't like the way you shouted at me. I want to learn, but I'm not deaf--if you want me to do something differently, tell me, and then give me a chance to do it." Thus the crew chief wanted Duke to stop doing some things and to replace those things with new, more effective behaviors.

The crew chief handled this in two ways. First, he teamed Duke up with another trainee who had already shown his ability to make constructive use of criticism, and then he made sure to criticize this boy in Duke's presence, if possible and when appropriate. He always praised the boy

Staats and Staats (1963) discuss the process of shaping in which a new behavior is taught through selective rewarding of behaviors that successively approximate a desired behavior. Bandura, writing in Krasner and Ullmann (1965), describes the modeling process in which successive approximation is not necessary, because of the behavioral demonstration of the model. He views this as "no-trial learning" and describes its comparative efficiency to operant conditioning, specifying three different effects of modeling: acquisition of new responses, strengthening or weakening of inhibitory responses and eliciting of previously learned responses. Thyne (1963) discusses habit-breaking as a special case of habit-training in which the new response must not include the old, and presents several approaches to be used in introducing a new response at the same time that an old one is extinguished.

I. INTRODUCTION (cont'd)

B. Selecting Behaviors To Be Modeled (cont'd)

for his positive response to critical comments. In addition, he arranged occasional informal meetings with the trainees in which he encouraged them to criticize the training program and suggest ways in which he might help them better. In these sessions, he tried to demonstrate calm, good-natured responses to the criticisms voiced by the trainees, as well as making use of some of their ideas.

He also discussed some of the problems the trainees were having, including response to criticism. In doing this, he used role playing and had several trainees show how they would respond to being corrected about their work.

Using himself as a model might not have worked if the crew chief was actually hot-tempered and likely to respond angrily to any suggestion that he was not doing his work. In point of fact, he knew that he could roll with the punches and make good use of critical remarks. Accordingly, he thought it was all right to use himself as a model for Duke.

He continued to criticize Duke's work whenever it was appropriate to do so, but was particularly careful to praise him for positive response to such remarks. In addition, he avoided arguments with Duke at these times.

Keeping clearly in mind the specific objectives he had for Duke (based on his assessment of a particular problem Duke had in increasing his employability) enabled the crew chief to turn a variety of different situations to advantage as opportunities to model the right behaviors in ways most likely to achieve his goals for Duke.

I. INTRODUCTION (cont'd)

B. Selecting Behaviors To Be Modeled (cont'd)

If you are clear about what you want a client to do, under what conditions, and how well, you can do several things to make it more likely that imitation of a model will occur.

1. The client's attention can be drawn to what is being demonstrated by verbal instruction or by role playing, as well as by other techniques.
2. The client can be provided rewards for successful practice of the behavior you want him to perform.
3. You can make use of similarities between yourself or some other model and the client, to encourage imitation.

These three points are essentially what this Manual is all about. Accordingly, detailed examples of each will be given in the following sections of the Manual.

Literature that pertains to each of the three areas listed above will be presented in detail in the following sections of the Manual.

TOPICS IN THIS MANUAL

I. INTRODUCTION (pp. 5-12)

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There are several factors which need to be considered in order for a client to imitate a model's performance. The first step involves Making a "Contract" with the Client (p. 16) so that he knows what it is that he must learn and do, and how to go about accomplishing his goals. Planning for the Use of Models (p. 19) enables you to avoid inadvertent negative models. For a client to know when to imitate, Specifying the Cues (p. 20) and providing Consistent Models (p. 22) are important, so that the client does not get confused. Once the client knows what behaviors he is to acquire, directs his attention to the right models, knows when to engage in those behaviors, and has had opportunities to observe the correct behavior often enough, Practicing the Behavior (p. 24) is necessary so that the client gets used to distractions, makes the response in the variety of situations in which it is appropriate, and has opportunities for perfecting his newly acquired behavior and fitting it into a sequence of appropriate actions.

III. ROLE PLAYING (pp. 32-55)

There are several ways to present behavior that is to be imitated, e.g., by showing a film of the desired behavior; by having the model say, "Watch me," and then demonstrating the action; by having a counselor or instructor point to someone else's performance; by arranging situations so that a client can hardly help noticing and imitating someone's behavior; etc. Another extremely effective procedure that can "highlight" the behavior to be learned is

role playing. This technique puts the to-be-learned behavior on display, allows for clarification of the cues and response, permits practice and repetition, and can eliminate major distractions. Thus role playing is a way of providing practice which uses all the principles stated in earlier sections of this Manual. In addition, role playing can be an enjoyable way to learn, in part because it is safe, i.e., "mistakes" are not harmful to anyone.

The various Uses of Role Playing (p. 32) include diagnosis (p. 32), rehearsal (p. 33), problem-solving (p. 34), modeling (p. 35), attitude change (p. 36), and producing self-awareness (p. 38). Correct Timing of the Role Play (p. 39) is crucial to effectiveness. Sequencing the Role Play (p. 41) includes an optimal pattern of demonstration first, followed by private or semi-private practice, then imitation of the demonstration, and finally, improvisations containing the newly acquired behavior. Before Starting the Role Play (p. 45), particularly in a group setting, the leader needs to make sure that the participants are ready for it: they need to know and trust each other, to realize that they can make mistakes without penalty or embarrassment, to know what it is that they are going to do, to experience the role play as rewarding, to realize the relevance of the role playing, to be involved in deciding what they will do in the role play, and to concentrate on the behaviors in the role play rather than on acting skills. All these principles also apply to Individual Role Playing (p. 50).

There are some Special Role Playing Situations (p. 51) for changing attitudes through role reversal and for reducing fears and anxiety about applying for, getting, and keeping jobs through the use of successive approximations.

IV. REWARDS (pp. 59-81)

When the role performance to be learned through imitation and tryout has been effectively highlighted, the client is in a position to learn (in an intellectual or cognitive sense) new or different ways of behaving in certain situations. However, for the client to actually use that learning in action, by behaving in ways like the model, at least one of two conditions must be met: (1) the client must see the model being rewarded for his response to the cues, and/or (2) the client must expect and in fact receive rewards for responding to the cues in a fashion similar to the model. Accordingly, the ways in which rewards to the model and the client are presented and experienced has crucial significance for making role modeling as effective as it can be.

In order for rewards to be used effectively, it is necessary to know What Rewards Are (p. 59) and how they work. In order to summarize the various combinations possible, the Manual presents a table of rewards, preceded by Definitions of Terms (p. 60) used in the table: reward sender, reward receiver, the other, extrinsic reward, intrinsic reward, and vicarious reward. The Table (p. 63) and the various patterns are then presented: Rewards from Model to Client (p. 64), Rewards from Others to Clients (p. 66), Feedback from Client to Model (p. 67), The Importance of Rewarding the Model (p. 68), Clients' Expectations of Being Rewarded Like the Model (p. 70), Self-rewards (p. 71), and Direct Rewards to the Client (p. 72).

The table discusses rewards in terms of the people involved, the roles they play, and the types of rewards. Other factors also to be considered are The Timing of Rewards (p. 76) as timing affects the power of the reward, its function as a feedback to the client, and its ability to pinpoint the behavior which was successful; Frequency of Reward (p. 79) which describes when one should use reward every time the correct behavior occurs and when rewards should be intermittent; and the Use of Rewards in the Contract (p. 81).

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (pp. 85-99)

Until now, this Manual has focused on ways of directing a client's attention to the specific behavior to be imitated, including role playing as one such way, and on how to use rewards. Now we will look at the use of similarities between the model and the client as another part of learning by imitation. Agency personnel may not always have similar interests, experiences, or common characteristics with their clients; however, this does not have to exclude them from acting as models under certain conditions. Various kinds of people can serve as models, including The Expert as Model (p. 85) and The Controller of Rewards as Model (p. 86). Prestige as a Basis for Being a Model (p. 87) does not require the model to be similar to the client. However, The Role of Similarities (p. 88) indicates that shared characteristics can be helpful, and in some cases crucial. The important bases of being of Making the Similarities Useful (p. 98) so that clients will be aware of them. Finally, one must consider ways

VI. CONCLUSION: PUTTING THIS MANUAL TO WORK (pp. 100-101)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (pp. 102-113)

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE

A. Making a "Contract" with the Client about What You and He Will Do

The counselor and the client should reach an agreement about what the client should be able to do regarding both job skills and getting along with people at work. In reaching this agreement, the counselor will find it helpful to know what the client knows about the things he is expected to learn, what he can actually do well, and how much he wants to learn to understand and do the other parts of the job.

This agreement should make clear what each can expect of the other and what sequence of steps the client will be expected to master as a result of modeling and other forms of helping. This agreement can then be used to highlight exactly what it is that models do that the client is to copy.

It should be added that the client can make an agreement (about what he is to learn by modeling) with someone other than the model himself. For example, a job counselor could arrange to bring a trainee and a crew chief together with the clear understanding of both that the crew chief is to serve as a model for the trainee in learning his craft. In this sense, it is not essential that the counselor serve as a model;

Mrs. Gonzales was a young ADC mother who had come to the Youth Opportunity Center looking for some training to increase her earning power. The counselor suggested she enroll in a six-month training program for Nurses Aides, supported by MDTA funds. The Supervising Nurse for this program, a Miss Woolsey, had done an effective job with other YOC referrals, serving as an excellent model of nursing efficiency mixed with real warmth for people.

When Miss Woolsey interviewed Mrs. Gonzales, she learned that she had had considerable experience taking care of her older sister's children and had nursed one of these children through a protracted illness. However, she knew next to nothing about many nursing chores in a hospital. Miss Woolsey was a perceptive young woman; it didn't take her long to realize that Mrs. Gonzales had not come to the YOC looking for a way to get into nursing. Rather, she had wanted to earn a decent living in a job of which she and her children could be proud. Miss Woolsey saw this motivation as entirely reasonable and a good base on which to build a nursing career.

Miss Woolsey explained the plan for training

The concept of "contract" is discussed in terms of social work practice by Frey and Meyer (n.d.), Croxton (1968), and Garvin (1969). Goldstein (1962) describes the importance of patient expectations in psychotherapy and summarizes research that describes the negative effects on goal achievement of ambiguity with regard to role expectations. Raven and Rietsema (1960) indicate that subjects operating under conditions of unambiguous goals and clear paths to goals were more attracted to their group, less hostile toward fellow group members, more willing to be influenced by group members and more cohesive as a group than subjects whose goals were unclear. Goldstein, Sechrest, and Heller (1966) report on several studies that showed a direct relationship between goal clarity and individual satisfaction.

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (cont'd)

A. Making a "Contract" (cont'd)

indeed, he often cannot do this, and it is far more appropriate to use as model a skillful worker in the particular occupation, if it is work skill and work-related behaviors that the client is to acquire through imitation. Other client problems, such as learning how to make decisions about vocational alternatives and plans, etc., might be solved by having the counselor act as model. In other words, different models may be used for different purposes, with the counselor "orchestrating" the ensemble.

Nurses Aides including the trainee's responsibility for patient care, the series of lectures she must attend, the periodic meeting at the hospital with the YOC counselor, and all of the other things she would have to do to complete the program successfully.

Mrs. Gonzales learned that she would be expected to follow Miss Woolsey's lead in many things and might also be assigned, for brief periods, to other nurses who would model correct behaviors for her. Thus there was agreement in the views of what Mrs. Gonzales expected to have to do and what Miss Woolsey expected of her. The more explicit and specific that Miss Woolsey could state her expectations, and the more freedom Mrs. Gonzales had to decide where she agreed and disagreed, the greater the chance that the two would see eye to eye on what must be done, and both would be tuned to do just the things that are important to them.

During her first afternoon, Mrs. Gonzales had an opportunity to observe Miss Woolsey in action. Miss Woolsey had told her that good nursing care involved more than attention to the physical needs of the patient and that the mark of the good nurse was that she showed real concern for her patients as human beings. That afternoon, Mrs. Gonzales observed a patient who had had surgery the day before address Miss Woolsey in a rude, demanding tone. The patient was feeling very uncomfortable and chose to take it out on the nurse. Mrs. Gonzales noted that her supervisor responded with patience to the verbal abuse and was particularly friendly and attentive to this patient throughout the afternoon. As they were going off

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (cont'd)

A. Making a "Contract" (cont'd)

duty, Miss Woolsey remarked that this was exactly what she had meant by "concern," i.e., the patient's statements had been annoying, but she understood the discomfort and had chosen to ignore the provocation at the same time that she did as much as she could to make the patient more comfortable. Mrs. Gonzales thought to herself that she would have lost her temper or ignored the patient and decided that it was a good thing that she had Miss Woolsey as a model.

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II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (cont'd)

B. Planning for Use of Models

It is important to note that an individual may become a model in someone else's eyes whether he wants to or not; in fact, he may not even know he is serving as a model. This can occur when the "model" is in a prominent position with regard to power or expertise. Job counselors, coaches, supervisors, crew chiefs, receptionists, and so forth may all be viewed as models; in fact, persons in a training program can serve as models for one another. This suggests that some people can demonstrate the wrong behavior and serve as negative models for others, without meaning to do so, if their behavior happens to be inappropriate behavior for a client to perform in a particular kind of situation.

Staff members who model extended-coffee-break behaviors or late-to-work behaviors are examples that fit this principle. The point here, of course, is that when a person is in a prominent position he is likely to be viewed as a model. Accordingly, he should be aware of this and be careful to present a constructive image, i.e., serve as a "good" model.

A large employment program had a strong "black power" emphasis in which indigenous paraprofessionals comprised the majority of staff. These staff members were young adult black males who had been elected to act as models for the teen-agers who were clients in the program. Unfortunately, the Director (who was also black) had the habit of regularly bawling these men out in the most insulting terms, in front of clients. In effect, the Director himself was modeling the behavior of taking power away from young black men in a ruthless fashion. The clients learned the lesson that to get ahead and stay on top, i.e., to become a Director, you had to literally walk all over other people on the job. It is questionable as to whether or not the Director realized that he was, in effect, modeling disrespectful behavior toward black people. But it had a shattering effect on the program.

French and Raven, in Cartwright and Zander (1960) describe five bases of social power, i.e., reward, coercive, referent, expertise and legitimate. The principle above refers to the individual's ability to serve as a model because he is in a position whose power is legitimated by others, because he is viewed as an expert, or because he is liked (referent power). Kelman (1953) describes three conditions of influence: when an individual has "means-control" over another, compliance occurs; when he is personally attractive, identification occurs; and when credibility of content exists, internalization occurs. Each of these conditions could describe a different kind of contact between a client and a model or a different stage in the development of a relationship between a client and a model.

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (cont'd)

C. Specifying the Cues

It is not only essential to be clear on what you want the client to learn; you must also be able to define to yourself (first) and then to the client just what cue you or another who is serving as a model are responding to when the model acts or thinks in the way the client is to imitate. By "cue" is meant some aspect of a situation which brings forth a particular response, which determines that a response is appropriate at that time, in that situation, and which indicates which of several possible responses is the one called for on that occasion.

