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THE DIMENSION OF CORRECTIONAL COUNSELLING
AND OF SUPERVISORY PROCESS IN
PROBATION AND PAROLE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE DIMENSIONS OF CORRECTIONAL COUNSELLING

There are generally negative feelings surrounding the matter of the effectiveness of correctional practices. There is no question that there are serious problems in the criminal justice system. Unfortunately, the recognition of serious problems in the total system appears to have generalized to the belief that no matter what is done in counselling, the impact is either negligible or harmful.

Systematic evaluations of correctional practices appear to support this view (see for example the review by Martinson, 1974). However, there is evidence to the contrary, (Palmer, 1975). When one examines certain types of specific practices, as opposed to gross examinations of whole systems, then evidence of program effectiveness has emerged. For example, evaluations of certain approaches to group counselling in prisons have consistently reached negative conclusions while evaluations of other approaches to group counselling have revealed consistent evidence of positive impact (Andrews, 1974). Incarceration, probation and parole are gross programs, ones which incorporate a large number of different and diverse practices. Some of these specific practices may have no effect, some may have positive effects, and some may have negative effects. Furthermore, the value of any specific practice may depend upon characteristics of the setting, workers or clients.

The evaluation of programs such as probation and parole requires the specification of what events take place between what types of clients and officers. The evaluation of the Ottawa Criminal Court Volunteer Program (Andrews, Kiessling, Russell & Grant, 1977) considered five different elements or dimensions of the counselling process:

a) Quality of relationship: This set includes frequency and nature of contacts as well as socio-emotional factors such as trust, caring, understanding and interpersonal openness.

b) <u>Authority or control</u>: This set has to do with the counsellor's
use of those rules and sanctions which are made explicit through the
probation contract or the rules of an institution.

c) <u>Anticriminal dimension</u>: The concern here is with the extent to
which the officer expresses, models and differentially rewards anti-
criminal and procriminal patterns.

d) <u>Problem-Solving orientation</u>: This set has to do with the extent
to which the officer actively engages the client in solving any
problems evident in the client's personal, interpersonal and
community adjustment.

e) <u>Environmental facilitation and the advocate-broker role</u>: a subset
of problem-solving involving the extent to which the officer directs
the client toward, and assists in the utilization of, existing community
resources and/or actively engages direct environmental manipulation.

Several papers in the CaVIC series examine and discuss the five dimensions

of supervisory process. One paper provides an overview of relevant theory

and research (Andrews, 1977). There are also separate discussion papers for

each of the five dimensions. The discussion papers were produced for program

managers as a training aid to complement both preservice and inservice train-

ing sessions. Each discussion paper includes a review of theoretical perspec-

tives as well as a sampling of research results relevant to the appropriate

dimension. Some of the available means of measuring and operationalizing

the dimensions are appended to the report of Andrews, Kiessling, Russell &

Grant, 1977. The scales outlined or referenced may be helpful in the selection

of measuring instruments for purposes of program evaluation. Some of the

scales may be appropriate in the selection and screening of volunteers.

Several may be helpful in the design and implementation of training programs

to sensitize officers to potentially effective counselling or supervisory

styles.

Quality of the Relationship: Theoretical Perspectives

The matter of the quality of the relationship between an officer and a client is complex and yet obvious. In a sense we all know what a positive relationship is. We talk of someone as a good friend when we experience mutual respect and concern, when there is a mutual interest in activities, when we feel we can be ourselves. The "skills" involved in human relations are natural human qualities or expressions. At the same time we also recognize negative relationships, ones characterized by hostility, lack of trust, "phoniness", manipulation, dominance or overdependency.

If the relationship between the officer and the client is important in determining impact then it is necessary that we go beyond the common sense and attempt to define what we mean by a good relationship and hopefully even measure it. If relationships are important in determining the ultimate outcome of a case then it is important that volunteers be selected who are able to form good relationships, and/or that volunteers and clients be matched such that a good relationship is likely and/or that volunteers be trained to recognize when a relationship is going well and when it is not. Equally important is the notion that a good relationship may often times not be enough - that the relationship must be used as a base from which other forms of helping behaviours may be initiated.

