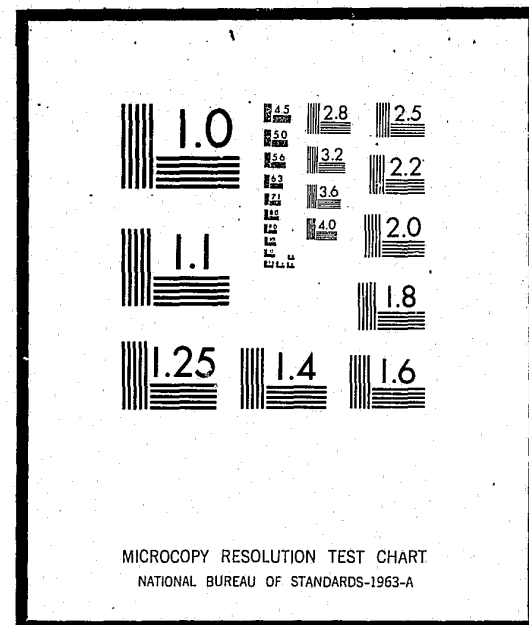


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PROBATION OFFICER CASE AIDE PROJECT

PHASE I

15561

PROBATION
OFFICER
CASE
AIDE -

PROJECT

FINAL REPORT, PHASE 1

BY

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Justice, University of Chicago Law School.

PREFACE

I am pleased to have an opportunity to comment on this report which judges, probation officers, and officials dealing with parole will find useful. As a member of the Project Advisory Committee, and former Chief Judge of the Court in which this Project was undertaken, I have followed closely the action research through periodic progress reports and meetings of the committee. Far too little research has been, or is being done on the administration of courts and the operation of probation services. Fortunately, the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois has long enjoyed a close association with the University of Chicago both in training and in research. With continuing support from the Federal Judicial Center, it is my hope that this report will not only present guidelines for the use of para-professionals, but will stimulate further research at both state and federal court levels, on the administration of court services such as probation. Many experiments are going on in the use of volunteers to assist probation and parole departments, but too little is known about the selection, training and effectiveness of such programs. This Project with its carefully designed evaluation and control procedures has added substantive knowledge to this field of public service.

It has also been my observation that all too often research efforts are conducted, completed, and the reports filed, only to gather dust in some academic ivory tower. Not so with this research, which as is pointed out in the accompanying Foreword, has resulted in concrete action by the United States Judicial Conference at a rate of dispatch I have seldom observed in my thirty-three years of participation in the administration of our Federal Courts. For a project to have contributed not only new information to our understanding of probation, but to have activated a new mode of practice in the performance of probation, is, I believe, a highly significant development. Such an outcome is also a tribute to the remarkable coordination of effort between the National Institute of Mental Health, the University of Chicago, the Judicial Center and the Federal Judiciary.

William J. Campbell
Senior Judge
United States District Court
Northern District of Illinois
and Seminar Chairman
Federal Judicial Center
Washington, D.C.

FOREWORD

Can an ex-offender from a minority group in the lower socio-economic strata of the community function effectively as a para-professional in the supervision of probationers and parolees? This was one of the key questions which led to the formulation of a proposal for a Probation Officer Case Aide Project to experiment in the use of para-professional probation officer assistants recruited from the innercity neighborhoods of Chicago. A prior criminal record would not be a bar to such service provided the applicant could pass a basic screening evaluation of his current level of emotional and social stability, his motivation to help others, and evidence of average intelligence and an ability to read and write. No educational requisites were set.

The use of para-professionals in various occupational fields is not new, but their use in the practice of probation, and particularly the use of a number of ex-offenders is quite new. During the first three years of the Project, approximately 40 probation officer case aides were employed on a part-time basis. At the end of 18 months, it had become evident that there is a valid role for such persons to serve as assistants to professional probation officers. It had also become evident that the recruitment of indigenous case aides, including ex-offenders who resided in the neighborhoods in which they worked, and who had similar ethnic or racial characteristics to the caseloads in those districts, was feasible. Inter-racial tensions in certain areas of Chicago had pointed up the need for experimentation of this type. Communication gaps due to social and cultural distances between middle class professionals and lower socio-economic minority group clients has been documented by various studies. In this project, the majority of the aides were black. By design, virtually all the probation officer aide-client supervision contacts were made in the local community adjacent to the domiciles of the probation officer aides.

We believe the findings of this Project have made a contribution to our knowledge and understanding of how probation officer assistants, who have been recruited from socio-economic backgrounds similar to persons under supervision, can supplement and assist the professional staff. A wide variety of tasks were assigned to the assistants, and their work often proved to be an extension of services which the busy, overburdened professional staff could not have rendered.

The Project also demonstrated the feasibility of collaboration between a rather complex network of public services and a major university. Initially, the Center for Studies in Criminal

Justice of the University of Chicago Law School and the Federal Probation Office collaborated on a research design which met the interest and standards of both agencies.

A successful approach was then made to the National Institute of Mental Health for major funding of the research, supplemented by financial support from Ford Foundation funds of the Center for Studies in Criminal Justice of the University of Chicago and from the Federal Judicial Center and the Federal Probation Service.

The degree of cooperation between the University, the Federal Probation Office and the principal funding source, the National Institute of Mental Health, which obtained throughout the course of this Project, has been outstanding. The firm foundation for such collaboration has long existed between the University and the Federal Probation Office in Chicago as that Office has been an approved field training agency for graduate students from the University School of Social Service Administration and as an observation post for law school students for more than 25 years. During that period, a series of master's degree theses, several Ph.D. dissertations and at least two additional major research undertakings have been completed.

Implementation of the proposal required approval by the judges of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, the Division of Probation of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, the Federal Judicial Center, the Chairman of the United States Board of Parole and the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Practical questions such as the use of ex-offenders as probation officer assistants and candid appraisal of the risks involved in association of former offenders with probationers and parolees was reviewed and the use of such persons fully approved by all agencies involved in this project. As had been hypothesized, the selection of assistants whose motivation to serve and desire to participate in this Project was carefully screened, not only avoided any untoward events but, as is shown in the Project findings, contributed significantly to the rehabilitation of the clients served.

Perhaps the most significant outcome of this Project has been the institutionalization of the position of Probation Officer Assistant with the United States Probation Service. Prior to the inception of this Project, there was no official position in the personnel plan of the Federal Probation Service for probation officer aides. Following completion of the original three year phase of this Project, the Chief of the Division of Probation supported a proposal for the establishment of a new para-professional position in the Federal Probation Service. This proposal was then referred to the Committee on the Administration of Probation of the Federal Judiciary, and following a full review of the proposal, that Committee presented a

positive recommendation to the United States Judicial Conference presided over by the Chief Justice. This recommendation was, in turn, approved by the Judicial Conference. The Administrative Office of the United States Courts was thereafter authorized to create a para-professional position titled "Probation Officer Assistant." Appropriations were then secured and probation officer assistant positions have been authorized in five district courts, namely the District of Columbia; the Southern District of New York, New York City; the Southern District of Indiana at Indianapolis; the Northern District of Illinois at Chicago and the Northern District of California at San Francisco. In approving this new position, a career ladder was also designed which affords an opportunity for an assistant who is so motivated to embark upon an educational program which meets the basic standards for appointment to the professional position of federal probation officer.

The Project has confirmed the value of collaboration in a research and action project between an operating agency and a university research center; it has begun the testing of new treatment relationships; and it has launched a new career line.

Ben Meeker
Norval Morris

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There is an element of risk involved when one attempts to single out those who have made important contributions to a research project. Our research was finalized only through the hard work and dedication of all the Project Staff, both full time and part time. We wish to thank all those who were associated with our Project and no matter how small a role they believed they played, we have profited greatly from their contribution and we are deeply in their debt.

The idea for the Probation Officer-Case Aide Research Project originated through the foresight of Professor Norval Morris, Director of the Center for Studies in Criminal Justice, University of Chicago Law School, and Ben S. Meeker, Chief U.S. Probation Officer, Northern District of Illinois. It was they who very early recognized the need and advantage of having a para-professional program in corrections. Through their efforts and those of Hans W. Mattick, Director of the Center for Research in Criminal Justice, University of Illinois, (formerly Co-Director of the Center for Studies in Criminal Justice, University of Chicago Law School) and Seymour J. Adler, Director of Court Services, Cook County Juvenile Court, (formerly Executive Director of Youth Guidance) who collaborated on the original Probation Officer Case Aide proposal, many of these innovative ideas became reality.

The success of this far-reaching and imaginative endeavor, largely depended upon the probation officer assistants, who were willing to give so much of themselves. Among their many qualifications brought to the Research Project was their dedication, warmth, concern and sincerity.

The Project operations were facilitated by the cooperation of the staff of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, Division of Probation, and in particular Wayne P. Jackson, Chief, U.S. Probation Service, and Merrill A. Smith, former Chief, U.S. Probation Service (retired) as well as the Federal Probation Officers and the staff of the United States Probation Office in Chicago, Illinois. Our Research Project could not have come to a successful conclusion if it had not been for the capable and cooperative staff of the Chicago Federal Probation Office and not only the professional staff members, but a big debt of gratitude is due to the clerical staff and in particular, Miss Mary Lou Pontius, Chief Clerk, and Mrs. Mary Nelson, in charge of the Reception and Intake Department. It was they who shared much of the burden of assisting our researchers in the collection of data. The support and participation of all the Federal Probation Office staff members in Chicago was essential to the Project's success. A special thanks to Chief Probation Officer, Ben S. Meeker, and Deputy Chief Probation Officer, Wayne L. Keyser, who provided the Project with the opportunity and

facilities to undertake this study and for their valuable advice on procedural and administrative matters.

The Project Staff enjoyed a most cordial and valuable relationship with the University of Chicago's Center for Studies in Criminal Justice and with the Project's Advisory Committee. Their knowledge and experience were invaluable in providing us with the technical suggestions on the method of study and compilation of statistics and in our developing of overall guidelines.

Beola Barber, the Project's Executive Secretary, must be commended for her unique abilities, not only as the Project Secretary, but her overall contributions to the smooth functioning and efficiency of the POCA Project was outstanding and deeply appreciated.

We would be remiss if we did not acknowledge the great contribution of the five professional supervisors who worked either in Phase I or Phase II, or in both. They indeed were the front-line personnel, in that they were the ones who dealt directly, day-to-day, with the probation officer assistants and were totally involved in their supervision and training. It was only through their accumulated fund of knowledge and skills that any success was achieved in this Project.

Finally, on behalf of the Project Staff, and the Advisory Committee, we would like to thank the National Institute of Mental Health, represented by Saleem A. Shah, Ph.D., and Mrs. Elizabeth Kutzke, for their financial support and for the confidence they have displayed in this study and to the Honorable Alfred P. Murrah and the Federal Judicial Center for additional financial support. To all, including the Center for Studies in Criminal Justice, University of Chicago Law School, as well as the National Institute of Mental Health and the Federal Judicial Center, we are most grateful for the guidance they have given us in evaluating our efforts and for their invaluable advice and encouragement throughout this research project.

William S. Pilcher
Administrator and Action Director

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Although not a member of the Advisory Committee, a special thanks and acknowledgement must be given to the Honorable Edwin A. Robson, Chief Judge, U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois. In matters where major decisions were to be made, Judge Robson was always consulted, and we profited greatly from his invaluable assistance and wisdom.

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* Denotes those POA's who were employed on a part time basis in both Phase I and Phase II of the Research Project.

** Denotes those POA's who worked part time in Phase I and full time in Phase II. After completion of the Action Phase, these same four POA's joined the full time staff of the Federal Probation Office, Northern District of Illinois, as assistants.

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PART A. POCA IN PLANNING

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND¹

A significant development in corrections during the past decade has been rapid expansion in the use of non-professionals as agents of direct service. In large measure, this has been an outgrowth of a long-standing, severe shortage of professionally trained manpower, and mounting disenchantment with some professional treatment models. There simply are not enough professionals to fill even a fraction of existing correctional positions. And, even if there were, there is little evidence to support a belief that success rates (by whatever standards) would thereby markedly increase. Numerous special research projects featuring intensive services provided by highly-trained professionals have failed to reveal consistently favorable results.²

Correctional work entails a wide variety of tasks aimed toward rehabilitating a widely diversified group of people. While some of these tasks and some offenders clearly require

¹Much of this section is excerpted from D. W. Beless, W. S. Pilcher, and E. J. Ryan, "Use of Indigenous Non-Professionals in Probation and Parole," Federal Probation, March, 1972, an earlier report on the POCA Project.

²See for example, Ward, D., "Evaluation of Correctional Treatment: Some Implications of Negative Findings." Proceedings of the First National Symposium on Law Enforcement Science and Technology, Thompson, Washington, D.C., 1967.

professional competence to effect change, others do not.

Further, certain tasks and certain kinds of offenders may be more effectively served by non-professionals working in teams with professionals. The testing of that proposition was the focal point of this research project recently concluded at the U.S. Probation Office in Chicago.

The initial phase (Phase I) of the Probation Officer--Case Aide Project (POCA) was a three-year experimental field study of the use in probation and parole supervision of part-time indigenous, para-professional probation officer assistants--POA's. Phase I began in October, 1968, and concluded in September, 1971. A refocused one-year continuation phase (Phase II) concluded in September, 1972.* Both projects were jointly sponsored by the University of Chicago's Center for Studies in Criminal Justice and the U.S. Probation Office, The Northern District of Illinois (Chicago). Financial support was provided by a research grant from the National Institute of Mental Health and by the Federal Judicial Center.

The major objective of Phase I was to examine the effects of using part-time, indigenous paraprofessionals, a portion of whom were ex-offenders themselves, as assistants to probation and parole officers. While primary interest centered on the effects of the experimental service on client outcomes, attempts were also made to assess changes in POA's. Areas of

* See Part Two of this report for a detailed account of Phase II of the POCA Project.

specific interest concerning POA's were degree of job satisfaction; quality of performance; and changes in career aspirations, beliefs and attitudes. A central project goal was exploration of the kinds of tasks indigenous non-professionals are best equipped to manage, and those areas best left to professional staff officers.

THE PROBLEM

Manpower needs in corrections have reached a critical stage in the last few years. In 1965, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice reported an immediate need in juvenile corrections to double the present number of parole and probation officers and to triple the number by 1975. In the adult field, the Commission estimated an immediate need for three times the existing work force. For misdemeanants, the Commission recommended an immediate eightfold increase in the work force. In actual numbers, probation and parole could have absorbed twenty thousand additional workers in 1965. (Phillips, 1969)

Korn (1968) in his discussion of correctional manpower needs put the problem in somewhat different perspective. He labeled as myths two beliefs widely held among correctional workers, and outside the field as well: first, that many correctional problems would be solved if only correctional personnel were better trained; second, that a major obstacle to correctional progress could be overcome by recruiting better trained workers in adequate numbers. He hypothesized

that "many of the present difficulties in corrections stem not so much from deficiencies in the numbers of personnel as from deficiencies in what the personnel are doing." This is consistent with Loughery's (1969) view that

"probation must get out of the country doctor era and into the age of the clinic. We can no longer waste the training of probation officers on inappropriate tasks. We are less in need of extra probation officers than we are in need of a corps of auxiliary workers to spread the effect of the officers we already have..."

Cressey (1965) pointed out that subscribing to a theory of correctional rehabilitation which can be implemented only by highly educated professionals, while concurrently recognizing that there probably never will be enough professionals, has led correctional workers into a welter of frustration. Instead he recommended making

"maximum use of the personnel actually available to act as rehabilitation agents. There is no shortage of mature, moral, average, fine run-of-the-mill men and women of the kind making up the majority of the personnel manning our factories, our business, and our prisons-men and women who have a high school education at the most."

Professional workers in corrections have recognized for many years the need for change in community management of correctional supervision practice. For a number of years and on a limited scale innovative programs have been developing in corrections. Halfway houses have been established by private organizations and public agencies, to help newly released offenders become re-established in the community. Work-release has been permitted for individuals serving short sentences, usually in county jails, thus maintaining

community ties and family independence. This has been a long, laborious and piecemeal process.

In 1965, three pieces of legislation of great significance to corrections were passed by Congress, authorizing funds to implement changes on a broader scale. The Law Enforcement Assistance Act, administered by the Department of Justice, permitted the authorization of funds to both public and private agencies to experiment with manpower utilization for crime prevention and rehabilitation of offenders. A direct result of the Arden House Conference of 1964 was the Correctional Rehabilitation Study Act, which funded studies in manpower needs and made recommendations to Congress. The Prisoner Rehabilitation Act, or "work-release bill", provided funds to develop half-way houses and other community based programs for adult offenders in federal prisons. These programs facilitate the often difficult transition between the mindless dependency of inmate status and the often frightening adjustment to a life of self-determination in a greatly changed world. Furthermore, the programs provided a supplement of concrete services to assist the officer responsible for parole supervision. Two other sources of funding were the National Institute of Mental Health and the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development which made grants for demonstration and training for new roles in utilizing correctional manpower. (Otis, 1966)

A number of studies have been conducted to determine the optimum use of existing correctional manpower. In a recent study of federal probation and parole conducted by the University of California School of Criminology at Berkeley, caseload size was manipulated according to a typological schema. A particularly interesting facet was revealed when seventy-five successfully terminated probationers and parolees were asked to account for their success under supervision. The same question was put to the supervising officer, and a friend or family member of the offender. A high level of agreement was found among the three groups--officers, offenders and third party respondents--on two important points. First, the three groups concurred that elements in the community setting were highly significant in facilitating successful completion of supervision. Second, the groups agreed that a role of relative insignificance was played by the officer in bringing the offender's period of supervision to a successful conclusion.

To similar effect, Sigurdson (1969) noted the importance attributed to community resources in the rehabilitation process, and raised questions about the training qualifications required of correctional workers. In probation and parole work, much of the professional's time is occupied with writing reports and providing concrete services on behalf of his charges, leaving him little time for intensive counseling, the service for which he was trained. Sigurdson pointed out that "in social work, manipulating the environment is generally viewed as the non-professional aspect of the practice.

Accordingly, it would be quite feasible to train non-professionals to facilitate the integration or reintegration of offenders into society" through provision of concrete services. Demands upon the time of the professionals would be reduced, and his role enhanced in that he could assume the role for which he was trained. In addition, he could assume direct responsibility for training and supervision of the non-professional. Thus, according to Sigurdson, expanding the role of the non-professional is the most realistic alternative available to alleviate the correctional manpower shortage. There exists a large pool of untrained, unemployed non-professionals, who can be trained to perform significant reform roles. Economically, it would be efficient to use them, because with the increase in automation, many people "leaving production occupations will be available for service of rehabilitating criminals." (Cressey, 1965) And there are substantial historical roots for the use of the non-professional in corrections.

Probation in the United States was begun in 1841 by volunteers of whom John Augustus, a cobbler, was the first. Probation was presented as an alternative to incarceration. Today, over two hundred courts in the United States, most of them adult misdemeanor or juvenile courts, are now using part or full-time volunteers to provide correctional services. Many of these volunteers are well-educated, middle-class business men or professionals in other fields. Goddard and Jacobson (1967) described the volunteer as an unpaid worker who

provides more or less regular and continuing services. Much of the volunteer's usefulness stems from his knowledge of the community resources and opportunity. Goddard and Jacobson (1967) found that juvenile court use of volunteers in Eugene, Oregon, enabled the court to reduce the probation period.

"A protracted delinquent status through official court supervision re-enforces the concept of self as 'delinquent'. The use of volunteers, who are not identified as court officials, allows the court to withdraw officially at an earlier point, lessen the danger of re-enforcing the delinquent self-concept, and still meet the needs of the child."

Lee (1968) described the use of citizen volunteers from all walks of life in the circuit court juvenile department of Eugene, Oregon. They befriended youngsters with the implicit goal of enhancing performance in school, employment, family and peer relationships. At present, the State of Oregon Division of Corrections is conducting an operation entitled "Project Most". Professional probation and parole officers have been involved in training non-professionals to work in teams with professionals. A few former offenders have been hired, and the staff reports a high degree of optimism about the impact the non-professionals will have upon the Oregon correctional system.

The Swedish system of probation and parole has provided a model for the Volunteers in Probation Project, an experiment by the Boulder, Colorado, Probation Department of the District Court Juvenile Division. In Sweden, 150 professionals called "protective consultants" supervise 4,000 lay volunteers who carry caseloads of one to five offenders, and conduct the

actual counseling and guidance with the probationers and parolees. In the Boulder project, many of the volunteers are upper-classmen and graduate students in sociology and criminology at the University of Colorado. (Otis, 1966)

NON-PROFESSIONALS IN OTHER PROFESSIONS

Other professions have been well-served by the non-professional, and currently career lines are emerging in all the major service fields.² In public school education, the teacher's aide performs many of the routine organizational and administrative functions leaving the highly trained teacher with more time to concentrate on subject matter. The laboratory assistant, nurse's aide, medical and dental assistant have all demonstrated their value to the professions they serve. In recent years, social work has made much greater use of the non-professional. Farrar and Hemmy (1963) conducted a study using non-professionals teamed with professionals to provide many tangible services to a group of aged people. Cudaback (1969) studied case sharing between welfare service aides, formerly AFDC clients, and caseworkers in a large urban welfare department. Perlmutter and Durham (1965) used teen-agers to serve as "pals" to youngsters referred for social work service within the public school system of Champaign, Illinois. Cain and Epstein (1967) recruited a group of housewives who served as volunteer case aides in a state mental hospital to provide a one-to-one relationship for patients, helping them to

² See, for example, Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, New Careers for the Poor. New York: Free Press, 1965.

re-establish interpersonal relationships and to make realistic release plans. In all cases the service programs involving both professional and non-professional workers were reported to be well received by those served; and enthusiastically supported by both groups of workers.

INDIGENOUS NON-PROFESSIONALS

In the last ten years, a movement to recruit auxiliary personnel from within the ranks of, or at least from within the same social class as the population served, has gained increasing strength. Such individuals, often designated as indigenous paraprofessionals, are being used in a variety of social services including corrections. While related to volunteer programs and similarly addressed to manpower shortages, the rationale for the indigenous paraprofessional in corrections differs somewhat from that of the volunteer.

Most professional corrections workers agree that a large segment of their clientele are by virtue of their norms, values, and lifestyles alienated from the main stream of society. Frequently, these persons are referred to as hard-to-reach, unmotivated, and mistrustful and resentful of authority. There exists, in other words, a marked social distance between many middle-class professional corrections workers and a large segment of their lower class clientele.

Such social distance and concomitant lack of rapport, while not categorically impossible to overcome in time, characteristically inhibit the development of a working relationship between client and professional to the point of client non-engagement in the rehabilitative process.

Moreover, social distance by definition discourages client identification with the professional and often makes it very difficult for the professional to serve as an effective role model. The indigenous worker, conversely, has often experienced situations and problems similar to those that beset certain clients. The result may be greater facility in developing productive relationships with these clients. Moreover, the indigenous worker has the advantage of proximity in time and space, while typically the professional is limited to a nine to five, Monday to Friday schedule, living some distance from those served. The indigenous worker, living closer to his clients, has much greater familiarity with their environs, and has greater freedom to move about at times other than business hours.

Current inter-racial tensions in certain areas of major cities point out the need for experimenting with non-professionals recruited from groups having ethnic or racial affinity with certain offender populations. A communication gap resulting from social and cultural distance between middle-class professionals of any race and lower-class minority group members is a growing problem in rehabilitation services. Also differences in racial composition between staff members of correctional agencies and their clientele pose many problems.

Grosser (1966) noted that indigenous persons bring to their staff positions unique qualities: an affinity with lower-class life, the folk wisdom of the urban slum, and the ability to communicate with and be accepted by the ethnic

poor. He saw the local resident worker as "a bridge between the lower-class client and the middle-class professional worker." Rieff and Riessman (1964) described the indigenous worker as follows:

"He is a peer of the client and shares a common background, language, ethnic origin, style and group of interests...he 'belongs', he is a 'significant other', he is 'one of us'. The style of the non-professional is significantly related to his effectiveness, because it matches the client's."

Grosser (1966) found that indigenous workers assess the community's attitudes and predict lower-class views more accurately than middle-class professionals, but he also found the beliefs of his indigenous group closer to those of professionals than to those of the community which they served.

The vast majority of corrections professionals are whites living in comfortable circumstances and quite well educated. However, in metropolitan areas a large proportion of the offender population belongs to lower socio-economic groups, and a majority are non-white. Cultural and value system differences between professional and offender groups impede understanding.

Gordon (1965) suggested the manner in which non-professionals from the same milieu as the disadvantaged client might be more successful than professionals:

"The indigenous leader can communicate instantly to the suspicious and distrustful client, avoiding noblesse oblige, in a way that many middle-class professionals cannot do when dealing with disaffected, hostile, anomic youths who see the middle-class agency worker as a part of the system against which he is fighting... Indigenous personnel who 'speak the client's language' can form an extremely effective bridge between the milieu of the client and the milieu of the agency; they can make important contributions to the counseling team

in contacting the clients to be served, in maintaining them through their agency contacts, and may be particularly effective in followup work with the clients in their home, community, and on the job. A client is more likely to be able to report continuing difficulties, after his counseling contacts, to an indigenous worker, than he is to the professional interviewer toward whom the ethic of mutual cooperation and courtesy requires that he affirm the success of the counseling and deny continued problems."