So, for example, you teach a child to say "thank you" when he is given a present. Getting a present is the cue for the response "thank you." If you wish to model this behavior for the child, he must know that you are saying "thank you" because you have just been given a present. Otherwise, he might mistakenly conclude that you said "thank you" when you shook hands with the present-giver. You might do this by showing the child how to act or by giving him instructions ("Say 'thank you' whenever people give you things"). Even if you think you are just telling him, there are other times when you are really showing him, even if you aren't aware of it at the time (e.g., when your mother has just given you a birthday shirt that you don't really like, you still say "thank you" but you are hardly thinking about whether the kids are watching

It is often important that a person going for a job interview know when and how to ask questions, e.g., what sorts of tasks will he be expected to do on the job, are certain clothes inappropriate, when will he know if he has been hired (Mobilization for Youth staff [in New York City] still talk about a young woman who left an interview without understanding that she had been hired, did not show up for work when she was expected, and thus was "fired"!).

If a counselor attempts to model good interview behaviors through role playing, he must make it his business to tell the clients what it was in the situation that led him to do what he did (that he wants them to imitate). For example, "Did you notice, I didn't sit down until he (the interviewer) sat down?" (Cue for client to sit down--interviewer must sit first); "I decided to ask when he could let me know about the job when I saw him looking at his watch." (Cue: looking at watch interpreted as desire to move interviewee out, but interviewee doesn't know where he stands and so the counselor shows how he should respond by asking); "Did you notice what I said when he asked what kind of work I was looking for? I avoided saying 'anything' the way I've noticed some of you do; instead I tried to focus on specific kinds of things I've done that this company might be interested in, and then I also pointed out that I'd be willing to try something new and that I'm a fast learner. As I saw it, this interviewer wanted someone who knew what he wanted and would have

Holland and Skinner (1961) describe a discriminative stimulus as "the occasion upon which responses are followed by reinforcement [p. 139]." Thyme (1963) describes a cue as that feature in a variety of situations that should elicit a particular response; he then discusses the place of a cue in the learning process, with particular reference to making the cue known to the learner so that he can recognize it in different situations and make the appropriate response.

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (cont'd)

C. Specifying the Cues (cont'd)

and the kind of example you are setting for them). Obviously, the child is more likely to learn the response easily if what you show at such a time is consistent with the instructions you give the child at another time.

The important thing about a cue is that it is that unique aspect of several different situations that draws forth the particular response, e.g., no matter who is present or what time of day it is, etc., when a child is given a present (cue) he should say "thank you" (response).

interpreted the answer 'anything' as a sign of desperation --then he might ask himself what was working against you that you couldn't find work. He might decide that whatever it was, he didn't need it." (Cue: a question calling for a specific answer--model then demonstrated a specific response that was part fact, part bluff, but likely to sit well with an interviewer.)

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (cont'd)

D. Consistent Models

In order for the client to be clear about what it is he is to imitate, it is essential that the model behave consistently with regard to a particular cue. Unfortunately, models are frequently inconsistent in one of two ways:

1. When confronted with a particular cue, the model responds one way on one occasion and a different way later on. If a client has previously been alerted to watch the model's response to this particular cue, he may become very confused if he does not know that this model has (for some reason) responded to one of the many other cues in the situation, instead of the agreed-upon cue.

A shop teacher showed a trainee how to tell when he had achieved an acceptably satin-like finish on wood through the use of sandpaper. On one occasion the teacher was in a hurry to produce some work that would go out in the rough. He assumed that the trainee knew that this was a rush job; in fact, the trainee became quite confused about the quality of the finish he was expected to attain.

A client was listening to his counselor attempting to "sell" the client to two different employers over the phone. In one case the counselor described the client's police record in detail, while in another he made no mention of this fact. The counselor failed to tell the client that his reason for telling the first employer was because he knew that the man ran standard police checks on all prospective employees because of bonding problems. As a result, the client was not sure how he should handle his police record when talking to prospective employers, and he was too unsure of himself to ask the counselor about this.

Throughout the literature on modeling, the assumption is made that the model will present consistent behaviors, or that the observer will learn about the behavior through one exposure to the model, so that consistency of performance is not an issue. Bandura and Walters (1963) contrast the effect of modeling and a verbalization which directs a person to perform differently than the model; they refer, for example, to children who imitate deviant behavior of parents in spite of the fact that the parents tell them not to behave in these ways.

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (cont'd)

D. Consistent Models (cont'd)

2. The model tells the client to do one thing (in response to the cue) but does something quite different himself. Unfortunately, people frequently imitate what they see done rather than what they are told to do, bearing out the old saying, "Actions speak louder than words," or they develop cynicism and resentment over what they see as two different sets of rules: one for themselves (as discriminated-against minorities in an underling position) and a different one for those in positions of power and authority.

Staff in one agency admitted that they were not the best models of correct coffee-break behavior for the Neighborhood Youth Corps girls placed in their office. These girls had been specifically told not to be away from their desks for more than their allotted break time. They couldn't help noticing that many staff members spent overly long portions of their time visiting each other and coffee-ing in general. Accordingly, the NYC girls took every chance they could to expand their break time.

Another program reported that some of its best paraprofessional staff members were chronically late. The paraprofessionals' jobs paid comparatively well and had a professional status. In addition, these men were very sensitive to the needs of the clients and were both liked and respected by them. It was feared that all of the talk with clients about being on time for interviews, work, etc., was being undone by the tardiness of these staff models.

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (cont'd)

E. Practicing the Behavior

Conscious, consistent presentation of a demonstration by a model is not sufficient to insure that the client will be able to perform in a similar fashion. For this to occur, the client must have a chance to practice the imitation successfully.

A client at the YOC told his counselor that the owner of a motel had suggested he check back in a few days when, she said, "I might have a job for you." The client had perceived this as a polite refusal and had not returned. The counselor suggested that he should return to the motel and inquire about the work. She then said, "If I were you, this is what I'd say. Mrs. I'm Frank Jones. When I asked about a job last week, you said you might have something in a few days. Is there a job now?" Then she said to the client, "Now you try it. Pretend I'm Mrs. How would you ask me about the job?" After each "trial" the counselor offered some suggestion for improvement, as well as considerable praise, so that the client's performance (as well as his confidence) improved considerably.

As indicated earlier, Miller and Dollard's work (1941) set forth the basis for the above principles. Thyne (1963), Holding (1965) and others have described the value of practice in the learning process.

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II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (cont'd)

E. Practicing the Behavior (cont'd)

1. GETTING USED TO DISTRACTIONS THROUGH PRACTICE:

If some aspect of a model's performance is to be imitated, it is helpful to eliminate major distractions, so that the behavior to be modeled is quite clear. Such distractions could include loud noises, a strange meeting place, a noisy group of people, etc. However, if most of the distractions are removed, the client may learn to model the correct response to a cue, but only if and when most distractions have been removed. The absence of distractions may lead to rapid learning, but there will be little potential for transferring this learning to a real-life situation where there are many distractions. Accordingly, it may be best to remove major distractions at first while gradually acclimatizing the client to more and more varied situations.

Mrs. Gonzales (see example, page 16) found that making a bed with a very sick patient still in it was not an easy task. The hospital wanted the beds made just so, but Mrs. Gonzales found herself continually distracted by conversations with post-operative patients who were experiencing considerable discomfort. Her supervisor, Miss Woolsey, arranged to show her how to make the bed by first demonstrating the way to make a "hospital corner," etc., on an empty bed and, when Mrs. Gonzales had that mastered, repeating the demonstration with a live and cooperative patient who agreed not to engage the two ladies in conversation during the lesson. Finally, they selected a patient who complained a great deal about any movement of her bed, and Miss Woolsey showed Mrs. Gonzales how she could make the bed with the least amount of irritation to the patient.

Thyne (1963) discusses various conditions of distraction: the model may behave in such a startling fashion that the learner will lose track of what it is he is to imitate, the model may give an explanation in the middle of training that breaks up the sequence of a demonstration, or circumstances in the environment of model and student, e.g., noise, movement, etc., may interfere with the clarity of the behavior that is being modeled.

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (cont'd)

E. Practicing the Behavior (cont'd)

2. RECOGNITION OF A CUE:

A client is not likely to learn much from a model whom he has seen perform only once. In other words, modeling, to be successful, requires repetition. This is not merely a case of "practice makes perfect"--rather it means that a cue can be presented in a variety of situations so that the client can learn to identify it in each situation and give the modeled response appropriately.

A client had met with a counselor twice, to talk about possible jobs and/or training programs. These sessions had taken place in the privacy of the counselor's office. The client had decided that the counselor was a good guy who was really interested in him. The counselor had listened attentively, made careful notes, and offered helpful advice without trying to tell the client what to do.

For this reason, the client was disconcerted when, on the occasion of a drop-in visit a few days later, he was sitting in the waiting room when the counselor walked right by with barely a greeting and didn't pay any attention to the client's warm response. In the office, the counselor had modeled good interpersonal behavior, but he had not carried this behavior over to a different social situation. The client, on the other hand, needed to learn good interpersonal behavior for a variety of social situations, e.g., a job interview, when responding to a supervisor, while talking with a fellow worker, etc. It was as if the counselor was performing "friendly behaviors" in response to the cue "counseling interview" while the client had thought that the cue for the counselor's interest was "himself as a person."

As indicated above, Thyne (1963) and Holding (1965) have discussed the importance of practice for learning. Staats and Staats (1963) discuss the concept of "discrimination" in which, once a stimulus or cue is presented, a response made, and reward for that presented, that stimulus or cue will tend to elicit that response in the future, in a variety of situations. Bandura (1965) recognizes the problem an individual has in recognizing particular cues in a complex situation. He sees motivation, prior discrimination training, and the anticipation of rewarding or punishing consequences for particular responses as possibly influencing imitative learning.

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (cont'd)

E. Practicing the Behavior (cont'd)

3. SHAPING PERFORMANCE BY PRACTICE:

Practice also provides opportunities for gradually improving a performance through shaping.

In shaping, a total sequence (such as setting up, using, and then cleaning up after lathe work; or keeping an appointment on time, introducing oneself to the interviewer, answering questions, accepting or rejecting a job offer, finding out when to start work and where, and leaving the interview) is worked on one part at a time, with each repetition or practice occasion serving as a time to compliment the client on the good parts of his performance and to correct another part which needs improvement.

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (cont'd)

E. Practicing the Behavior (cont'd)

4. SHAPING PERFORMANCE BY SEGMENTING IT:

In order to learn from modeling, the client must watch the model in action so as to be able to see the same cues as the model does, from the same perspective. In addition, if the model demonstrates a complex skill, he may have to slow down his performance, since his expert quickness might deceive the client's eye. But in slowing down, the model may change the action in several ways, e.g., what was smooth becomes jerky, etc. It may, therefore, be advisable to display a regular as well as a slowed down version of the skill or to break it into segments, with each segment demonstrated in normal time.

At MFY, the jewelry instructor used to go around from one work table to another, inspecting the work of the trainees. It was noticed that whenever he stopped to help or correct a trainee, he leaned over the table from the side opposite to that of the trainee and corrected the work by either turning it so that it was right side up to him (upside down to the trainee) or worked on it so that his hands were upside down in terms of the trainee's perspective. It was suggested that he go around to the trainee's side of the table so that the trainee could view the model from the correct perspective.

Most of the trainees wanted to rush ahead to a finished product, but the instructor made sure that they could perform each step in a process before allowing them to proceed to the next step. For example, he insisted that they demonstrate proficiency in preparing metal jewelry for soldering before allowing them to solder; and when he demonstrated correct use of a butane torch for silver soldering, he was particularly careful to go as slowly as the metal would allow, so that the trainee got a clear picture of what he was doing.

This point is elaborated by Thyne (1963).

TOPICS IN THIS MANUAL

I. INTRODUCTION (pp. 5-12)

This section presents the Definitions of Terms as Used in This Manual (p. 5): Role (p. 5), Role Modeling (p. 5), and Role Playing (p. 6).

In order to establish objectives for the use of these techniques, one needs to know how to go about Selecting Behaviors To Be Modeled (p. 7) by specifying what the client should be able to do, when, and how well. Typical client needs for which role modeling and role playing are useful include learning job skills, getting along with others, using good work habits, and avoiding behaviors that endanger employability.

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (pp. 16-28)

There are several factors which need to be considered in order for a client to imitate a model's performance. The first step involves Making a "Contract" with the Client (p. 16) so that he knows what it is that he must learn and do, and how to go about accomplishing his goals. Planning for the Use of Models (p. 19) enables you to avoid inadvertent negative models. For a client to know when to imitate, Specifying the Cues (p. 20) and providing Consistent Models (p. 22) are important, so that the client does not get confused. Once the client knows what behaviors he is to acquire, directs his attention to the right models, knows when to engage in those behaviors, and has had opportunities to observe the correct behavior often enough, Practicing the Behavior (p. 24) is necessary so that the client gets used to distractions, makes the response in the variety of situations in which it is appropriate, and has opportunities for perfecting his newly acquired behavior and fitting it into a sequence of appropriate actions.

III. ROLE PLAYING (pp. 32-55)

There are several ways to present behavior that is to be imitated, e.g., by showing a film of the desired behavior; by having the model say, "Watch me," and then demonstrating the action; by having a counselor or instructor point to someone else's performance; by arranging situations so that a client can hardly help noticing and imitating someone's behavior; etc. Another extremely effective procedure that can "highlight" the behavior to be learned is role playing. This technique puts the to-be-learned behavior on display, allows for clarification of the cues and

response, permits practice and repetition, and can eliminate major distractions. Thus role playing is a way of providing practice which uses all the principles stated in earlier sections of this Manual. In addition, role playing can be an enjoyable way to learn, in part because it is safe, i.e., "mistakes" are not harmful to anyone.

The various Uses of Role Playing (p. 32) include diagnosis (p. 32), rehearsal (p. 33), problem-solving (p. 34), modeling (p. 35), attitude change (p. 36), and producing self-awareness (p. 38). Correct Timing of the Role Play (p. 39) is crucial to effectiveness. Sequencing the Role Play (p. 41) includes an optimal pattern of demonstration first, followed by private or semi-private practice, then imitation of the demonstration, and finally, improvisations containing the newly acquired behavior. Before Starting the Role Play (p. 45), particularly in a group setting, the leader needs to make sure that the participants are ready for it: they need to know and trust each other, to realize that they can make mistakes without penalty or embarrassment, to know what it is that they are going to do, to experience the role play as rewarding, to realize the relevance of the role playing, to be involved in deciding what they will do in the role play, and to concentrate on the behaviors in the role play rather than on acting skills. All these principles also apply to Individual Role Playing (p. 50).