In discussing and analysing interpersonal relationships, we may start from a number of points. Since our interest is in correctional clients, we will begin with theories which have been applied within corrections. Four major theoretical perspectives have been important: i) the group dynamics tradition, ii) client-centered counselling, iii) social learning theory, and iv) the friendship model of voluntary action. The latter perspective is more a statement of faith than an analysis but it does represent the most explicit

practical statement on the importance of human relations in helping.

The Group Dynamics

The most explicit use of group dynamics principles in the design of correctional programs is that provided by Cressey (1955). His ideas are still evident today in the treatment guidelines of Empey and Erickson (1972). Briefly, since criminal attitudes and behaviour are presumed to be group phenomena, the emphasis is on working with groups as opposed to more individualized approaches. However, for our purposes the dyad of one-to-one supervision may be seen as a small group and we will reject outright the notion that criminal attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviours need always to be viewed as properties of larger groups.

According to Cressey, the purpose of the groups should be explicitly the reformation of the criminal(s), and this purpose must be shared by all members of the groups. The concept of cohesiveness appears to be crucial and refers to inter member attraction, a genuine "we" feeling and evidence of shared objectives. Empey and Erickson warn that the authorities must be careful not to establish themselves as "rejectors".

There are three major problems in making use of the group dynamics perspective. First, there is the matter of how to establish the reformation or anticriminal goals without clear distinctions emerging between the "client" and the "helper" or "authority", i.e. without violating the cohesion principle. Secondly there is the matter of defining cohesion in a way which would actually help the officer establish the condition. Thirdly, there is the fact that studies which approximate the conditions of a peer oriented group dynamics approach have not been characterized by success. For evidence on this point see the CaVIC review of studies relevant to a procriminal friend model of intervention (Andrews,

1977a,b) Most telling were the results of Howell's (1972) evaluation of the role of <u>mutual liking</u> (cohesiveness ?) and authority in one-to-one probation supervision. Mutual liking of officers and client was most strongly related to attitude and behaviour change when the officer was perceived as an authority figure. Howell's study is reviewed in detail elsewhere (Andrews, 1977a,b) as well as in a later section of this discussion paper.

Client Centered Counselling

The works of Rogers (1957), Truax and Mitchell (1971) and Carkhuff (1969, 1971) are very important as attempts to specify what is meant by a "good relationship". While there are variations from author-to-author and therapist-to-therapist in the emphasis given any particular component of the relationship, the three elements of understanding, warmth and openness are basic.

a) <u>Understanding</u> - A good counsellor or a good relationship is characterized by accurate understanding. The helper engages in active listening, is oriented toward the client, and accurately reflects the feelings of the client as well as accurately paraphrasing the substantive content of the client's statements. If the helper does not understand, then it is appropriate to ask questions relevant to what the client is saying.

Understanding does not necessarily involve communication of the notion that one agrees with what the client is saying or that some behaviour or event being described is judged appropriate to the situations. It is the communication of attention and that one is with what the other is saying and feeling. Truax has argued that at its highest levels, understanding involves bringing the client to recognize feelings that even the client is as yet unaware of.

However, the process is gradual and to provide the client with a
sophisticated theoretical translation of what he was _really_ saying
is definitely not an example of understanding. In fact, such
interpretations would represent classic examples of miscommunication
and low levels of understanding.

b) Warmth - Warmth involves communication of interest in and respect for
the client. At its base, warmth involves expressions of liking and
caring for as opposed to expressions of feelings of dislike and hostility.
As in the case of understanding, the communication of warmth and respect
need not be such that the counsellor, helper or officer simultaneously
approves of all that the client does or says.

c) Openness - In the classic statements of interpersonal skills in
counselling, this element is referred to as "genuiness". The
counsellor does not act in a formal, rigid, "phony" manner. The
key elements appear to be spontaneity of expressed feelings and
comments, and a willingness to share feelings or experiences.
Another term is "self-disclosure". It does not necessarily involve
the counsellor or officer disclosing intimate details of his life.
It does involve open expressions of feelings, reactions and relevant
life experiences when such appears appropriate to the moment.