In Milwaukee, indigenous non-professionals were employed as social work aides in the public schools. Coggs and Robinson (1967) reported a number of benefits: "professional staff was released from unskilled tasks, additional services were provided, and persons in underprivileged communities were given an opportunity to improve their economic status at the same time that their leadership in the community was broadened."

EX-OFFENDERS AS CORRECTIONAL WORKERS

A logical extension of using the indigenous paraprofessional in corrections is use of the former offender. Drawing upon the experience of Alcoholics Anonymous, Synanon, and other self-help groups, it appears that individuals who have experienced and overcome a problem have a unique capacity to help others with similar problems. In addition, evidence exists which indicates that "role reversal" is a key method in rehabilitation of certain offenders. Riessman (1965) characterized this phenomenon as the helper therapy principle and concluded

"....perhaps, then, social work's strategy ought to be to devise ways of creating more helpers! or, to be more exact, to find ways to transform recipients of help into dispensers of help, thus reversing their roles, and to structure the situation so that recipients of help will be placed in roles requiring the giving of assistance."

Cressey (1955) advocated using criminals to reform criminals in an application of Sutherland's theory of differential association. "The criminal-turned-reformer is viewed as the agent of change...and as the target of change." He attributed the success of self-help programs,

"to the fact that such programs require the reformee to perform the role of reformer, thus enabling him to gain experience in the role which the group has identified as desirable. The most effective mechanism for exerting group pressure on members will be found in groups so organized that criminals are induced to join with non-criminals for the purpose of changing other criminals. A group in which criminal A joins with some non-criminals to change criminal B is probably most effective in changing criminal A, not B; in order to change criminal B, criminal A must necessarily share the values of the anti-criminal members."

J. D. Grant has implemented Cressey's principles in the New Careers Development Organization, an outgrowth of a series of studies conducted by Grant and his associates. Offenders were trained for "new careers" prior to discharge; upon release they participated in a variety of correctional and social service programs based in the community. Grant found that "when a client is given the opportunity to be responsible he starts to behave responsibly." (Grant, 1966)

A study recently conducted in Austin, Texas--The Travis County Adult Probation Project employed salaried "probation technicians", including former offenders selected from neighborhoods designated as poverty areas in the community, to provide supervisory services. Employed on a part-time basis were retired persons and former probationers who had made successful adjustments to the community. The Adult Probation

Project staff reported satisfaction with the results. Plans have been made for an expansion of the service.

Empey (1968) saw four beneficial outcomes for society and the offender from developing new careers for offenders:

- 1) "The offender's knowledge would be used as a resource rather than a liability;
- 2) The offender would be involved actively as a reformer rather than as a perpetual enemy or a persistent dependent;
- 3) The offender's involvement would constitute a rite of passage back from a criminal to a non-criminal status;
- 4) The offender would be provided with a career which could be a source of personal and social esteem rather than a source of stigma and degradation."

PROFESSIONAL AND PARAPROFESSIONAL ROLE DETERMINATION

A number of problem areas can develop when introducing the indigenous non-professional into the community based correctional service delivery system. Definition of role responsibilities between professional and non-professional must be carefully made. Terwilliger (1966) saw the professional role becoming "one of coordinating and directing sub-professional activities, providing specialized training for non-professional team members, and rendering those services and judgements which are exclusively professional." Goddard and Jacobson (1967) found that identifying client needs and mobilizing non-professionals to meet them required professional direction with the results justifying the effort. Indeed, experienced non-professionals often made professionals aware of needs previously not recognized.

Terwilliger (1966) recommended that professionals "devise and welcome experimentation in working with non-professionals and be guided simply by what works." Grosser (1966) saw "the learned objectivity of the indigenous worker plus the heightened perception of the professional worker" as the "ideal combination of qualities." The use of non-professionals is not intended in any way to demean the role of professionals or the professionalization of corrections, which is essential if there is to be any hope of success in meeting the complexities of rehabilitating offenders. Rather, the intent is to provide a rational solution to two of the most serious problems often confronting corrections: manpower shortage and social distance between middle-class professionals and lower-class offenders. The "teamwork approach" brings to bear on problems of the offender two kinds of people, each of whom can make a valid contribution, each of whom can learn from the other's point of view. The association of trained professional and indigenous paraprofessional should be one of respect for the value of the other's skills. The teamwork approach enhances both roles by making a rational allocation of available resources.

Richan (1961) devised a theoretical scheme for determining role responsibilities of professional and non-professional workers based upon different values of two variables-client vulnerability and worker autonomy.

"Client vulnerability refers to the susceptibility of people...to damage or exploitation stemming from incompetent or unethical behavior by agency personnel.....client vulnerability indicates the extent to which controls as such are required, whether organizational or professional. The more vulnerable client needs greater assurance that standards of competent and responsible behavior are being maintained.

Worker autonomy is related to the relative appropriateness of organizational as opposed to professional controls. As externally provided formulas and directives are lacking, and as external enforcement of standards becomes more difficult, the worker is more autonomous, more dependent on internal controls."

When both variables are high, the greatest professional knowledge, skill and discipline are needed, but with lesser values of one or both variables the client could be handled by another category of worker-the sub-professional, the specialist or the aide.

Luger (1968) emphasized the necessity of adequate preparation in the community to ensure that indigenous non-professionals would be well received. The New York State Division of Youth, utilizing ex-offenders as staff resources, sent representatives to appear before community groups, i.e., Rotary Club, PTA, etc., and they were always enthusiastically heard by audiences which had little connection with the correctional field. However, personnel from probation and other correctional institutions remained more cynical and reserved. The usual questions were asked by the general public about property values and safety when they saw correctional innovations being implemented locally. Without adequate preparation of the public, Luger (1968) concluded that they feel "threatened and uncomfortable at utilizing the unusual attributes-identification, communication, trust-of the ex-offender because his involvement shakes the public's confidence in the established machinery for resolving crisis situations. The traditional approaches relied upon professional social workers, police, or other acceptable individuals to cope, for example, with anti-social youth. Was this machinery ineffective or powerless in protecting societal norms?"

The New York Project also experimented with using ex-offenders immediately upon release and after functioning independently in the community for a time. They found those who were "on their own" before becoming involved in correctional work had proved to themselves that they had the potential and stability to "make it." Moreover, they had re-established community ties and brought contacts, interest and commitment of others to their work. Luger (1968) found that pressure from the peer community created some difficulty for the ex-offender in his new career. "Joining the establishment is certainly not one of the more widely applauded ventures of the alienated. A realistic analysis of community reactions to the utilization of ex-offenders must include consideration of that segment of the public which is closest to the new careerist - his own peers."

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATION OF POCA

CENTRAL FEATURES OF PHASE I

The action component of POCA Phase I was designed, insofar as possible, to answer the stated research questions and test hypotheses. The central action features of Phase I were:

- 1) The non-professional assistants (POA's) worked part-time, and were indigenous to the population from which the client sample was drawn. Some of the POA's were former offenders themselves.
- 2) Activities of the POCA experimental action unit were essentially independent from those of the professional probation officer staff.
- 3) POA's assumed sole responsibility for provision of direct services to clients in nearly all cases, although ultimate accountability remained with the two project supervisors.
- 4) POA activities were limited to the task of client supervision. They did not participate in other major tasks of the probation office, mainly investigations.
- 5) Clients were assigned to POA's for supervision with some attempt to match POA and client along relevant dimensions.

POCA Phase I was conducted using only part-time para-professionals for several reasons. The degree to which they could play a useful role in the supervision process was unknown prior to the study. Part-time employment was

considered a logical way to phase in a new component in an on-going process. It was reasoned that, because both professional probation officers and their clientele are generally employed and thus inaccessible to each other during weekdays, the optimal periods of productivity for part-time paraprofessionals are evenings and weekends. By working evenings and weekends POA's can supplement the services of professional officers and be available at a time when most clients are more readily accessible. Thus, POA's were frequently able to see not only the client but his family as well.

Another more concrete reason for employing only part-time POA's during Phase I was concern about their job security. Since it was by no means clear in advance that full-time career opportunities for paraprofessionals would emerge in the future, it seemed unrealistic to ask a project participant to sacrifice seniority and other job benefits in present employment to gamble on the very uncertain project of a full-time POA job after the project's conclusion. However, by the time Phase II was designed the likelihood of placing a few well qualified ex-POA's in a permanent correctional job had increased. As a result four POA's were employed full-time in Phase II.

MANAGEMENT AND SPONSORSHIP

Phase I of POCA began October 1, 1968, and consisted of three stages: planning and organization, operations, and scaling down. Organization of the project occupied the first six months, during which time the action and research staff members held weekly planning meetings. Selection criteria

for both clients and POA's were established, and recruitment and orientation procedures were developed. The supervisor's role, and POA function and method of operation were mapped out. Administrative matters--that is, insurance, bonding, recording, pay, travel reimbursement, geographic limits, identification, fingerprinting, and confidentiality--were also considered, and initial operating policy was established. After two months of planning, a schedule for "tooling up" was completed. Three months before project operations (action component) began, recruitment and selection of POA's was started. Two months before the operational stage, the first POA orientation program was held.

In the final month of the planning and organization stage, selection of clients was made, and by April, 1969, the action director began to assign cases. The operational stage continued for a period of twenty-six months, but recruitment and orientation of POA's were concluded with the ninth orientation program held in the tenth month of operations. Client selection and assignment of cases terminated in January, 1971 and the operational stage of the project was terminated on May 31, 1971.

In the last five months of operation and for four months thereafter, Phase I scaled down during which time the volume of cases handled was reduced through a natural rate of attrition. At the end of this period, the few remaining cases handled by POA's other than those employed for Phase II were terminated and distributed to probation staff officers for continued supervision.

Five professional staff positions were established during

Phase I.

- 1) Action director. Responsible for supervising on-going project operations. Handled most of the public contacts including the many requests for information about the project, and also served as the major liaison with the probation office staff, and was a member of the POA selection panel. In addition, responsible for the two supervisors, involved in orientation, training, and handled POA recruitment.
- 2) Supervisors (two). Directly responsible for the activities and in-service training POA's; and participated in the orientation programs.
- 3) Research director. Developed the research design and determined what information was needed about both POA's and clients in order to evaluate the results.
- 4) Research assistant. Developed questionnaires for data collection and responsible for the logistics of collection.

All professional staff positions were filled by the project starting date with the exception of the research assistant who joined the staff one year later. Only one staff member, a supervisor, did not remain with the project throughout its duration. All professional staff positions

were full-time with the exception of the research director who served the project on a half-time basis. The action and research directors and both supervisors were thoroughly familiar with probation office policy and probation supervision practice, all having served as staff officers for a number of years. Other professional services to the project were obtained from outside consultation, including: psychological testing, typology utilization, research methodology, POA screening and selection, orientation and training.

Planning and development of all various aspects of Phase I operations were the shared responsibility of all professional staff members. In addition, the action and research directors were members of the advisory committee. The advisory committee, composed of recognized experts in many areas of corrections, was established to assist the project staff in decision-making and to engage in exploratory thinking with the action and research directors. The committee met nine or ten times during Phase I of POCA. At each meeting a progress report was presented, and consideration was given to policy questions arising from day-to-day operations.

Among the substantive matters handled by the advisory committee were criteria for selection of POA's and experimental subjects, plans for orientation and training of POA's, typing and matching, recruitment of POA applicants and numerous questions relating to research design. Toward the end of Phase I the committee assisted in the drafting of

proposals for a year's continuation study and for eventual establishment of a permanent POA career line in the U.S. Probation Service.

The Center for Studies in Criminal Justice, located within the Law School at the University of Chicago, provided general administrative services for POCA, including secretarial service, handling payroll for the POA's, office equipment and supplies. Some staff members and all POA's were employees of the University, but the action director and one supervisor remained on the government payroll. The Center for Studies in Criminal Justice provided technical support for research aspects of the project, calling upon the rich methodological and behavioral science resources of other facilities and departments of the University. The support was available to the action and research directors on a continuing basis throughout the project, with the Center offering research advice, consultation and supervision to POCA. During evaluation and writing of the final report, the technical resources of the center and of other relevant faculties and departments of the University of Chicago were used extensively.

POCA was conducted in the U.S. Probation Office in Chicago. This office has a professional staff of twenty field officers and six administrative officers, supervising approximately 1500 federal offenders for the U.S. District Court, the U.S. Bureau of Prisons and the U.S. Board of Parole. Its geographical area of responsibility entails the northern eighteen counties of Illinois. The probation office occupies an entire floor of the Everett M. Dirksen Federal Building,

which is centrally located in the heart of Chicago's "Loop." Two U.S. Bureau of Prisons employment placement specialists occupy offices in the probation department and are available for consultation with officers and assist in making some direct job placements of offenders.

Throughout the project, the teaching and in-service training functions of the U.S. Probation Officer Training Center were located in the Chicago office. The Training Center is the major in-service training resource for the entire U.S. Probation Service, offering introductory and refresher courses for U.S. Probation Officers throughout the year. Though it has since moved most of its activities to Washington, D.C., while located in Chicago the Training Center operated in close conjunction with the schools of social work of the University of Chicago, Loyola University and the University of Illinois. It also participated in summer programs for undergraduate interns in social work. A number of individuals later hired as probation officers have been assigned to that office as a part of their graduate school field training.

A variety of facilities and services were provided for operations of POCA by the Chicago U.S. Probation Office. The Chief Probation Officer and his administrative staff, probation staff officers not directly assigned to the project, and the office clerical staff provided assistance and support in many aspects of project planning and operations. Office space for the entire project staff and use of the general office facilities, that is, reception desk, Training Center including

audiovisual equipment, waiting room, and lounges were utilized. Office furniture, file cabinets, and most office supplies were provided or supplemented. Telephone service, mail and shipping costs incidental to the project were supplied as were travel expenses for supervisors incurred through field operations in training and management of POA's.

BUSINESS AFFAIRS

Insurance

Whether or not POA's were covered by government insurance for job related injury or death was unclear throughout the project. The Bureau of Employees' Compensation of the Department of Labor advised that individuals who are assigned routine work under the direction of a government agency are eligible for benefits under the Federal Compensation Program. This was interpreted to mean that POA's were covered, although because they were not actually receiving government compensation coverage was not assured. According to the Bureau, while it is likely "volunteers acting on behalf of a federal agency" are covered, litigation would probably be necessary to establish this as a certainty. Noting that graduate students had been conducting field work in the U.S. Probation Office for over twenty years without incident, government coverage was assumed. Fortunately, it was not necessary to file a claim at any rate.

Bonding

Bonding of POA's was instituted to provide the POCA Project and research clients with basic financial protection in the event of POA misconduct. Bonding was difficult and time-consuming to arrange for a variety of reasons.

Initially attempts were made to arrange for bonding with the Illinois State Employment Bonding Service. However, under that program individuals who are commercially bondable are ineligible and the employer must offer the applicant full-time work with a "reasonable expectation of permanency." A request for a waiver of these regulations was made but after repeated delays, covering seven months, a negative decision was reached.

Ultimately all POA's were bonded (name schedule bonds) in the amount of five hundred dollars through the McLaughlin Company of Washington, D. C. The basis of the premium was identical to that of the bonding demonstration program of the Department of Labor. The rate of premium for a POA was \$1.75 per \$500.00 of bond coverage per month or any fraction thereof, subject to semi-annual adjustment.

The procedure was very simple, requiring only that the action director record on a form his own name, the name of his employer, the name of the POA and the amount of the bond (\$500.00), and the effective date. Nothing was required of the POA. To terminate the bond, the reverse side of the form was used, and similar information given, only this time the effective date of termination was given. A copy of the form can be found in Appendix A.

The POA's themselves, particularly the ex-offenders, generally welcomed bonding. A number of them ^{HAVE} lost employment opportunities because they were unable to secure commercial bonding. A number of POA's expressed the belief that once bonded, future bonding would be less difficult. Fortunately, no problems arose necessitating forfeiture of the bond.

Pay Plan

During the first few months of the project POA applicants were paid two dollars an hour for participation in the orientation programs and travel expenses were provided at the rate of ten cents per mile. Upon assignment of cases POA's were paid at the rate of \$2.25 per hour plus travel expenses. After about four weeks of project operations, it became apparent that POA's were grossly exaggerating the amount of time spent in visiting clients and distances travelled. It therefore became necessary to develop an alternate pay plan.

Reimbursement for transportation was eliminated. POA's were paid \$3.00 per hour for orientation and for contacts with friends, relatives or employers of clients. Five dollars an hour was paid for personal meetings with a client.

The problem of exaggerated time reports continued despite attempts at tighter control by the supervisors. In addition, the hourly pay system was generating mountains of paper work which by the time the project was employing 40 POA's would occupy a secretary full-time.

Obviously a new plan was needed. Under the third and final pay plan POA's were paid a set amount weekly. This "salary" was expected to cover all expenses as well as travel costs incurred in the performance of their duties.

Six dollars was paid for each orientation session except the session in which psychological testing was conducted. An amount of \$8.00 was set aside for that session, because testing was conducted several weeks after orientation for some POA's. The possibility of withholding pay until orientation had been completed was considered but rejected. To withhold

pay until completion of orientation would have eliminated a successful screening device and confounded the assessment of motivation. Previous experience indicated that some applicants attended one or possibly two sessions, and then dropped out. Payment for each session made it all the more easy for unmotivated applicants to screen themselves out.

The weekly salary paid POA's varied in accordance with the number of cases supervised. A POA with one case received fifteen dollars per week, with two cases twenty-five dollars weekly, and three cases (the maximum) thirty-five dollars weekly. The salary was intended as full payment for all expenses including work time, travel time, and travel expenses.

In arriving at these figures it was estimated that in an average work week the POA with one case would have at least one personal contact with his client, one with other persons, and a personal contact with his supervisor. The reimbursement for a client contact was five dollars, for contacts with other persons four dollars, and four dollars per supervisory conference. The additional two dollars was for miscellaneous expenditures such as time spent in telephone reporting and organizational work. The weekly income was increased by only ten dollars for the second and third cases each because the time allotted for conferences between supervisor and POA would remain substantially the same.

The pay-by-the-case plan proved quite satisfactory to both POA's and project staff. Payment was made every two weeks by check prepared at the University of Chicago. A POA was employed as a courier taking payroll vouchers to the

University and bringing the checks to the probation office on alternating weeks. Most POA's picked up their checks at the office rather than having them mailed out. Payday thus became the supervisors' busiest day as they met with a steady stream of POA's "killing two birds with one stone."

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

In the second month of the planning phase, an inaugural luncheon was held to publicize the project (see press release in Appendix A). Considerable interest was generated by the publicity resulting in numerous requests for information and at least ten applications for the POA position. Shortly thereafter the action director, the chief of probation and one of the directors of the Center for Studies in Criminal Justice were invited to the regular monthly meeting of the judges of the U.S. District Court in Chicago. The judges expressed their interest and general support, although there was some concern about possible indiscretions by POA's, particularly inasmuch as former offenders were being employed.

In the twelfth month of operations an "open house" buffet was held for POA's. The entire probation office staff, the retiring and new chief judges, and members of the Center for Studies in Criminal Justice were invited. The work of the POA's was applauded. Several POA's were observed bending the judges' ears. Although the occasion was mainly social, it permitted POA's and probation staff officers to exchange ideas and to become more knowledgeable about and less fearful of each other. This was critically important if

the role of the POA were to evolve into a permanent position. Occasions such as these were particularly necessary during Phase I because of the isolation of the experimental unit.

A final open house buffet was held to mark the termination of regular project activities and to honor the POA's. Again the entire probation and project staffs including clerical workers were in attendance, along with the advisory committee members and the chief judge. Certificates were presented to the POA's by the chief judge, acknowledging their participation in the project (see Appendix A). The directors of the two agencies sponsoring the project offered words of appreciation.

PART B POCA IN ACTION

CHAPTER III

RECRUITMENT, ORIENTATION AND SELECTION OF POA'S

RECRUITMENT

Early in the organizational stage the action director and both supervisors conferred with each director of the few local programs which were using indigenous, community based case aides in correctional and non-correctional settings. The contacts had a two-fold purpose: 1) providing background information for the development of guidelines for selection criteria, training and operational procedures, and in addition, 2) "spreading the word" about the POCA Project, thereby facilitating recruitment.

One such program was sponsored by the City of Chicago Joint Youth Development Committee (JYDC), serving state and local offenders. The JYDC program staff selected candidates for the position of case aide. Candidates were then screened by a citizens' advisory committee in each of the three inner-city neighborhoods where the program operated. As it was designed to work with juvenile and youth offenders, the lower age limit of eighteen was established for the JYDC aides. However, JYDC staff reported that aides between the ages of twenty-five and thirty were best able to handle the responsibility. Those younger

were judged too immature. Significantly, JYDC staff concluded that maturity of the individual was the single most important criterion in selecting a case-aide. They also recommended hiring part-time aides whose full time work was scheduled on "split-shifts," so that they would be available during the day (that is, bus drivers, waiters, etc). The JYDC experience was that case aides had been very effective in helping resolve such concrete problems as housing, medical service, employment, building code violations, and simple family problems, but over-identifying with the client was a fairly common problem.

The POCA Project staff also conferred with the executive secretary of the Chicago Area Project, an on-going operation of long duration, which had employed former offenders in a case aide capacity for years, some on a full-time, professional basis. He warned against being too demanding and overly critical, particularly in the beginning phases as many indigenous paraprofessionals were not acquainted with the rigors of a daily routine. He stressed the necessity for permissiveness in allowing paraprofessionals to use their own concepts and in accepting their idiosyncratic methods, while guarding against allowing them to develop habits which later become difficult to change.

Also visited was the "People United", a church-related agency whose function was to develop community relationships in an area of Chicago, heavily populated by American Indians, Puerto Ricans, and Appalachian whites. In his

efforts to develop community resources for the area residents, the director had engaged several offenders as part-time, unpaid volunteers. The director suggested consideration of a store-front approach, indicated ⁱⁿ ~~out~~ that just because community residents are ^{accustomed} ~~used~~ to working with others in the same area, the orientation does not necessarily become community focused, and therefore, "selling" the project to local organizations should be undertaken. Several agencies which could be helpful to the project, both for POA recruitment and services to clients were suggested. Although the staff agreed that the store-front model had merit, use of such an option in the POCA Project would have required major revisions in budget, design, and staff changes. The model was rejected because the advantages did not appear to warrant the costs involved.

During the first two months of planning and organization staff officers of the Chicago U.S. Probation Office were asked to refer as likely candidates for the position of POA, the names of former offenders known to them. The file of each federal offender thus referred was reviewed. Twenty were interviewed and six were employed as POA's. In addition ex-offender applicants from other federal as well as state and local jurisdictions were recruited and employed.

After two months of project operations, the number of ex-offenders serving as POA's slightly exceeded that of non-offenders. The recruitment drive through outside agencies had netted mainly the ex-offender as an applicant. The project staff tried to step up the recruitment of non-offender

POA's by preparing a leaflet which briefly described the position and gave the name and telephone number of the action director. A copy can be found in Appendix A. The leaflet was widely distributed among a variety of resources, including neighborhood organizations and newspapers, settlement houses, welfare agencies, junior colleges, and the area offices of the Illinois State Employment Service. These recruitment measures resulted in sufficient numbers of non-offender applicants, and after ten months of project operations, the balance of the ex-offenders to non-offenders had shifted. Because the majority of those eliminated from the project for various reasons were ex-offenders, they constituted only one-third of the total active POA group.

Recruitment of white POA's proved more difficult than was recruitment of blacks, a problem of some importance as clients and POA's were matched racially but no racial selection factor imposed on the selection of the client sample.¹

None of the recruitment procedures were notably successful in attracting sufficient members of suitable white applicants for the position. White POA's comprised only one-third of the group at the conclusion of project operations. Recruitment of black POA's did not present any serious problems as the project was able to maintain a rather sizeable waiting list of applicants. POA applicants were recruited primarily from neighborhoods having high proportions of project clients.

¹The rationale for racial matching can be found on page 39 of this chapter.

The majority of applicants came to the project from the following sources:

- 1) recommendations of professional probation officers;
- 2) referrals from local social service agencies including correctional ones; and
- 3) self-referrals prompted by word of mouth reports from active POA's and some limited publicity the project received in the local press.

Based upon information about the experience of other agencies with indigenous case aide programs, a drop-out rate of about a forty percent was expected during the orientation period, and another ten percent in the field but this was not borne out. The drop-out rate during orientation was only twenty-nine percent and eight percent in the field. The most common causes for voluntary withdrawals or dismissal are listed:

- 1) Loss of interest upon receipt of further information;
- 2) Arrest after completion of orientation;
- 3) Failure to complete orientation;
- 4) Physical disability;
- 5) Attitude of extreme hostility;
- 6) Alcoholism;
- 7) Past history of assaultive behavior.

Over forty telephone inquiries about the position were informed that they did not meet the basic selection criteria, and could not be considered. Most of them were rejected because they were still on probation or parole or lived outside the city limits of Chicago.

SELECTION: CRITERIA FOR ELIGIBILITY

The selection of POA's was conducted in three stages.