There are some Special Role Playing Situations (p. 51) for changing attitudes through role reversal and for reducing fears and anxiety about applying for, getting, and keeping jobs through the use of successive approximations.

IV. REWARDS (pp. 59-81)

When the role performance to be learned through imitation and tryout has been effectively highlighted, the client is in a position to learn (in an intellectual or cognitive sense) new or different ways of behaving in certain situations. However, for the client to actually use that learning in action, by behaving in ways like the model, at least one of two conditions must be met: (1) the client must see the model being rewarded for his response to the cues, and/or (2) the client must expect and in fact receive rewards for responding to the cues in a fashion similar to the model. Accordingly, the ways in which rewards to the model and the client are presented and experienced has crucial significance for making role modeling as effective as it can be.

In order for rewards to be used effectively, it is necessary to know What Rewards Are (p. 59) and how they work. In order to summarize the various combinations possible, the Manual presents a table of rewards, preceded by Definitions of Terms (p. 60) used in the table: reward sender, reward receiver, the other, extrinsic reward, intrinsic reward, and vicarious reward. The Table (p. 63) and the various patterns are then presented: Rewards from Model to Client (p. 64), Rewards from Others to Clients (p. 66), Feedback from Client to Model (p. 67), The Importance of Rewarding the Model (p. 68), Clients' Expectations of Being Rewarded Like the Model (p. 70), Self-Rewards (p. 71), and Direct Rewards to the Client (p. 72).

The table discusses rewards in terms of the people involved, the roles they play, and the types of rewards. Other factors also to be considered are The Timing of Rewards (p. 76) as timing affects the power of the reward, its function as a feedback to the client, and its ability to pinpoint the behavior which was successful; Frequency of Reward (p. 79) which describes when one should use reward every time the correct behavior occurs and when rewards should be intermittent; and the Use of Rewards in the Contract (p. 81).

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (pp. 85-99)

Until now, this Manual has focused on ways of directing a client's attention to the specific behavior to be imitated, including role playing as one such way, and on how to use rewards. Now we will look at the use of similarities between the model and the client as another part of learning by imitation. Agency personnel may not always have similar interests, experiences, or common characteristics with their clients; however, this does not mean they have similar interests, experiences, or common characteristics. Various kinds of people can serve as models, including The Expert as Model (p. 85) and The Controller of Rewards as Model (p. 86). Prestige as a Basis for Being a Model (p. 87) does not require the model to be similar to the client. However, The Role of Similarities (p. 88) indicates that shared characteristics can be helpful, and in some cases crucial. The important bases of similarity (p. 93) describe the kinds of similarities which are often important to clients. Finally, one must consider ways of Making the Similarities Useful (p. 98) so that clients will be aware of them.

VI. CONCLUSION: PUTTING THIS MANUAL TO WORK (pp. 100-101)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (pp. 102-113)

III. ROLE PLAYING

A. Uses of Role Playing

Role playing can be used for any of the following reasons:

1. DIAGNOSIS:

To find out how the role player is likely to act in certain situations, so that you and he will know what needs to go into the contract (see page 12).

The greater the separation in time between the role play and the real-life situation, the less likely is the client's performance in the role play to be an accurate predictor of how he will act in the real situation. When the role play is far removed from the real situation, the player may act better than he will in the real situation, if the real situation is one that makes him anxious. Or he may perform more poorly in the role play because the real situation is so far off that he doesn't take the role play seriously. Thus the diagnostic purpose is better served if the role play is timed to occur close to the actual situation to which it refers.

The Denver Youth Opportunity Center reported use of a "mock interview" in which job applicants who were being taught how to look for a job were sent to a cooperating employer for what they knew would be a practice interview; the employer then conducted an interview with the trainee, very much as he would if he were thinking about hiring him. Later, a YOC counselor would telephone the employer for an assessment of the trainee's behavior during the interview. If the trainee had handled himself well, he would be sent to a real job interview; if not, the counselor would attempt to work with him to improve job-seeking skills before sending him out for a real job interview.

Role playing has been used occasionally to predict the behavior of the role player. For example, Lippitt and Hubbell (1956) report on the use of role playing to select personnel; Moreno (1965) described a "psychodramatic exit test" to determine the patient's readiness for discharge; McGeehee and Thayer (1961) list role playing as one form of devised situational measures that may be used to assess and/or predict a man's performance in industry. While not directly related to prediction of future behavior, there is literature pertaining to simulation of real-life experiences for purposes of diagnosing the responses of individuals. For example, Thomas, McLeod, and Hylton (1960) discussed the use of an experimental interview to assess the interviewing behavior of social workers.

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

A. Uses of Role Playing (cont'd)

2. REHEARSAL:

To practice for coming events in order to be better prepared to handle them skillfully.

The Workshop Program of the San Francisco Adult Opportunity Center uses role playing in a variety of ways to help a man find a job. These are described in Miriam Johnson's report (1967). For example:

AOC Workshop participants frequently indicated that they had been somewhat passive in trying to find work. One man had waited silently for two hours, because the receptionist forgot about him. The cashier of a large restaurant told a skilled waiter that there were no openings. He had asked her instead of talking to Mr. Smith, who happened to be out at the moment. Yet the lead was directly to Mr. Smith who was a friend of a Workshop participant, expected the waiter, and had a job for him that the cashier didn't know about. Acting out such situations was used to prepare men to assume the mildly self-assertive behavior that is required of a job seeker.

Lazarus (1966) compares the effectiveness of behavioral rehearsal with nondirective therapy and advice-giving, in effecting behavioral change. On a different but related level of conceptualization, the problem of transfer of training is discussed throughout learning theory literature, e.g., Holding (1965), Ellis (1965), Erickson (1969), and so forth. Role playing aimed at preparing an individual for a new situation should attend to transfer problems, i.e., are the elements in the role play and real life identical or quite similar, is the role play designed to enable the individual to generalize the learning to other situations, and has the individual been able to use the role play to learn how to learn.

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

A. Uses of Role Playing (cont'd)

3. PROBLEM-SOLVING:

To review a problem and practice different ways of handling it.

AOC participants frequently reported failure at handling a job interview effectively. Workshop leaders found that it was very productive to have the man reenact the interview and then force the man to do something differently by giving direct orders to him, somewhat like a stage director, e.g., "You're not looking at the 'employer.'" Make eye contact with him and hold it!" or "You shuffled into the room. Walk in," and so forth.

More informally, a counselor might go over an unsuccessful interview with a client by asking the client to tell him just what the interviewer had asked and how the client had answered. From time to time in the recounting, the counselor might explain what the interviewer might have had in mind when he asked a certain question (e.g., "He was probably trying to find out if you are a steady worker") in order to help the client give better answers (e.g., "If someone asks you that question again, why don't you tell him that you were never absent from the training program at the Skills Center?"). If the counselor then says, "Let's make believe I'm the employer and I've just asked you that same question, what would you answer?" and the client tells him, then it is a kind of miniature role playing as a way of getting practice at a different way of handling a situation.

Moreno (1952), Chesler and Fox (1964), and Corsini (1966) all speak of being able to re-create and play back an event as many times as needed in order to understand how the individual performed in that situation and then evolve more effective ways of behaving in similar situations.

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III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

A. Uses of Role Playing (cont'd)

4. MODELING:

To watch someone (a model) do something correctly. This use of role playing is one of the ways in which the principles presented earlier (especially those concerned with "Selecting Behaviors To Be Modeled [pp. 7-12]") can be implemented.

A Workshop leader, acting in the role of employer, asked, "I interviewed a person before you and will interview two people after you. Why do you think I should hire you and not the others?" The participant replied, "Well, if the first man before me is better qualified and has more experience, I think he should get the job." The Workshop leader gasped at the lovely gallantry and a discussion ensued. One of the more knowledgeable men then volunteered to reenact the situation and demonstrated a far more self-assertive manner. He thus served as a model of a more realistically effective behavior for people in the role of job applicant.

Bandura and Walters (1963) indicate that imitation works as a way of learning about new behaviors but does not insure that the behavior will be performed in reality unless there is some eventual reward to the observer of the model for imitating the behavior. Role playing provides an opportunity to reward this imitative behavior and make it a part of the individual's behavioral repertoire that has a high probability of occurrence. Miller and Dollard (1941) indicate that positive experience with the imitation of new forms of behavior demonstrated in role playing can be an important impetus to behavioral change. Lippitt and Hubbell (1956) note that poor handwriters had less difficulty after the more apt members of the class role-played their approach and method.

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III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

A. Uses of Role Playing (cont'd)

5. ATTITUDE CHANGE:

To change the attitudes of role players toward people with whom they disagree, do not like, do not understand, etc.

A client viewed all interviewers as turning him down because he was a black man, with a prison record. If it was thought that it was his negative "chip on the shoulder" attitude toward all interviewers (rather than his past) that caused or contributed to his difficulty, a role play might be set up in which he was asked to act the role of an interviewer, with another participant playing the man himself. In trying to sincerely play the role of the interviewer, and in front of an audience who could prod him to remain faithful to the role, he might receive an insight into the difficulty an interviewer faces in predicting whether or not a man will work out on a job. In this role, he might suddenly wonder if the job applicant was wearing dark glasses to cover his use of drugs, was bluffing when he said he could do a particular job, was forgetful because he couldn't remember the interviewer's name, etc. Under these conditions, the man might then change his attitude to a more realistic appraisal of interviewers as human beings.

There is considerable evidence that role reversal is an effective technique for producing behavioral and attitudinal change. For example, Z. Moreno (1951) describes its use with mothers in a well-baby clinic to give them insight into the feelings of their infants; Ablesser (1962) describes its use with four boys who had stolen cars as a way of alerting them to consider the rights of others; Moreno (1952) describes its use with problems of prejudice toward minority groups; Moreno (1955) discusses its use in childrearing, e.g., dealing with problems of general rebelliousness; and so forth. However, there is disagreement about the dynamics that underlie the observed attitude change. Cohen (1964) says, "If a person is to express outwardly an attitude which is discrepant from his actual private attitude, a state of dissonance results. Since the behavior (in role reversal, for example) is fixed, dissonance in such a setting can be reduced by changing one's attitude so that it becomes consistent with behavior one has engaged in publicly [pp. 82-83]." These perspectives build on the earlier works by Festinger (1957), Festinger and Carlsmith (1959), for example, that developed cognitive dissonance theory. Criticisms of this theory have since

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

A. Uses of Role Playing (cont'd)

Another way in which the same principle would be used in practice would be in a vocational or prevocational training program, in which a trainee who shows rejecting attitudes toward the shop instructor-supervisor is asked to supervise a new trainee in the shop on a particular task. In later discussion with the counselor or shop supervisor, his reactions to his experience of being a supervisor can be compared to how he reacted to his supervisor, to produce greater understanding of what goes on between worker and supervisor.

been developed by Chapanis and Chapanis (1964) and Rosenberg (1965) but as Elms (1967) indicates, "The suggested alternatives have lacked dissonance theory's advantage of unity [p. 132]." On the other hand, Janis and King (1954) have explained simple attitude change effects somewhat differently, using what has since come to be called incentive theory. Hovland, Janis, and Kelley (1953) summarized this approach as follows: "We assume that the acceptance [of a new opinion] is contingent upon incentives, and that in order to change an opinion, it is necessary to create a greater incentive for the new implicit response than for making the old one. A major basis for acceptance of a given argument is provided by arguments or reasons which, according to the individual's own thinking habits, constitute 'rational' or logical support for the conclusions. In addition to supporting reasons, there are likely to be other special incentives involving anticipated rewards and punishments which motivate the individual to accept or reject a given opinion [p. 11]." Experimental studies used to support cognitive dissonance theory are reexamined by Elms (1967) and reinterpreted in terms of incentive theory, which he sees as providing a better explanation for observed outcomes. Nevertheless, he concludes, "It should be clear, however, that the experimentation done to date cannot support any theoretical position unequivocally [p. 147]."

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III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

A. Uses of Role Playing (cont'd)

6. SELF-AWARENESS:

To help the role player become more aware of how others see him, both to increase his self-awareness and his ability to deal more effectively with others, based on his understanding of how they view him.

The first example in "5" above fits here as well, with a slight change. Following the attitude-change role play, the man might be asked to play himself, in an interview situation. After this "scene" ends, he could be asked to describe the way he thought the interviewer saw him. The person playing "interviewer" could then confirm or correct the accuracy of these impressions. In addition, the man could be asked to assess the effectiveness of his performance; again, the perceptions of the "interviewer" (and others in the audience) could be used to give the man a standard by which to judge how accurately he sees himself.

Bavelas (1947) found that industrial workers make the same mistakes during role playing that they unconsciously make on the job. Immediately after the role play, workers were able to point out their own mistakes indicating that role playing was an effective technique for sensitizing people to their own behavior. Corsini (1966) describes the use of role playing in psychotherapy to develop insight and self-awareness; Verven, Waldfoegel, and Young (1956) describe the use of role playing in a camp for emotionally disturbed children and indicate that it was effective in helping to develop insight; Stein (1961) describes the use of role playing to help make nurses in training more aware of their feelings and thus better equipped to deal with hospital situations; Shulman (1960) found that behavior correction by a group member followed confrontation of this member by other members as they reacted to what they perceived to be the cause of his provocative behavior through exaggerated performances in a role play.

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

B. Timing of the Role Play

A client is more likely to be motivated to imitate the behaviors of a model that he sees as being useful for himself. There is no sense in trying to teach behaviors which the client does not anticipate using in the foreseeable future. Accordingly, the closer a role play is to the event for which the role play is a preparation or a review, the greater the probability that the role play will be effective in producing learning that will be used.

"Actual employers, usually those representing companies that hired people only for unskilled labor, came to TIDE to demonstrate to the men what a good interview would be like. They did not come to interview men for real jobs. It was sort of a helpful-hints-for-successful-interviews session. Usually, one of the more socially mobile youths was chosen to play the role of job applicant. Some employers went so far as to have the 'applicant' go outside and knock on the door to begin the interview. The students thought this was both odd and funny, and one said to the employer: 'Man, you've already seen the cat. How come you making him walk out and then walk back in?'

"With a look of incredulity, the employer replied: 'But that's how you get a job. You have to sell yourself from the moment you walk in that door.' The employer put on a real act, beginning the interview with the usual small talk. 'I see from your application that you played football in high school.' 'Yeah.' 'Did you like it?' 'Yeah.' 'Football really makes men and teaches you teamwork.' 'Yeah.' At this point, the men got impatient: 'Man, the cat's here to get a job, not talk about football!' A wisecracker chimed in: 'Maybe he's interviewing for a job with the Oakland Raiders.'

"Usually the employer got the point. He would then ask about the 'applicant's' job experience, draft status, school record, interests, skills, and so on. The young man being interviewed usually took the

Wellman (1968) describes an employment program in which this principle was violated, with disastrous results.