How is it that the establishment of the three core conditions of
facilitative interpersonal functioning can result in positive attitude,
personality and behaviour change? The early statements of relationship models
of counselling saw the three conditions as "necessary and sufficient" for
personality growth (Rogers, 1957). Briefly, the conditions were thought to
establish a situation in which the client could freely and safely explore his
own feelings and experiences. On the basis of such self-exploration, growth

occurred.

While the expression and exploration of feelings and experiences can be of value, it is doubtful that this process is the most important one in correctional counselling or probation supervision. First, there is very little evidence that the determinants of criminal conduct have anything to do with "personality growth", as that phrase would normally be used. Secondly, the little direct evidence that is available on self-exploration is not supportive. For example, Truax, Wargo and Volksdorf (1970) were able to show that counselling groups led by leaders functioning at high levels on the three conditions were characterized by more positive change than other groups led by leaders functioning at lower levels. However in the same study, their measure of client depth of self exploration was unrelated to some outcome indices and negatively related to other outcome indices.

Fortunately, social learning theory provides additional suggestions on how the factors of understanding, openness and warmth may lead to positive outcome.

Social Learning Perspectives

Social learning theory examines the interpersonal style of the officer as behaviours which might act as discriminative stimuli for certain behaviours by the client, as responses which might act as rewards or punishment of client behaviour and as behaviours which might be imitated or modeled by the client.

The next three paragraphs may be skipped if the reader is familiar with behavioural analysis and social learning theory.

> The concept of discriminative stimulus control is an important one. It can be shown, and has been so shown in a wide range of settings with a wide range of subjects, that the events or stimulus conditions present when a behaviour is rewarded (or punished) can come to control the occurrence (or nonoccurrence) of that behaviour. In a sense, those stimulus conditions set the occasion for the reinforcement of specific behaviours. The process is particularly powerful when the stimulus conditions are discriminative, i.e. when the specific behaviours are

rewarded in the presence of the stimulus conditions but not rewarded
or rewarded at different levels in the absence of the stimulus conditions.

The concept of reward has to do with the process of reinforcement
as a function of consequences of that response. A reinforcer is an
event whose presentation is contingent upon some response and results in
an increased probability of that response recurring in the future. A
punishing event is one whose presentation is contingent upon some response
and results in a decreased probability of that response recurring again.
Note, that with these definitions of reinforcement and punishment,
we need not assume that the same events will function as reinforcers or
punishers for different individuals or even for the same individual
at different times.

Imitation, vicarious learning or modelling have to do with situations
in which the probability of a response occurring is influenced by having
seen, read or heard of some other person emitting that response and
being either rewarded or punished as a consequence. The effectiveness of
a model depends, among other things, upon characteristics of the model,
upon the consequences for the model of having behaved in the specified
way and upon whether the response is even part of the observor's repetoire.

The core conditions as reinforcers. Most would agree that interpersonal

attention, interest, concern and warmth are pleasant events. Quite simply, the

core conditions may function as reinforcers when offered contingent upon certain

types of client expressions.

The core conditions as discriminative stimuli. By offering the core

conditions, the officer is establishing himself as one in whose presence the client

may be open and frank. While we have questioned whether "deep self-exploration"

is the basic factor, it is unlikely that we could expect positive effects if the

client was placed in a position where he always had to be on the defensive. A

second aspect is motivational. It is unlikely that the probationer would be even

interested in attending sessions if they were characterized by hostility and

insensitivity. At a minimum, counselling sessions may be established as signals

for something other than an unpleasant time.

The core conditions and modelling. In exhibiting the core conditions, the

officer is establishing the situation necessary for the client to begin to

exhibit a similar interpersonal style. In so far as some criminal conduct can be

related to deficits in interpersonal skills or an insensitivity to the needs or

wishes of others, then such modelling could be of direct value in reducing future

criminal conduct. Secondly, in exhibiting the core conditions, the officer may

be establishing himself as an effective model, i.e., as one who is attractive and and successful and controls reinforcers. Under these conditions, there is an increased chance that other aspects of the officer's attitudes, values and behaviour will be practised by the client. The other aspects of interest are, of course, the anticriminal patterns of the officer. The direct modelling of core conditions may also have negative effects. For example, if what the client learns is to spontaneously express feelings,including those that are socially undesirable, then socially inappropriate behaviours may be released at still higher rates. Thus, even with reference to the modelling function of the core conditions, it is important that the officer be a representative of anticriminal patterns.