Stage One: Written Application

The written application form (see Appendix A) requested the following information which was used to determine basic eligibility:

- 1) Sex - male;
- 2) Age - 21 years or older;
- 3) Residence - city of Chicago;
- 4) Socio-economic class positions III, IV and V on Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position;
- 5) Ethnicity - American black or American white;
- 6) For ex-offenders -
 - a) Prior record - no record of treason or bribery of a government official;
 - b) No current correctional supervision;
 - c) History of living in the community without conviction of a criminal offense or charges pending for one year prior to the date of application.

1) Sex

The staff decided to restrict the position of POA to men only for two reasons: women constitute less than ten percent of the offender population served by the probation office in Chicago, and inclusion of women in either the client or POA samples would have unduly complicated evaluation of POA functioning and client outcome. Moreover, with the small numbers of female clients potentially eligible, matching by sex and, at the same time, controlling for other variables was impossible.

2) Age

The minimum age limit of twenty-one was arbitrarily established for POA's. It was important that POA's were legal adults and almost more important that they exercise mature judgment. Indeed, very few POA's under the age of twenty-five were employed, mainly because younger applicants were judged by the selection committee to be too immature and to a lesser degree, because very few clients were under twenty-five.

3) Residence

Residence requirements were limited after five months of operations to the city of Chicago for both clients and POA's in order to minimize the social and geographical distance between them. Because the staff had no way of predicting where the client's residence would be located, it was only possible to increase the probability of having a POA living reasonably close, by imposing residence requirements for a smaller area. Originally, POA's and clients were to be drawn from all of Cook and DuPage Counties, an area which includes nearly all the suburbs. Some exceptions to the residence requirement were made for POA applicants who lived in nearby suburbs and travelled into and around the city daily. Nearly all exceptions were made for white applicants, a necessity in order to have them in sufficient numbers.

After ten months of operations, it was noted that seventy-five percent of both POA's and experimental clients lived in two general geographic areas of residence in Chicago:

Southeast: 36th Street to 95th Street
Lake Michigan west to Ashland Avenue (1600 W.)
West: Sacramento (3000 W.) to Austin Blvd. (6000 W.)
Chicago Avenue (800 N.) to Cermak Road (2200 S.)

4) Socio-economic Class

Good communication is an important element in the development of a mutually satisfactory working relationship between worker and client. In order to facilitate communication, efforts were made to reduce social distance through limiting the position of POA to applicants from the lower socio-economic strata. Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position was used to make this determination with POA recruitment limited to members of social positions III, IV and V. Applicants with the following employment-education pattern were eligible:

- a) Laborers, semi-skilled or skilled workers and clerks regardless of education;
- b) Minor professionals with a college degree or less education;
- c) Managers with less than one year of college;
- d) Professionals with a partial high school education or less.

5) Ethnicity

Clients and POA's were matched racially, i.e., black POA's with black clients and white POA's with white clients. Race was viewed as a basic characteristic, an important research variable, that must be controlled as much as possible. It was

therefore decided that other matching factors would virtually never override racial considerations. In other words, the rule of thumb was that within the experimental group, black offenders were to be supervised by black POA's and white offenders by white POA's. Exceptions were seen as possible, but rare and required the consent of both action and research directors.

One potential problem with this policy was that it might appear discriminatory to the casual observer. Such was not the case. Racially matched assignments were made on the basis of diagnostic and variable control considerations, not discrimination. Matching was carried out whenever possible along other dimensions as well. For example, rehabilitated alcoholics and drug users were matched with clients afflicted with these problems. The underlying assumption was that POA's who were similar to their clients would at least have the benefit of their own experiences in helping the client. Inasmuch as POA's were generally without experience as helpers, and the project staff without experience in managing a paraprofessional program, it seemed reasonable to begin to assign POA's in areas where they had demonstrated experience and competence.

One exception to racial matching was made. A black POA was assigned to a white client because only that particular POA appeared able to meet the client's need for intensive counseling by someone living in his neighborhood. This was clearly a case where matching on a racial basis was superseded by matching according to client need and POA qualification.

At the advisory committee meeting after two months of project operations, the decision was made to limit clients and POA applicants to American black and American white, excluding American Indians, Spanish-speaking persons of Mexican or Puerto Rican origin, and all others. The reason for this was that because only a small number of Spanish Americans and others were under supervision, imposition of Spanish American eligibility criteria would further restrict the group size. It did not seem likely that matching would be possible. Moreover, the cultural difference between these groups and native black or white Americans seemed too great. Prior to the change in policy, five Spanish Americans had applied for the position of POA; three were rejected and two were hired and assigned to supervise white clients.

6) Prior Record

In order to be consistent with the employment policies of the federal government, anyone convicted of bribery of a government official or treason was ineligible for the position of POA.

One year of arrest-free living in the community was considered minimal evidence of an ex-offender's rehabilitation. The arrest record of each applicant was investigated through a name-check conducted by the Chicago Police Department and an FBI fingerprint check.

Stage Two: Screening Interview and References

For applicants meeting State One criteria further determination of eligibility was derived from a psychosocial

diagnostic screening interview and general references. The interview usually took about forty-five minutes to an hour, beginning with a brief description of the project and POA position. The primary purpose of the interview was assessment of the applicant's motivation and personal suitability for the job. POA's were required to be in good health generally, emotionally stable with no apparent gross pathology. Literacy and sufficient verbal and communication skills were considered essential. Although not a requirement, nearly all POA's were occupied full-time with either employment or school.

Qualities of a more subtle nature were considered fundamental to POA attainment of success. Among those qualities were:

- 1) A "common sense" understanding, though not necessarily verbalized, of the general society's basic values, standards and laws, with good control over impulses, and acceptance of responsibility for one's own behavior;
- 2) At least an intuitive knowledge that discomfort or stress tends to reduce effectiveness of human functioning, and that immediate help in crisis improves the probability of success;
- 3) Ability to recognize one's own limitations and request the supervisor's help when appropriate (e.g., in crises) and avoid personal involvement;

- 4) Knowledge of community resources and ability to use them appropriately;
 - 5) An understanding of how to develop a helping relationship in service of the client rather than for one's own needs;
 - 6) A capacity to accept individual differences, recognize clients as persons of worth and dignity, control any tendency to be judgmental, and exercise flexibility in dealing with clients.
- Potential for development of these qualities was as much sought in the applicants as the attributes themselves, with further development and enhancement of these very attributes a goal of orientation and training.

Screening Interview

The project staff developed a five point overall judgment scale for rating POA applicants on relevant personality characteristics - that is, level of maturity, empathy, perceptiveness, sensitivity, motivation, etc. Each member of the screening committee independently rated the applicant with the scores averaged to arrive at a single rating within the following range:

1 to 1.4	very high
1.5 to 2.4	high
2.5 to 3.4	fair
3.5 to 4.4	poor (risk)
4.5 to 5.0	very low

While it was recognized that such judgements were highly subjective, there was a high degree of agreement among the independent ratings.

These judgements were expected to serve two purposes. First, they represented a crude prediction of future POA performance, the validity of which could later be tested by comparing them with actual performance. Second, the initial rating provided opportunity to screen out the most obviously unacceptable applicants.

In general, the averaged ratings were applied according to the following guidelines: 1 to 3.4 - acceptable; 3.5 to 4.4 - questionable; 4.5 to 5.0 - unacceptable. Because this system of screening was crude and was aimed at eliminating only those applicants who were by clear and well-accepted standards, grossly unequipped for the job, the staff was left with an enormous range in kind and quality of POA's employed. Every attempt was made to recruit and select a highly diversified group so that relative strengths and weaknesses of different types of personalities, socio-economic backgrounds, and approaches to the job could be examined.

The screening interviews were originally conducted jointly by the action director and one probation supervisor, or by both probation supervisors. Each interviewer independently assessed and rated the applicant, abiding by his own judgement and avoiding influencing or being influenced by his interviewing partner's decisions.

After four months of operations, the time demands of screening on the action staff became prohibitive. As a result a selection panel independent of the two supervisors was established. The project training consultant joined with the action director to form the newly structured selection panel.

This team interviewed the final third of the POA applicants. In addition to enabling the supervisors to concentrate on supervision, eliminating them from the screening process also precluded the possibility of supervisors creating (albeit unwittingly) self-fulfilling prophecies. Screening ratings made by or just known by supervisors raises the chances that such knowledge may affect the kind and quality of supervision given and ultimately the assessment of POA performance. Another benefit of the independent selection panel arose from the focused nature of its work. The training consultant was able to devote considerable time to the development of interviewing procedures and selection indices. Great pains were taken to avoid choosing applicants

"in the professional image." Selection panel members looked for evidence of maturity, sensitivity and perceptiveness, ignoring different standards of dress, manner and speech and tried to be accepting of value systems differing from their own.

References

Although personal references were not requested, the men were told that information submitted on their applications for employment would be verified. Police and school records were checked. If the offenses listed were crimes of violence, requests were made for letters of recommendation from individuals having prior knowledge of the applicants, including: teachers, judges, sheriffs, probation and parole officers, policemen, and others.

This procedure was necessary for two reasons. First, as the POCA Project was a research study, the staff wanted to learn as much as possible about the men who were to serve as POA's. Second, in the context of evaluation by the research staff, certain statements would be made which were subject to verification, for example, median level of education within the POA group. The men were urged to declare themselves as ex-offenders, even if they saw the record as one of very minor offenses. They were, of course, assured that having the status of an ex-offender would not adversely affect consideration for the position. During orientation when the research aspect of the POCA Project was explained more thoroughly, two men with minor records changed their declared status from non-offender to ex-offender.

Stage Three: Orientation and Testing

Applicants who met Stage One criteria and did not receive an unacceptable screening interview rating were invited to participate in an orientation program. The major objectives of orientation were to establish a foundation for subsequent in-service learning in both group and individual supervision and to serve as a final screening mechanism before case assignment. Every attempt was made to keep orientation relatively informal while providing background information in such a way as to enable POA's to perform their tasks without at the same time neutralizing the "indigenous" qualities which made them valuable as paraprofessionals. The expectations of orientation were not high. Most of the training deemed necessary for minimal job performance was designed to take place "in-service,"

during ensuing contacts with the supervisors and other POA's.

The overall goals of POCA had a bearing upon the content of the orientation program. One of the goals was to determine how a probation officer assistant could be used to best advantage. A review of the literature indicated that the indigenous paraprofessional usually functions most effectively as a community worker, well informed about local resources to be used in assisting individuals with problems. Although a limited counseling function was seen as part of the POA role, it seemed likely that he could more easily and usefully fill the role of client advocate and resource person. Project supervisors vacillated on whether POA's should be "junior psycho-therapists," but generally refrained from imposing on POA's their tentative definition of the POA role, choosing instead to allow it to evolve naturally on-the-job.

Another project goal was to specify the amount and kind of training needed to establish the indigenous individual in the role of probation officer assistant. In planning stage contacts with other agencies using the services of paraprofessionals, project staff members were frequently warned about the danger of "over-training." Too much formal training may threaten or bore indigenous POA's, or, equally bad, "bleed out" the very qualities which made them desirable candidates in the first place.

The training consultant identified two areas of concentration within the overall goal of enabling POA's to become effective helping persons. First, the POA should work to alleviate stress on clients which arises from concrete needs and interpersonal problems, but intra-psychic problems

should be referred to the attention of professionally trained probation officers or some other appropriate resource.

Second, the POA should strive to promote identification with those sectors of society which the client is able to use for the purpose of attaining legitimate life gratifications, or upon which he might rely in times of undue or unforeseen stress. Two questions were drawn from these goals: first, what kind of specific knowledge would the POA need to accomplish the goals? Second, what kind of behavior including attitudes, would be needed to implement the knowledge?

The content of orientation was designed to help the POA accomplish performance of four general tasks:

- 1) To participate in training, testing, supervision and research activities;
- 2) To contact and assist the experimental clients;
- 3) To make collateral contacts with employers, social agencies, etc. on behalf of clients;
- 4) To organize their work and render their reports.

Content included an explanation of the relationship between the action and research aspects of the POCA Project, and the necessity of meeting the interests of both to ensure success.

It should be noted that great care was taken throughout orientation to avoid emphasizing status distinctions between probation officer and POA. In order that the POA not

perceive himself as a second-class provider of services, orientation stressed the fact that quality services required a high level of team work. The use of POA's was presented to the trainees from a positive perspective. The staff shared with them their conviction that POA's have much to contribute to the rehabilitation of offenders. POA's were informed that their contributions in correctional services could result in a significant new career line for non-professionals in corrections as has been the case in other fields such as medicine and education. In short, the project staff was careful to minimize the possibility of dealing with POA's in a condescending fashion, emphasizing rather the cooperative aspects of the POA-probation officer (supervisor) relationship.

Responsibility for leading orientation meetings rested with the two supervisors and the action director. From twelve to fifteen POA applicants were in attendance for each of the nine orientation programs offered during Phase I. The meetings were informal and uninhibited. The open and refreshingly frank discussion of emotionally laden issues (that is, racism, exploitation and suppression in the judicial system-whether actual or imagined) became an important part of both POA orientation and ensuing in-service training. Occasionally a trainee missed one of the orientation program sessions, but he was usually allowed to continue with the next orientation group.

Each orientation program was organized into a series of four sessions lasting two-and-one-half hours and held in the evening over a period of two weeks. The content of each of the four sessions is described below.

First Session

The first session, conducted by the action director, was held in the Training Center of the U.S. Probation Office, a room equipped for audio-visual presentations. Participants sat around a conference table and were provided with a copy of a Training Manual for POA's containing a syllabus outlining the orientation program and other materials. Suggested guidelines for training paraprofessionals in corrections can be found in Appendix B. The meeting was devoted to a preliminary introduction to the project and to the U.S. Probation Service, with discussion centering around agency purposes, policies and procedures. Discussion of the probation officer's role included the following: day-to-day operations, statutory responsibilities, historical development of the probation office service, and the function of the probation office in relation to the court, to the client and to the community.

Two films, The Price of a Life, and The Revolving Door, were shown during the first session. The former clearly portrays the function of the professional probation officer, and the latter stresses the importance of the paraprofessional role. Following the film, the action director led a discussion of probation as a problem solving process. The men were always quite responsive, particularly with reference to the film content. Some administrative matters were mentioned, including pay, travel and hours.

Second Session

The second session of orientation was conducted by the two supervisors in the probation office staff conference room, a lounge-like setting with a less formal atmosphere.

Participants sat in a conversational group. The session dealt more specifically with the POA's duties and responsibilities, the limits of his functions, and his relationship to the probation office staff.

POA's were asked prior to the second session to read a sample case in their orientation manuals. Supervisors organized their presentation around two content areas and tied both to the sample case: 1) direct service tasks and techniques, including: providing tangible service, supportive counseling and surveillance, and purposes and limitations of probation and parole. 2) General problem areas, including: unemployment, adjustment to family and community, the addictions, and productive use of leisure time. Other appropriate cases were presented as concrete demonstrations of probation.

Third Session

The third session was again conducted in the Training Center by the action director. General discussions of the role of the POA were continued, and administrative matters were discussed in greater detail. Record keeping was discussed and the interview guideline for reporting client contacts was presented and explained. The action director encouraged the men to suggest changes in form which might occur to them after they had used the guideline for a period of time. POA's raised questions about some of the research decisions; for example, the justification for racial matching. Information was provided about community resources, referral procedures, and the kinds of offenders selected as clients. Also covered were the degree of POA authority, POA role in case management and decision making, problem identification, use of case material and confidentiality.

In the last twenty minutes of the session a ten-point multiple choice quiz was given on the material covered in all three sessions. It was a simple, straightforward quiz used mainly to determine whether the staff members were making the presentations understandable. The quiz was also used as a point of departure for supervisory conferences, as staff assumed that questions missed indicated areas needing clarification for the POA's. Space was provided on the quiz for suggestions from the trainees for improving the orientation program. The quiz was not used as a screening device; that is, there was no cut-off score. But a high score was considered one mark of a well-informed, highly motivated POA. A copy of the quiz can be found in Appendix A.

Fourth Session - Psychological Testing

The fourth session was used for psychological testing, which included a literacy test (Standard Reading Test, Form W), a non-verbal intelligence test (Revised Beta Examination), and the Minnesota Multi-phasic Personality Inventory to measure attitudes, motivation, and more subtle personality problems. These tests were administered with three purposes in mind:

- 1) screening POA applicants;
- 2) classifying and typing POA's for future typology development;
- 3) before and after comparison of POA's for evaluative research.

In practice, however, purposes (2) and (3) were not accomplished. While useful for screening out grossly unqualified POA applicants, the tests did not provide the kind of information required to accomplish meaningful typologies nor were they beneficial as before-after measures. The applicants knew well in advance that testing would be conducted. Each man was first informed during his interview with the selection committee; two reasons were given: first, it was made clear that the project staff wanted to know as much as possible about those serving as probation officer assistants. Second, it was explained that psychological testing results would be of great value to the research staff. Testing was seen as one possible way to distinguish between POA's who were successful and those who were not. During the first session of orientation, the action director again reviewed the reasons for psychological testing, and stressed that the results were to be held in strictest confidence. To allay any fears about the use of test results as a selection factor, the action director minimized the importance of the tests, telling the men of the staff's belief that the selection committee had done a reasonably good job of screening.

The testing program was planned with the help of a clinical psychologist in private practice, and was administered by two POCA Project research assistants, both of whom received a full day of training in test administration at the Diagnostic Depot, the reception center of the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet. Test interpretations were made by the consulting clinical psychologist. Altogether, eight

testing sessions were held with the first two orientation program groups tested together in the fifth month of operations. Testing was concluded in the tenth month of operations. All POA's completing the three orientation sessions were tested. Although not all POA's were subsequently assigned cases, none was eliminated on the basis of psychological testing.

Program Changes

As the staff gained experience with each succeeding orientation program, some modifications in format were made. For example, initially applicants were assigned permanently to a supervisor at the beginning of orientation so that the supervision process could begin as early as possible. It was important that participants in orientation not only attend "classes" (sessions) but also have someone to whom they were accountable and with whom they could arrange individual and small group conferences before case assignment. The practice of supervisory assignments during orientation was continued, but beginning with the third orientation program all assignments were temporary. This was necessary because the distribution of clients to POA's was uneven leaving an unequal distribution of clients between supervisors. Re-assignment of a few POA's (with their clients) kept the overall caseloads of both supervisors approximately equal.

Beginning with the third orientation program much greater emphasis was placed on the importance of the POA position. This emphasis arose out of a mild sense of frustration and disillusionment which some POA's experienced by the end of

the first orientation programs. After the initial elation of being selected for orientation some POA had become frustrated by the temporary, highly experimental, and seemingly insignificant nature of the POA role. As a result more time was spent discussing the potential of programs such as this, both in terms of service and career-line development. Greater recognition was also given to the degree and level of support the project enjoyed from the administrative office of the U.S. Courts, the U.S. Board of Parole, and the federal judges in this jurisdiction. These esprit de corps building activities became less necessary as POA's became aware of the widespread interest which exists in the use of paraprofessionals in corrections.

Beginning with the fifth program the men were instructed to have inexpensive photographs taken (e.g., in a coin operated mechanical photograph booth) for their application files and POA identification cards. Pictures were also of considerable benefit to the supervisors, who, when conducting the second session of orientation were meeting their prospective charges for the first time. The change in composition of the selection panel precluded any prior contact between POA applicant and supervisor. Moreover, the supervisors did not receive a diagnostic summary, the selection panel rating or any other information about the potential POA's prior to meeting them in the second session of orientation. On the basis of their experience in the session,

the supervisors were asked to form independent judgments about each applicant, rating them following the session, and giving their impressions in one or two paragraphs, which were then filed in the applicant's personnel folder.

In the sixth orientation program, seven months after project operations began, a number of changes and additions were made. Grounds for probationary status and dismissal of POA's recently formulated by the staff were discussed thoroughly with the men. A new policy requiring POA's to call in each Thursday was explained, and a new form developed to serve as a guideline for dictation was presented.

Although not true, it was discovered that up to this point, some ex-offender POA's assumed that their clients had been told about their ex-offender status. This provided a rich opportunity in this and subsequent programs to discuss the meaning of ex-offender POA status to probation and court personnel, to clients and to POA's themselves.

Confidentiality was also stressed more heavily from this point on. POA's seemed to exhibit surprisingly little sensitivity on the subject and in at least one instance a POA took along a friend when calling upon his clients. Increased use of examples of what is meant in corrections by the somewhat abstract concept of confidentiality was helpful in avoiding any further problems.

Members of the staff were generally satisfied with the format and content of orientation by the end of the project.

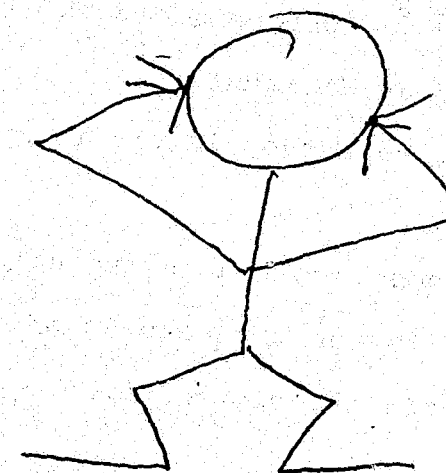
The major strength of the program was its simplicity; limited goals were kept in mind by the staff throughout the project, and overly technical presentations were avoided. However, some suggestions were made for change based on experience acquired thus far. The supervisors agreed that the program might be extended to include an additional session to allow more discussion. Another session would enable the staff to cover the material at a less rapid pace, and would also provide an opportunity to facilitate identification with the federal probation service, not merely part of the Chicago Office. Staff members generally agreed that the duration of individual sessions--2 to 2-1/2 hours--was optimal but suggested experimentation with an all-day Saturday workshop as a substitute for three of the four evening sessions. Psychological testing if conducted, could be held at another time.

In future orientation programming, experienced POA's should be called upon to assist in making presentations to applicants. It was not possible to do this during that period of the project in which orientation programs were held, because POA's did not yet "have their feet wet." Later, however, some POA's participated very successfully in training sessions conducted by the U.S. Probation Training Center for new and experienced probation officers.

In this regard it should be noted that the impact of these training sessions on both new and experienced PO's was considerable - and varied. Some officers, perhaps the

majority, received descriptions of the project with interest and enthusiasm. Others were skeptical at best. The most common concerns raised were that POA's (particularly the ex-offenders) and clients might conspire to commit crimes, or, at the very best, POA's might over-identify with clients and thereby fail to report new violations. Despite evidence to the contrary such fears were difficult to allay.

Apparently for some professional probation officers the use of paraprofessionals represents a threat to their career. Many of the skeptics were quite explicit in expressing their concern about what would happen to them if paraprofessionals were discovered to be capable of performing their job. Of course much care was taken in these discussions to point out the variety of activities which probation officers perform, only a few of which may indeed be appropriately handled by paraprofessionals. Nevertheless, one probation officer left behind at the close of a training session a crude sketch which eloquently expresses this sense of threat:



The Case
Aides are out
to get you.

Final Selection

As indicated previously orientation constituted the final screening of the POA before case assignment. Assessment of performance during orientation was based on observation of the applicant's behavior and attitudes, including the extent to which the applicant was:

- 1) In control of his own impulses;
- 2) In possession of a capacity for empathy;
- 3) Accepting of responsibility for his own actions;
- 4) Able to respond appropriately to client's problems and predicaments;
- 5) Able to respond appropriately to crisis situations;
- 6) Able to become involved in the helping relationship primarily for the benefit of the client;
- 7) Able to accept clients as persons of individual worth;
- 8) Able to recognize his own judgemental attitudes.

Obviously no one short of sainthood measures up consistently in these areas. The point here was to assess the POA candidate's attitudes and behavior over a brief period of time in a semistructured situation in which certain demands were made. For the most part candidates who were screened out at this level lacked motivation for the job and, indeed, a majority of those who entered orientation but failed to be employed as a POA dropped out themselves. No candidate was eliminated from the project following orientation unless in the opinion of the supervisors and the action director his behavior and/or attitude clearly demonstrated unsuitability

for the job.

In conclusion, the goal of the selection process was to strike a balance between the equally undesirable pitfalls of employing only those POA's who mirrored professional values, attitudes and behaviors a conversely accepting all comers without regard to their potential disservice to clients. By establishing baseline qualifications only, the staff was able to select a group of POA's which encompassed a wide range of personalities with vastly different backgrounds. The diversity of their approach to the POA role seems to bear this out.

BECOMING AN EMPLOYEE

Induction - - Oath of Office

Following successful completion of orientation a legitimating ceremony was performed. The action director described one such occasion in his weekly log:

"During the past week seven men were sworn in and fingerprinted. The ceremony performed by Ben S. Meeker (Chief U.S. Probation Officer) was very impressive. The men were escorted into Mr. Meeker's office where they were seated around the conference table. Mr. Meeker gave a ten minute talk on the importance of their role. He indicated that he had heard from the members of the project that they were doing an excellent job, and commended them for their fine work. Meeker then instructed all of them to read and become familiar with the oath, and also asked if anyone, due to religious beliefs, had any objections to taking an oath. At that point, he asked the group to rise and raise the right hand and repeat the oath after him. The men

all signed their forms, and it was then signed by Ben Meeker and notarized."