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III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

B. Timing of the Role Play (cont'd)

questions seriously, and answered frankly. But after a while, the rest of the group would tire of the game and (unrecognized, from the floor) begin to ask about the specifics of a real job: 'Say man, how much does this job pay?' 'What kind of experience do you need?' 'What if you got a record?' It didn't take long to completely rattle an interviewer. The instructor might intervene and tell the students that the gentleman was there to help them, but this would stifle the revolt for only a short while. During one interview, several of the fellows began loudly playing dominoes. That got the response they were looking for.

"'Look!' shouted the employer. 'If you're not interested in learning how to sell yourself, why don't you just leave the room so that others who are interested can benefit from this?' 'Oh no!' responded the ringleaders. 'We work here. If you don't dig us, then you leave!' Not much later, he did (Wellman, 1968)."

The reason for the hostility was the lack of relevance of the role play to what the boys saw as an absence of any realistic job opportunities. Thus, it is essential that you remember to role play a job interview only at the point in time when the clients are about to be sent out on interviews.

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

C. Sequencing the Role Play

If an individual is to become committed to behaving in a new or different way (through imitation of a model) he should be encouraged to practice that behavior in the presence of an audience, e.g., a group of other clients, etc. In general, however, it is better for him to first learn about new behaviors from a model and try it out when there is no audience present.

Accordingly, an ideal situation is one in which the model first demonstrates the behavior to be acquired and then makes it possible for the client to practice this behavior privately and then through role playing it in front of an audience.

A group of NYC trainees were meeting to discuss on-the-job problems. An attractive 18-year-old girl complained to the group that the soldiers in her office (a recruiting office where draft papers were processed) were continually joshing her about her love life and threatening to "blow in her ear." It was apparent to several of those present that she actually enjoyed the attention she was receiving but that it had gotten out of hand; she was now annoyed and didn't know how to turn them off.

The group leader asked others in the group if they too were being teased on the job. A few instances were cited. The leader then engaged the group in discussing possible responses to such teasing. He then divided the group into pairs and suggested that they go to different corners of the room to rehearse appropriate responses to such teasing. He himself paired off with the girl who had made the original complaint.

After a while, he reassembled the group and asked the girl to demonstrate how she would now respond to this teasing. The group praised her performance and made several constructive suggestions with regard to effective ways in which she might respond to such teasing, as well as ways of seeing to it that it did not occur to begin with.

Zajonc (1965) describes experiments involving visual and verbal discriminations in which subjects learned new responses either privately or before an audience. He found that the audience condition impaired learning of a new response. Zajonc (1966) reviewed the literature that tends to support this finding. He also found that learning was facilitated (once the response was learned) by the audience condition.

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

C. Sequencing the Role Play (cont'd)

If this same situation had arisen in a setting in which there were no group, e.g., if the girl was being seen only in individual counseling and was not part of any group that was meeting regularly, the counselor could have done essentially the same thing, with he and the client rehearsing various responses to a particular "tease" that he makes, ending with him presenting variations of teasing and she responding to each, and the counselor then responding as an audience. The counselor could also add more realism to the rehearsal by corraling another client who might be aroused to join the discussion.

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

C. Sequencing the Role Play (cont'd)

Practicing appropriate role behaviors that have been demonstrated by a model helps to confirm that learning. Once the behavior has been learned, the client can be encouraged to improvise variations of the behavior for different situations; this improvisation helps to ensure the client's commitment to the behavior, thus increasing the probability that he will voluntarily use the learning in his own behavior outside of the learning situation.

Thus a total pattern for the use of role playing is:

1. Demonstration (by a model)
2. Private or semi-private practice
3. Public imitation of the model
4. Improvisation.

The San Francisco AOC operated, in part, on the assumption that the difference between the man who did and who did not get a job was often determined by how a man asked for it. However, getting some men to talk about themselves, define their needs, volunteer information or negotiate with the employer was like pulling teeth. In order to better prepare them for job interviewing, role-played interviews were staged in front of the group, with the group critiquing the performance of the "interviewee." On the basis of experience, staff who played the interviewer role repeatedly brought up questions that they had learned were frequently asked in such interviews, e.g., what are your future vocational plans, what would you do (on the job) if . . . , what kinds of jobs have you held, how were they obtained, why did you leave, etc. Frequently, different responses to the same question were tried.

One evening, a young man (23) stated (when asked in a role play) that he was looking for a job as a dishwasher. He was reproved by the participants for setting such low goals. In defense of himself he described his reform school experience where he was taught to cook. He liked it, but didn't think there was any chance to get a cook's job since he had no experience to refer to except reform school. The workshop suggested ways in which he might present this information about

Elms and Janis (1965) state that role playing is effective in changing behaviors and/or attitudes because of its improvisational nature. Zimbardo (1965) found that improvisation per se was not the factor that led to change, but the effort the individual was forced to make in improvisation. Jansen and Stolurow (1962) found that improvisational role playing created more motivation with their subjects than following a preplanned role play. On the other hand, following the preplanned role play produced greater learning.

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III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

C. Sequencing the Role Play (cont'd)

Very complex or long series of behaviors (e.g., a total job interview, from entering the interviewer's office, introducing oneself, telling why he is there, answering employer's questions about qualifications, experience, ambitions, negotiating wages, accepting or rejecting the job offer, getting information about when and where to show up for work, whom to report to, what equipment one needs, or asking the interviewer for a referral to another potential employer or for consideration at a later time if the job has already been filled, etc.) can be handled by following the same sequence, and through the use of successive approximations and segmenting, as described on pages 53-55.

himself, and he practiced these in the role play. At some points, the group suggested changes in the scene, e.g., a small coffee shop, then a large, expensive restaurant, then a French restaurant, and so forth, without suggesting how he might alter his behavior to fit the situation. In each case, he made up a new response on the spot. Two days later, he rushed into the workshop with a huge success story--he had gotten a cook's job at Zee's, and what's more, he had to the man the truth about where he had learned to cook (Johnson, 1967).

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

D. Starting the Role Play

Moving a client into an audience performance situation too quickly can inhibit learning and lead to dislike of role playing in general. Accordingly, it is important to establish the following conditions for role playing in front of an audience:

A group of job counselors reported that they had had a very bad experience with role playing during the standard orientation for all new counselors that was provided by the State Department of Employment. After spending one week of training on the history, policies and procedures of the Department, they devoted their second week to role playing simulated interviews with clients in front of the entire orientation group. Many of them knew next to nothing about counseling interviews; as a result they felt extremely uncomfortable about having to display their clumsiness in front of their new associates. In addition, the instructor criticized their performances in very negative terms.

Some time later, when role playing was discussed with these counselors, they indicated that none of them made conscious use of this technique in their counseling activities, and indeed had never thought of its potential for such use because they had come to dislike it so much.

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

D. Starting the Role Play (cont'd)

1. The participants should know each other sufficiently well to have developed friendly, trusting interaction.

The Intensive Service Unit of the Denver YOC involved four group meetings a week for three weeks. One group consisted of six Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees who worked in different work sites around the city. Attempts at using role playing early in the program were not successful. The enrollees were not yet a group in the strict sense of the word--there were almost no friendship ties, no sense of "we" (or group loyalty), little ability or motivation to work together in solving common problems, etc. In effect, the members had not committed themselves to a group contract. Since role playing involves public performance under somewhat improvisational circumstances, role playing would have been inappropriate. A similar caution could hold true for one-to-one interaction.

2. The staff member should emphasize the safety factor in role playing, namely that errors in performance within the role play are without penalty and offer a chance for correction that may not be possible in real life.

At a later point in time, when rapport had developed within the Intensive Service Unit group, role playing was introduced as a way of helping a member deal with problems of being teased on the job (see page 41). The group leader said, "O.K., Dolores, let's suppose that you're working in the office and that Joe here is one of the guys who's always teasing you." He then proceeded to have the roles described and in general "warm up" the group for the particular role play. At one point, he said, "You know, Dolores, the nice thing about doing it this way is that no matter what you do when we act this out, it's not for real, so you can goof it up or try different ways of handling the teasing until you find one that works for you. On the other hand, that very thing ought to help you to feel

Points 1-4 have, in effect, been covered in earlier references to the literature.

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III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

D. Starting the Role Play (cont'd)

free to experiment. The other thing," he said, and here he addressed the group, "is that you can help Dolores best by not jumping on her if she does something you don't like. Remember, we're trying to help her with something she's unhappy about. It's easy for you to be critical, but it may make it harder for her to really get into the act." In this way, he tried to give Dolores a feeling of safety both with regard to self-revelation and from excessive group pressure.

3. The staff member describes the situation of the role play in detail and suggests the general framework for the action that is to ensue.

In setting up the role play, the group leader said to the girl, "Dolores, why don't you tell Joe what kind of guy this fellow is who's been bothering you," and later asked, "How should we set up chairs and tables to make things like they are in your office?" He also asked her, "Tell us what he says and what usually gets him started." After the role play began, the leader thought that Joe was "overacting" in his role and stopped the skit, asking Dolores, "Is Joe acting the way that guy acts?" Dolores explained the difference, the leader asked Joe if he understood, and then he suggested that they begin again.

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

D. Starting the Role Play (cont'd)

4. The group leader should be prepared to praise positive aspects of the performance and encourage the audience to do likewise before offering critical comments.

In the first "scene," Dolores responded to the teasing with anger and told Joe that he had better stop annoying her because she had had about all she could take. While her outburst of anger appeared to be an overreaction, she did make clear why she was annoyed and what her limit was. The leader praised her for this, saying, "If you want someone to lay off, it's important to let him know just what it is that he's doing that bugs you. And by the way," he added, "you were really very good in the way you played it all out. I got a very good sense of what is troubling you and how it affects you. Don't the rest of you agree?" He then asked, "Now, what else do you think Dolores might have done in this situation?"

5. Clients are encouraged to play those roles that are familiar to them and close to their roles in real life.

The leader made sure that Joe had considerable information about the role he was to play. In addition, he asked Joe whether he had ever been teased on a job and learned that several of the female dietitians at the hospital where he worked had in fact teased him. This told the leader that Joe had meaningful information about adults who tease young people.

5. Jansen and Stolurow (1962) found that it was better to have a subject play one role than many and that that role should be familiar to them. In their study, some nurses played the role of nurses; others played the role of various other medical personnel, e.g., attendants, doctors, practical nurses, and so forth. Those who played only the nurse role learned that role better.



III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

D. Starting the Role Play (cont'd)

6. Clients are involved in selecting the role they are to play.

At the point that the leader asked Dolores to role play the problem (see "2" above), he also asked her, "Dolores, would you be willing to show us how it looks? I mean, would you act it out, if I can find someone to be the guy who always teases you?" Had she said no, it would have been wise to drop this approach. Often, getting volunteers on the spot is problematic and it is better to ask an individual privately, ahead of time, when it is likely that role playing is used. This insures that the person can say no with little embarrassment; in addition, it allows the leader to pick his actor for particular roles.

7. The size of the audience is kept small (generally no more than 10) so as to emphasize the "practice" rather than the "theatrical performance" aspects of the role play.

Using groups larger than 10 is possible for kicking off a discussion or presenting a model. The large group, however, makes it somewhat more difficult to focus in on individual change, particularly where such change is seen as advantageous for all of the participants.

6. Brehm and Cohen (1962) indicate that the individual has to perceive his entrance into the role as resulting from his own choice in order for him to be committed to it. Under this condition, cognitive dissonance is more likely to occur, leading to the desired change, than if the person is forced to play that role.

7. Vinter (1967) suggests that as the size of the group increases, member participation decreases and member dissatisfaction increases.



III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

E. Individual Role Playing

All of the foregoing principles can be adapted to apply to individual and informal role playing in the course of one-to-one counseling. The counselor can ask the client to tell him how he would answer a particular question that he can expect a potential employer to ask (diagnosis); he can ask the client to try out a different way of answering it (rehearsal); he can ask the client to describe what he would do in certain expected situations (problem-solving); the counselor can describe and give verbatim examples of how he would respond or can act out how a typical employer or foreman might respond (modeling); etc.

Similarly, the other principles--timing the role play, sequencing, and making sure the client is ready for it and knows what to do--all apply, except that the situation is more informal and can fit into the flow of conversation between counselor and client, and it is the counselor who serves as audience.

There is also an intermediate kind of role playing between the group and the individual method. The counselor can quite informally invite one or two other clients who happen to be around at the moment to join in with his client for a 3- or 4-cornered discussion, including role play in which the counselor asks each in turn, "How would you handle it? What would you say in that situation?" etc.

The director of one of the Neighborhood Centers operated by Trenton's UPI made it a practice to interview new clients briefly. In one such interview he said to a youngster, "If I were an employer, I'd want to know what you could do. What would you tell me?" to which the client responded by trying to "sell" himself to the "employer." In effect, this was a diagnostic role play. The interviewer then went on to tell the client that he thought the youth could impress the employer a little more if he would describe his past work in more detail than just calling them "odd jobs." He suggested that the youth say, "I worked at F & M Company with the men who were running punch presses," and asked the client to go through the routine of selling himself again, being more specific this time. When the client was able to do a better job, the interviewer concluded that the client might be a good bet for an immediate job referral.

At the YOC two clients came in together and resisted being separated for interviews, apparently needing each other's support. The counselor saw the two boys together, and it was easy for him to shift the conversation back and forth, asking one to tell him how he lost his last job and then asking him and the other youth to think about other ways they might have handled the situation instead of quitting when a foreman "picked on" him. If the counselor had said, "O.K., let's suppose that I'm the foreman, and I've just bawled you out. What do you do?" he would have initiated a full-scale role play in which the two youths could have modeled alternative responses for each other.

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

F. Special Role Playing Situations

1. Changing Attitudes Through Role Playing

Where part of a client's problem includes a lack of sympathetic understanding of how others behave, what they feel and what they are trying to communicate through their behavior, the use of role reversal is a useful technique for promoting attitude change. For this technique to be effective, the following conditions are recommended:

- a. Initially, the client participates in a role play with the "other" toward whom attitudes are to be modified; discussion afterward is focused on exploring the client's attitudes toward the other and his perceptions of the other's point of view. This is followed by role reversal, in which the client is asked to play the role of the other as sincerely as he can and to follow this with a discussion of the attitudes of the other, as he experienced them when "in" the role. The staff member then assists the client in identifying any changes in his own attitude that develop out of this experience.

Paul, an MDIA trainee, reported that the instructor was down on him because he was black. He cited the number of times he had been criticized and the ways in which his instructor had embarrassed him in front of others. One of the other trainees offered to role play the trainee with the complaint and asked him to play his instructor.

The trainee who played the role of Paul had noticed that he was frequently late, never looked the instructor in the eye, answered in a vague way or mumbled his response, and could not remember the instructor's name. He played this to the hilt.

See the material on the use of role play to effect attitude change (page 36).