The core conditions and other officer behaviours. There is a fourth factor which might account for the apparent success of open, warm and understanding counsellors. Such counsellors may engage in other forms of helping behaviour at higher rates than do the less open, warm and understanding counsellors. These other helping behaviours which vary along with high levels of interpersonal skills may themselves be very important in determining impact. Truax and Mitchell (1971) make reference to direction-giving and confrontation as correlates of high levels of interpersonal functioning. In addition, Andrews, Daigle-Zinn, Wormith, Kennedy and Nelson (1976) have found that volunteers judged by their peers to be open, warm and understanding, tend to show more leadership actively in group discussions with prisoners than do volunteers functioning at lower levels interpersonally.

The social learning perspective is attractive for a number of reasons. For one, it can encompass both the group dynamic and counselling approaches. Secondly, it directs one's attention to additional crucial factors such as the contingent nature of the interpersonal response. Thirdly, it recognizes that the "relationship" is not the only important factor. Even Carkhuff (1971), one of the leading proponents of relationship models of counselling, now argues that

two elements are necessary for effective helping: a good relationship and direct training. Finally, the social learning perspective brings the area of probation supervision, both volunteer and professional, into contact with an impressive body of knowledge relating to interpersonal influence processes.

The social learning perspective also has some negative implications. Since it is based on sophisticated research and theory, it may sound cold and technical. The theory attempts to be explicit on what is influencing what and hence brings the ethical questions into sharp focus. For example, in expressing and communicating interest and concern, we are involved in activities which can directly influence the behaviour of the client.

The Friendship Model of Voluntary Action

The friendship model of volunteerism does not consist of a formal statement or set of statements. It has to do with belief and faith in human responses to human problems. It is assumed that a good relationship will be of value and, in rationales for volunteer as opposed to professional supervision, it assumed that volunteers will more readily establish that relationship. As our review of empirical studies of the relationship in correctional practice show, there is no question that the quality of the relationship is important. However, as has been outlined elsewhere (Andrews, 1977a), the friendship model might most profitably be broken down into those of the controlling friend, the anticriminal friend and the socially powerful or influential friend.

The social learning perspective suggested that a high quality relationship, such as that which exists between friends, sets the occasion for learning to occur. The friend, counsellor or officer establishes himself as one who is approachable and interesting, as one able to deliver rewards of some potency and as one likely to be modelled What is learned depends upon the training offered,

the behaviour modelled and/or the client behaviours which are reinforced
within the context of the positive relationship.

Systematic Empirical Investigations of the Quality of Relationship Factor

There are now several general reviews of relationship-based approaches
to counselling, both volunteer and professional (Carkhuff, 1969; Truax &
Carkhuff, 1967; Truax & Mitchell, 1971) The present review will sample the
studies which appear most relevant to volunteers in correctional counselling. The
review is organized around two major research strategies: i) systematic
empirical investigations of programs which included an emphasis upon interpersonal
relations versus comparison programs, ii) systematic empirical comparisons of
the relative effectiveness of correctional workers who vary on interpersonal
styles. Examinations of the differential treatment and matching hypotheses are
reviewed in   a separate CaVIC report (Andrews, Kiessling et al., 1977. The present
review will draw on the professional counselling literature where such appears
to enhance understanding since continuities between volunteer and professional
programming are evident (Andrews, 1977a).