Thus, was the probation officer assistant inducted into his new role and status, and impressed with the fact that he had become a representative and officer of the court. While such a ceremony may have been of little significance for the non-offender POA, it had a very special significance for many of the former offenders. It represented a positive and rehabilitative counterpart to the earlier adjudication which left him convicted and stigmatized. The POA induction ceremony, in contrast, was an overt recognition of the confidence and trust that was being placed in his competence and fidelity to do the job. "The problem of 'destigmatizing' the offender, of providing a 'rite of passage' back from criminal to a non-criminal status' does not have a simple solution. (Empey, 1968) Erikson (1964) pointed out that

"The community's decision to bring deviant sanctions against an individual is not a simple act of censure. It is a sharp rite of transition, at once moving him out of normal position in society and transferring him into a distinct deviant role.... Perhaps the most obvious example of a commitment ceremony is the criminal trial, with its elaborate formality and ritual pageantry.... Now an important feature of these ceremonies in our own culture is that they are almost irreversible. Most provisional roles conferred by society--like those of the student or conscripted soldier, for example--include some kind of terminal ceremony to mark the individual's movement back out of the role once its temporary advantages have been exhausted. But the roles allotted to the deviant seldom make allowance for this type of passage.

He is ushered into the deviant position by a decisive and often dramatic ceremony, yet is retired from it with hardly a word of public noticeNothing has happened to cancel out the stigmas imposed upon him by earlier commitment ceremonies."

According to Empey (1968) there are two alternatives in the task of canceling out stigmas from commitment ceremonies and, of course, only the latter was available to POA's:

"Either we can find ways for lessening the impact of the dramatic rite of passage from a non-criminal to a criminal status; or we can do more to develop a rite of passage in the opposite direction--from the status of criminal to the status of non-criminal."

There was, nonetheless, some initial opposition to the legitimacy ceremony. The question was whether or not it would over-emphasize the formal and official aspects of the POA role thereby negating the likelihood of informal and more personal relationships developing between POA and client. In short, would the POA simply become another authority figure in the client's life? Would the oath of office tend to isolate indigenous non-professionals from clients, defeating the purpose and intent of the project? In the final analysis the decision to conduct the legitimizing ceremony was based on the belief that its benefits would override these negative possibilities. Moreover, the fact was that POA's were authority figures as representatives of the court. The point to be made was that authority figures do not have to be authoritarian, punitive, or even distant and unconcerned.

Fingerprinting

Following the oath of office POA's were fingerprinted. They understood it to be routine procedure prerequisite to employment by the U.S. government in most correctional jobs. To avoid possible later embarrassment each POA was fingerprinted on an "applicant for federal employment" fingerprint card and the "contributor" was listed as the Chief Judge, U. S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois, Attention: U.S. Probation Office. The use of the "applicant" card and the designation of the Chief Judge as contributor rather than the probation office per se were instituted to ensure that the filing of these fingerprints did not inadvertently appear as a new offense or a probation supervision clearance. This was particularly important for POA's who were ex-offenders and already had a record with the FBI. None of the POA's objected to this procedure.

Perpetual Police Clearance

Upon request from a law enforcement agency the FBI will monitor the arrest record of any known felon. If a new arrest is recorded from any source throughout the country, the requesting law enforcement agency promptly receives a "flash notice" informing them of the new arrest. Some consideration was given to the possibility of requesting flash notification for POA's as a means of verifying that they were arrest-free during the period of their POA employment. Ultimately, however, such an action was determined to be unwarranted and undeservedly belittling. Thus no action was taken and, happily, no untoward incidents occurred.

Identification Cards

When POA's were at the point of receiving their first case assignments, an employment identification card was issued (See Appendix A). The official-appearing, leather-bound card was identical to that issued to "voluntary" probation officers such as graduate students placed in the office for field work training from the various universities in the area. Under the heading of United States Courts Probation System and above the signature of the Chief U. S. Probation Officer the card includes the following statement:

"This is to certify that John Doe whose signature and photograph appear hereon serves as a United States Probation Officer Assistant for the Northern District of Illinois."

Automobile Liability Insurance

When cases were assigned, any POA planning to use his automobile in performance of duties was required to furnish proof of automobile liability insurance.

CHAPTER IV

PROBATION OFFICER ASSISTANTS - A DESCRIPTION ¹

Of the 114 individuals originally interviewed for the POA position, 52 were subsequently employed. Seventy-eight screening interviews were conducted by the two supervisors and action director and 36 interviews were conducted by the action director and project training consultant. Table I presents the mean rating scores assigned to each applicant independently by each interviewer following the interview. The screening ratings for the 52 applicants eventually employed as POA's are presented separately in Table 2, and Table 3 presents their demographic profile.

Interview Rating

As shown in Table 2 none of the 52 POA's received a screening interview of "unacceptable," although 8% were rated as "poor" and 27% as "fair."

¹This section was prepared by Richard M. Grinnell, POCA Research Assistant.

TABLE I
SCREENING INTERVIEW RATINGS OF POA APPLICANTS
ACCORDING TO COMPOSITION OF INTERVIEW PANEL, BY OFFENSE AND RACE

Rating ^a	Total	Ex-offender		Non- Ex -offender	
		Black	White	Black	White
Action Director and Supervisors					
Excellent	6	1	1 ^b	2	2
Good	28	14	4	8	2 ^b
Fair	27	7	5	10	5 ^c
Poor (risk)	8	1	3	4	-
Unacceptable	9	3	1	4	1
Subtotal	78	26	14	28	10
Action Director and Training Consultants					
Excellent	9	2	-	7	-
Good	6	-	2	4	-
Fair	9	1	-	7	1
Poor (risk)	5	2	1	1	1
Unacceptable	7	2	3	-	2
Subtotal	36	7	6	19	4
Total	114	33	20	47	14

a Excellent - 1.0 to 1.4
Good - 1.5 to 2.4
Fair - 2.5 to 3.4
Poor (risk) - 3.5 to 4.4
Unacceptable - 4.5 to 5.0

b Mexican applicants

c Includes 3 Mexican applicants

TABLE 2
SCREENING INTERVIEW RATINGS OF POA's,
BY OFFENSE BACKGROUND AND RACE

Rating	Total	Ex-offender		Non-Ex-offender	
		Black	White	Black	White
Excellent	10	2	1 ^a	6	1 ^a
Good	23	7	5	8	3
Fair	15	3	2	9	1
Poor (risk)	4	1	1	-	2
Unacceptable	-	-	-	-	-
Total	52	13	9	23	7

a. Mexican POA

TABLE 3
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF POA SAMPLE

(N = 52)

Interview Rating

Excellent	10
Good	23
Fair	15
Poor	4

Race

Black	36
White	14
Mexican	2

Offense Background

Ex-offender	22
Non-offender	30

Age (years)

Range	23-64
Mean	38
Median	37

Education

College grad	1
Partial college	20
High School grad	19
Partial High	11
Junior High	1

Occupation

Manager	1
Minor Profess	7
Clerk	15
Skilled	16
Semi-Skilled	11
Unskilled	2

Social Position

III	20
IV	24
V	8

Intelligence Quotient

Borderline	1
Normal	31
Bright-Normal	18
Superior	2

MMPI Evaluations

Normal	39
Pathological	12
Invalid	1

Overall, nearly two-thirds of the POA's received screening interview ratings of "good" or "excellent."

These judgements served two purposes. First, they represented a crude prediction of future POA performance, the validity of which might later be tested by comparison with actual performance. Second, the initial rating provided opportunity to screen out the most obviously unacceptable applicants.

In general, the averaged ratings were applied according to the following guideline: ratings 1 to 3.4: acceptable; 3.5 to 4.4: questionable; 4.5 to 5.0: unacceptable. This system of screening was crude and aimed at eliminating only those applicants who were, by clear and well-accepted standards, grossly unequipped for the job. Every attempt had been made to recruit and select as diversified a group of POA's as was possible. This was important in order to examine relative strengths and weaknesses of a various POA types (loosely defined) with varying socio-economic backgrounds and approaches to the job.

It is interesting to note that all nine applicants who were rated excellent by the Action Director--Training Consultant interviewing panel (see Table 1) were black. Of the six rated excellent by the action director--supervisor interviewing team, three were black, one Mexican and two white. However, these two white applicants had to be rejected because their social position was later found to be clearly "middle-class." Therefore, it can be said that, with the exception of one Mexican, none of the POA's rated excellent was white.

Throughout the project, a waiting list of approximately 40 applicants was maintained, about one-third of whom were ex-offenders. A total of 29 applicants were rejected following the screening interview, and 25 were rejected or dropped out during or after orientation but before case assignment. The major reasons for rejection of applicants were: "middle-class status" (that is, above position III in Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position); serious physical or emotional handicaps, history of assaultive behavior, currently under probation or parole supervision, poor performance (especially motivation) during orientation, and new arrest.

Race and Offense Background

Forty-two percent of the POA's were ex-offenders and three-quarters were black, a figure that approximated the experimental client sample.

Age

As with clients, POA's were a relatively youthful group. Eighty-five percent were under the age of 47. The youngest POA was 23 years old, and the oldest was 64; mean age was 38.

Education

None of the 52 POA's had graduated from college nor did any have less than seven years of education. Thirty-nine percent of the POA's had some college and an additional 37% had completed high school. The median level of education for POA's was completion of high school. The level of education was somewhat higher than might be

expected in an "indigenous" group. While there was no minimum educational requirement for POA's, it is apparent that those applicants with more education tended to fare better in the overall selection process. This should not be too surprising. Many of the personal traits considered important for POA work are also important for a measure of success in education.

Occupation

None of the POA's in the total sample was engaged in professional occupations. Thirty-one percent were employed in skilled occupations, and 29% were in clerical occupations. Two-thirds were engaged in occupations ranging from managerial level to skilled worker.

Social Position

As indicated previously, POA recruitment excluded members of the higher socio-economic positions (that is, social positions I and II in Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position). The vast majority of POA's were found to be in social positions III and IV; 15% fell into social position V.

Intelligence Quotient and MMPI

As shown in Table 3, almost all of the POA's tested in either "normal" or "bright normal" range. Two tested in the superior range and one was borderline. Three quarters of the POA's fell into the "normal" category, while with the exception of one invalid test, the scores of the remaining indicated various levels of pathology. There was no significant difference between the ex-offender and non-offender POA in either IQ or MMPI test scores.

In summary, a typical POA in the POCA Project sample was a black, male, Protestant, 38-year-old, non-offender. As a non-offender, he had not prior juvenile or adult record. The typical POA, furthermore, was a high school graduate, employed in a skilled occupation, a member of social position IV. His IQ and MMPI evaluations were normal, and he received a screening interview rating of "good."

CHAPTER V

SELECTION OF CLIENTS

CRITERIA

Clients meeting the following criteria were placed in the sample pool from ^{which} experimental and control group clients were randomly selected.

- 1) Supervisory status - probation, parole
(including military parole and mandatory release;
- 2) Offense category -
 - a. Postal theft
 - b. Dyer Act - i.e. interstate auto theft
 - c. Interstate Shipment theft
 - d. Narcotics violations
 - e. Forgery and counterfeiting (stocks, money orders, checks, and securities; excluded bank embezzlement from other institutions such as governmental bodies
 - f. Bank robbery
- 3) Length of time under supervision - six months or more
- 4) Age - 21 years old or older
- 5) Sex - Male
- 6) Residence - city of Chicago
- 7) Ethnicity - American black or white (all others excluded)

- 8) Socio-economic status - lower socio-economic class determined by use of Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position¹
- 9) Prior relationship to project - must not have been in the POCA sample (experimental or control group) previously.

Individuals referred for deferred prosecution supervision (that is, informal probation supervision without criminal prosecution) were excluded from the sample, as they tend to fall within the middle socio-economic class and their supervision is usually of short duration, often from three to six months. Furthermore, prior to referral to the probation office, candidates for deferred prosecution are carefully screened by the U.S. Attorney's office to ensure that they are excellent risks for supervision. They are not hardcore in any sense, and when compared with probationers and parolees, would have a much lower rate of recidivism.

RATIONALE FOR SELECTION CRITERIA

Client selection criteria were defined so that offenders included in the sample would be representative of a hard-core conventional criminal group from the lower socio-economic class, the kind of offender who has a high rate of recidivism, and who might benefit most from intensive casework services. Many more minority group

¹August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position, 1965, Yale Station. New Haven, Conn., 1957 (Mimeographed, copyright by author).

members fall into this criminal group than into white collar criminal and racketeer groups. The staff had considered excluding first offenders in all categories to increase the hard-core quality of the sample, but preliminary sampling data indicated that such an exclusion would reduce the sample to an unworkably small size. More than one-third of the offender population served by the probation office were found to have no prior record.

In order to maintain the conventional criminal character of the sample, narcotics violators who were physicians, pharmacists or obvious racketeers were excluded, whereas users and pushers were included. Also excluded were individuals who had committed certain offenses loosely grouped under the title of "white collar crime," such as bank embezzlement, income tax evasion, and securities and FHA violations. Embezzlement from other institutions such as governmental bodies were included, because such offenders, unlike bank embezzlers, are rarely members of the middle class. Supervision by a POA did not seem to be a sensible treatment for a middle-class offender who had committed white collar crime. Records of the Chicago U.S. Probation Office reveal that middle-class, white collar offenders recidivate with less frequency than do lower-class "conventional" offenders, leaving little for the POA or anyone else to accomplish by intensive supervision. Moreover, supervision of middle-class clients by (lower class) indigenous POA's is inconsistent with the basic goal of reducing the social distance between probation officer and client.

Glaser (1964) in surveying the relationship between kind of offense and recidivism concluded that "felony offenses fall into three broad rankings of recidivism as follows:

- a. The most recidivistic category consists of economic offenses not involving violence (larceny, burglary, auto theft, and forgery), and the most recidivistic single type of felony is auto theft.
- b. Consistently intermediate in recidivism rate are several common but diverse types of crime such as narcotics offenses, robbery, and kidnapping.
- c. The lowest recidivism occurs with those offenses most associated with unusual circumstances in the offender's life rather than with offenses pursued as vocations; notable here are murder, rape, and embezzlement.

The issue was not that middle-class criminals rarely recidivate, but rather that white collar criminals, most of whom happen to be members of the middle-class, rarely recidivate. Crimes against persons, i.e., murder, assault, and rape, are only rarely federal offenses and were therefore omitted from the offense category list. However, a number of the sample clients had been previously convicted of these offenses in state and local courts.

Other offenses excluded from the eligibility list were threats to the President, gambling, racketeering, firearms

violations, treason and bribery of a government official. These offenses were also not representative of a conventional, hardcore criminal group. Thus by focusing on particular offense categories an effort was made to select a sample typical of clients who present the most serious problems of social distance and recidivism to probation staff officers.

To insure lower socio-economic status of POCA clients the sample was limited to members of social positions IV and V as defined by Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position. This index provided a means of arriving at a rough but useful classification of social position on the basis of an individual's educational and occupational level. In general, eligible offenders with the following educational and occupational characteristics were included in the sample:

- 1) Semi-skilled and unskilled laborers, irrespective of education level;
- 2) Clerks and skilled workers with less than one year of college;
- 3) Minor professionals with less than junior high school.

Clients twenty-six and older at the time of sentencing were accepted for random assignment if they belonged to groups IV and V. Those ranging in age from twenty-one to twenty-five at the time of sentencing were accepted for random assignment if their parents belonged to groups IV and V, but were rejected if the parents belonged to groups

I, II, or III. This decision was based on the assumption that a man below the age of twenty-six had not yet had enough time to establish his own socio-economic class level, particularly if his parents were of the middle or upper class. Men twenty-six and older were assumed to have established life styles with proportionately more independence and distance from parental social class origins.

Eligibility was also limited to American blacks and American whites, eliminating American Indians, and those of Mexican and Puerto Rican origin. Residence location was restricted to the city of Chicago after five months of project operations. A few exceptions were made early in project operations for some clients who lived in adjacent suburbs, or who made daily trips into the city. No exceptions were made for POA's living outside the city. In the course of project operations, several clients moved from the city to outlying areas, but nonetheless remained part of the project sample.

A client could not drop out of the sample for any reason (e.g. incarceration) and be later reassigned to the POA project. This, of course, was to prevent the undeterminable effects of the interviewing experience from contaminating the outcome.

Duration of client services was limited to a maximum of one year enabling the project to almost double the number of clients served over the two and one-half years active phase of the project. It seemed likely that the level of enthusiasm, rapport, and intensity of relationship between POA and client would be highest during the first year. A good deal of

theoretical literature on the helping process suggests that the principle of diminishing returns over time is operative in most therapeutic situations.² In other words, it is doubtful that in most cases any more can be accomplished in periods exceeding one year than can be accomplished within a one year period. Recent studies indicate that service of a brief time-limited nature is rated by clients as more helpful than open-ended service.³

Clients in the experimental unit were, therefore, transferred to a staff officer after one year of POA supervision. Three exceptions to this practice were made. If the time remaining to be served after one year was less than ninety days, the client was automatically kept under POA supervision. Or, if transfer of a particular client appeared to present substantial threat to his current level of adjustment, an extension was made until a more appropriate time. Postponement of transfer for this reason was rare and was the result of a mutual decision by POA and supervisor, usually occurring when the POA was engaged in some concrete service on the client's behalf, e.g., locating employment or housing. Transfer was also delayed in cases in which legal action was pending, such as, violation of special conditions of supervision and revocation hearings.

²See for example Reid, W. J. & Shyne, A. W. Brief and Extended Casework. New York, Columbia University Press, 1969.

³Ibid.

Existence of a good working relationship between POA and client was not by itself sufficient justification for retaining supervision in the experimental unit. Initially some POA's were reluctant to transfer cases to staff officers, because they thought the clients "couldn't get along without them." However, after experiencing one or two transfers without incident POA's readily accepted the procedure.

Before the sample selection began the staff expected that the criteria of social position and type of offense would automatically exclude professional, syndicate-connected criminals. Although this was generally true, it soon became apparent that certain professional racketeers fell into the sample. Because there was general agreement that most POA's were ill equipped to handle intensive supervision of these offenders, an additional selection screening process was established. Henceforth any offender judged by the active director and a supervisor to be a professional racketeer with obvious organized crime connection, was excluded. The number of clients excluded in this manner was very small.

SELECTION PROCEDURES

Clients eligible for inclusion in the project sample pool were assigned to either the experimental or control group as they entered supervision status at the U.S. Probation Office. The office intake section referred all cases meeting criteria of age, residency, type of offense and type of correctional supervision to the POCA Project, where additional criteria were applied by the project staff. Random assignment

CONTINUED

1 OF 3

of cases meeting client sample selection criteria to either the experimental or control unit was accomplished through the use of a table of random numbers.²

Files of clients falling into the control group, and those of individuals ineligible for selection were returned to office intake for assignment to a probation staff officer with no comment other than notification that the POCA Project was not taking them. In order to reduce the possibility of bias of one sort or another, it was essential that the office staff not be aware of the identity of the control cases. In fact, the office intake section was never advised of the existence of a control group. Files of clients falling into the experimental group were given to the supervisors for assignment to POA's. The office intake staff was notified immediately of the selection, and the probation staff officer originally scheduled to supervise the client was informed of the transfer by a written notification. Sample selection began immediately following the six month planning phase and continued for twenty-one months. A total of 161 cases were assigned to the experimental unit and 141 cases to the control unit.

²Beginning with a single digit random number, even numbered cases were assigned to the experimental unit and odd numbered cases were assigned to the control unit. After a little over one year of project operations this procedure was modified in order to maintain the size of the experiment unit at a time when the overall intake of the Chicago U.S. Probation Office was dropping slightly. Only cases given numbers 1, 2 or 3 were assigned to the control and those cases given 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 or 9 were assigned to the experimental unit. This change in the method of selection did not preclude randomization, but it allowed an increase in the size of the sample.

The staff was able to open and close intake as needed without difficulty throughout the project. After four months of operations, administrative procedures were developed which allowed the action director to review all cases under investigation prior to sentencing. This enabled him to determine which cases were eligible for selection and assignment into the experimental or control group well before actual selection took place.

A small number of cases regularly enter parole supervision from the Community Treatment Center, a pre-release, "half-way" residential facility maintained in the YMCA Hotel by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. Inmates remain at the Center for three to four months while they make a gradual transition from institutional to community life. Intensive efforts are made to help them re-adjust through a program of gradually increasing personal responsibility. Most residents work outside of the center during the day and return at night. To facilitate the transfer of Center clients selected for the experimental unit, determination of eligibility was made just prior to the individual's actually entering parole status.

CHAPTER VI

THE CLIENT SAMPLE - A DESCRIPTION

Three hundred two clients were randomly selected for the POCA Project Phase I. Seventeen were subsequently dropped, reducing the overall sample to 285 clients - 156 in the experimental unit and 129 in the control unit. Excluded from the sample were clients who failed to receive a minimum of six months Phase I supervision. Fifteen clients transferred out of the district and two died before receiving six months of project supervision. Clients who committed a new offense during the first six months of project supervision were included in the sample even if the new offense resulted in revocation of community supervision (i.e., imprisonment).

Age

As would be expected, the sample is relatively youthful. Forty three percent of all clients are under 31 years and only eight percent are over 50 years (see Table 4). There were some differences between experimental and control clients in age. Thirteen percent of each group were over forty-five. Below that age, however, the experimental clients tended to be a somewhat younger group. Forty-nine percent (76 Ss) of the experimental Ss were age thirty or younger, while only thirty-six percent (46 Ss) of the control clients were at this level.

TABLE 4
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CLIENTS

	AGE	TOTAL		EXPERIMENTALS		CONTROLS	
1.	21-30	122	43%	76	49%	46	36%
2.	31-40	85	30%	40	26%	45	35%
3.	41-50	55	19%	29	18%	26	20%
4.	51-64	23	8%	11	7%	12	9%
	TOTAL	285	100%	156	100%	129	100%

Mean = 35 years

Marital Status

Approximately fifty percent of the clients in each research unit were married and living with their spouses, about fifteen percent in each unit were divorced or separated and the remaining thirty-five percent were never married.

Race

The racial composition of the entire sample was sixty-five percent black and thirty-five percent white. Despite random assignment, however, the experimental unit wound up with a much higher proportion of blacks than did the control unit. As shown in Table 5, seventy-two percent of the experimentals were black, compared with fifty-six percent of the controls. As discussed in the following paragraphs this racial imbalance

appears to have been largely responsible for a number of other demographic differences between the two units.

TABLE 5
RACE OF CLIENTS

RACE	TOTALS		Clients			
			EXPERIMENTALS		CONTROLS	
Black	184	65%	112	72%	72	56%
White	101	35%	44	28%	57	44%
TOTALS	285	100%	156	100%	129	100%

Education

A very small proportion of clients had some college training, two percent of the experimentals and five percent of the controls (see Table 6). About twenty-five percent of each group had completed high school, thirty-six percent of the controls and twenty-eight percent of the experimentals had some high school. In the control unit thirty-three percent had no more than junior high school compared with forty-five percent of the experimentals. Thus, the controls had achieved a slightly higher level of education than the experimentals.

TABLE 6
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF CLIENTS

Educational Level	Total		Clients			
			Experimentals		Controls	
1. Graduate	--		--		--	
2. College	--		--		--	
3. Partial Coll	10	4%	3	2%	7	5%
4. High School	74	26%	40	26%	34	26%
5. Partial H.S.	89	31%	43	27%	46	36%
6. Jr. H. S.	89	31%	56	36%	33	26%
7. Less than	23	8%	14	9%	9	7%
Total	285	100%	156	100%	129	100%

Occupation

No doubt as a result of racial and educational differences between the two units, the controls had attained somewhat higher levels of employment. Only fifty-seven percent of the controls were semiskilled or unskilled workers, whereas eighty-one percent of the experimentals fell into this employment category. Thirty-two percent of the controls and nine percent of the experimentals were skilled workers. In the minor professional, managerial, and clerical categories, the two units were equivalent. When the effect of race is controlled in the two groups, these differences in occupational level disappear.

Social Position

The controls were evenly divided between positions IV and V on the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position, but the pattern for experimentals was quite different. Twenty-seven percent of the experimentals fell into position IV and seventy-three percent in position V. This difference is a direct function of more education and higher occupational levels in the control unit which, as has been suggested, appears to be related to the racial imbalance between the two units. Blacks, for example, tended to have less formal education than whites in both units, though among the ten clients with some college, seven were black. Blacks comprised eighty-three percent of all clients with less than an eighth grade education. Blacks were also less likely to be found in the highly occupational levels than were whites.

Juvenile Record

The experimental and control groups were identical with regard to juvenile record. Sixty-two percent had no juvenile record, fourteen percent had received a fine or probation for juvenile offenses, and twenty-four percent of clients in each unit had been committed to a juvenile institution.

Adult Record

The pattern was somewhat different for adult convictions. Forty-six percent of the controls had no prior record as an adult compared with thirty-six percent of the experimentals. Thirty-two percent of the controls and forty-one percent of the experimentals had one or two convictions. Fifteen percent controls and seventeen percent of the experimentals had three or more adult convictions. If prior record is any sort of indicator it may be inferred that the experimentals were, as a group, more experienced, hardened offenders.