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

F. Special Role Playing Situations (cont'd)

Paul, in playing the role of instructor, became extremely annoyed with "himself" and lost his temper. Others then asked if the instructor also lost his temper in real life. The "complainee" admitted that he had never heard the instructor lose his cool as he had when he played the instructor's role. He suddenly realized that he had been doing several things to irritate the instructor and that the man had been extremely understanding and patient with him. At that point his view of the instructor changed drastically toward a much more positive view.

b. The effectiveness of this technique depends in part on the accuracy of the client's rendition of the other's performance, both as to detail and sincerity of performance.

When role playing the foreman, Paul was first asked to describe the man in detail. Information that he did not have was supplied by other clients. Also, as he began the role play, one member of the group stopped the action, saying the performance was not representative of the way the foreman actually behaved. Another said Paul was playing the part with "tongue in cheek." Paul accepted these criticisms and began again, this time producing what the group agreed was a true-to-life representation of the foreman.

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)
F. Special Role Playing Situations (cont'd)

2. Reducing Fear Through Role Playing

Role playing can be particularly useful for clients who want a good job but are also prone to overriding fear of failure. For these clients, role playing should be aimed at reducing these fears rather than attempting to increase positive motivation toward work.

One way to reduce such fear is to arrange a series of successive approximations (through role playing, itself a successive approximation) to the feared situation, but in a way that does not arouse as much fear as the real thing. This can be done in several ways:

Clients do not always show or admit fear and anxiety (females seem to admit nervousness more readily than males) but there are various clues that can be used: an initially highly positive client begins to come late or is absent when it becomes clear to him that he will soon be put into a situation he fears, such as being sent out on a placement; an apparently motivated and interested client fails to follow through on a job referral or "forgets" the date or place, and either does not return to the agency or offers a lot of excuses for not following through; in diagnostic role play the client "freezes up" and becomes almost nonverbal when faced with a foreman or potential employer; an initially cooperative client suddenly becomes hostile. Any one of these events could have a different meaning than anxiety (e.g., the client who "forgot" to show up for a job interview may not have known how to get there and didn't want to admit ignorance; the hostile client may be continuously bugged by a new policeman on the beat, etc.). The counselor will have to consider such alternative explanations before he concludes that it is a matter of anxiety.

The closer the client gets to a situation that makes him anxious, the more rapidly his anxiety builds up. That is one of the reasons that diagnosis too far in advance may produce inaccurate predictions of how he will act when the chips are down.

See material pertaining to the use of role play for rehearsing a coming event (page 33).

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III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

F. Special Role Playing Situations (cont'd)

a. The staff member models and the client then imitates (in a role play) discrete parts of the complex behavior to be acquired, gradually adding elements until the total performance is constructed.

a. The client was a 42-year-old veteran, single, who had been a patient in a psychiatric hospital for several years. Since his illness was service-connected, he received a disability pension. This income, plus the fact that he lived with his mother, made it unnecessary for him to seek work. In addition, he had found that the tension associated with previous job-seeking efforts had been very upsetting and had caused him to become very confused. He was afraid this would happen on a job. Still, he wanted the independence from his mother that a job could provide.

The counselor suggested that they consider the various steps he would have to go through in finding work, e.g., inquiring from different people about job openings, asking for a job interview, filling out a job application form, being interviewed, etc. They then went through each step with the counselor frequently demonstrating one or more approaches, the client then role playing himself in that situation, and the counselor providing feedback on the appropriateness of the performance. In addition, the counselor first drove him to places where he could inquire about work and later encouraged him to go by himself.

III. ROLE PLAYING (cont'd)

F. Special Role Playing Situations (cont'd)

- b. The client performs the complex behavior in toto (in a role play); one or more elements that need improvement are selected (starting with one that arouses the least anxiety), the staff member models that element, and the client imitates it in a role play of the total performance. Gradually, in each "round" a different element is worked on until the total complex sequence has been perfected.
- b. In a similar situation, the counselor might ask the client, "How do you think you'd do on a job interview?" If the veteran thought that it would pose no problem, the counselor might say, "O.K. Suppose I am a head janitor interviewing people for a position as maintenance man in a large apartment house. You be yourself and show me how you'd handle the interview. Now, are you clear on what you're to do?" The two might then role play an interview, select some parts of the interview that he found more difficult and then rehearse these, with the counselor demonstrating, the client imitating, and the counselor providing feedback.
- c. A step between the role play and the real thing is devised that provides an opportunity for further practice, as well as feedback to the client.
- c. The "mock interview" devised by the Denver YOC (see page 32) is an appropriate example. Occasionally, clients presented themselves so well that they were hired on the spot, but for the most part this served as an intermediary step in job search activities. It also served to interest the employer in YOC clients as good employment prospects.

TOPICS IN THIS MANUAL

I. INTRODUCTION (pp. 5-12)

This section presents the Definitions of Terms as Used in This Manual (p. 5): Role (p. 5), Role Modeling (p. 5), and Role Playing (p. 6).

In order to establish objectives for the use of these techniques, one needs to know how to go about Selecting Behaviors To Be Modeled (p. 7) by specifying what the client should be able to do, when, and how well. Typical client needs for which role modeling and role playing are useful include learning job skills, getting along with others, using good work habits, and avoiding behaviors that endanger employability.

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (pp. 16-28)

There are several factors which need to be considered in order for a client to imitate a model's performance. The first step involves Making a "Contract" with the Client (p. 16) so that he knows what it is that he must learn and do, and how to go about accomplishing his goals. Planning for the Use of Models (p. 19) enables you to avoid inadvertent negative models. For a client to know when to imitate, Specifying the Cues (p. 20) and providing Consistent Models (p. 22) are important, so that the client does not get confused. Once the client knows what behaviors he is to acquire, directs his attention to the right models, knows when to engage in those behaviors, and has had opportunities to observe the correct behavior often enough, Practicing the Behavior (p. 24) is necessary so that the client gets used to distractions, makes the response in the variety of situations in which it is appropriate, and has opportunities for perfecting his newly acquired behavior and fitting it into a sequence of appropriate actions.

III. ROLE PLAYING (pp. 32-55)

There are several ways to present behavior that is to be imitated, e.g., by showing a film of the desired behavior; by having the model say, "Watch me," and then demonstrating the action; by having a counselor or instructor point to someone else's performance; by arranging situations so that a client can hardly help noticing and imitating someone's behavior; etc. Another extremely effective procedure that can "highlight" the behavior to be learned is role playing. This technique puts the to-be-learned behavior on display, allows for clarification of the cues and response, permits practice and repetition, and can eliminate major distractions. Thus role playing is a way of

providing practice which uses all the principles stated in earlier sections of this Manual. In addition, role playing can be an enjoyable way to learn, in part because it is safe, i.e., "mistakes" are not harmful to anyone.

The various Uses of Role Playing (p. 32) include diagnosis (p. 32), rehearsal (p. 33), problem-solving (p. 34), modeling (p. 35), attitude change (p. 36), and producing self-awareness (p. 38). Correct Timing of the Role Play (p. 39) is crucial to effectiveness. Sequencing the Role Play (p. 41) includes an optimal pattern of demonstration first, followed by private or semi-private practice, then imitation of the demonstration, and finally, improvisations containing the newly acquired behavior. Before Starting the Role Play (p. 45), particularly in a group setting, the leader needs to make sure that the participants are ready for it: they need to know and trust each other, to realize that they can make mistakes without penalty or embarrassment, to know what it is that they are going to do, to experience the role play as rewarding, to realize the relevance of the role playing, to be involved in deciding what they will do in the role play, and to concentrate on the behaviors in the role play rather than on acting skills. All these principles also apply to Individual Role Playing (p. 50).

There are some Special Role Playing Situations (p. 51) for changing attitudes through role reversal and for reducing fears and anxiety about applying for, getting, and keeping jobs through the use of successive approximations.

IV. REWARDS (pp. 59-81)

When the role performance to be learned through imitation and tryout has been effectively highlighted, the client is in a position to learn (in an intellectual or cognitive sense) new or different ways of behaving in certain situations. However, for the client to actually use that learning in action, by behaving in ways like the model, at least one of two conditions must be met: (1) the client must see the model being rewarded for his response to the cues, and/or (2) the client must expect and in fact receive rewards for responding to the cues in a fashion similar to the model. Accordingly, the ways in which rewards to the model and the client are presented and experienced has crucial significance for making role modeling as effective as it can be.

In order for rewards to be used effectively, it is necessary to know What Rewards Are (p. 59) and how they work. In order to summarize the various combinations possible, the Manual presents a table of rewards, preceded by Definitions of Terms (p. 60) used in the table: reward sender, reward receiver, the other, extrinsic reward, intrinsic reward, and vicarious reward. The Table (p. 63) and the various patterns are then presented: Rewards from Model to Client (p. 64), Rewards from Others to Clients (p. 66), Feedback from Client to Model (p. 67), The Importance of Rewarding the Model (p. 68), Clients' Expectations of Being Rewarded Like the Model (p. 70), Self-rewards (p. 71), and Direct Rewards to the Client (p. 72).

The table discusses rewards in terms of the people involved, the roles they play, and the types of rewards. Other factors also to be considered are The Timing of Rewards (p. 76) as timing affects the power of the reward, its function as a feedback to the client, and its ability to pinpoint the behavior which was successful; Frequency of Reward (p. 79) which describes when one should use reward every time the correct behavior occurs and when rewards should be intermittent; and the Use of Rewards in the Contract (p. 81).

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (pp. 85-99)

Until now, this Manual has focused on ways of directing a client's attention to the specific behavior to be imitated, including role playing as one such way, and on how to use rewards. Now we will look at the use of similarities between the model and the client as another part of learning by imitation. Agency personnel may not always have similar interests, experiences, or common characteristics with their clients; however, this does not have to exclude them from acting as models under certain conditions. Various kinds of people can serve as models, including The Expert as Model (p. 85) and The Controller of Rewards as Model (p. 86). Prestige as a Basis for Being a Model (p. 87) does not require the model to be similar to the client. However, The Role of Similarities (p. 88) indicates that shared characteristics can be helpful, and in some cases crucial. The important Bases of Similarity (p. 93) describe the kinds of similarities which are often important to clients. Finally, one must consider ways of Making the Similarities Useful (p. 98) so that clients will be aware of them.

VI. CONCLUSION: PUTTING THIS MANUAL TO WORK (pp. 100-101)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (pp. 102-113)

IV. REWARDS

A. What Rewards Are

It can be assumed that a person coming to an employment agency will find one of the following to be rewarding: a job referral, job training, or employment counseling. There are exceptions to this, however, since for some clients a job referral may be threatening (see page 53), or a client may come to the agency to fulfill someone else's requirements, e.g., in order to qualify for unemployment compensation.

A reward is anything an individual likes to do or have. Rewards are therefore individualized, so that what is rewarding for one person may or may not be rewarding for another.

One of the important functions of a reward is that it communicates something to the client; it tells him when he has been successful, when he has performed well. It may be more important as such a signal than it is for its material value.

The following is a partial list of rewards the clients in an employment program are likely to value:
Signs of progress toward the goal of employment, Time off,
Having his picture taken and posted,
Receiving a certificate for completed training,
Praise from staff and/or peers,
Attention, even when it's negative, e.g., anger, Information about work,
Developing competence,
Being allowed to redo at a faster pace a task he had done slowly and step by step,
Food,
Money,
Removal of unpleasant conditions, e.g., helping a youngster work his way off probation,
Playing a game of pool,
Being sent on an errand.

Clearly, there are many more. It is just as clear that not all clients would find all of the above rewarding.

In general, it is probably best to use rewards similar to those actually used in industry: time off (vacations); salary raises; promotions to more prestigious positions, titled, or easier or more pleasant work; etc.

Thorndike (1927) and, later, Skinner (1938, 1953) developed and tested the idea that the presentation of a reward to an individual following a particular behavior would increase the probability of that behavior recurring. Holland and Skinner (1961) indicate that the technical term for reward is "reinforcement." They then describe the various conditions under which reinforcement is presented and/or withdrawn, and the results of each condition. Staats and Staats (1963), Thomas (1965), Ullmann and Krasner (1965), and others discuss the uses of reinforcement as one aspect of behavior modification among humans. A good discussion and illustrations of what types of things can be rewarding, as well as how to establish what actually is rewarding in a particular situation, is presented by Ayllon and Azrin (1968).

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IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

B. Definitions of Terms

There is a table on page 63 which presents a framework for thinking about rewards and their place in role modeling and role playing. First, however, we will present definitions and examples of the terms used in the table. Then we will explain each of the table's boxes, state the principle involved, and illustrate each principle with examples drawn from agency experience.

1. THE REWARD SENDER:

The person who controls the giving or the withholding of rewards in a specific situation.

Reward Senders can be counselors, crew chiefs, workshop leaders or job placement personnel. These people control a client's progress in a program, job referrals, approval, the learning of new skills. As might be imagined, who the reward sender is depends on the situation; it may be a different person in different situations.

The instructor in the auto-mechanics shop is responsible for deciding when a client is ready for job placement. He helps the client make an appointment with the employment counselor, who then gives the client a job referral. In the first instance the reward sender is the shop instructor and the reward is the client's progress toward becoming an auto mechanic. In the second instance, the reward sender is the employment counselor and the job referral is the reward.

IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

B. Definitions of Terms (cont'd)

2. THE REWARD RECEIVER:

The person for whom the reward is intended. Usually the receipt of a reward is contingent upon the receiver's learning a new skill or a new way to respond in a particular situation.

3. THE OTHER:

Someone other than the model or the client who can act as a reward sender.

4. EXTRINSIC REWARD:

One which is given by the sender to the receiver for successfully learning a new skill or a new way to behave. It is extrinsic because the reward comes from outside the client.

For the most part, Reward Receivers are the clients in an agency. Sometimes, however, the model too can be the receiver; such situations will be discussed more fully later.

Typically, the Other is the counselor. He may reward two clients for role playing a job interview which shows specific responses to the rest of the group. Others can also be the group members. For example, in the job-interview role play, the counselor might ask the group to observe specific aspects of the role play and act as critics for the players.

If the client performs the job-interview role play successfully, the counselor may decide that he is ready for a job referral and reward the client with one.

The jewelry shop instructor, seeing that the trainee is able to work well with copper, promotes him to working with silver. The promotion is an Extrinsic Reward.

IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

B. Definitions of Terms (cont'd)

5. INTRINSIC REWARD:

A reward you give yourself for achieving some previously set standard, or level, of performance. When the same person is both the sender and the receiver of a reward, it is intrinsic; it comes from inside the person.

A woodshop trainee making picture frames looks at a "perfect corner" he has just made and knows he is doing a good job. He is proud of himself. His pride is an Intrinsic Reward.

A member of a landscaping crew, pleased with his particular arrangement of shrubs, decides to reward himself with a break from work. The time off is an intrinsic reward.

6. VICARIOUS REWARD:

Can be thought of as the expectation of being rewarded. It is a reward that the client never actually receives, but one which he expects to receive if he responds similarly to a model who was rewarded.