Program Comparisons: The Procriminal Friend

The interpersonal relations and group dynamic perspectives have been
evident in corrections for some time. Many programs have employed the strategy
of opening up   communication within offender groups and providing opportunities
for the free expression of feelings and the resolution of interpersonal conflict.
Evaluations of several such programs were previously reviewed under the topic of
the procriminal friend approach (Andrews, 1977a). The results of these
studies were highly consistent in demonstrating either negligible effects or

statistically significant increases on measures of criminal attitudes and/or behaviour. There was simply no evidence that, without concurrent and explicit attempts to program special training or learning experiences, there is any reason to expect positive impact as a result of enhanced interpersonal functioning within offender groups. In fact, with enhanced communication with criminal groups, there is good reason to expect negative effects (Buehler, Patterson & Furniss, 1966).

Program Comparisons: The Acriminal Friend

The negative results of the procriminal friend studies are not crucial to an evaluation of the friendship model of voluntary action. Most volunteer programs, in fact, assume that the volunteer is a "good model" or a representative of prosocial and anticriminal values and behaviour. Thus what happens when the pure friendship or relationship approaches are employed with noncriminal workers? When there are no programmed attempts to make the anticriminal position of such workers explicit, the strategy may be viewed as that of an acriminal friend.

The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study of the 1930s (Powers & Witner, 1951) still stands as one of the major investigations of the value of a one-to-one directed friendship between a noncriminal other and a delinquent (or predelinquent) boy. The study was massive. Six hundred and fifty boys, all judged to be predelinquent, were formed into matched pairs and then randomly assigned to the experimental and control conditions. The experimental treatment was probably best described as companionship therapy and the average duration of the one-to-one relationship was from five-to-six years. The control condition was simply non-assignment to a designated counsellor, i.e. control boys did not have the programmed opportunity to enter into a one-to-one with a mature adult.

The findings were decidedly discouraging. There were no significant effects of treatment on subsequent arrest records of the subjects as

either boys (Powers & Witner, 1951) or adults (McCord & McCord, 1959). However, several reviewers of the Cambridge-Somerville study have noted that there were wide variations in the actual treatment the boys received. McCord and McCord (1959) found some evidence that frequency of contact and quality of relationship indices were predictive of positive outcome but their after-the-fact reanalyses of the data were unconvincing.

Goodman (1972) designed and evaluated a companionship program which overcame many of the problems which made the Cambridge-Somerville results difficult to interpret. Goodman's program was more clearly an evaluation of relationship-models of helping. The nonprofessional male counsellors who formed one-to-one relationships with "troubled" boys were college students selected and screened-in on the basis of their highly developed interpersonal skills. The preservice training program for the counsellors included explicit directions to focus on establishing a "meaningful relationship", to avoid "strategies" and "treatment", to see their boys often (two or three times a week minimum) for visits of at least one hours duration each ie.an acriminal friend approach. To further enhance the value of the study, half of the counsellors also participated in weekly inservice training sessions. The inservice training sessions focused on further development of interpersonal skills such as empathic understanding. Overall, in terms of the selection and training of counsellors and in terms of the program guidelines, Goodman's design provided a strong test of the pure friendship model of helping.

The "troubled boys" in Goodman's study were not necessarily predelinquent but were judged by peers, teachers and parents as being unmanageable, attention-seeking and socially isolated. The boys, aged

ten to eleven years, were matched and randomly assigned to the one-to-one

companionship program or to a non-participant control condition. One

problem with the study was that the control boys, or their parents, might

have sought out other forms of treatment and evidence was presented that

some in fact did.

For all the care and attention to detail evident in the Goodman

project, the overall results were no more encouraging than those of the

Cambridge-Somerville project - in fact, the results were clearly discouraging.

In terms of parents' reports on standardized indices, it appeared that the control

boys became more manageable and mannerly while participating boys became less so. Such

impact might be considered positive for withdrawn boys but less likely

so for boys whose "trouble" (or whose parents' trouble) to begin with

was their unmanageability and restlessness. In fact, the trend favouring

the control boys was most evident among those very boys who had presented

"out-going" problems at the start of the project. The results recall the

suggestion from social learning theory that warmth and support may only

increase inappropriate behaviours when not offered in a manner contingent

upon more appropriate behaviours and/or when what is learned is to express

feelings freely.