As expected, blacks and whites were found to differ significantly as to prior record. Thirty-four percent of the blacks and fifty-two percent of the whites had no prior adult convictions. Moreover, blacks significantly more numerous in the experimental group, had the preponderance of narcotics offenses. This and discriminatory arrest practices against blacks are probably the main sources of difference in adult criminal records between experimentals and controls.

Experimentals and controls were about the same with respect to magnitude of most serious adult offense as indicated by severity of dispositional sentence. Twenty-one percent

of clients in each unit had received probation and/or fine only, and twenty percent had been sentenced to five or more years in prison. Altogether, forty-six percent of the controls and forty-four percent of the experimentals had been incarcerated as adults.

Current Offense

An important area in which experimentals and controls were quite similar is current offense (see Table 7).

TABLE 7
CURRENT OFFENSES OF CLIENTS

Offense	Total	Clients Experimentals	Controls
Narcotics:			
Sale	72	37	35
Possession	4	4	-
Transportation	8	7	1
Auto Theft	55	30	25
Forgery	52	27	25
Mail Theft	23	14	9
Bank Robbery	29	16	13
Interstate Shipment Theft	23	10	13
Counterfeiting	16	9	7
Other	3	2	1

Thirty percent of the experimentals and twenty-eight percent of the controls committed narcotic violations, the largest single offense in either unit. All theft and robbery categories combined, accounted for sixty-two percent of the experimentals and sixty-six percent of the controls.

Supervisory Status

Approximately thirty-one percent of the experimentals and forty-seven percent of the controls were on probation (see Table 8). In the experimental unit paroles accounted for about one-third of the clients as did mandatory releases. In the control unit parolees and mandatory releases each accounted for approximately one quarter of the clients.

TABLE 8
SUPERVISORY STATUS OF CLIENTS

Type of Supervision	Total	Clients	
		Experimentals	Controls
Probation	109	48	61
Parole	90	57	33
Mandatory release	86	51	35

Comparison of supervisory status was also made across racial groups. Of the eighty-six clients on mandatory release, eighty-six percent were black. Forty-nine percent of the ninety parolees were black. Representation by race was close to the total sample racial proportions only among probationers. The disproportionate representation of blacks among the mandatory releases (eighty-six percent) may be accounted for mainly by the nature of the current offense for which they were sentenced. Of the eighty-four current narcotics offenders, eighty-five percent (seventy-one clients) were black. Many of these narcotics offenders were not eligible for parole in the federal system and thus came to POCA as mandatory releases.

CHAPTER VII

TYOLOGY AND CASE MATCHING

Definition and testing of a treatment typology was one of the original aims of the POCA Project. The focus was development of case-matching formulae that would provide optimal working relationships between POA's and clients, as well as delineation of an effective division of labor between the professionally trained probation officer and the indigenous assistant. The staff attempted to identify various client and POA types (characteristics) in order to develop rational case assignment procedures. Some matching between client and POA occurred from the beginning: all pairs were racially matched and were generally close in age and place of residence. Moreover, most POA's were assigned to clients whose general problems and life experiences were not antithetical or unfamiliar to them.

BACKGROUND HIGHLIGHTS OF TYOLOGY AND CASE MATCHING

The recently emerging work in the area of treatment-offender typologies has been of much interest to research programs established to experiment with alternative correctional methods. Warren (1971) indicated some forces contributing to the development of offender typologies:

- 1) Development of correctional research programs has necessitated a theoretical basis;
- 2) The change from custody emphasis to treatment emphasis has occurred;
- 3) The total effectiveness of some attempted treatment programs has been disappointing.

In 1966, the National Institute of Mental Health sponsored a conference on typologies of offenders, during which a cross-classification of a number of typological systems was made. Four broad areas were tentatively identified and agreed upon by the participants. Warren (1971) has expanded this tabulation to six areas, and included sixteen different typological systems. The six areas are:

- 1) Asocial, both aggressive and passive;
- 2) Conformist, both non-delinquently and delinquently oriented;
- 3) Antisocial manipulator;
- 4) Neurotic, both acting out and anxious;
- 5) Subcultural identifier;
- 6) Situational.

Warren found it most encouraging that some degree of consistency has emerged from a comparison of several offender typologies.

"....the identifiable subtypes of offenders reflect at least a partial 'truth' about the population rather than simply a convenient fantasy in the mind of the criminologist. The fact that a cross-classification is possible is even more impressive when one considers the varieties of methods of deriving the subtypes -- theoretical formulations, empirical -- observational methods, multivariate analysis procedures. Additionally, it is important to note that not only is it possible to find similarities in the descriptions of offender characteristics across typologies, but also that consistency is evident in descriptions of etiological and background factors and in treatment prescriptions for similar subtypes."

Some interesting and important work has been done toward identifying various levels of effectiveness in treater--

offender/client relationships by devising treater typologies. Goddard and Jacobson (1967) studying volunteer services in a juvenile court, noted that matching the personality of the volunteer with the emotional needs of the child had the potential for providing many more helpful relationships than would have been available through a limited number of professionals. Palmer (1963) conducted a study in which he developed typologies for young probationers and the probation officers, and attempted to evaluate the interaction resulting from the different pairings by obtaining the views of each member of the pair and considering the outcome of supervision. He identified three types of officers:

- 1) The surveillance/self-control oriented officers were relatively aggressive individuals, tough-minded and exacting with a moralistic orientation.. Many of their relations with others were marked by conflict and by the issue of authority.
- 2) The relationships/self-expression oriented officers were less socially distant than the first group, and tended to direct their techniques toward strengthening the individual's personal capacity to cope with the environment. They made use of personal experiences in working with probationers vicariously correcting their own past, as they believed they had experienced more than their share of personal difficulties.
- 3) The surveillance/self-expression oriented officers shared certain core characteristics with each of the other groups; the "dual aspect" was the most striking feature of the group. They were outspoken with strong opinions, and oriented toward change and activity. They also used personal experience as a frame of reference,

having the belief that they had more than their share of past personal problems.

An important study in offender-treatment typologies, the Community Treatment Project, sponsored by the California Youth Authority, was of major interest to the POCA Project staff. The work was based on the theory of Levels of Interpersonal Maturity, a seven level series of conceptualizations of psychological maturation, and ranging from the interpersonal reactions of a newborn infant to an ideal of social maturity (Warren, 1971). The system focuses upon ways in which the individual perceives himself and the world and understands what is happening among others as well as between himself and others. In the Community Treatment Project with a juvenile delinquent population, nine subtypes were identified and described by item definitions characterizing the manner in which the members of each subgroup perceived the world, and were perceived by others. Treatment plans were designed for each subtype, specifying differential treatment:

- 1) Characteristics of an appropriate placement;
- 2) Preferred family treatment;
- 3) School and/or job recommendations;
- 4) Sources of community support;
- 5) Leisure time activities;
- 6) Recommendations regarding peer group variables;
- 7) Required controls;
- 8) Specific therapeutic methods;
- 9) Characteristics of an appropriate treatment agent;
- 10) Support required by the treatment agent working with the subtype.

Classification of individuals into a specific stratum has proved difficult for many typological systems. Warren (1971) herself noted that a disadvantage of the procedure established for individual classification in the Warren typology was the intensive training required to achieve inter-rater reliability. In the Community Treatment Project, clients and treatment agents were typed according to intrapsychic and interpersonal factors, and extensive testing was done to assign the maturity level. The central concepts included maturity level, developmental history, and attitudes towards life and work. Treatment was offered by well-educated (B. A. at least), professionally oriented, full-time treatment agents. An apparent, but not necessarily avowed goal was to facilitate a positive change in the client's maturity level classification.

TYPOLOGY AND CASE MATCHING IN POCA

In the POCA Project, attempts were made to devise typologies for both POA's and clients in order to align client deficits and goals with POA areas of strength and competency. The aim was to develop a case matching schema by which POA's could be assigned to clients on the basis of whatever dimensions proved to be salient. A system of matching points of obvious similarity between clients and POA's, that is, race, area of residence, age, and similarity of life experience was instituted. The project staff hoped to find variables clearly differentiating one "type" from another, and to discover the most and least productive relationships between POA types and client types as they related to the objectives of the agency, that is, protection of the community

and rehabilitation of offenders. Warren (1971) distinguished between management and treatment of offenders. Management refers to control of offenders to prevent further law violations in a way that protects both society and the offender at a reasonable price. Whereas,

"The function of treatment in a correctional program is to modify the characteristics of the offender and/or the aspects of his environment ...responsible for his involvement in deviant activities...It is clear that in addition to the long-term prevention of law violations, there is also the intent to bring about changes in the offender and in his society which will reduce his cost to society in other ways by, for example, decreasing the chances of the individual's dependency on welfare or unemployment rolls, or by increasing the individual's responsibility as a family member and as a citizen..."

To a large extent attempts by the POCA Project staff to delineate feasible, reliable and valid typologies were frustrated by serious time constraints, unsystematic and often insufficient data concerning both clients and POA's, and, not surprisingly, the sheer complexity of the matter. Moreover, the client sample selection criteria and POA screening procedures were specifically designed to restrict those involved to lower occupational levels, educational levels and "conventional crime" offense categories. While both the client and POA groups were far from homogenous,

the gross differences of social class and type of offense were absent. Finding systematic and significant differences within such groups requires highly sensitive and sophisticated measurement instruments. As the Community Treatment Project attests, development of such instruments is a complicated, vastly time consuming undertaking. In their efforts, which extended over a one year period the project staff was generally unsuccessful in identifying with sufficient reliability discrete types within either the client or POA groups.

Attempts to develop a typology and matched case assignment schemata proceeded through four distinct but related phases. In the initial effort, the POCA Project staff conferred with Dr. Marguerite Q. Warren, one of the central figures in development of treatment typologies in the last two decades. Although the Warren system used by the Community Treatment Project was appealing both from the viewpoint of its dynamic ego-psychology theoretical base and its solid research orientation, it soon became apparent that the model could not readily be adapted to the POCA Project for two important reasons. First, in contrast to the CTP probation officers, the POA's were untrained, indigenous workers whose general orientation toward people and their problems was more concrete and simplistic than that of professional workers. POA's tended to view and assess clients on the basis of overt, symptomatic behavior, and their work with clients was usually focused on relatively concrete problems such as employment and housing. Secondly, provision was not made for the time, money and personnel to administer the exhaustive, time-consuming instrument necessary to establish diagnostic

categories under the CTP system.

The second phase involved a detailed review of the client and the POA folders and the POA case recordings. Efforts were made to determine whether the personal characteristics and problems of clients and the intervention activities of POA's (including their manner of relating to clients) fell into general patterns that could be identified and described by single concepts. Three tentative groupings, or types, of both POA's and clients emerged from the written record:

For POA's:

- 1) relationship/counselor,
- 2) control/counselor,
- 3) surveillant.

For Clients:

- 1) situational offender,
- 2) a social neurotic offender,
- 3) manipulative offender.

POA types showed a striking similarity to those delineated by Palmer (1963). Subsequent attempts to explicate and operationalize these concepts through case assignment procedures were unsuccessful. Both groupings proved to be overlapping and as a result typing judgments were highly unreliable. For example, a major difficulty in typing POA's was identification of primary mode (style) of relating to clients. In addition, the attempt to identify patterns of client characteristics was thwarted by an insufficiency of necessary data in the case records.

During the third phase, the staff shifted away from what was by then recognized to be an overly-ambitious attempt to develop single-concept typologies based on written case records. Again, the content of the POA recordings was examined but this time all the client and POA characteristics considered salient were simply listed. Twelve POA characteristics and fourteen client characteristics (nine concrete needs or problems, and five emotional needs or problems) were delineated. A contingency table consisting of client and POA characteristics was then constructed and all existing cases (pairs of clients and POA's) in the experimental unit were plotted on the table. The cross-classification was examined for possible clustering of POA and client key characteristics. The existence of such clustering could be interpreted as client and POA variables (characteristics) implicitly matched by the supervisors at the time of case assignment. However, the results revealed no statistically significant clustering among any of the characteristics.

The fourth and final phase found the staff returning to broad POA and client categorizations. Another detailed review of the client and POA files, and numerous staff conferences resulted in the development of highly generalized typologies for both groups.

Three POA types were identified:

- 1) Interpersonally oriented POA's whose primary view of helping was relationship oriented, and who, through their understanding of social and emotional factors which impinged upon the client problem-solving capacity, were able to respond appropriately.

- 2) Environmentally oriented POA's whose primary view of helping was directed towards concrete problems, and whose work with clients indicated minimal use of concern or awareness of underlying social and emotional factors.
- 3) Flexibly oriented POA's who had neither a predominantly interpersonal nor a predominantly environmental orientation.

Four client types were identified:

- 1) Interpersonal-referred to clients whose pre-dominant service needs revolved around interpersonal problems. Interpersonal problems referred to difficulties in relationships with others which led to isolation, frustration, and other conditions resulting in elicitation of emotional responses aversive to self and others. With help, control over interpersonal problems was within the power of the client.
- 2) Environmental--referred to clients whose pre-dominant service needs revolved around environmental manipulations often well removed from the client's control. Environmental problems often resulted also in elicitation of emotional responses aversive to self and others.
- 3) Neither interpersonal nor environmental problems were predominant.

- 4) No identifiable problems for which outside help was needed.

Pragmatically the staff experienced somewhat more success in attempting to operationalize the latter typology than was the case in the second phase of developing typologies and criteria for matching. The essential differences lay in the sources of data used in making judgements, and in the dimensions of the two typologies. For the second phase, the only sources of data were client and POA files. The fourth phase typology was derived from both written case records and the judgements of the supervisors. In the second phase, POA's were typed according to the mode or style of relating to clients, but in the fourth phase POA's were typed according to predominant orientation toward helping others with problems. Moreover, while clients were initially typed in the second phase in accordance with traditional, clinically oriented diagnostic categories, in the later case they were viewed more generally with "assistance needed" defined in terms of the locus of their problems. A major difficulty with the approaches used in the second and third phases was that knowledge of personality and social characteristics of clients and POA's did not bring the pairs any closer to the behavioral change necessary to accomplish the two goals of supervision defined by Warren (1971). In contrast in the fourth phase, the goals of supervision were approached within the context of the client's acknowledged problems (i.e., behavioral deficits and excesses and resultant inappropriate emotional responses). This framework increased agreement in the typology ratings and provided a somewhat better basis for defining treatment goals.

The staff and particularly the supervisors, developed a heightened awareness of POA strengths and weaknesses and client needs and deficits. The supervisors did much to enhance flexibility in POA's through group and individual supervisory contacts.² In actual practice the supervisors found that the POA's "mode" of relating to clients was much more fluid and responsive to differences in clients than had been anticipated. To a very great extent, POA mode of relating was determined by the need or goal of the client. This is not to deny the existence or importance of individual differences among POA's, but only to report that happily, flexibility and versatility were in significant attendance among the POA's.

²Supervision of POA's is discussed at length in Chapter IX.

CHAPTER VIII

THE POA ROLE

At the beginning of the organizational phase, considerable thought was given to the operational format of the POCA Project. Two major questions were confronted. First, to what degree should the POCA Project operations be integrated into the ongoing, normal operations of the U.S. Probation Office? Second, what should be the content and structure of the service delivery system established by the experimental unit?

The answer to the first question owed more to program demands than to principles of research or theoretical considerations. Because of the exploratory nature of POCA and the already inordinately heavy workloads carried by probation staff officers, it was quickly decided to establish a separate experimental unit in which POA's and their two project supervisors operated independently from the rest of the probation office. It also seemed reasonable that while such an operational design sacrifices a large measure of reality, relative isolation from the complexity of office routine afforded a better opportunity to focus on the interaction between POA's and clients. Later, during Phase II, POA's were integrated into the regular staff and worked in teams with staff probation officers. The knowledge and experience gained through the operations of an independent experimental unit in Phase I was instrumental in designing the integrative features of Phase II.

The answer to the second question - what should be the content and structure of service delivered by the experiment unit? - was more elusive. It entailed outlining the POA role in very rough form. While, again, there are dangers inherent in providing too much structure in an experimental situation, it was clear that certain guidelines for service delivery and supervision had to be developed to serve both the interests of reasonably efficient service operations and research measurement. This chapter provides a detailed account of the development of these guidelines.

Development of a service delivery and supervision model for the POCA Project encompassed two major questions:

1. What duties and areas of responsibility could reasonably be undertaken by POA's in offering service to experimental clients, given careful training and close supervision by professionals?
2. What model of service delivery would serve experimental clients most effectively, maximizing use of POA indigenous qualities and supervisors' professional training and experience?

The first step was to develop a working description of the goals and functions of the professionally trained probation officer. The probation officer is an agent of the court assuming neither the side of the prosecution nor the defense. His responsibility is two-fold: investigation and supervision. Investigation entails gathering and compiling into comprehensive written report information concerning the

client's personal, social, familial and criminal history so that the court may render a fair decision. Supervision entails overseeing and assisting the client in many aspects of his life in the community. Ideally, the probation officer has highly developed professional skills in diagnosis (assessment) of problems (needs) techniques of treatment which enable him to work with offenders on a number of levels, i.e., the concrete, the interpersonal, and the intrapsychic. The probation officer offers guidance to the offender in learning to live within the limits of society's legal system, in making better use of community resources and opportunities, and in developing improved interpersonal relationships.

Presumably the role of paraprofessional may be derived from this context. Differences between the professional and paraprofessional roles are viewed as ones of degree, not kind. Thus, the POA role was projected as primarily one of assisting clients in seeking needed concrete services. This did not preclude the subsequent development of a therapeutic relationship in which the POA assumes more of a counseling role by helping with interpersonal problems. But it appeared that if such a shift did occur, it would evolve slowly. Counseling, therefore, was not a function to be expected ordinarily of POA's, at least not in the beginning stages.

ALTERNATIVES FOR SERVICE DELIVERY

Three fairly distinct structures for service delivery were considered, but ultimately rejected during the early planning stages:

1. The volunteer model
2. The tutorial model
3. The team model

The volunteer model as considered by the POCA Project staff implied minimal professionalization of POA's. POA's would be "turned loose" to employ whatever therapeutic talents they possessed in informal relationships with clients: minimal training and supervision would be provided through the POA who would assume primary responsibility for cases assigned to him. The POA would be encouraged to try to be helpful in those areas which are of concern to the client. Ultimate legal responsibility and accountability would rest with the supervisor. Thus, decision making about treatment might be largely left to the POA, but he would not be concerned with agency policy and protocol. To a large extent the POA could direct, within reason and with close supervision, his relationship with the client and the course of action which he and the client chose. In many respects, therefore, the volunteer model is consistent with the spirit of the project in encouraging service as a natural outgrowth of the POA's indigenous talents.

While this was appealing, the volunteer model was rejected because it would provide POA's with a minimum of supervisory control and direction, making it difficult for the supervisors to assume a clear role in guiding them toward both productive use of time and growth (if only on a level of heightened intuition). In effect, adoption of this model would have served as a denial of the applicability and transferability of professional knowledge and theory to indigenous paraprofessional practice. While it was important to give POA's maximum

opportunity to "do their thing," there appeared to be little to be gained by merely establishing another self-help program. Teaching basic principles of helping and guidance in the appropriate use of relationships was, therefore, considered essential.

The tutorial model was proposed as an alternative. This system would be similar in structure to the classic field work experience of a graduate student in social work. Weekly supervisory conferences would focus on the content of written recordings of each contact POA's had with their clients. The focus is on a tutorial relationship between POA and supervisor in which the supervisor assumes primary responsibility for diagnosis and planning intervention strategies. The tutorial model was ultimately rejected as unworkable because the approved project design provided for only two supervisors, each of whom was to be responsible for twenty POA's. While both supervisors originally favored this model, they recognized that it was impractical and in the long run represented little more than a "Junior Social Worker Program."

Another proposal was the professional--paraprofessional team approach. Within this model, the supervisor would assume direct responsibility for case operations, making task assignments to the POA. Typically, the POA would carry out the more concrete and elementary tasks while the supervisor (officer) would intervene when more complex tasks, such as counseling, were indicated. Insofar as possible, joint decision making would occur within each team to preserve the POA role from deteriorating into that of "errand boy."

Despite many obvious advantages the team model was rejected as impractical in Phase I. When the project reached

full operational strength of forty POA's, each supervisor would be actively participating in twenty treatment teams providing service to fifty clients, an impossible assignment given the additional demands of providing copious data for research purposes. Moreover, there was great concern that a team approach, if employed before POA's had full opportunity to demonstrate what they could do, would tend to inhibit POA activity and thereby reinforce the POA's subordinate position on the team. Denigration of the role of the POA was contradictory to the very purpose of the POCA Project.

POCA WORKING MODEL

As a result of these considerations no strict operational guidelines were specified prior to beginning case assignments. Much thought had been given throughout the organizational phase to the role the POA would play, but in the final analysis the staff was reluctant to specify an operational structure and role function in any great detail until some actual experience had been gained. Indeed, one of the goals of POCA was to determine what a POA could do, and the kind and degree of supervision needed to make him effective. Staff members wanted to avoid casting POA's into either of two extreme positions--that of errand boy on the one hand, and junior psychotherapist on the other. Insofar as possible, therefore, the POA would be allowed to use his own talents, to "do his own thing," and to utilize community resources in the most direct fashion possible without the incumbencies of bureaucratic red tape.

Accordingly, project operations were begun under a system which gave the POA sole responsibility for the direct

supervision of his charges. Project supervisors in turn provided general supervision and consultation on major decisions and retained legal accountability to the court and U.S. Bureau of Prisons. POA's were expected to see their clients on a weekly basis in an effort to achieve the intensity of supervision specified in the project design, and were to seek out and utilize community resources, both on their own initiative and after consultation with supervisors. Ideally, the supervisors were to have little direct contact with clients.

Problems in the Working Model

After a little more than a month of project operations, the staff members took a long hard look at the evolving model of service delivery. Inevitably, some problems had arisen. Supervisors reported that POA's were frequently failing to see their clients weekly. Many POA's seemed to lack a sense of direction. Not surprisingly, the inexperienced POA's were often "snowed" by their clients' claims that all was well, and by the appearance that their help was unwanted and unappreciated. The result was that some POA's became confused about their function and goals. In a number of instances these problems could be traced to the kind of client assigned to the POA. As a result of randomization of assignments, several POA's were supervising mandatory releasees, a particularly recalcitrant group.¹ Because of their propensity to reject supervisory contacts in a hostile and aggressive way, mandatory releasees succeeded in bringing about avoidance by POA's resulting in a lack of work and insufficient stimulation to keep them interested.

¹ Difficulties in supervising the mandatory releasee are discussed at greater length on page 122.

Another problem area during this period--and, indeed, throughout the project--was record keeping by POA's.² It had been the staff's hope that the men would routinely record their contacts with clients in accordance with a prescribed recording outline. However, it quickly became apparent that POA's required further structural support in order to maintain appropriate and reasonably complete records.

On the administrative side, the early weeks of project operations were marked by considerable dissatisfaction with the pay plan in use for POA's. The amount of money earned depended upon the time spent with clients or at least reported spent.³ It quickly became obvious that many POA's were submitting inflated reports of time spent on the job. Even when reports were accurate, the effect of paying on a per-hour basis was to establish money as the primary motivating force in determining how often and for how long clients would be seen.

The most serious problem manifested in the beginning weeks of operations was insufficient uniformity in quality of service. The supervisors found it difficult to mediate a course between the needs of clients for service and the varying degrees of competency, motivation and interest shown by POA's. In a joint statement expressing their concerns, the supervisors said.

²Recording is discussed at greater length on page 139.

³A more complete discussion of the problems involved in the pay plan can be found on page 28.

"It seems to us that the brighter, more capable men are seeking a more extensive and intensive caseload experience. The less responsible POA's seem to avoid even intermittent supervisory contacts, and find a level of minimal involvement."

Restructuring the Working Model

As a result of these difficulties in the early weeks, the staff began to develop further structural guidelines.⁴ A tighter operational system was constructed which directed the relationship of POA to both client and supervisor. The system of accountability was made quite explicit. Supervisors concentrated much time and effort in developing on-going, in-service training in the form of by-weekly group meetings. The content of these meetings covered a wide range of social problems and principles of intervention, providing the POA's with an opportunity to learn on the job, and from each other through mutual sharing in group interaction.

The pay plan was changed from an hourly rate basis to a fixed amount per week, depending upon the number of assigned clients.⁵ POA's were paid \$15.00 per week for supervising one client and \$10.00 per week for each additional client up to a maximum of three (that is, \$35.00 per week). The revised system eliminated the aforementioned problems of inflated time reports and improper motivation, and met with the enthusiastic approval of virtually all POA's.

⁴The operational guidelines can be found on page 125.

⁵The pay plan is discussed at greater length on page 28.

Thus, after three months of operations, a fairly explicit set of operating procedures had naturally evolved to meet needs as they arose. POA's now had a better idea of what was expected of them, and supervisors were better able to treat POA's as autonomous individuals, avoiding the trap of imposing an excessive number of supervisory directives. The operational structure was developed from experience with fewer than the full complement of forty POA's. Because the staff had been able to specify a workable structure very early in project operations, the demands upon the supervisors, although quite heavy, did not become unbearable.