When a group of clients are watching a demonstration of a correct job-interview role play, they are often led to believe that if they follow the presented formula, they too would be hired.

When an alumnus of a program returns to talk with the trainees, his snappy dress, or even the new car he drives, is a Vicarious Reward for the trainees. It implies that the alumnus was able to buy these things because of his job and that such rewards will be available to the trainees once they finish their training and are hired.

IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

On the following pages, the principles will be concerned with the various cells of the table below. Each cell represents a principle, and other principles describe the relations between the cells.

SENDER OF REWARDS

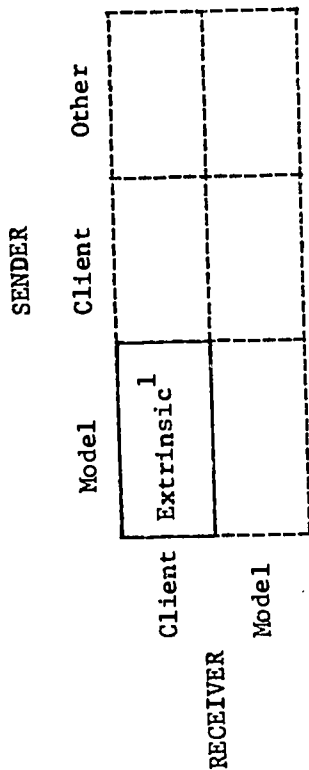
	Model	Client	Other
Client	1 Extrinsic	2 Intrinsic	3 Extrinsic
Model	4 Intrinsic	5 Extrinsic	6 Vicarious Extrinsic

RECEIVER
OF REWARDS

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IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

C. Rewards from Model to Client



When the model (the sender) has the ability to reward the client (the receiver) for a specific behavior and the client knows this, the client is more likely to imitate the model.

Many of San Francisco AOC's clients lack either the knowledge or skills to successfully find employment. They need instruction on how to conduct a job interview, how to approach a receptionist, how to discover which companies are hiring, or when to look for work. Assessing the situation, a workshop leader may model in role play any of these skills for a particular client and, once the client has learned the needed skill or obtained the needed information, the leader may reward him with information about a possible job referral. During the period of learning, paying attention to the client and giving him information on his progress are also rewarding.

In one agency an instructor showed a trainee how to use a special tool and modeled its use facing the trainee. He did not remain to see if the trainee had understood his demonstration. Such an example points out some important aspects of modeling and the reward sequence. First, it was possible that the modeling experience was not helpful to the trainee because he was seeing the entire demonstration as a

Skinner (1953) provides a detailed account of the procedures of operant conditioning through successive approximations whereby new patterns of behavior may be acquired. This procedure involves the rewarding of those responses which most closely resemble the final desired response while not rewarding nondesired responses. Other descriptions of behavioral change based on operant conditioning methods can be found in Bijou and Baer (1961), Lundin (1961), and Staats and Staats (1963). The process of acquisition of a new response can be considerably shortened by the use of role models (Bandura and McDonald, 1963). Therefore, a model who is rewarding would seem to be even more effective in changing or modifying behavior. This is supported by a study by Bandura and Huston (1961) which demonstrated that a nurturant or rewarding interaction between the model and the subject enhanced the learning of imitative responses. Grusec and Mischel (1966) found that the behaviors of models with control over future rewards were better remembered by subjects than those without control of future rewards.

IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

C. Rewards from Model to Client (cont'd)

mirror image, backwards. It would have been better if the instructor had stood along side of the trainee as he demonstrated the tool's proper use. Secondly, the instructor, by leaving immediately, had no way of knowing if the trainee understood the demonstration. A better approach would have been to remain with the trainee long enough to see if he had understood the demonstration, to give him corrective feedback, and finally to reward the client (with approval, with permission to take some time off, or with promotion to a more prestigious task) for correct performance.

This principle implies that if a client sees a job coach, an instructor, or a counselor as having no influence in promoting the client, in getting the agency to meet the client's needs, or in getting him a job referral, then he will see the model as one who cannot reward him and so he will not imitate the model.

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IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

D. Rewards from Others to Clients

		SENDER		
		Model	Client	Other
RECEIVER	Client			Extrinsic ³
	Model			

In the Watts project, crew chiefs often use crew chief aides (clients further along in the program) as models in teaching work skills; but it is the crew chief who rewards the client for correct imitation of the model's behavior.

The San Francisco AOC often uses its more knowledgeable clients to model job-search behaviors, by acting role plays for the other workshop members. These other members then role play the same situation under the direction of the workshop leader who evaluates, rewards and offers corrective feedback on their performance.

When another person can reward the client for imitating a model's behavior, and the client knows this, the client is more apt to learn the behavior that the model is demonstrating.

The literature of the previous principle is also applicable here. Hicks (1965) found that six months after an initial period of measurement, given the re-creation of the original situation, there was a marked decline in the performance of behavior originally learned by imitation. However, once offered a reward for recalling the model's behavior of six months previously, most of his subjects were able to do this accurately.

IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

E. Feedback from Client to Model

		SENDER	
		Model	Client
RECEIVER	Client	1 Extrinsic	Other
	Model	Extrinsic ⁵	

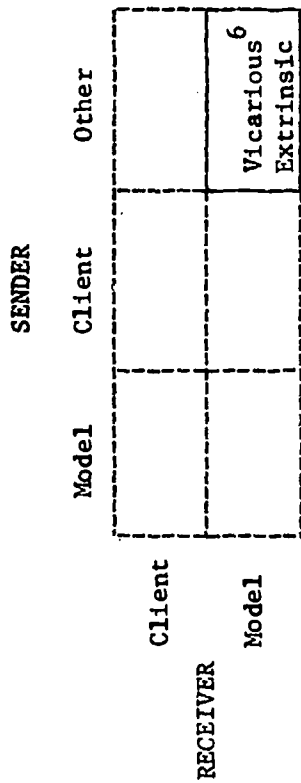
In cell 5 the model is the receiver and the client is the sender. The reward can best be thought of as feedback from the client to the model about the success of the model's teaching. This suggests a relationship between cells 1 and 5. Cell 5 is, in some ways, a consequence of whether the client correctly imitates the model in cell 1. If the client imitates the model correctly, this knowledge, or feedback, is the basis of the model's rewarding the client. If, on the other hand, the client is not imitating the model's job-relevant behaviors, then the feedback that the model gets (in cell 5) tells the model that he should evaluate his effectiveness in communicating the desired information and in influencing the client.

An alumnus of the San Francisco AOC's IBM program was discussing with the workshop participants how to look for a job. He began by explaining why the person to see was the head of data processing and not the personnel manager and then modeled and role played what, for him, had been a successful technique. He acted out entering an office; then he took off his "shades," waited for the employer to ask him to sit down, introduced himself, etc. Afterwards, while watching the workshop members re-create and practice a similar role play, he noticed that most of the actors put their "shades" on, but did not take them off during the role play. Realizing that he probably had not been explicit enough about why it was important for a prospective employee not to wear sunglasses during a job interview, he brought it to the group's attention and explained that employers generally believed that wearing shades inside indicated that the wearer was on drugs.

Thibaut and Kelley (1959) have developed a framework which provides a systematic way to look at behavior of this sort in dyadic situations. In general, they hypothesize that when two people make responses in close proximity, each response incurs some cost and payoff to the actor and provides some value of reward or punishment to the other. These interdependent costs and rewards can be represented systematically in a "matrix of act combinations" indicating the outcome values for selected pairs.

IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

F. The Importance of Rewarding the Model



This condition involves a minimum of three people: the Other as rewarder, the Model as receiver of the reward, and the Client as observer of the model being rewarded. If the client sees a model rewarded for a specific behavior by some other person, he will expect similar rewards if he responds in a similar manner. Therefore in similar situations, the client is apt to imitate the model's response.

One of the major problems faced by staff at a Detroit halfway house was teaching the residents how to ask their foreman or their boss a question. The counselor decided that it might be a good experience for the men in his employment group if they observed him asking his supervisor a question. Since his supervisor regularly sat in on his group, he planned to do this at the next meeting. During a lull in the group discussion, the counselor explained to his supervisor that several group members were wondering if the group might meet out of the building. The supervisor asked if the group had discussed other places to meet, and the counselor said a coffee shop or even a bar had been suggested. After thinking momentarily, the supervisor said he could see no harm in the suggestion, but felt that, at first, maybe a coffee shop would be better.

In the above example the counselor modeled for the group when to approach a superior and how to ask a question. The supervisor rewarded the counselor's behavior by granting the request. Furthermore, after his supervisor had left, the counselor discussed with his group the process he had just modeled. Other rewards that a model may receive are praise from

Bandura and his colleagues present impressive evidence that rewards given to a model for a specific response increases the probability of the observer performing that response at a later time. Rosenkrans (1967) has showed that imitative learning and the performance of a model's behavior increased when the model was positively rewarded for his behavior. A study by Clark (1965) demonstrated that a model's behavior was more consistently imitated, even after extinction trials, by observers who were exposed to the positively rewarded model as opposed to those who viewed a nonrewarded model.

IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

F. The Importance of Rewarding the Model (cont'd)

another staff member, recognition in the form of awards, a job title, etc.

This principle implies that the model must have some power and influence in the agency. If his judgment is not respected, so that his requests, his suggestions, and his influence do not get positive results, or if he sees himself as so low on the totem pole that he seldom or never makes requests or suggestions, clients will not see him as a person who gets rewarded for appropriate behavior, and he may then act as a negative model--one whom clients want to avoid being like. See page 19 and pages 85-92 for related points.

IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

G. Clients' Expectations of Being Rewarded Like the Model

		SENDER	
		Client	Other
RECEIVER	Client	3 Extrinsic	
	Model		6 Vicarious Extrinsic

The conditions involved in cell 6 suggest a relationship with cell 3. The conditions of cell 6 lead the observing client to expect the conditions of cell 3; that is, at some other time, under similar circumstances, the client will expect another person to reward him for a response similar to the one he saw someone rewarding the model for in cell 6.

Denver YOC has a nurses aide training program where part of the new aide's training is to follow the nurse on her rounds and learn her future duties through observing the nurse. On one ward, a patient, recovering from a gall bladder operation, had been particularly irritable and troublesome, but the nurse responded cheerfully each time, adjusting the patient's bed, getting her something to read, and just listening to her. Later that afternoon, a doctor stopped the nurse and the aide and thanked the nurse for her patience with that particular patient.

Bandura and Walters' work (1963) with vicarious learning leads to this prediction, as well as the Thibaut and Kelley material cited earlier. Gross, McEachern, and Mason (1957) found that the responses of school superintendents in conflict situations were partly determined by their expectancies of rewards and punishments in these situations.



IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

H. Self-rewards

		SENDER	
		Client	Other
RECEIVER	Client	Intrinsic ²	
	Model	Intrinsic ⁴	

A counselor in New Haven's Community Progress, Inc., often gave trainees a lift home since they all lived near each other. The counselor drove a new flashy car which the trainees admired. Once day one of his passengers asked him how he was able to save enough money to buy the car. The counselor explained that he had a savings account. The following Friday the counselor announced that he had to stop at his bank to deposit part of his paycheck. When he returned to the car, the trainees asked him what he was saving for now. A vacation in Florida, he replied. Over the next month the counselor continued to stop regularly at the bank to add to his savings account. Soon one trainee asked how a person might open such an account and eventually the counselor helped several trainees to open savings accounts, and it became the norm for his group.

Cells 2 and 4 are both situations of self-reward. The model, in the latter, and the client, in the former, are both senders and receivers of the reward. For a client to learn to reward himself for a job well done, he may first need a model to establish an acceptable performance level. By watching a model set a standard of performance and rewarding himself for attaining it, clients can learn what is a good performance and when and how to reward themselves. Thus the rewards of the client become internal.

Cross-cultural studies by Crandall (1963), McClelland (1955), and McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell (1953) suggest that high standards of achievement, together with habits of self-restraint in the service of long-term goals, are likely to be transmitted from one generation to another by each generation modeling these standards for the next. Mischel's work is interpreted by Bandura and Walters (1963) as evidence for the influence of models in the development of self-control. A study by Bandura and Kupers (1963) suggests that the observer can learn to reward himself for good or correct responses by observing a model. This process provides the observer with the ability to recognize a good or correct performance and a standard for self-reward in generalizing the behavior from the learning situation.



IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

I. Direct Rewards to the Client

		SENDER		
		Model	Client	Other
RECEIVER	Client	1 Extrinsic	2 Intrinsic	3 Extrinsic
	Model	4 Intrinsic	5 Extrinsic	6 Vicarious Extrinsic

In general, research suggests that rewards given directly to the client by the model, or by someone else, as in cells 1 and 3, are more likely to promote learning through imitation than rewards given vicariously as in cell 6.

To our knowledge, these two techniques have not been experimentally compared. Common sense, however, suggests this principle to be the case. In directly rewarding the client for imitating a model's response, there is the inference that the client was given the opportunity to practice the response in question. In the vicarious condition, on the other hand, where the client is only an observer, no opportunity is given for the client to practice the response. All that this condition implies is, if given the opportunity, the client will most likely imitate the model's response. This step, the opportunity to practice the response in a controlled situation with feedback, is a critical aspect of the learning process.

TOPICS IN THIS MANUAL

I. INTRODUCTION (pp. 5-12)

This section presents the Definitions of Terms as Used in This Manual (p. 5): Role (p. 5), Role Modeling Behaviors To Be Modeled (p. 7) by specifying what the client should be able to do, when, and how well. Typical client using good work habits, and avoiding behaviors that endanger employability.

In order to establish objectives for the use of these techniques, one needs to know how to go about Selecting needs for which role modeling and role playing are useful include learning job skills, getting along with others, using good work habits, and avoiding behaviors that endanger employability.

II. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MODEL'S PERFORMANCE (pp. 16-28)

There are several factors which need to be considered in order for a client to imitate a model's performance.

The first step involves Making a "Contract" with the Client (p. 16) so that he knows what it is that he must learn and do, and how to go about accomplishing his goals. Planning for the Use of Models (p. 19) enables you to avoid inadvertent negative models. For a client to know when to imitate, Specifying the Cues (p. 20) and providing Consistent Models (p. 22) are important, so that the client does not get confused. Once the client knows what behaviors he is to acquire, directs his attention to the right models, knows when to engage in those behaviors, and has had opportunities to observe the correct behavior often enough, Practicing the Behavior (p. 24) is necessary so that the client gets used to distractions, makes the response in the variety of situations in which it is necessary so and has opportunities for perfecting his newly acquired behavior and fitting it into a sequence of appropriate actions.