The conclusion is supported further by the results of the comparison

of counsellors who received the extra inservice empathy and self-disclosure

training relative to those counsellors who only received preservice

training. Relative to the boys with the other counsellors, the boys

with counsellors who received special training reported that they knew more

about their counsellor's feelings and felt that their counsellors

understood their feelings more. That is, the quality of the relationships

did appear to be better when counsellors had received the extra training. However, the boys with the trained counsellors became still more aggressive and less mannerly according to parents' reports.

Program Comparisons: The Anticriminal/Controlling Friend

Goodman's (1972) study was complex and the interested reader is referred to the original source for the full flavour of the program and for details on measures. Other findings by Goodman are reviewed in later sections of the paper. Overall, the companionship program, which focused solely on the quality of the relationship, was associated with poorer outcome than a nonparticipant control condition and the negative effect was even stronger when counsellors were given special training in empathy and self-disclosure. It was originally thought that the zero impact of the Cambridge-Somerville project could have been shifted in the positive direction had high quality relationships been established between clients and workers. It now appears that the establishment of such relationships would have resulted in negative impact had additional steps not been taken to guide and determine what was learned within the context of that positive relationship.

Fo and O'Donnell (1974) have provided an important examination of such "additional steps" in their evaluation of a one-to-one Buddy System. Boys and girls aged eleven to seventeen years were referred to the Buddy System project by the police, Family Court or other social welfare agencies. The buddies were adult, nonprofessionals trained and encouraged to offer their clients a relationship of mutual affection, trust, and respect. Three experimental conditions were investigated: i) a pure relationship condition in which the buddies were instructed to maintain a warm and positive relationship, independent of the client's behaviour, ii) a

social approval condition in which the buddies were instructed to offer
high levels of warmth contingent upon the performance of appropriate
behaviours, iii) social and material reinforcement (money) offered contingent
upon desired behaviours. The control condition was a nonparticipant control
like that of Goodman's (1972). Both of the contingent conditions resulted
in greater increases in school attendance than did the pure relationship
or control condition. When the positive relationship on a noncontingent
basis was switched to the contingency conditions, there was a dramatic
increase in school attendance. This study provided a strong illustration
of the importance of specific behaviours which are explicitly encouraged
through a positive relationship. However, we expect that the contingency
management involved in the program would have been less effective had
the high quality relationships not also been present.

Several other studies have examined the conditions under which a
good relationship will result in positive impact on correctional clients.
Andrews, Young, Wormith, Searle and Kouri (1973) found that young prisoners
who participated along with community volunteers in short term structured
group discussions showed more evidence of positive attitude change than
did prisoners in routine institutional programs. What was not clear was
whether the effects were due to association with volunteers who were both
noncriminal and interpersonally facilitative or to the special attention
the clients received. Andrews, Wormith, Kennedy and Daigle-Zinn (1977)
explored the question further by forming two types of groups. In both
sets of groups, the volunteers were interpersonally facilitative as
suggested by their scores on measures such as acceptance of self and others.
In both sets of groups, the volunteers were encouraged to establish warm

and open relationships with the prisoners. In both sets of groups, the volunteers were more anticriminal than the prisoners on pretested attitudes. However, in one set of groups, the Community Recreational Groups, the association between volunteers and prisoners occurred within the context of social-recreational activities such as cards and Monopoly games. In the Community Discussion Groups, the volunteers and prisoners participated together in discussions on matters related to the personal, social and moral aspects of the law. Thus, the study was designed as an exploration of the empirical validity of the social learning perspective. It was predicted that association with citizen volunteers would be most effective when, in addition to high quality relationships, there was systematic exposure of the anticriminal values, attitudes and behaviour of the volunteers.

The results clearly supported the social learning perspective. Relative to prisoners in recreation groups, prisoners in the discussion groups showed positive gains on attitudes toward the law and judicial process as well as decreased tolerance for law violations and decreased alienation. Other examinations of the Community Discussion groups have shown that the content of volunteer's statements in groups are more anticriminal than are those of the prisoners (Andrews, Farmer & Hughes, 1975) and that volunteer's approval and disapproval of prisoner statements do vary in the expected way with the anticriminal-procriminal content of prisoner statements (Wormith, 1977) That is, only when anticriminal patterns were modelled and reinforced within the context of the high quality inter-personal relationships were positive effects evident.