The final operational model incorporated the following features:*

1. All service was provided by POA's directly, as distinguished from a paraprofessional--professional team approach;
2. The model was characterized by joint planning between supervisor and POA as distinguished from the volunteer model, wherein volunteers operate essentially independently; supervisory conferences were devoted to developing and implementing a treatment plan;
3. The model featured group supervision meetings of POA's which provided an opportunity for peer learning;

*Procedural guidelines for POA's to follow in their work with clients were also developed at this time. The guidelines are presented on pp. 123. (Chapter IX, "POA's in Action")

4. Intensity of POA supervision was maintained at a reasonably low level as opposed to the tutorial model wherein existed the danger of "bleeding out" the very indigenous qualities for which the individual was recruited.

In the final service delivery model, the tasks and ultimately the role were developed to a large extent by POA's based upon their experiences, suggestions from the supervisors, exchange in group meetings, client requests, and POA-observed service needs. POA's were given a great deal of latitude in case decision making.

CHAPTER IX
POA'S IN ACTION

CASE ASSIGNMENT

Clients who were randomly selected into the experimental unit were interviewed by one of the supervisors (or the action director if neither was available). This interview took place as soon as possible following selection as an experimental client, usually at the time the client first reported to the probation office. The client was told he would be supervised by a POA as a part of a new supervision program and the conditions of probation and parole were explained. Usually there was little or no further direct contact between experimental client and supervisor unless the POA was unavailable in an emergency situation. Interestingly in only one case did a client refuse to be supervised by a POA. Except for this case all clients readily accepted the supervision of a POA.

Following the POCA intake interview, the interviewing supervisor prepared a brief psychosocial diagnostic summary, paying particular attention to the client's "service needs" and problems, and his area-of-residence plan. The assignment of a POA to the client was accomplished at a staff conference, normally attended by both supervisors, the action director and a member of the research team. The interviewing supervisor presented his diagnostic impressions of the client and eligible POA's were reviewed, using the brief diagnostic statement prepared on each POA applicant at the time of the screening interview.

Case assignment was made on the basis of the following factors: race, residential proximity, and degree of harmony between client service needs and POA strengths and weaknesses. An effort was made to assign clients with problems of drug addiction to POA's who had experienced and overcome the problem. Clients who appeared to be particularly manipulative and in need of close supervision were assigned to "street-wise" POA's who seemed more adept at surveillance, and who were themselves often former offenders. Clients for whom development of a close relationship seemed indicated were assigned to POA's who were able to be warm and supportive in their role.

In any event the project staff members found that in assigning cases to POA's they tended to seek out, in their words, "the best possible POA available," skipping over those whom they thought were less well-qualified. Implicitly, making assignments was a two-step process. In step one, staff members ascertained from the list of available POA's which ones matched with the client along the relevant dimensions. In step two, if more than one POA seemed to "match" the client, they determined which one seemed most capable, using as selection factors the rating given by the selection panel, the score on the orientation quiz, the profile on the psychological testing, and a less well-defined factor of staff impressions of POA motivation.

Normally a waiting list of ten POA's was maintained. POA's were told at each stage of the intake process that there would be waiting periods, and that in some instances no case might ever be assigned.

When an assignment was made, the POA was notified and called into the office for a conference with his supervisor. The client was briefly described and possible problem areas were indicated. Supervisors refrained from going into excessive detail and avoided giving much material from the file until the POA met the client, in the hope that the POA would not form preconceived opinions.*

Supervisors watched POA performance very closely during this first three months of service, and staff members conferred frequently about POA's who seemed to be having difficulty. Every effort to help POA's adapt to their new role. While no formal, periodic reviewing mechanism was established, the staff implicitly considered the first few months of a POA's employment as a kind of apprenticeship. A judgement about retention or dismissal was usually made within the first three months.**

*A similar tactic was used in a project employing housewives as volunteer case aides with hospitalized mental patients. Cain and Epstein (1967) reported that prior to the initial meeting, the aide was given only the patient's name, age, and location in the hospital. The project directors hoped that the lack of information would be an incentive for the aide to find her own way of becoming acquainted with the patient. After meeting twice with her patient, the aide was given a brief outline of the patient's history by the worker. The point in both instances was to avoid the trap of creating self-fulfilling prophecies.

**Guidelines were developed for dismissing a POA whose performance was judged to be unsatisfactory. They are presented on pp. 135 in this chapter.

USE OF CLIENT FILES

After the initial contact the material in the client's file was made available to the POA. Frequently instead of simply handing a file over to a POA, the file contents were reviewed and interpreted by the supervisor. The concern was not a matter of trust but rather the complexity of the files and their contents. Most files contained a lengthy narrative report including the official version and defendant's version of the offense, prior record, psycho-social history, present situation, employment record and recommendation. Institutional material was similar in nature. Mindful of the probability that POA's would have limited verbal skills and experience in the role of a helping person, staff members sought to avoid providing an occasion for confusion, apprehension or drawing of erroneous conclusions.

As POA's gained experience in their role, and supervisors gained a better idea of what could be expected from them, the client's file was made available for perusal by the POA. No difficulty was experienced as a result of this practice and POA's honored appropriate standards of confidentiality without exception. In general, POA's were mainly concerned with the client's prior record, the instant offense, and present circumstances surrounding home, family, and employment. POA's also checked the files of clients with special problems, that is, narcotics or alcohol addiction, for information about prior handling of these problems. POA's who were ex-offenders seemed to show greater interest in institutional classification studies than did non-offender POA's. Staff members had expected all POA's to show much more interest in client files than they actually did. Thus

many problems originally anticipated by staff members did not materialize.

BRINGING TOGETHER CLIENT AND POA

The rehabilitation plan and its operational structure were worked out jointly by POA and supervisor over a period of time in accordance with the individual needs of the case. The plan was, of course, based upon agreement between client and POA about goals and problem areas in which the POA could realistically help. Upon receiving the assignment, the POA was expected to contact the client within the next week. He was given a supply of monthly report forms and instructed to leave them with the client, explaining the procedure for completion and return. As indicated previously, the client was informed in his initial interview with the supervisor that he would be supervised by someone in his immediate community. One supervisor informed the clients in the following manner: "Do you like to come into this office?" The answer was inevitably "No." "Well, I have good news for you! You won't have to come to this office because we have a man working for us who knows your neighborhood and works in it. He works in the field most of the time, and spends very little time in the office. He will supervise you and make all contacts with you in the neighborhood. You may even know him."

In several instances POA's were acquainted with clients assigned to them for supervision. In only one case did this create a problem. The POA and client had been acquainted in prison where the POA was threatened verbally

by the client. The POA abruptly quit the project, refusing any new case assignments. In all the instances prior acquaintanceship appeared to have a generally positive effect upon the relationship.

Clients received the news of assignment to POA supervision with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Most were very pleased, especially when they learned that they did not have to visit the office, but a few clients initially saw assignment to a POA as a reduction in status for them, as they believed the POA had no real authority. Such resistance was quickly overcome after one or two meetings with the POA. In particular, both supervisors were impressed with the response of black clients (representing approximately 72% of the experimental caseload) to black POA's. The level of mutual rapport and client identification appeared to be unusually high. One veteran recipient of correctional services commented after meeting his lavishly dressed long-haired and heavily bearded POA for the first time, "Well, I see the Federal Probation System is finally hiring some good men!"

Much thought was given by the project staff to the form and manner of introduction between POA and client as well as the necessity for presenting a rationale to the client for his assignment to POA supervision. It was highly probable that most of the clients would know or would learn quickly that the use of POA's was an innovation for the U.S. Probation Service. Consequently the staff members informed the experimental clients that the probation office had instituted a new supervision service and the interrelationship

of POA, client and probation officer was explained. Clients were not advised by the supervisors that any POA was a former offender. However, virtually all ex-offender POA's did, in fact, share this information almost immediately with those whom they supervised.

POA PROBLEMS IN SUPERVISION OF CLIENTS

Most of the problems encountered by POA's in supervising clients were presented by mandatory releasees, a particularly difficult group as attested to by most experienced U.S. Probation Officers. It was therefore no surprise to find that the POA's had trouble, too. Indeed, mandatory releasees were included in the sample to make it as representative as possible of the hard-core, conventional criminal population. As a group, mandatory releasees need close supervision, but they tend to reject supervision in the community on the grounds that having been denied parole, they have served their time, and have been released on their "good time." Occasionally, an assignment did not "work out" as the POA was unable to overcome the resistance of the mandatory releasee. In these few instances, it was necessary to reassign the client to a more tenacious POA, and offer the POA additional assistance. Occasionally, when a client was unimpressed by the POA and continued to rebuff him, the supervisor intervened and attempted to impress upon the client the necessity for cooperating with the POA. An analogous situation frequently occurs with the professional staff, when the supervisor of a probation staff officer will accede to the officer's request that he see a particularly

recalcitrant client. The hope is that "hearing the word" from a higher authority may enlist a greater degree of cooperation from the client. While not terribly effective as a means of enhancing a working relationship, it usually reduced overt resistance to a manageable level and enables normal surveillance to be carried out.

GUIDELINES FOR SUPERVISION OF CLIENTS

In the third month of operations the project staff developed the following supervision guidelines to be followed by POA's in their work with clients:

1. The POA was expected to see a client no later than one week following case assignment.
2. Unless diagnostically contra-indicated, subsequent in-person POA-client contacts were to be on a weekly basis. This was in keeping with the general goal of providing "close supervision." The weekly contact standard, while admittedly arbitrary, appeared to be the best way of at least initiating close supervision. Exceptions were made, of course, when this arrangement was neither feasible nor desirable.
3. The POA was expected to submit a full report immediately following all interviews with the client or contacts with family members, employers or friends of the client.

4. The POA was expected to maintain regular contact with his supervisor (usually three to four in-person contacts a month) and to seek supervisory clearance before taking "official action"³ on behalf of the probation office.

GUIDELINES FOR SUPERVISION OF POA'S

To a large degree, the substance and, ultimately, the fate of this experiment revolved around the nature of the supervision the POA's received. By design almost all POA's were without prior experience as "helping" persons. While providing some bare facts about the administrative structure and procedures, orientation only introduced POA's to many of the important values and principles and few of the techniques of this work. Everything else was left to in-service training under the direction of the two supervisors.

The goals of the professional supervision of POA's were:

1. To support and enhance in every way possible the work of POA's with clients. This entailed a broad range of information-giving teaching (including values, principles, and techniques), and motivating activities.
2. To ensure, as the individual bearing legal responsibility to the court, that the activities of POA's were not harmful to clients.

³Official action included giving the client authority to leave the jurisdiction for a specific period of time or allowing any exceptions to the conditions of probation and parole. It was clearly understood between the POA and supervisor that responsibility for communication with the court of the U.S. Board of Parole would remain with the latter.

Almost without exception POA's welcomed and sought out reasonably close supervision. Understandable bewilderment and oftentimes outright frustration confronted new POA's facing the task of dealing with a myriad of client problems within a complex bureaucratic structure.

In order to make the major supervisory responsibilities as explicit as possible, the following procedures were outlined by the research and action directors concurrently with the operational guidelines for POA's:

1. The supervisor was expected to follow-up with each POA within one week after assigning him a new case. It was considered essential to have an early and detailed evaluation of POA performance.
2. The supervisor was expected to maintain weekly supervisory contacts with each POA. Because of the large number of POA's, individual weekly supervisory conferences were virtually impossible. One alternative was the use of weekly alternating group and individual conferences, dividing the POA's into two or three groups. In any given week each member of one group was to receive an individual supervisory conference, while members of the other group(s) were to be seen collectively.
3. The supervisor was expected to keep an on-going record of all his contacts with each POA.

4. The supervisor was expected to maintain a weekly log consisting of comments, questions, suggestions, issues, problems, etc. This was to provide the only source of continuous information on the changing attitudes and thinking of project participants.
5. At regular intervals (probably every three months) each POA was to be presented at a staff conference. Beginning with the rationale for case assignment, the supervisory staff (action and research) were to examine jointly the POA/client and POA/supervisor interaction. In addition to providing an opportunity for evaluation of POA's, this was seen as helping to build a better system of case assignment. Ultimately, it was expected to assist in typing and matching POA's and clients. In short, the staff meetings were to provide opportunities to begin forming generalizations about what to expect from certain kinds of clients under certain kinds of conditions.

POA's were assigned to one of the two supervisors for the entire project. Consideration was given to rotating the POA's periodically between supervisors, and while it might be argued that such a procedure may logically have provided some interesting research data, the consensus was that systematic supervisor reassignment would neutralize

attempts to develop high rapport and trusting inter-personal relationships between POA and supervisor. Such a relationship was considered essential.

The supervision of between 40 and 45 part-time POA's was not without its logistic and scheduling problems. Attempts to maintain weekly in-person supervisory conferences (either group or individual) as suggested in the guidelines proved futile. The sheer time demand of weekly individual supervisory conferences on both POA's and supervisors was excessive and in most instances unnecessary for maintenance of adequate case management standards. The supervisory schedule that proved most feasible and useful for all concerned called for a minimum of three in-person contacts between supervisor and POA each month. Usually a POA was scheduled for two group supervisory meetings and one individual conference a month. Staff members wanted to keep the in-service training program small enough so that the time demand on POA's was not excessive, yet large enough to be meaningful and productive. Adjustments were, of course, made in this schedule on the basis of POA performance and the complexity of a POA's cases.

Group Supervision

Group supervision was a central feature of on-going POA training. The group process afforded a measure of self help among the POA's through general discussion of problems encountered in performance of their duties and it provided POA's with perspectives on various approaches of helping.

Brager (1965) recommended using group supervision for the indigenous non-professional as a means of maintaining the basic qualities for which they were hired, noting that:

"indigenous workers are all too easy to professionalize.... This problem can best be met by providing the non-professional with the safety of numbers. Their tendency to withhold information and opinion in one-to-one contacts with middle-class professionals is significantly less evident in group sessions. Within the alien confines of a social agency, they need one another's support."

Group discussion in these meetings was enthusiastic, freewheeling and uninhibited, and the content was varied. Meetings usually ran about two hours focusing on such topics as: interviewing techniques, social advocacy, use of community resources, racism and stigmatization, case recording, confidentiality, action research, conscious use of self in the helping process, identification, small group dynamics, assessment and partialization of problems, job accountability the use and misuse of authority in corrections, drug addiction, and alcoholism. On several occasions guest speakers were brought in, and a number of training films were shown.⁴ A list of those films used can be found in Appendix A. A number of group meetings were tape recorded and a few were videotape recorded.⁵ These

⁴The film, Crisis, produced by the Audio-Visual Department at the University of California, Los Angeles, proved to be a particularly useful training film for correctional work.

⁵The equipment was provided by the School of Social Service Administration, The University of Chicago.

tapes were used primarily for review and analysis of group interaction. Because it was not possible to tape more than a few of these meetings, it was doubtful these tapes served any useful research function beyond possibly providing an interesting case study or two.

There was a conscious effort to use group meetings to "sensitize" members to the impact of social problems on human attitudes and behavior. Particular attention was paid to the problems of discrimination, institutionalized oppression, and economic, social, and educational deprivation. Discussions vividly pointed up the inter-relatedness between such phenomena and the personal sense of alienation, uselessness, and helplessness which frequently characterizes correctional clients.

Role playing was a particularly effective technique in helping the POA's develop an understanding of the client in his life situation. One supervisor found role playing very useful in addressing issues of use of authority, limit setting, relationships with family members and friends of clients. Role playing was used in the groups rather extensively, especially at the beginning, and was quite useful in preparing some of the more naive POA's for the problems they would encounter in their fieldwork.

Group meetings also provided the POA's with an important source of mutual support and feedback. POA's required a good deal of assistance in recognizing and accepting the limitations as well as the opportunities of their work. For example, there was an understandable tendency for POA's to become anxious and discouraged when clients rejected them,

exhibited intractable problems or were arrested. The interaction of POA's and supervisors at group meetings proved to be extremely helpful in allaying this personal sense of inadequacy and failure.

Following the initial orientation program, supervisors held group meetings with POA's every three or four weeks through the early months of operation. The meetings were used as a supportive measure for those not yet assigned cases, and as a supervisory technique for those with cases. As succeeding groups completed orientation, they were included in the meetings. At first they met in neighborhood agencies, but were later forced to relocate in the probation office when the agencies began to require a fee for the use of space. No funding had been budgeted for this purpose.

When the size of the POA groups reached approximately fifteen they were divided in two. Both supervisors found that groups were most effective when kept no larger in size than ten. Each supervisor met with each of his two groups (of ten) on an average of once every three weeks. Each group was considered an independent "sub-unit," although there were occasional transfers between groups necessitated primarily by changes in work schedules.

Individual Supervision

Individual supervisory conferences provided an opportunity to focus more directly and specifically on the POA's work with an individual client. Usually the focus was the

specific needs of the client and intervention activities of the POA. POA's often needed help in developing a working relationship with clients, which was clearly based on the needs of the client rather than on their own needs. This requires at least a measure of self-awareness. While increased self-awareness could have been expected to develop from the group meetings, the staff found that individual conferences were needed to assist the POA's in bringing their developing skills to bear on the tasks at hand. Both supervisors met with most of their POA's in individual supervising conferences on an average of once every three weeks.

Field Trips

Another aspect of in-service training midway through the action phase was overnight field trips to nearby federal correctional institutions. Three small groups of POA's, accompanied by a supervisor, made the trips. The opportunity was made available to all POA's, but because of personal responsibilities and other commitments, only fourteen participated. Upon their return the POA's were asked by the supervisors to prepare written reports of impressions, observations, etc. The following statements are excerpts from these reports:

"I must say that I found the place to be better than I had expected in most areas such as education, work training programs, etc., more freedom to move about, the absence of weapon on guards. But there are some shortcomings such as no resident psychiatrist, no follow-up programs, large caseloads, (lack of) shop training equipment, employment of (few) qualified

individuals who might be able to produce an image of what society should be like on the outside, and with their resources willing and able to help others."

"For myself, I was struck by the number of Black inmates and the lack of black personnel. In other words, the prison is about one-third black and ninety-nine percent white guards. I just can't believe that these people can really relate to the black inmates."

"According to prison authorities the Government has tried and is continuing to try to recruit blacks into prison work, this is being met with no success. I can't understand why they are not going out to the black universities trying to recruit personnel instead of going to a university where the black percentage is less than three percent. If they really wanted to hire black personnel or recruit blacks they would go to a black university."

"Overall, I found this to be a most (depressive) place. A place of total subjection/segregation, a place where I thought the two case workers were southern whose looks and manners so typifies a movie prison official. He had that southern drawl, a little bit pudgy, a little bit, well, he just looked like a prison official that you see in the movie. He looks rather stereotyped, it looks as though they picked him for that.

In closing, I think if I were in charge of any juvenile delinquents who were potential problems to society, I would make every effort to have them visit this prison or any prison because I am sure if potential offenders could see just some of prison life, a trip like that could be

an important factor in keeping the young people out of prison. It could be a vaccination toward immunizing them from prison. Even though there is freedom of movement (reasonable), they did not have them in balls and chains so to speak, but it is a place, it is not even a nice place to visit. Like I stated before, if I were in charge of a group of potential delinquents I would take to visit a prison so that they can see what it is all about."

"During the tour of the various shops, I noticed that the inmates were all working very diligently and in all shops there seemed to be the same atmosphere that you would find in the average civilian shop or factory."

"I was greatly impressed with the manner in which they let visitors and inmates come into close/or direct contact with one another in their visiting room. The members of the staff that guided us through the institution appeared to be very competent individuals, also they displayed a positive attitude in all general aspects which makes for a healthy relationship between inmates and the staff."

"From what I could observe the inmates were treated as human beings."

"I was deeply impressed with manner in which the new person is processed and categorized for participation in the academic and training programs."

"In regards to our trip to Terre Haute, I hardly know what to say. I personally did not learn anything about institutional life that I didn't already know. I have a personal feeling that they showed us exactly what they wanted us to see and no more. Perhaps it was because we were a little

late in getting there, but the trip to the institution was a little too fast, I would like to have a little more time to spend talking to the men inside. I also have a feeling that we were told exactly what they wanted us to hear and again, no more. The statistics they quoted in regards to the number of pay jobs in the institution seem to me to be a little on the short side for an institution that size."

"The men at Terre Haute seemed to have freedom to move to a certain extent which is all together different from a State Institution and I feel that this freedom of movement is so helpful in keeping a person imbued with the feeling that he is still a human being and still has certain rights.

I gathered from conversation, observation and meditation that Terre Haute is being operated exclusively by whites. When I say exclusively, I don't mean 100% white but about 98.9% white. I was told that they have not practiced discrimination; maybe so but something has occurred despite what they said. From the atmosphere at Terre Haute, the black men seemed to have had some type of joy and inward satisfaction at seeing the number of black POA's come into the institution and to view into the different complexes of the institution. This seemed to have done a lot for them and I can understand why. When a person is incarcerated he needs some type of hero, some type of person of his race and nationality and background to identify with. And so many of them, from the impression on their faces indicated that they were satisfied and that there was a tinge of satisfaction in their expression seeing black men coming to an institution not as confined men but free men who hold positions.

I could also feel the atmosphere that many of the men were not so completely satisfied in the present conditions at Terre Haute but they, I feel, realize that there is nothing they can do. The industrial complexes at Terre Haute are up-to-date and progressive. From the profits that they make there, the prisoners could be better compensated for their work."

"I would say that the ability that the men have to sit next to their wives and relatives in the visiting parlor is a very helpful thing; they are not partitioned off. I think the men feel an air of freedom in an air of closeness in being able to sit with their relatives and being able to put their hands on their relatives or wives' hands. It is a big thing to them, maybe not to free people. The situation that they have in the cafeteria where men can eat when they get ready and not be lined up and marched in as a group is very helpful. The institution seems to be growing in terms of keeping the good men occupied constructively and educationally is very good."

"Field trip was very enlightening and educational to me by discussion with personnel, quite a bit was learned about the running of the institution. I can see why some institutions have trouble and some do not. At Terre Haute the inmates are treated as human beings and the relationship is close with the security officers. It doesn't seem to be the "I am the guard and you are the prisoner" situation there, with them it is just a friendly situation, they know what is expected of them and they do it."

GUIDELINES FOR DISMISSAL OF POA'S

Six months after project operations developed an explicit procedure for dismissal of POA's. POA's who met any one of these criteria were subject to being placed on Probationary Status.

1. POA had no contact for one month with the client due to failure of POA to seek or initiate contact.
2. POA had no contact with his supervisor for a period of one month - that is, failed to keep appointments in either group or individual supervisory conferences.
3. POA consistently failed to report contact with clients within twelve hours of the contact.
4. POA consistently demonstrated a poor ability or capacity to communicate intelligently the nature and content of his contact.
5. POA demonstrated significant behaviors or attitudes that seriously impeded his relationship with his client or compromised his role as a representative of the court.
6. POA was arrested for a serious misdemeanor or felony.

The period of probationary status lasted a minimum of two weeks. During that period the supervisor redoubled his efforts to do whatever was necessary to bring the POA's performance up to standard. The probationary period represented an opportunity for concentrated efforts to enhance POA's motivation and/or capacity for the POA role. This was probably the most challenging and vital aspect of the supervision task.

At the end of two weeks the probationary status was:

1. Terminated and the POA returned to regular status; or,
2. Continued for another two week period; or,
3. If there appeared to be no hope of salvaging the POA, he was dismissed.

Actual dismissal of POA's was accomplished by the action director upon the recommendation of the supervisor. It was of course very important that the details of any such action be fully recorded by the supervisor, including whatever salvaging efforts were made during the probationary period. Efforts were made to interview dismissed POA's in order to determine the reasons for his lack of response, discontinued interest, etc., but in most instances they were uncooperative or could not be located. All total six POA's were dismissed for the following reasons:

1. Failure to initiate or maintain contact with clients, attend supervisory meetings, or provide suitable reports of activities (four POA's).
2. Excessive immobilizing anxiety about contacting clients.
3. Arrest for possession of narcotics (ex-offender POA).

Despite the fears of many, there is no indication that any POA involved or conspired with a client in any form of impropriety.

COMMUNICATION AND CASE RECORDING

Establishing and maintaining lines of communication between POA's and clients, and between POA's and supervisors was somewhat of a problem. Simply keeping the telephone switchboard operators and the receptionists informed about the name and location of each POA was, for example, a major undertaking. Slip-ups could and occasionally did, result in a client's being told his POA did not exist. Routinely calls

for POA's were referred to the project secretarial staff who took the message. If necessary the call could be referred to the POA's supervisor. POA's were expected to phone in daily for messages.