III. ROLE PLAYING (pp. 32-55)

There are several ways to present behavior that is to be imitated, e.g., by showing a film of the desired behavior; by having the model say, "Watch me," and then demonstrating the action; by having a counselor or instructor point to someone else's performance; by arranging situations so that a client can hardly help noticing and imitating someone's behavior; etc. Another extremely effective procedure that can "highlight" the behavior to be learned is role playing. This technique puts the to-be-learned behavior on display, allows for clarification of the cues and response, permits practice and repetition, and can eliminate major distractions. Thus role playing is a way of

providing practice which uses all the principles stated in earlier sections of this Manual. In addition, role playing can be an enjoyable way to learn, in part because it is safe, i.e., "mistakes" are not harmful to anyone.

The various Uses of Role Playing (p. 32) include diagnosis (p. 32), rehearsal (p. 33), problem-solving (p. 34), modeling (p. 35), attitude change (p. 36), and producing self-awareness (p. 38). Correct Timing of the Role Play (p. 39) is crucial to effectiveness. Sequencing the Role Play (p. 41) includes an optimal pattern of demonstration first, followed by private or semi-private behavior. Before Starting the Role Play (p. 45), particularly in a group setting, the leader needs to make sure that the participants are ready for it: they need to know and trust each other, to realize that they can make mistakes without penalty or embarrassment, to know what it is that they are going to do, to experience the role play as rewarding, to realize the relevance of the behaviors in the role play rather than on acting skills. All these principles also apply to Individual Role Playing (p. 50).

There are some Special Role Playing Situations (p. 51) for changing attitudes through role reversal and for reducing fears and anxiety about applying for, getting, and keeping jobs through the use of successive approximations.

IV. REWARDS (pp. 59-81)

When the role performance to be learned through imitation and tryout has been effectively highlighted, the client is in a position to learn (in an intellectual or cognitive sense) new or different ways of behaving in certain situations. However, for the client to actually use that learning in action, by behaving in ways like the model, at least one of two conditions must be met: (1) the client must see the model being rewarded for his response to the cues, and/or (2) the client must expect and in fact receive rewards for responding to the cues in a fashion similar to the model. Accordingly, the ways in which rewards to the model and the client are presented and experienced has crucial significance for making role modeling as effective as it can be.

In order for rewards to be used effectively, it is necessary to know What Rewards Are (p. 59) and how they work. In order to summarize the various combinations possible, the Manual presents a table of rewards, preceded by Definitions of Terms (p. 60) used in the table: reward sender, reward receiver, the other, extrinsic reward, intrinsic reward, and vicarious reward. The Table (p. 63) and the various patterns are then presented: Rewards from Model to Client (p. 64), Rewards from Others to Clients (p. 66), Feedback from Client to Model (p. 67), The Importance of Rewarding the Model (p. 68), Clients' Expectations of Being Rewarded Like the Model (p. 70), Self-rewards (p. 71), and Direct Rewards to the Client (p. 72).



The table discusses rewards in terms of the people involved, the roles they play, and the types of rewards. Other factors also to be considered are The Timing of Rewards (p. 76) as timing affects the power of the reward, its function as a feedback to the client, and its ability to pinpoint the behavior which was successful; Frequency of Reward (p. 79) which describes when one should use reward every time the correct behavior occurs and when rewards should be intermittent; and the Use of Rewards in the Contract (p. 81).

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (pp. 85-99)

Until now, this Manual has focused on ways of directing a client's attention to the specific behavior to be imitated, including role playing as one such way, and on how to use rewards. Now we will look at the use of similarities between the model and the client as another part of learning by imitation. Agency personnel may not always have similar interests, experiences, or common characteristics with their clients; however, this does not have to exclude them from acting as models under certain conditions. Various kinds of people can serve as models, including The Expert as Model (p. 85) and The Controller of Rewards as Model (p. 86). Prestige as a Basis for Being a Model (p. 87) does not require the model to be similar to the client. However, The Role of Similarities (p. 88) indicates that shared characteristics can be helpful, and in some cases crucial. The important Bases of Similarity (p. 93) describe the kinds of similarities which are often important to clients. Finally, one must consider ways of Making the Similarities Useful (p. 98) so that clients will be aware of them.

VI. CONCLUSION: PUTTING THIS MANUAL TO WORK (pp. 100-101)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (pp. 102-113)

IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

J. The Timing of Rewards

A reward is most powerful when it is administered immediately following the desired behavior.

1. Immediate reward has the greatest probability of increasing the likelihood that the specific behavior will be repeated in the future.

When a client doesn't know how to do something, before admitting his ignorance to the instructor or counselor by asking a question, he may try to copy someone else, sulk, goof-off, etc. If asking questions is the preferred response, rewarding that behavior when it occurs by making the experience helpful and nonthreatening to the client should increase the chances that he will ask the instructor for help the next time he needs it.

This principle was originally put forth by Thorndike (1927) and has become known as "the law of effects." More recent discussion of this point can be found in Kimble (1961) and Bandura and Walters (1963).

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IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

J.. The Timing of Rewards (cont'd)

2. Immediate rewards also provide the client with immediate feedback as to the success or failure of his response.

Often in a new situation a client will not know what is a correct or incorrect response. Immediating rewarding of a response communicates this to the client.

A client of the San Francisco AOC had never experienced a formal job interview and he had no idea what he should do in such a situation. His uncertainty and lack of knowledge became apparent during a role play, but with the workshop leader's help (his rewarding specific responses and offering corrective feedback) he soon learned what were likely to be successful responses in such a situation.

Two types of information are needed in a learning situation; first, information leading to action such as rules, directions, instructions, etc., and secondly, outcome information on feedback as to the success of following those rules and instructions. The importance of this second type of information is discussed by Holding (1965).

IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

J. The Timing of Rewards (cont'd)

3. Giving the reward (or positive feedback) immediately also helps highlight the response which is being rewarded. It helps emphasize or point out to the client just what it was he did that was good.

In most of the examples in this section, rewards also function as a "spotlight" for particularly desirable behaviors. In the previous two examples, question-asking and job-interviewing behaviors were specifically pointed out with the use of rewards.

Holding's (1965) discussion of guidance in learning supports this proposition. He describes how, initially in the training process, verbal and visual guidance taking the form of extrinsic cues (which includes rewards) control the learning of a new skill.

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IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

K. Frequency of Reward

1. The frequency with which rewards are given influence both the client's learning of a new response and the continued performance of the response once it has been learned.
2. In teaching a client a new response, the response, at first, should be rewarded every time the client performs it.

This helps the client see that it is his behavior or performance that is being rewarded, rather than that he as a person is being evaluated.

If a client is to learn a new way of doing something, he must come to see the advantages of doing it the new way. One way to increase the value of the new behavior for the client is to reward it every time it occurs. Therefore, if a counselor wishes his client to be on time for their appointments, he will reward the client every time he arrives punctually.

Many disadvantaged people feel, for obvious reasons, that rewards seem to go to certain people or kinds of people more readily than to others, even when they perform at the same level--a matter of "who you are" rather than "what you can do," so why bother trying? Rewarding good performance every time it occurs, no matter whose performance, lets the client know that in this program it is performance that counts.

Work by Ferster and Skinner (1957), Staats and Staats (1963), and Bandura and Walters (1963) discuss the scheduling of rewards.

IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

K. Frequency of Reward (cont'd)

3. Once the response has been established, intermittent rewarding (not rewarding the response each time it occurs) increases the likelihood of the client continuing to perform the response even when there is no extrinsic reward.

In the previous example, the counselor initially rewarded the client every time he arrived punctually for their appointment. Once the client began arriving on time, the counselor switched to rewarding him every second time, then every third time, and eventually the client had to be on time every day for a week before he was rewarded.

Scheduling rewards in this manner helps to even them out so that one client doesn't get a lot more than others. This helps to avert the danger of giving many rewards to a person who starts out as a disruptive or sullen client and may influence other clients into acting this way so as to be constantly rewarded.

The three sources cited on the previous page also apply here.

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IV. REWARDS (cont'd)

L. Use of Rewards in the Contract

Rewards can be used as incentives for the achievement of specific goals which may develop after the initial contract with the client has been established. It is possible to renegotiate the contract, or add pieces to it, as new learning needs of the client become apparent.

A counselor may find that a client is never able to be on time for their appointments. He may bring this to the client's attention, and together he and the client may establish a new goal of punctuality. The first week this may be arriving on time for three of the five meetings, four of the five the second week, and all five the third week. Also, the counselor and the client will decide on specific extrinsic rewards to act as incentives for the client to arrive on time, such as giving the client time off at the end of the training day each time he is prompt, gradually reducing the frequency of rewards to one block of time off at the end of the week for promptness throughout the week.

TOPICS IN THIS MANUAL

I. INTRODUCTION (pp. 5-12)

This section presents the Definitions of Terms as Used in This Manual (p. 5): Role (p. 5), Role Modeling (p. 5), and Role Playing (p. 6).

In order to establish objectives for the use of these techniques, one needs to know how to go about Selecting Behaviors To Be Modeled (p. 7) by specifying what the client should be able to do, when, and how well. Typical client needs for which role modeling and role playing are useful include learning job skills, getting along with others, using good work habits, and avoiding behaviors that endanger employability.

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V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (pp. 85-99)

Until now, this Manual has focused on ways of directing a client's attention to the specific behavior to be imitated, including role playing as one such way, and on how to use rewards. Now we will look at the use of similarities between the model and the client as another part of learning by imitation. Agency personnel may not always have similar interests, experiences, or common characteristics with their clients; however, this does not have to exclude them from acting as models under certain conditions. Various kinds of people can serve as models, including The Expert as Model (p. 85) and The Controller of Rewards as Model (p. 86). Prestige as a Basis for Being a Model (p. 87) does not require the model to be similar to the client. However, The Role of Similarities (p. 88) indicates that shared characteristics can be helpful, and in some cases crucial. The important bases of Similarity (p. 93) describe the kinds of similarities which are often important to clients. Finally, one must consider ways of Making the Similarities Useful (p. 98) so that clients will be aware of them.

VI. CONCLUSION: PUTTING THIS MANUAL TO WORK (pp. 100-101)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (pp. 102-113)

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS

A. The Expert as Model

A client will imitate a model's behavior in a particular situation, when the client feels (a) that his own way of behaving is unrewarding or inappropriate, and (b) that the model's alternative way of responding will be more rewarding. Only when a client feels uncertain, dissatisfied, or unsettled about his own performance will he be likely to imitate a model's behavior. When he feels this way, a client is more likely to select a model exhibiting a degree of expertise than a nonexpert model. While people are more likely to use as models people who are similar to themselves in some respects, expertise is more important than similarity when the client is occupied by thoughts of his own lack of expertise.

In an agency workshop a trainee may not know how to use a specific tool or piece of machinery. Before asking the instructor for help, and calling attention to his ignorance, often he will see if someone is using the same tool, or machine, and he will try to imitate this other person's performance.

Work by Thornton and Arrowood (1966) as well as observational data point to the importance of "familiarity of the situation" as an important consideration in modeling. Extending this still further, Gordon (1966) and Hakmiller (1966) suggest that the degree of expertise which the model has in the client's eyes is also an important consideration in the client's imitation of his behavior.

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

B. The Controller of Rewards as Model

When a worker has control over present and/or future rewards for the client, and the client knows this, similarity between the two decrease in importance as a basis for learning through imitation.

The San Francisco Adult Opportunity Center had a client who was a skilled carpenter and a union member, but who was having difficulty in asking people for work. During the group meeting, the workshop leader used role play to model certain job-search behaviors which were relevant to the carpenter's problem as well; he also gave him a job referral. As a result of his workshop participation and the job lead, the carpenter was hired the next day. The workshop leader's control of rewards (a job referral and the promise to help the carpenter with his problem) was important enough to the carpenter that the fact that he was white and the workshop leader was black made little difference in his learning the necessary behavior.

There is considerable evidence that models who control resources which are valuable to the client elicit more imitative behavior than those who do not (Bandura and Walters, 1963; Mowrer, 1960; Sears, Rau, and Alpert, 1965; Hetherington and Frankie, 1967; Bandura, Ross, and Ross, 1963; Grusec, 1966; Grusec and Mischel, 1966; Hanlon, 1965; and Mischel and Liebert, 1967).

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V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

C. Prestige as a Basis for Being a Model

If a worker has prestige that is a result of his ability to perform his job well, his actions are more likely to be imitated, and similarity between himself and the client becomes less important.

A white employment counselor at MFY explained why she thought she was an effective counselor even though most of her clients were Puerto Rican and dissimilar to her in income as well. She pointed to the fact that she always followed through on her commitments, listened to her client's side of the story, fought for clients when it was necessary, and had good job placements. She believed her clients knew this through the grapevine and that this knowledge was reflected in the influence she had with clients and in the way they tried to keep their commitments to her and, for the most part, honestly tried to follow through on her job referrals.

That clients more readily imitate models of higher status or prestige can be traced to two different types of studies. First, imitation studies (Miller and Dollard, 1941; Bandura and Walters, 1963; Harvey and Rutherford, 1960; Lefkowitz, Blake and Mouton, 1955; Shafer, 1965; Bandura and Kupers, 1964; Hicks, 1965; Kling, 1967) have shown that the more skillful, expert, or the higher the social status of the model, the more likely he will be imitated. Secondly, attitude-change literature indicates that the more prestige a communicator has, the more influential he is likely to be (Aronson and Golden, 1962; Elms and Janis, 1965; Janis and Gilmore, 1965; Powell, 1965; Hovland and Weiss, 1951; Keelman and Hovland, 1953; and DiVesta, Meyer, and Mills, 1964).

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

D. The Role of Similarities

When similarities exist between the model and the client, they generally increase the model's influence and persuasiveness over the client and thereby increase the likelihood that the model's behavior will be imitated. Similarities are important because the client needs a model whom he sees as (a) subject to the same social forces as himself, and (b) subject to the same distribution of rewards for performance as himself.

Some of the counselors and agency personnel that we talked to, like the counselor mentioned above, felt that their effectiveness as counselors led to a good rapport with their clients even though they were dissimilar from their clients. Others felt that shared similarities--race, interests, age--created a rapport and enhanced their effectiveness.

The San Francisco Adult Opportunity Center draws its workshop leaders from interested clients who participated in their workshop. The agency feels that men who are living in the target area know the neighborhood, its residents, and their problems and can thus be more effective workshop leaders and recruiters.

United Progress Incorporated in Trenton, New Jersey, reports that many community people resent residents who move up and out of the neighborhood but are proud of those who move up and continue to live there. They believe that this is why their most effective recruiters are those who live in the "target" area.

Many examples in this Manual illustrate the effectiveness of using other trainees, former clients, and similar people as role models. There are various mechanisms an agency can use to get these "similar" models:

Similarities between the model and the client enhance the model's influencibility (Brock, 1965) and increase the probability that the client will identify the model's likes and preferences with his own (Burnstein, Stotland, and Zander, 1961). Increasing the similarities between the two can result in greater learning of a specific task and an increase in the client's imitation of the model's performance (Rosenkrans, 1967).