Although it was not required, POA's were urged to give clients their home telephone numbers as a means of facilitating communication. Most POA's, recognizing the importance of being readily accessible to their clients, did so without hesitation. This was not always without some personal sacrifice, however. On one occasion an overly zealous parolee from Appalachia, convicted of interstate auto theft, phoned his POA breathlessly at 4 A.M. on a Monday morning to announce he had been stopped by a State Policeman while returning to Chicago from a weekend trip home. A headlight was out. The client had received permission for the trip but was told to call as soon as he returned to Chicago. In his eagerness to get back and report in, he begged the policeman to let him go, explaining that he would be in trouble with his parole officer (POA) if he did not call by a certain time. When the policeman asked about his offense, the client said he had been convicted of bank robbery. Horrified, the POA asked him why he lied and, in fact, confessed to a much more serious crime. The client explained that he was afraid to tell the policeman he had been convicted of auto theft because he would immediately be suspected of having stolen this car! Apparently satisfied, the policeman sent him on his way with only an admonition to have his headlight repaired.

Communications between POA and supervisor presented a bit more of a problem. In general, POA's experienced little difficulty reaching supervisors. Supervisors were usually in their office during the day and POA's had their home phone number for off-hours. The reverse was not always true, however. POA's were much harder to reach particularly in the beginning. POA's were far more mobile than supervisors and some did not have home phones. The expectation that POA's would phone in every day was often not met. This problem lessened, however, as time went on and supervisors and POA's developed more open working relationships. Emergencies which arose when the POA could not be reached were handled by the supervisor. Fortunately, much attention was given to keeping records up-to-date, and as a result supervisors had little problem pinch-hitting when necessary.

Case recording by POA's was accomplished through a telephone recording system. By calling a particular number at any time of day or night POA's were able to dictate their reports directly onto a tape. Each day these recordings were transcribed by project secretaries and filed in the appropriate client file. To insure comprehensive coverage and facilitate recording each POA was provided with a recording guideline. In addition to describing the content of his contact with a client, the POA was asked to state his plan (if any) for his next meeting. POA's were advised to view the reporting process informally, similar to telling a friend about one's activities. Grammar and syntax were not important.

The advantages of the telephone recording system were many. It provided a mechanism for quick, relatively painless

and uncomplicated record-keeping. POA's were spared the time-consuming and often laborious task of writing reports. Once they overcame an initial anxiety about dictating most POA's had no problems with the system. Originally consideration had been given to providing each POA with individual tape recorders but this appeared impractical. In addition to costing far more, the problems of repairing and keeping track of forty recorders seemed overwhelming. Moreover, unlike individual tape recorders, the telephone system was centrally located and did not require an elaborate tape delivery system.

PART C EVALUATION OF PHASE I

CHAPTER X

POCA GOALS: QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

This project was designed to assess the use of indigenous, non-professionals in probation and parole. The major problem for research was the discovery of whether or not indigenous POA's can make a contribution to the rehabilitative process for certain groups of clients receiving probation or parole services. Because it was expected that POA's might be effective in carrying out some probation supervision activities but not all of them, efforts were also made to partialize probation supervision into basic operational tasks and to determine which tasks could be more effectively managed by POA's and which were better accomplished by probation officers. Much of this effort was carried out during Phase II. In Phase I, an experimental design was employed to compare the functioning of the indigenous non-professional with that of the professional officer in probation-parole supervision.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following set of questions served as the focal point for most project activity and data analysis. Some questions were dealt with directly during Phase I; others were expanded or modified and examined during Phase II.

1) What are the effects of using part-time indigenous non-professionals, a portion of whom are former offenders, themselves, as the primary agents of service delivery in probation and parole?

- a. How do clients of POA's compare with clients supervised by professional staff officers?
- b. What effect does the experience of employment as a POA have upon the man himself? What changes can be observed in his attitudes, aspirations, behavior?
- c. What have been the administrative and operational consequences of placing POA's in the probation system?

2) How have POA's managed the task of supervising a selected sample of probationers, parolees and mandatory releases?

- a. What has been the content of their work with offenders?
- b. Does the content of supervision by a POA differ in any way from that of a professional staff officer?
How?
- c. What do POA's think about their role? What correctional tasks do they believe can be appropriately handled by paraprofessionals? How do these beliefs differ from those of professional staff officers?

- d. How do the supervisors of POA's describe and evaluate POA performance with offender/clients, probation staff officers, court personnel, and other community agencies?

HYPOTHESES

The research questions provided a structural base for the development of experimental hypotheses. While it was not possible during Phase I to test every hypothesis which was developed, they provided a framework for both action and research strategies. A few were restructured and examined during Phase II.

Inasmuch as the weight of practice theory and experience in corrections supports the notion that greater professionalization of staff should bring about better results, the major hypothesis and most of the sub-hypotheses are stated in null form. Because the alternative hypotheses were derived from that context, most of them assert the expectation that professionally trained probation officers will produce better results than POA's.

Major Experimental Hypothesis

There will be no significant difference in successful outcome rates between clients receiving experimental service and those receiving customary agency service.

The burden of the research test fell upon the alternative hypothesis which was derived from "practice wisdom" and is supported by the well-established trend toward greater professionalization of probation and parole services. On

the face of it, it appeared reasonable to expect that customary agency services, that is, professional services would be more effective than those rendered by "untrained" persons.

Thus, the alternative hypothesis was formulated as follows.

Alternative Experimental Hypothesis

Clients receiving customary agency services will have significantly greater success rates than those supervised by probation-parole officer aides.

Structuring the hypothesis in this manner does not constitute a single nor conclusive test of the efficacy of services rendered by the professional probation officer. Instead, it constitutes an attempt to determine whether or not there is an appropriate role for the indigenous case aide in the probation setting. The assumption in stating the test hypothesis in this fashion is that while a finding of no significant difference between experimental (POA) clients and control (probation officer) clients would not warrant "acceptance" of the null hypothesis as true, it would raise question about the strength of the alternative hypothesis. Presumably then, future research would be aided in the development of more precise research hypotheses.

In order to provide for a more complete analysis of the possible contribution of POA's a services of sub-hypotheses were developed. Testing these sub-hypotheses provided a means of conducting an explicit analysis of numerous variables thought to be related to the global outcome (success) scores of the experimental and the control treatments.

Hypothesis A: For clients on probation there will be no significant difference in success rates between clients receiving experimental service and those receiving customary agency service.

Alternative: Clients on probation, receiving customary agency service, will achieve greater success rates than clients receiving experimental service.

Hypothesis B: For clients on parole and mandatory release, there will be no significant difference in success rates between clients receiving experimental service and those receiving customary agency service.

Alternative: Clients on parole and mandatory release, receiving customary agency service will show significantly higher success rates than those receiving experimental services.

Hypothesis C: There will be no significant difference in job satisfaction between experimental and the control group clients.

Alternative: There will be significantly greater job satisfaction among control group clients than that among experimental group clients.

Hypothesis D: There will be no significant difference in employment rates between experimental and control group clients.

Alternative: Employment rates will be significantly greater for control group clients than for experimental group clients.

Hypothesis E: There will be no significant difference in recidivism rates between experimental and control group clients.

Alternative: Recidivism rates for experimental group clients will be greater than that for control group clients.

One of the propositions underlying the rationale for the use of indigenous case aides in probation and parole is that their perception of client needs and their ability to establish rapport with the client, compared to that of the middle-class professional, might be enhanced by their relatively closer social proximity to clients.

The following three hypotheses were generated to provide a partial test of that proposition, as well as to provide data regarding the nature of the role of the indigenous worker in probation and parole.

Hypothesis F: There will be no significant difference between the experimental and control group clients in their perception of the helpfulness of their supervising officer.

Alternative: The perception of the helpfulness of the supervising officer will be greater for control group clients than for experimental group clients.

Hypothesis G: There will be no significant difference between experimental and control groups in the level of rapport established between clients and their supervising officers.

Alternative: The level of rapport between clients and supervising officers will be higher in the control group.

Hypothesis H: There will be no significant difference between experimental and control groups in the level of satisfaction with their supervising officers.

Alternative: Control group clients will indicate a higher level of satisfaction with their probation officers than will experimental clients with their POA's.

One of the major differences from the customary service that was built into the structure of the POA's job, was opportunity for more frequent contact with the client than can be expected of the regular probation officer. An attempt was made to determine if the POA does in fact spend more time with his client than does the probation officer with his client. The measurement of time was of necessity crude. It was based on estimates by the clients themselves of frequency of contact with their officer and from evidence gathered directly from case records.

Hypothesis I: POA's will spend significantly more time in face-to-face contact with experimental clients than will probation officers with control clients.

On the basis of hypothesis H, it was further predicted that POA's would become better informed about the problem-situations of their clients. Thus,

Hypothesis J: POA's will be better informed about their client's problems than the probation staff officers.

No attempt was made to predict what sort of impact Hypothesis I and J might have on the global outcome measures

(social adjustment and recidivism) because the thrust of prior hypotheses suggested that more contacts and greater knowledge of clients' problems would not by themselves offset professional expertise and thereby result in greater success rates for experimentals.

ANALYSIS OF NON-EXPERIMENTAL DATA

Hypotheses about the effects of various descriptive characteristics of the clients and POA's were not developed because it was impossible to control, within the limits of sample size and selection criteria, such variables as offense history, social class, residential proximity, age, and personality traits. For heuristic purposes, however, these data were carefully measured and their potential impact on various aspects of service delivery, including outcome, was examined. From this it was hoped that a profile of characteristics of the successful POA could be developed.

CHAPTER XI

COLLECTION OF DATA

The data were collected through a series of six research instruments designed by the POCA Project staff. In addition basic demographic information was collected for all clients and POA's.

Schedule I

The "POA Evaluation Schedule" was developed to rate POA's on quality of performance in carrying out functions common to community supervision of offenders and on participation in ongoing in-service training. Each POA was rated by his supervisor after the first three months of employment and again at the conclusion of the project.

Schedule II

The "Officer POA Schedule on Client Outcome" provided data on clients at the time of termination of supervision or conclusion of the project. It was completed by the POA in consultation with his supervisor for each of the experimental clients, and for control clients by the responsible professional staff officer. Not until he received a request to complete Schedule II was a probation staff officer aware that his client was a POCA control case. Schedule II collected information about clients in the following areas:

1. Current offense and circumstances surrounding it;
2. Subsequent arrest record and violations of supervision;
3. Employment;
4. Housing;
5. Family relationships;
6. Involvement in community activities;
7. Relationship with officer or POA;
8. Social functioning.

For a variety of reasons it was possible to collect Schedule II data on sixty-five percent of the control clients (84) and eighty-eight percent of the experimental clients (138). Professional staff officers were not always able to provide the detailed information required and two officers transferred out of the district before furnishing the data. General resistance to completing the lengthy schedule was a factor, too. For this reason data collection in Phase II was organized in a more routine fashion with greater emphasis on brief interviews and much shorter, periodic checklist reports. The major reason for failure to complete Schedule II by POA's and their supervisors lay in loss of contact between the POA and project following termination of client supervision. In a number of instances, the supervisors were unable to complete Schedule II alone as they did not have enough information. The total inability to locate a few POA's shortly after they terminated from the project was a surprise. A number of POA's proved to be as mobile and untraceable as clients after the project terminated.

Schedule III

The "Client Interview Schedule" was conducted by graduate students in social work and professional social workers hired on a part-time basis. Although every effort was made to interview all clients, only thirty-seven percent of the total sample (39 controls and 66 experimentals) was interviewed. The inability to interview a majority of the clients was perhaps the greatest data gathering disappointment. This lack of success was primarily a result of poor timing - too little, too late. Unfortunately, the client interviews were scheduled for the last eight months of project operations. By that time, it was impossible for the interviewers to locate many clients whose period of supervision had already terminated. In retrospect, a greater response would have undoubtedly been achieved by attempting to interview each client just prior to the termination of his supervision. At the time, the difficulty of finding interviewers who were willing to work a minimal amount of time over a lengthy period led staff to avoid such a course.

The purpose of Schedule III was to obtain certain information and opinions directly from the clients about:

1. Employment
2. Health
3. Housing
4. Family relationships
5. Group affiliations and recreation
6. Past management of personal problems
7. Evaluation of POCA Project service
8. Opinion of their POA (experimentals) or probation officer (controls)

Schedule IV

The "POA Interview Schedule" was conducted by part-time interviewers and two POCA Project research assistants. Sixty percent of the fifty-two POA's (31 POA's) were interviewed. The rest of the POA's either could not be located following the project or refused to be interviewed.

The purpose of the POA interview was to obtain information about the POA's view of his POCA experience. POA's were asked about the nature and quality of supervision provided them, and about changes if any in personal career aspirations. They were also asked to make a number of judgements about the appropriateness of certain actions which might be taken in various situations encountered frequently in probation work.

Schedule V

Following the POA interview (Schedule IV), the POA was asked to evaluate each client he supervised. The goal was to obtain the POA's view of the nature of his relationship with his clients, and to determine the direction and scope of his efforts to supervise and assist clients. As in the case of the POA interviews, Schedule V was completed for sixty percent of the experimental clients (92) by the same interviewers conducting the POA interview.

Schedule VI

The schedule was devised for staff use in surveying each clients records for evidence of recidivism. Schedule VI was completed after the December 28, 1971 cut-off date by members of the research staff for all clients. Data sources included the client's office file and records of the Illinois Bureau of Investigation. Because the names and fingerprints

of all clients were already registered with the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the purpose of flash notification, it was not necessary to survey FBI files. Information about any arrest recorded by the FBI would appear in the client's office file. The check of the Illinois Bureau of Investigation provided an additional canvas to pick up any arrests which may not have been filed with the FBI.

CHAPTER XII

RESULTS

CLIENT OUTCOME

The central goal of Phase I was to discover whether or not the indigenous paraprofessional can perform effectively as a rehabilitative agent in probation and parole. The measurement of performance and determination of effectiveness in corrections is at best a very inexact and elusive undertaking. Ultimately, the investigator attempting to evaluate outcome is left with only two general types of evidence: recidivism rates of one sort or another, and inferences about "social adjustment." Neither is wholly adequate, but taken together they may afford some measure of relative success or failure.

The major research hypothesis, in null form, was that no significant differences in successful outcome rates would occur between clients supervised by POA's (that is, the experimentals) and those receiving customary agency supervision (that is, the controls). The major alternative hypothesis, upon which the burden of the research test lay, was that the control clients would have significantly better success rates than the experimentals.

Customarily, an alternative hypothesis posits greater success in the experimental group. Such was not the case in this study, however. Only the most brash anti-professional

or wishful theoretical partisan would seriously hypothesize that untrained, inexperienced indigenous POA's would produce significantly better results than professionally trained, well-experienced probation officers. The preponderance of literature in corrections, as well as thirty years of practice wisdom, provide compelling evidence that the professional in corrections can, under proper conditions, be an effective rehabilitative agent.

The objective was not to "prove" the indigenous worker more effective than the professional, but to determine whether or not the former, under certain circumstances and with certain clients, may be as effective as the latter. Structuring the alternative hypothesis in the form stated does not constitute a test of the efficacy of professional probation supervision. Instead it represents an attempt to determine whether or not a service-delivery role for indigenous paraprofessionals exists in probation.

It is, of course, understood that it is not possible to "prove" the null hypothesis even if no outcome differences between the experimental and control groups are found. According to statistical convention, the most that may be said under such a situation is that the alternative hypothesis was rejected. The null hypothesis may not be accepted as true on the basis of statistical tests.

Recidivism

The primary measure of recidivism was a new arrest. Because recidivism data were gathered only seven months after the close of the action phase, it was impossible to rely

solely on new convictions as a solid measurement of recidivism. In far too many cases, information concerning disposition was unavailable and/or charges were still pending.

Arrest records were kept for all research clients from the time of their selection into the research sample until December 28, 1971, the monitoring cut-off date. Arrest information was gathered from the files of the U.S. Probation Office, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Chicago Police Department, and the Illinois Bureau of Investigation. U.S. Probation Offices in other cities provided arrest data on clients who had been transferred out of the Northern District of Illinois. Records of the Circuit Court of Cook County were searched for clients whose cases were pending there.

The data reveal marked similarities between experimentals and controls. As shown in Table 9, 74% of both the experimental and control groups had not been arrested subsequent to the current offense and in both groups the majority of clients who were arrested (termed "recidivists", for convenience) had only one arrest.

TABLE 9
NEW ARREST RECORD OF CLIENTS

Number of New Arrests	Total		Experimentals		Controls	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One only	44	15	25	16	19	15
Two only	17	6	11	7	6	4
Three or more only	14	5	5	3	9	7
One or more	75 ^a	26	41	26	34	26
None	210	74	115	74	95	74
Total	285	100%	156	100%	129	100%

^aAccounted for a total of 120 new arrests.

The 75 recidivists from both groups accounted for 120 subsequent arrests encompassing a wide range of offenses. In all, 20 different types of offenses were committed. They were grouped into the following categories: *

- 1) offenses against persons, including battery, murder, sex assault, and assault;
- 2) offenses against property, including burglary, theft, auto theft, forgery, robbery, and arson;
- 3) offenses against self, including narcotics, parole violation, gambling, deceptive practices, and drunk;

*These groupings are clearly not comparable with categories of current offenses, all of which are, of course, federal offenses, and with the exception of narcotic offenses, are all offenses against property.

- 4) public nuisance offenses, including traffic offenses, disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, loitering, and investigation.

For both experimentals and controls, the most common new arrest was for offenses against property (39% and 40% respectively). Only 8% of all recidivists were arrested for assaultive offenses and nearly all of these were committed by current theft and confidence offenders. No assaultive offenses were committed by mandatory releasees. As Table 10 indicates, the distribution of types of new arrests was virtually identical for the experimentals and controls. Only in the category of offenses against self did the percentage of experimentals exceed the percentage of controls.

TABLE 10

NEW ARRESTS COMMITTED BY CLIENTS

Type of Offense	Total		Arrests			
	No.	%	Experimental No.	%	Control No.	%
Persons	10	8	4	6	6	10
Property	47	39	24	39	23	40
Self	38	32	21	34	17	29
Public Nuisance	25	21	13	21	12	21
Total	120 ^a	100%	62	100%	58	100%

^a A total of 75 clients accounted for the 120 new arrests:
44 were arrested once,
17 were arrested twice, and
14 were arrested thrice.

At the time of the monitoring cut-off date, dispositions were available for 67 of the 120 new arrests (56% of the experimental arrests and 55% of the control arrests). The difference in conviction rate between the two groups is rather striking (See Table 11). Sixty-three percent of the control arrests which were disposed of (that is, action taken by the court) resulted in convictions compared with only 34% of the experimental arrests. Thus, experimental clients with at least one new arrest fared considerably better than did controls. As seen in Table 12, 22% of the experimental recidivists were convicted compared with 47% of the control recidivists.

TABLE 11

DISPOSITION OF NEW ARRESTS

(Percents Apply Only to Arrests for Which Dispositions Were Available)

Disposition	Total		Arrests			
	No.	%	Experimental No.	%	Control No.	%
Conviction	32 ^a	48	12	34	20	63
Acquittal	3	4	3	9	-	-
Dismissal	32	48	20	57	12	37
Subtotal	67	100%	35	100%	32	100%
Pending or Not Available	53	-	27	-	26	-
Total	120 ^b	-	62	-	58	-

^a A total of 25 clients accounted for 32 new convictions:
20 were arrested once,
3 were arrested twice, and
2 were arrested thrice.

^b Seventy-five clients accounted for the 120 new arrests.

TABLE 12

DISPOSITIONS OF CLIENTS WITH NEW ARRESTS

Disposition	Total		Experimentals		Controls	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
At least one conviction	25 ^a	33.3	9	22	16	47
Acquittal or dismissal	16	21.3	12	29	4	12
Pending or insufficient information	34	45.3	20	49	14	41
Total	75	100	41	100	34	100

^a These 25 clients accounted for a total of 32 new convictions:
 20 were convicted once,
 3 were convicted twice, and
 2 were convicted three times.

Experimental clients also suffered considerably fewer revocations of community supervision. There were no technical violations* of supervision in either research group. Eleven of the 25 clients who were convicted of a new offense were revoked. Two of the 11 were experimentals and 9 were controls (See Table 13). While the numbers are far too small for a firm conclusion, this finding is consistent with the favorable disposition of new arrest pattern enjoyed by the experimentals. Although the rate of new arrests was virtually identical for both research groups, the experimentals experienced significantly fewer convictions and significantly fewer revocations of community supervision.

*A technical violation amounts to some sort of breach of the rules or regulations of supervision without an actual law violation (crime) having occurred. Failure to submit written monthly reports and leaving the district without permission (absconding) are examples. In recent years, Judges have become increasingly reluctant to revoke supervision solely on the basis of technical violations.

TABLE 13

REVOCATION OF SUPERVISION OF CLIENTS WITH NEW CONVICTIONS

Supervision Status	Experimentals		Controls	
	No.	%	No.	%
Revoked	11	44	2	22
Not Revoked	14	56	7	78
Total	25 ^a	100%	9	100%

^a Twenty-five of the 75 clients with at least one new arrest had at least one new conviction prior to the project cut-off date.

It is difficult and a bit risky to attempt an interpretation of such findings based as they are on incomplete data. There is, however, some room for speculation. POA's had far more community contacts with their experimental clients than did officers with their control clients. Accordingly, it became common practice for POA's to accompany their clients to court and frequently to speak on their behalf. Almost without exception, when an experimental client was arrested, his POA contacted law enforcement authorities to ascertain the specific nature of the charges. Later, he accompanied the client to court. The POA's appearance in court appears to have had an important impact on judges. Speaking on behalf

of the client, POA's explained to the court that the client was under close, federal supervision. Most POA's and the project supervisors became convinced after a number of such appearances that the effect was highly beneficial from two standpoints. First, it presented clear evidence to the client that the POA was on his side through thick and thin; and second, it reassured the local courts that even if they dismissed their cases, the client was still "under close wraps". In contrast, heavy caseloads and excessive time demands make such court appearances all but impossible for most professional officers.

POA's themselves were initially slow at contacting law enforcement officials and making court appearances. It took sometime for them to become familiar with the criminal justice system, at least from "a friend of the court" viewpoint, and to feel comfortable with this new and often quite alien function. Not surprisingly then, no difference exists between convictions of experimentals and controls for first arrests. By the time second and third arrests occurred, POA's were more actively and aggressively intervening on their clients' behalf. Apparently the impact was great. Only 37% of the experimental second and third new arrest dispositions resulted in convictions while 87% of the control dispositions were convictions.

The experimental and control recidivists did not significantly differ in the length of time which elapsed between beginning of community supervision and first new arrest (See Table 14). A slightly larger proportion of experimental recidivists (59%) were arrested within the first six months

of supervision than were control recidivists (50%). The proportion of arrests for both groups in the next two six-month periods were essentially the same.

TABLE 14
NUMBER OF MONTHS FROM START TO FIRST NEW ARREST

Number of Months	Total		Experimentals		Controls	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Up to 6 mos.	41	55	24	59	17	50
7 to 12 mos.	23	30	12	29	11	32
13 to 18 mos.	11	15	5	12	6	18
19 to 24 mos.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	75	100%	41	100%	34	100%

The tendency for experimental clients to get into trouble early if they were going to do so at all, may have been due to an initial struggle with authority and the confusion over supervision goals which many POA's experienced. In retrospect, project supervisors thought that until POA's gained a little experience, they were far more lenient and permissive than are most seasoned professionals. Nonetheless, this apparent POA non-authoritarianism diminished over time. Ultimately, as POA's gained experience in their new role, they demonstrated more comfort with their authority and thus became more assertive in its use.

Inasmuch as new arrests encompassed a wide range of offenses, a three level seriousness of offense scale was developed:

- 1) minor offenses: including traffic, battery, gambling, drunk, and loitering;

- 2) moderately serious offenses: including theft, auto theft, disorderly conduct, forgery, deceptive practice, assault, and resisting arrest;
- 3) major offenses: including narcotics, murder, burglary, sex assault, robbery, parole violation, and custody--U.S. Marshall.

No significant difference in the level of subsequent offense occurred between experimentals and controls. As shown in Table 15, a new arrest in either group most commonly involved a major offense.

TABLE 15
SERIOUSNESS OF OFFENSES RESULTING IN NEW ARRESTS

Seriousness of New Offenses	Total		Arrests		Control	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Minor	32	27	16	26	16	28
Moderate	38	31	18	29	20	34
Major	50	42	28	45	22	38
Total	120	100%	62	100%	58	100%

The somewhat larger proportion of experimentals with new arrests for major offenses is primarily due to the disproportionately large number of parolees and mandatory releasees in that group. Parolees and mandatory releasees represented 69% of the experimentals and 53% of the controls, and they accounted for 85% of all new arrests.

Thus, experimentals and controls were found to be quite similar when compared by various commonly employed recidivism measures such as new arrest, seriousness of arrest, and length of time to first arrest. Experimentals had fewer new convictions and revocations of supervision, but this was probably due more to

the ability of POA's to manipulate the criminal justice system than to their rehabilitation prowess with clients per se.

Social Adjustment

The use of social adjustment as an outcome measure is based on the assumption that improvement of the quality of life (as the client views it) is an important element in rehabilitation and an appropriate goal for correctional practitioners. Social adjustment in this sense does not imply conformity to a middle-class, establishmentarian life-style. It does not necessarily mean success. Rather, social adjustment properly conceived implies a degree of maturity in confronting life's problems and responsibilities.