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V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

D. The Role of Similarities (cont'd)

1. Recruiting people of the same race/ethnicity as their clients
2. Hiring from within the target area
3. Hiring former clients
4. Using present and past clients.

Similarities between a model and a client may be one way of making it easier for a client to deal with specific or unique problems which he may have.

Problems of employment are very often tied to racial discrimination, racial feelings, and race sensitivity. It is particularly important that the minority-group clients feel free to talk about such matters with their counselors and that the counselors will understand the clients' feelings, expectations, and anxieties associated with being black or brown in a white world. Racial similarities between the two facilitate such a discussion.

Studies (Hatton, 1967; Hare, 1960; Lenski and Leggett, 1960; and Radin and Glasser, 1965) suggest that people tend to play prescribed roles in interracial situations and that they tend to talk to each other in terms of stereotypic role relations. Minority-group members tend to respond to white interviewers by telling them what they think the interviewers want to hear instead of what they are feeling or thinking.

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V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

D. The Role of Similarities (cont'd)

Similarities can indicate to the client that the same rewards that the model receives are available, or could be available, to the client if he imitates the model's behavior.

Clients who have completed their training in Mobilization for Youth's Sewing Shop and have been placed must return at the end of the week to pick up their last training stipend check. Their return usually causes much interest and discussion among the remaining trainees and serves as a demonstration of the rewards that are available for successful completion of the course. The trainees see that another who is racially or ethnically like themselves can make it, and so their belief that they too can make it is strengthened.

By using successful Chicano Job Corps graduates as recruiters, Denver Youth Opportunity Center is also showing its Chicano clients that they too can make it.

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

D. The Role of Similarities (cont'd)

In most cases, clients tend to compare themselves with the potential models available. They then select people as models who are similar to themselves yet have slightly more expertise, skill, status, or prestige than the client who is making the comparison in his search for a model to imitate.

The Denver Youth Opportunity Center uses Job Corps graduates who have successfully completed their training, dressed in their blue blazers, as recruiters for the program. Denver also brings back successful alumni to talk with clients. Besides these examples, other ways clients can be brought into contact with other successful clients might be the use of big brothers further along in the program, taking clients to visit job sites where the agency has placed alumni, hiring successful individuals of the same ethnic group as the clients to teach a workshop, etc. You may be able to think of other techniques which fit your particular agency.

Experimental work suggests that individuals have a strong tendency to compare their own abilities and achievements to others of like or similar ability (Hoffman, Festinger, and Lawrence, 1954; and Radloff, 1966). It was also discovered that such comparisons are most likely upward, in that they will be with someone of slightly better ability, and they will occur more frequently under conditions of high motivation (Wheeler, 1966). Further support for this proposition can be drawn from the literature on the effect of prestige and status, cited earlier.

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V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

D. The Role of Similarities (cont'd)

In an initial meeting between a client and a staff person, similarities between the two can suggest to the client that they may "get something going" between them. Similarities tend to lessen the anxiety and threat of an initial meeting. They also may serve to direct the client's attention to a particular staff member. Thus similarity helps direct the client to someone whom he can select as a model to imitate.

A Puerto Rican counselor at Mobilization for Youth said that some Puerto Rican clients are relieved to be referred to someone of their own ethnic background, especially when they have language difficulties. The willingness of blacks to give more job information to black counselors in Detroit suggests that these clients may be more relaxed than when they are confronted with white counselors. For a client interested in fine metal work, an instructor's ability to make jewelry may be the basis for the client selecting him as a model.

Here again, most of the above-cited works on the effect of same versus different race testers seems relevant. Research by Irwin Katz and his colleagues (1963, 1964, 1968) has led to the conclusion that the social threat of an "interracial" situation produces more anxiety and uncertainty than the threat of performing badly or failing and thus supports the general facilitating effect of similarities.

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V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

E. Bases of Similarity

Which particular similarities will be important for a specific client will depend on how that client thinks about himself and his vocational prospects. There is some general agreement, however, on the importance of the following types of shared similarities between the model and the client:

Especially for black clients, race is typically a major characteristic through which they see themselves as similar or dissimilar to a model. Ethnicity also seems to function this way.

In a Detroit employment program it was found that black clients gave more job-relevant information to black counselors than to white counselors.

The Adult Opportunity Center in San Francisco found that if all other abilities were equal, a black workshop leader could relate better to black clients.

Mobilization for Youth in New York City had similar experiences with their Puerto Rican counselors and clients.

Agencies should be cautioned, however, that if they are going to use racial or ethnic staff similar to their clients, they need to be sensitive to the dangers of isolating that counselor and having him labeled "this one's especially for us."

There have been numerous studies showing that children who were administered I.Q. tests by same-race testers and interviewers (one can probably assume that this finding holds for ethnic groups as well) scored higher than when the test was administered by a different-race tester (Canady, 1936; Forrester and Klaus, 1966; Pasamanick and Knobloch, 1955; Baratz, 1967; Katz and Greenbaum, 1963; Katz, Henchy, and Allen, 1968; Katz, 1964; and Horwitz, 1958). A study by Sattler (1966) found that the difference between the race of the tester affected only the first administration of the test. Furthermore, Aronson and Golden (1962) expected race to be "irrelevant" in an attitude-change study, but nonetheless found it to be an important influencing factor. Even with the qualifications introduced by Sattler, the data support the conclusion that racial and ethnic similarity between a model and a client can be very important.

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V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

E. Bases of Similarity (cont'd)

Similarity of sex between the model and the client can be especially important in job programs. Jobs are sex-typed in the minds of many clients. In order to be sure that a particular job or line of work is appropriate to his or her sex, clients seek people as models of that line of work who are of the same sex as themselves.

In an effort "to change clients' conceptions" of sex-typed jobs, Mobilization for Youth has begun using a male instructor to teach the basic clerical skills of typing, accounting, etc.

The Adult Opportunity Center in San Francisco, working in conjunction with IBM, used a male instructor to teach key punching, a job which previously had the reputation of being "women's work."

The available research on same-sex models suggests few predictable effects. Some researchers (Bandura and Kupers, 1964; May, 1966; and O'Connell, 1965) have found the sex of the model to have no effects. Others (Bandura et al., 1961, 1963; and Hetherington and Frankie, 1967) have found effects due to the sex of the model. Research by Hicks (1965) and Janis and Field (1959) suggests that same-sex models are more effective with men than with women. It would seem that the skill or behavior being modeled would, in part, determine whether the model's sex is important.

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V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

E. Bases of Similarity (cont'd)

Similarity of interests can provide a basis for a client to imitate a particular model's behavior.

At United Progress Incorporated, a basic education instructor felt that his keeping up on current black jazz and his clients' knowing this added to his ability to work with his classes.

Two studies, one by Burnstein, Stotland, and Zander (1961) and one by Rosenkrans (1967), point to the conclusion that a model will have more influence over a client if they share relevant interests in terms of a specific task, skill, or ability.

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V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

E. Bases of Similarity (cont'd)

Many clients will identify themselves with a well-defined neighborhood or cultural community. Whether or not a potential model lives in that neighborhood can be very important to a client in determining whether he will choose such a model to imitate.

Sometimes a client will discover that his counselor has gone to the same high school, lived in the same neighborhood, or that they may know the same people. If such similarities are to be used, then their existence must be communicated to the clients. One possible way that this might be done is to have pictures and brief histories of each counselor put up in the waiting room. While this may not fit your particular agency, you can probably think of other ways to communicate such things.

The research on racial and ethnic similarity, cited above, is also relevant here. In many instances, both race and ethnicity seem, more often than not for clients, to provide the basis for the composition of a neighborhood or cultural community.

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V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

E. Bases of Similarity (cont'd)

For many youth, age similarities are important within broad limits, especially when the behavior to be modeled is age-related.

While the saying "don't trust anyone over thirty" is not necessarily true, it does point to a general concern of youth with age differences, reflecting different points of view and interests. The use of clients further along in the program as big brothers and crew chief aides, or counselors who are "with it" such as the basic education instructor mentioned on page 95, are ways of making the "generation gap" work for the program.

The question of whether a peer or an older person is the more effective model has not been satisfactorily answered. Two studies, one by Hicks (1965) and the other by Bandura and Kupers (1964), present contradictory findings. Hicks' study points to the effectiveness of the peer model in producing the greatest amount of imitative behavior; Bandura and Kupers, however, found that adult models appear to be more effective than peer models in communicating patterns of self-reinforcement. This difference in findings might be resolved by distinguishing between the types of behavior to which the subjects were exposed. In the Hicks study, the imitation of frustration responses by playing with aggressive toys seems to be a specific age-related response and a peer model would seem more likely to be influential than an adult model, who, normally, would employ his own age-appropriate means of expressing frustration. On the other hand, the process of rewarding oneself for a good or correct performance requires the choice of a set of standards for comparison. Wheeler's work (1966) suggests that the comparison will be both upward in ability and more frequent, the higher the level of motivation. Both seem more likely to occur given an adult model. Therefore, the model's age as a variable is important not as an isolated consideration, but in conjunction with the specific behavior being modeled and whether it is normally expected of the model's age group.

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

F. Making the Similarities Useful

In order for use to be made of these shared similarities between the model and the client, the client must be aware that they exist.

By observing his counselor, a client can obviously detect similarities of race, dress, style of talking, etc.

A client at Denver Youth Opportunity Center discovered through talking with his counselor that they both liked to build hot rods.

A counselor may have a reputation in the agency and the community for getting his clients good job referrals or following through on his commitments. Or, a workshop instructor may have a reputation as a fine craftsman in the community.

Reputation can be enhanced. Pictures of a craftsman's work, awards he has received for his work, publicity releases, etc., can help establish his reputation. Counselors who are known in the places where clients hang out, who engage in frequent conversations, meetings, etc., with local informal community leaders, can help spread their own reputations. When doing this, an overemphasis on the counselor's prestige with those who are seen as high up in the power structure can be damaging; for the hard core, reputation with the local informal leaders is more effective and important.

At United Progress, Inc. (Trenton), a counselor new to the community soon discovered that clients in that neighborhood distrusted him as an outsider. He went on a campaign of spending two nights a week in the

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V. CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD MODELS (cont'd)

F. Making the Similarities Useful (cont'd)

community, attending local meetings, talking to people at the local "haunts," letting people show him around.

When doing this, it is better to take the stance of a guest of the community, rather than of an expert who can tell people the answers to their problems. Don't come on strong. Be ready to offer the help you can give, but don't force it on people or seem to promise more than you can take direct responsibility for delivering.

In the course of these contacts, the counselor can generate a sense of shared concerns and common interests with the local community from which the agency draws its clients.

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VI. CONCLUSION: PUTTING THIS MANUAL TO WORK

The principles we have described in this Manual are derived directly from the extensive research listed in the Bibliography; they have also been validated in the experience of many workers in programs serving the unemployed, although workers in these programs may not have known that they were doing role modeling or role playing. These techniques work; we hope that you will try them out yourself.

If you would like to try some of the techniques described in this Manual, we suggest that you follow the principles of the Manual in acquiring the new behaviors these techniques call for. That is, we suggest that, if possible, you expose yourself to an appropriate model. If there is none available, you and a colleague might work together to rehearse in role playing some of the techniques. It would be important for you to be clear about the kind of situation in which you might try the technique, to rehearse it before using it, and then to try it out.

First tryout might well be very informal, and on a small scale, as in the principles of successive approximations and segmenting complex performances. For example, you might try asking one of your clients to tell you what he would do if Then you could respond to him as another person in the situation. Later on, you could move from "I would tell him about . . ." to directly acting out the telling. Similarly, you could also try out some of the ideas of the Manual in groups with which you are working (or make up informal groups consisting of two or three of your clients who happen to be on the premises at the same time and who could meet together around your desk or in an empty conference room). In either case, it would be best not to launch into formal role playing right off; instead, when one of the group describes a problem situation on the job, or in training, you might simply ask him how he handled it, and then ask another member of the group to tell how he would handle it. You could react to what they say by describing how you would have interpreted their responses if you had been one of the protagonists in the problem situation, or you could ask the others in the group to describe how they would have reacted if they had been in the protagonist role. Once you are familiar with this kind of "as if" conversation, it is just a small jump to actually acting out the situations rather than describing what one would say or do. When you have accomplished that small jump, you have become a role player. Here too, it would be worthwhile for you to work with a colleague, so that you can observe each other as models and try out various different ways of doing things.

One final point: before you actually try some of these ideas out, you will need to think about how you will know when they are actually effective. What are the clues you might use to know if clients are modeling or are acquiring the desired behaviors through role playing? Of course, you don't need hard scientific evidence at first; you just need some clues to identify in advance so that you can look for them. Do clients surreptitiously horse around by mimicking staff members? Then they are imitating. Can you see any change in their behavior? Suppose you have decided to teach a client how to call prospective employers to ask for interviews. You might call one employer with the client sitting next to you as you call and listening to your conversation with the employer (he could even be on an extension phone, as long as you let the employer know that the client is listening). After the call, you and the client might discuss what you said to the employer, why you handled his questions the way you did, etc. You

VI. CONCLUSION: PUTTING THIS MANUAL TO WORK (cont'd)

might then rehearse the client in saying the same things, with you acting as the employer, asking the same questions he had asked you. Finally, you might have the client call another potential employer on your phone, with you on the extension this time (or, if you need to go slower, you could call the next employer, introduce yourself, and turn the phone over to the client for only a specified portion of the conversation, such as that part in which a time and place are set for an interview). All of this sounds very complicated when described in detail, but in fact this whole training session might take only 15 minutes or so. The point of all this is: if the client handles himself well in his telephone contact with the employer, you have evidence that the modeling and role playing were successful. And if later you learn that the client has been calling potential employers on his own and has gotten appointments with them, then you have more such evidence.

In groups in which you try role playing, you can tell if it is working by noting how involved the group participants become. Do they become excited? Do their voices get louder; do they talk more, speak more rapidly, want to interrupt each other? If so, they have gotten excited and involved in what the group is doing. Are they reluctant to leave when the group session is over? Do they seek opportunities to talk to you outside the group? If so, the group has probably turned them on. Do they report using some of the things they have tried out in role play? If you have role-played interactions with supervisors, and if you have set up situations for a client to model someone else's response to a supervisor or foreman, does the client's NYC supervisor report that the client is getting smoother in his handling of criticism? If you are working on a client's interpersonal relations with other workers (trainees), does the instructor or supervisor report fewer arguments? You might even keep charts of the frequency with which a client comes in late, for example, as a way of finding out if modeling promptness is having any effect, or the frequency of smart-aleck remarks to the crew chief, as a base for measuring his learning to deal with supervisors more effectively.

Again, we hope that you will try out some of these ideas and that, if they work for you, you will tell others in your agency about them. Trying things out is sometimes difficult; keep in mind that you are testing these ideas and techniques, not yourself.

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