In this study the concept of social adjustment was operationalized along a number of important dimensions of living: marital and family life, employment, housing, and community involvement and leisure time activities. In this context, data were also gathered relating to the nature of the client's relationship with his POA or officer.

Clients, POA's, and probation officers provided data through a series of semi-structured interviews and written case records. Considerable difficulty was experienced in attempting to conduct follow-up interviews with clients. In fact, despite heroic efforts by trained research interviewers only 106 clients (experimentals and controls) were interviewed following the termination of their project supervision. About one-half of those not interviewed could not be located and the remainder simply refused to be interviewed (even though a \$5.00 payment was offered).

Fortunately supplemental data on social adjustment was derived from officers and POA's, interviews, and case files. The reliability and validity of the client interview data is affirmed by the high level of agreement obtained between

these data sources on similar items. Moreover, no significant difference in the officer/POA assessment of social adjustment was found between those clients who were interviewed and those who were not.

Marital and Family Life

Neither POA's nor officers were able to report adequately on quality of relationship between clients and their wives at the end of project supervision. In only 33 control cases and 58 experimental cases did officers/POA's possess sufficient information to make such an assessment. Interestingly, for those few clients for whom information was available, two-thirds of each research group was judged to have a satisfactory marital relationship. In about one-half of the cases in each group in which unsatisfactory relationships were reported the officer or POA reported himself to be actively attempting to assist the client with his marital difficulties. However, no differences were found between the experimentals and controls regarding changes in level of satisfaction with marital situation over time. There is no evidence that either officers or POA's were very successful in ameliorating unsatisfactory relationships. At least, while it was not uncommon for officers and POA's to make attempts at marital counselling, few if any discernable effects were apparent by the end of the project.

An effort was also made to determine the adequacy of the clients' performance in the parental role. As was the case with marital adjustment data, officers and POA's were able to report on parental performance for less than one-half of their clients. Fifty-five percent of the controls and 68% of the experimentals for whom information was available (63 clients in each group) were judged to be making at least a satisfactory

adjustment in the parental role at the end of the project. No significant difference in change in adequacy of parental performance between the two client groups was observed, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It appears that neither POA nor officer had much of an impact on the client as a parent in general.

Case records reveal that in some instances POA's were quite effective in assisting clients with specific parenting problems (that is, referring a client's pre-delinquent son for appropriate counseling thereby avoiding court action). But such efforts, while important in their own right, did not result in changes in the adequacy of parental performance. This is not surprising. Correctional clients do not typically request nor expect general counseling on how to be a good parent. Occasionally, however, they do request help with specific problems involving their children. In the POCA Project the POA's recorded twice as many instances of providing such help as did the officers. Apparently the greater proximity and availability of POA's to their clients resulted in more frequent requests for help.

Employment

As would be expected, both POA's and officers were more familiar with their clients' employment situations than any other area of social functioning. Significantly though, while POA's were able to report on 88% of the experimentals, officers could only account for 65% of their clients, again evidence that POA's were better informed about important aspects of their clients' lives.

At the end of the project, the experimental and control groups presented roughly equivalent employment situations. Seventy-three percent of the experimentals and 76% of the controls were employed. Nearly 30% of each group had been on their current jobs for five months or less. The great majority of each group--94% of the experimentals and 87% of the controls--had been on the current job for fifteen months or less, a situation readily understandable in that 69% of the experimentals and 53% of the controls had been incarcerated just one year previously. The mean number of jobs held during the project was the same--two--for each group.

About one-third of each group had some period of unemployment during the time of project supervision. In 82% of these instances, POA's made specific efforts to secure employment for their clients. In contrast, officers were reported to be active in helping controls find work in only 46% of their unemployment cases. For the most part, both experimentals and controls considered the employment assistance at least somewhat helpful.

Undoubtedly, it is in the area of employment that correctional clients most frequently request and receive assistance from correctional officers. In this study, however, officers were not able to provide as much assistance in this area as were POA's. Most POA's believed that the greatest contribution to a client is helping him find and maintain satisfactory employment. Their attention to this important task is, perhaps, one of the most significant findings of the project.

The distribution of earnings for experimentals and controls at the end of the project is shown in Table 16. The mean monthly income for experimentals was \$361 compared with \$395 for controls, a difference which favors the controls by \$34. The mean income in each group remained about the same from beginning to end of the project. Similarly, there was no change in the level of jobs held by clients in either group from beginning to end of the project. Throughout the project, approximately 56% of the experimentals held jobs and the lowest level of employment measured (laborer), while approximately 44% of the controls held such jobs. Thus, the higher earnings and the somewhat higher levels of job classification of the controls is probably due primarily to their slightly higher levels of education and job skills.*

TABLE 16
MONTHLY EARNINGS OF CLIENTS AT TERMINATION
N = 196

Monthly Earnings	Total No.	%	Experimentals No.	%	Controls No.	%
Under \$200	66	34	46	38	20	27
200-399	28	14	11	9	17	23
400-599	59	30	39	32	20	27
600-799	26	13	16	13	10	14
Over \$800	17	9	10	8	7	9
Total	196	100%	122	100%	74	100%

*The fact that controls possessed slightly more education and greater job skills was a happenstance of random assignment of clients into each group. For details, See Chapter 6.

Despite the actual difference in earnings between the two groups, approximately one-half of the clients in each group were judged (both by themselves and by their POA or officer) at the end of the project to have, at least, adequate earnings. Sixty percent of the clients in each group reported they were satisfied with their jobs. Inadequate income was the most commonly stated reason for job dissatisfaction. Other frequently given reasons for job dissatisfaction included bad hours and poor working conditions. Experimentals tended to have jobs requiring night-shifts and split-shifts more frequently than did controls. To the extent that day-time and straight-time jobs are considered more desirable, the controls fared a little better. This, of course, is consistent with their somewhat higher level of education and job skills.

Housing

Frequency in changes of residence during the project was about the same for each group. Approximately 60% remained at one residence, 33% moved two or three times, and 7% four or more times. In the majority of cases, housing was judged to be at least adequate. Only 9% of the controls and 15% of the experimentals were judged to be living in clearly adequate housing. Apparently, however, inadequate housing was rarely considered a primary problem by either POA's or officers. Neither spent much time or effort attempting to help clients living in inadequate housing improve this aspect of their lives.

Community Involvement and Use of Leisure Time

Neither the experimentals nor controls were very active in religious or community affairs. The vast majority of clients in both groups shunned formally organized leisure time activities. For the most part, non-work time was spent at home with the family or "on the street" with friends. POA's and officers reported improper use of leisure time in less than 10% of their respective caseloads. Spending inordinate amounts of time on the street or in taverns and associating with "undesirable characters" were the most common examples given for improper use of leisure time. In almost all such instances, POA's or officers had, at least, spoken to their clients about this perceived impropriety. There is no indication in either group that such interventions had any ameliorative impact.

Relationship Between Clients and Officers or POA's

Most clients and POA's or officers were asked to describe the nature of their relationship with one another and how it changes, if at all, over time. At the beginning and end of the project, clients were asked to specify whether they perceived their POA's or officers as a: 1) snooper/busybody, 2) law enforcer, 3) helper with problems, or 4) friend.* Similarly, POA's and officers were asked which category they thought most accurately described how their clients perceived them. There was far less agreement on these judgements between clients and POA's.

*For analysis, the categories of snooper/busybody and law enforcer were subsequently considered together as were helper with problems and friend. Clients drew virtually no distinctions within these two sets of categories (that is, between categories 1 & 2 or between categories 3 & 4).

TABLE 17

PERCENT OF CLIENTS WHO PERCEIVED THEIR POA OR OFFICER
AS HELPER OR FRIEND IN THE BEGINNING AND END

Considered POA/Officer a Helper or Friend	Experimentals	Controls
According to Clients	(N = 66)	(N = 39)
Beginning	67	85
End	88	90
According to POA or Officer	(N = 93)	(N = 97)
Beginning	41	46
End	85	57

As shown in table 17, two-thirds of the interviewed experimentals said that they considered their POA a helper with problems or friend in the beginning. This figure changed to 88% in the end, an increase of 21%. In the beginning, POA's said only 41% of their clients saw them as a helper or friend, but by the end 85% made that judgement, very close to the clients' view. Control clients, in contrast, had a greater tendency to view their officers as helper or friend from the start (85%). Surprisingly, officers failed to recognize this. In less than one-half of their cases, the officers initially believed they were seen as a helper or friend. In the end, officers said only 57% of their clients considered them a helper or friend. Thus, while the vast majority of clients in both groups perceived their POA or officer as a helper or friend by the end of the project, POA's appear to have been much more aware of their clients' basic perception of them.

Twenty-four percent of the experimentals indicated their perception of their POA improved (that is, from snooper, busybody or law enforcer to helper or friend) from beginning to end of project. This compares with only 12% of the controls who described such a shift over time. Apparently, POA's, in their enthusiasm and with newly acquired official authority, were more likely to come on strong during initial contacts with clients. As they worked with their clients over time, their helping function was more readily perceived.

POA's and officers were asked to describe the clients' mode of relating to them, both initially and at the end of the project (See Tables 18 and 19). Twenty-three percent of the controls were described as "cautious and factual" in their encounters with officers. This group declined in size to 30% by termination. Initially, only 35% of the experimentals were placed in this category, and a decline to 7% was reported by termination. Officers found 22% of the controls "open and direct" initially, and reported an increase to 47% by the end. POA's classified 31% as "open and direct" with a startling increase to 71% at conclusion of supervision. Both officers and POA's found a few clients "dependent and over-conforming" both at beginning and end.

TABLE 18

CLIENTS' MODE OF RELATING TO POA OR OFFICER
AT BEGINNING OF PROJECT SUPERVISION, IN PERCENT

Mode of Relating	Experimentals N = 93	Controls N = 97
Dependent, Over conforming	5	12
Cautious, Factual	35	43
Resistive, Evasive	21	15
Challenging, Manipulative	8	8
Open, Direct	31	22
Total	100%	100%

TABLE 19

CLIENTS' MODE OF RELATING TO POA OR OFFICER
AT END OF PROJECT SUPERVISION, IN PERCENT

Mode of Relating	Experimentals N = 93	Controls N = 97
Dependent, Over conforming	5	5
Cautious, Factual	7	30
Resistive, Evasive	11	13
Challenging, Manipulative	6	5
Open, direct	71	47
Total	100%	100%

Fifteen percent of the controls were said to be "resistive and evasive" at the beginning and 13% at the end. Initially, 21% of the experimentals were placed in this group, but the figure declined to 11% by termination. The experimental clients here may have been displaying some initial resentment over not having been assigned a "regular" probation officer. Both POA's and officers found a few clients "challenging and manipulative" initially, with only a slight decline for each group at the end.

Thus, considerable shifting in the manner in which clients related to their POA's or officers was reported between the beginning and end. In general, both experimentals and controls became far less cautious and resistive, and much more open and direct as time passed. Remarkably, almost three-quarters of the experimentals (compared with less than one-half of the controls) were judged as having an open and direct relationship with their POA. Presumably the greater proximity (both geographically and socio-culturally) and the far more numerous client contacts enjoyed by the POA's contributed to this outcome.

The most common form of help given to clients in both groups by POA's and officers was advice, especially about employment. Apparently, this was well received. In each group, the vast majority of clients (approximately 90%) reported that their POA's or officers had been at least somewhat helpful. Again, it was in the area of job counseling and referral that most help was given. Only 2% of the clients in each group rated their POA or officer as clearly

unhelpful. All clients expressed a surprising degree of confidence in POA or officers' ability to understand and help them with their problems. Initially, 73% of the experimentals and 90% of the controls said they believed that POA or officer understood their problems. By termination, 90% of both groups shared this belief and to a large measure they put it into practice. Just under one-half of experimentals and controls reported that at some time during their period of supervision they received POA or officer help with a personal problem.

Overall Social Adjustment

POA's, officers, project supervisors, and research judges were asked to make an assessment of each client's overall social adjustment at termination. The composite results are shown in Table 20. The experimentals received somewhat better ratings, 60% had made an adequate social adjustment compared with 50% of the controls. Experimentals with a clearly inadequate social adjustment was slightly more numerous than controls. The largest difference between the two research groups was for clients who had made neither a clearly adequate nor inadequate social adjustment. Nearly one-third of the controls were found to be operating on a marginal basis, compared with less than one-fifth of the experimentals.

TABLE 20

ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT AT END OF PROJECT

N = 210^a

Social Adjustment	Clients ^a		Controls	
	Experimentals No.	%	No.	%
Adequate	81	60	38	50
Mixed	24	18	23	31
Inadequate	30	22	14	19
Total	135	100%	75	100%

^aIn 75 cases sufficient data were not available to make reliable and valid judgements about social functioning.

One of the most complicating facets of attempting to assess the outcome of correctional practice is the frequent apparent unrelatedness of social adjustment and recidivism. A sudden, unanticipated new arrest is not altogether uncommon for clients who have appeared, by all available measures of social functioning, to be on the road toward an adequate adjustment. In such cases, it does not seem reasonable that a singular behavioral lapse (arrest or conviction) should completely overshadow a heretofore generally favorable and productive level of functioning. Consequently, social adjustment ratings were also examined separately for clients with at least one arrest and for those who were arrest-free (See Table 21).

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TABLE 21
 SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF RECIDIVISTS AND NON-RECIDIVISTS
 N = 210^a

Social Adjustments	Experimentals		Controls	
	No.	%	No.	%
Clients with arrest(s)				
Adequate	11	28	7	30
Mixed	12	30	10	44
Inadequate	17	42	6	26
Sub-Total	40	100%	23	100%
Clients with no arrests				
Adequate	70	74	31	60
Mixed	12	12	13	25
Inadequate	13	14	8	15
Sub-Total	95	100%	52	100%
TOTAL	135	-	75	-

^aIn 75 cases sufficient data were not available to make reliable and valid judgements about social functioning

No significant differences in social adjustment were found between experimentals and controls with at least one arrest, nor for those with no arrests. However, experimentals with no arrests were much more likely to be making an adequate social adjustment than were controls ($X^2=4.058$, 2df, $S=.13$). Interestingly, approximately 30% of the clients with at least one arrest in each research group were otherwise making an adequate social adjustment. In fact, only 26% of the controls and 42% of the experimentals with at least one arrest made inadequate adjustments. About 15% of the arrest-free clients in each research group made inadequate social adjustments.

POA OUTCOME

Although it was not possible to measure POA outcome in a rigorous way, general assessments of POA performance, job satisfaction, and the impact of POA on POA educational and career goals, beliefs and attitudes were made.

As indicated previously, POA's were classified or typed according to the manner in which they characteristically viewed and approached the helping process. Three admittedly crude and highly generalized POA types were identified:

1. Interpersonally (inner) oriented POA's whose primary view of helping was relationship oriented, and who, through their understanding of social and emotional factors which impinged upon the client problem-solving capacity, were able to respond appropriately.
2. Environmental (outer) oriented POA's whose primary view of helping was directed towards concrete-problems, and whose work with clients indicated minimal use of concern or awareness of underlying social and emotional factors.
3. Flexibly oriented POA's who had neither a predominantly interpersonal nor a predominantly environmental orientation.

The majority of POA's (62%) were characterized as approaching the helping process from an interpersonal relationship orientation (see Table 22). Inner-oriented POA's were particularly sensitive to emotional and social

needs of clients and sought to develop fairly close interpersonal relationships with them. Counseling and advice giving was the primary means of helping. Although inner-oriented POA's often helped clients with concrete problems (that is, employment), they typically saw such efforts as incidental or at most supplemental to changing behavior and/or attitudes of clients through counseling. Twenty-seven percent of the POA's tended to focus their efforts primarily on concrete problems and eleven percent seemed to be equally prone to provide both counseling and environmental manipulation.

TABLE 22

TYPE OF HELPING ORIENTATION OF POA'S

Type	Total	Ex-Offenders	Non-Offenders
Interpersonal, relationship (i.e., "inner" oriented)	32	10	22
Environmental, concrete problems (i.e., outer oriented)	14	8	6
Flexible, both inner and outer oriented	6	4	2
Total	52	22	30

POA's were rated by the action director and supervisors on the quality of overall performances. Taken into account was work with clients, consistency and quality of case recording, and use of supervision. Creativity, commitment to clients and assumption of responsibility were highly valued

attributes. As shown in Table 23, the work of three-fourths of the POA's was considered at least satisfactory. From this group all of the Phase II POA's were chosen. Nineteen percent were rated unsatisfactory and three were considered highly erratic, displaying good work in some areas and poor work in others. In almost every instance of unsatisfactory performance the POA failed to maintain adequate client and/or office contact (at least once every three weeks). Two POA's were fired for insufficient client and office contact.

TABLE 23

OVERALL EVALUATION OF POA JOB PERFORMANCE
BY OFFENSE BACKGROUND AND RACE

Overall POA Performance	Total	Ex-Offender		Non-Offender	
		Black	White	Black	White
Satisfactory	39	8	6	20	5
Mixed	3	-	2	-	1
Unsatisfactory	10	5	1	3	1
Total	52	13	9	23	7

There was no difference in overall POA performance between ex-offenders and non-offenders or between blacks and whites. Sixty-two percent of the black ex-offenders were rated satisfactory while two-thirds of white ex-offenders had satisfactory ratings. Similarly, eighty-seven percent and seventy-one percent of black non-offenders and white non-offenders, respectively, were judged to have performed satisfactorily.

There was no significant difference in performance among POA types. Approximately two-thirds of the inner oriented, outer oriented and flexible types were rated satisfactory. Comparison of POA performance with various demographic characteristics and MMPI test scores also failed to reveal any significant differences.

As shown in Table 24, initial screening ratings failed to predict subsequent performance. Over three-fourths of the thirty-three POA's with excellent or good initial screening ratings were independently judged to have performed at least satisfactorily by the end of Phase I. However, approximately the same percentage of the nineteen POA's with fair or poor initial screening ratings fell into the satisfactory performance category in the end. Indeed, all four POA's rated poor (risk) at application turned in satisfactory performances throughout Phase I.

TABLE 24

INITIAL SCREENING RATINGS AND OVERALL JOB PERFORMANCE
OF EX-OFFENDER AND NON-OFFENDER POA'S

Screening Rating	Overall Performance			
	Total	Satisfactory	Mixed	Unsatisfactory
Ex-offenders				
Excellent	3	2	1	-
Good	12	9	-	3
Fair	5	1	1	3
Poor (risk)	2	2	-	-
Sub-Total	22	14	2	6
Non-offenders				
Excellent	7	7	-	-
Good	11	7	1	3
Fair	10	9	-	1
Poor (risk)	2	2	-	-
Sub-Total	30	25	1	4
Total	52	39	3	10

Approximately 85% of the POA's were mostly satisfied with their Phase 1 POCA experience. Ten percent expressed frustration with administrative aspects of the job and five percent would not do it over again if offered the opportunity. A few of the more satisfied POA's became quite zealous. Indeed, six said they believed indigenous paraprofessionals are far more helpful to clients than professionals, particularly in work with inner-city minority clients. Ex-offenders believed that their backgrounds were of great benefit in providing them with insights

and empathy. For the most part, POA's said they thought a team consisting of a paraprofessional and professional staff officer represents the best service delivery option. Case assignment and division of labor can thereby be made on the relative strengths of each team member. Mutual learning was expected to be a common by-product of such team work.

A final question was asked - what sort of impact did the Phase 1 POA experience have on the educational and career aspirations of these men? Slightly over one-half were not engaged in full-time human services work and contemplated no job change in that direction (see Table 25). Twenty-three percent had, since the beginning of Phase I, returned to school with the aim of qualifying for professional or sub-professional human services jobs, or had already secured a full-time human services position.* Another twenty-three percent indicated an active interest in more education and/or shifting their fields of work to the human services. There was no significant difference in educational or job aspirations among ex-offenders and non-offenders or black and whites.

*For example, two POA's, both ex-offenders, recently accepted full-time positions usually reserved for individuals with professional (college) training. One was employed as a barber when he joined the project. While serving as a POA, he began taking college credits on a part-time basis and later received a Law Enforcement Assistance Act Scholarship. In February, 1970 he was employed by the Illinois Department of Corrections as a full-time adult parole officer. Another POA, employed as a postal clerk when he joined the project was later named chief counselor and director of the new Program for Alcoholic Recovery Counseling Service at a large U.S. Post Office. Interestingly this POA, an alcoholic himself, commented that before joining POCA he would not have even thought to apply for such a position.

TABLE 25

EDUCATIONAL AND CAREER ASPIRATIONS AND CHANGES OF POA'S

Aspirations and Changes	Total	Ex-Offenders		Non-Offenders	
		Black	White	Black	White
Achieved more education and/or secured human services job	12	3	1	6	2
Plans more education and/or human services job	12	4	4	3	1
No job change and no more education planned	28	6	4	14	4
Total	52	13	9	23	7

Thus, there can be little doubt that most POA's performed well and were well-satisfied with their POCA experience. And, happily, almost one-half were seeking to shift to careers in the human services or had already done so. Undoubtedly, the number of POA's who actually stick with human services careers will be reduced from that figure, but, whether the POCA experience initiated or confirmed educational and career interests, it was a positive and important experience for many POA's.

For ex-offenders in particular it was also an opportunity to experience a new collegial relationship with authority figures and institutions. While the shortcomings and inequities of the law enforcement, judicial and correctional systems remain apparent, ninety-five percent of ex-offender POA's said that being a POA reduced their cynicism by enabling them to be a part of the system and thereby recognize that not all authority figures are punitive and uncaring.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The outcome data, both recidivism and social adjustment, fail to support the major alternative research hypothesis that clients supervised by professional probation officers (the controls) will have significantly better success rates than clients supervised by indigenous paraprofessionals (the experimentals). Examination of recidivism measures and social adjustment ratings reveal almost identical outcome patterns for each research group.

The most noteworthy differences between the two groups centered around the nature of the interaction which occurred between client and POA or officer. The far greater frequency and regularity of contact between client and POA (in the experimental group) appears to have paid off in helping relationships characterized by openness and directness. POA's with more time and perhaps more likelihood of being informed of existing problems by a client, proved to be surprisingly effective advocates, especially, in court. One apparent result (based on incomplete data) was a lower new conviction rate for experimentals. This, of course, is probably due more to the persuasive and manipulative powers of POA's than to the inherent innocence of their clients. But, the point remains--a control client who was arrested for a new offense had higher probability of being convicted than did an experimental.

Perhaps one of the most important findings is the general receptivity of probationers, parolees, and mandatory releasees

to POA supervision. Clients in the experimental group accepted supervision by indigenous paraprofessionals readily and almost without incident. In only one instance did a client (a mandatory releasee) balk at being supervised by a POA and the main issue here was not supervision by POA, but supervision by anyone. The more common response of an experimental client was to accept supervision by a POA as a matter of course or, not infrequently, with enthusiasm.

The major conclusion, then, is that the employment of indigenous paraprofessionals in federal probation is operationally feasible and represents a promising adjunct to professional correctional supervision. In Phase I, recruitment, selection, training, and administrative supervision of paraprofessionals was accomplished without any major administrative or client-related problems. Clients under POA supervision responded at least as well as those supervised by professional probation officers. There is, in short, no evidence to suggest that the use of paraprofessionals in corrections compromises either the potential rehabilitation of clients or efforts to professionalize correctional practice. In fact, the evidence of this study has been to the contrary.

As noted in the introductory chapter, indigenous paraprofessionals bring to the correctional system many important perspectives which are not generally familiar to middle-class professionals. The social and cultural difference between middle-class professionals of any race and lower-class minority group clients is a growing problem in corrections, especially in major urban areas. Large proportions of clients in most

cities are non-white, but only a very small fraction of professional correctional staffs are minority group members.* Attempts to correct this imbalance through aggressive recruitment of non-white professionals has been only minimally successful. The simple fact is that any non-white qualified for employment as a federal probation officer is also qualified for countless other, often more lucrative, positions in education, welfare, and industry.

The development of a paraprofessional career line presents realistic and practical means of providing increased job opportunities for minorities in corrections. The paraprofessional position can serve as a new entry point with advancement to professional status dependent upon experience, good performance, in-service training, and formal education.

The pay-off, in addition to effectively opening up the correctional system to minorities, is improved correctional services, particularly to that segment of the caseload which needs it most--the angry and socially alienated offenders. The indigenous paraprofessional is not only better able to reach such clients socially and therapeutically by bridging communication gaps; he is often far more willing and able to reach them physically. Many probation officers are reluctant, if not unwilling to venture alone into ghetto areas of the city at any time of the day or night. Consequently, investigative reports and supervisory contacts requiring potentially risky community visits are given short shrift or become inordinately expensive if conducted by a two-or-more man probation officer team. Indigenous paraprofessionals are,

*For example, in the United States Probation Office, Northern District of Illinois, a particularly progressive office which actively recruits minority professionals, 40% of the clients under supervision are blacks, while only 16% of the professional staff are blacks.

by contrast, often members of such communities and have little difficulty conducting official business in them.

In summary, then, utilization of indigenous paraprofessionals holds the promise of increasing the effectiveness of the correctional system in both its rehabilitative and protective functions. It also provides a new career line for many individuals currently cut-off from normal participation in the "main stream" of American life by virtue of their poverty, lack of education, or criminal record.

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