Andrews, Farmer and Hughes (1975) investigated variations in the exposure of anticriminal patterns in combination with variations in

perceived quality of the interpersonal relations. Two types of groups were formed: Resident Discussion Groups in which the participants were all incarcerated adult offenders and Community Discussion Groups in which the participants included both citizen volunteers and offenders. The topics and the discussion leaders were the same in each condition. Overall there was some, but not strong, evidence that attitude change was more prosocial within the Community Groups. The most important finding was that of the differential outcome associated with client opinions of the quality of the relationships as a function of the type of group. Within Resident Groups, the more positive client opinions of levels of trust and intermember attractiveness, the more negative the changes on attitudes toward the law and the greater the increase in tolerance for law violations. Within Community Groups, the clients opinions of the groups were either unrelated to attitude change or positively related to prosocial gains as in the case of interpersonal openness ratings.

To the author's knowledge there are only two studies in the one-to-one area which have examined outcome as a function of joint variations in quality of relationship indices and the modelling or differential reinforcement factors. We have noted Fo and O'Donnell (1970) but they varied the contingencies with which social reinforcement was offered while holding quality of relationship constant. Howell's (1972) evaluation of volunteer and professional supervision of probationers included an examination of the correlation between self-reported client "liking" of officers and outcome under conditions in which the officer was viewed as low versus high on authoritarianism. Unfortunately, clients were not randomly assigned to high and low authority officers. Rather client ratings of the officers were employed to sort the officers into the high

and low categories. However, the pattern of results was strikingly similar to those reported by Andrews, Farmer & Hughes (1975) in the group counselling program. The "liking" indices were more strongly correlated with outcomes when authority was perceived to be high than when authority was perceived to be low. The authority measure appeared to reflect the extent to which the client saw the officer as one who expected appropriate behaviour and who would apply formal sanctions if expected behaviour did not occur.

The second study of one-to-one programs is that of Andrews, Kiessling, et. al. (1977). Like Howells', the study was descriptive but the Ottawa program employed behavioural measures of actual audio-taped supervisory sessions rather than participant reports. Under low authority conditions, high rates of active listening were associated with increased recidivism. The relationship between active listening and recidivism was not statistically reliable under high authority conditions.

While we have reviewed only a sample of programs which varied on the relationship dimension, we have not knowingly ignored studies which provide findings counter to the obvious trend. Programs which emphasize quality of relationship present evidence of positive effects only when the training conditions, the modelling conditions and/or reinforcement contingencies are such that prosocial and anticriminal behaviour patterns are directly encouraged. When the conditions are appropriate, then the higher quality of the relationship, the better the outcome. However, if the conditions are such that pro-criminal patterns are encouraged, then the higher quality of the relationship, the more negative the impact. An important qualifying factor may be the specific type of client (Andrews, Kiessling, et. al., 1977).

The Interpersonal Style of the Worker

As reviewed, programs may vary in terms of the emphasis upon interpersonal relations. Of some interest in further enhancing our understanding of the importance of the quality of the relationship factor is to discover what happens when program factors are held constant while

the interpersonal styles of the workers are varied.

At the heart of the friendship model of voluntary action is the assumption that volunteers are more able to form positive relationships with clients than are the others, clients and workers, in the criminal justice system. The most committed proponent of the friendship model would be unlikely to argue that a client be offered only a "meaningful relationship" when what is clearly needed is a "good lawyer", a "job" or some "controls". However, there is the implication that, whatever else may be required or be going on, the volunteer will establish higher level relationships with clients than others in the system. Two sets of studies deal directly with the question: one set was completed within the Community Groups format described in the preceding section and the second set involved comparisons between volunteer and professional officers in probation and parole.

Volunteers relative to clients in a many-to-many program. Andrews, Brown and Wormith (1974) suggested that volunteers as coparticipants in groups with offenders would i) increase motivation for treatment and ii) enhance interpersonal functioning within the groups. A strong trend toward increased attendance in Community Groups relative to routine counselling groups was found by Andrews, Farmer and Hughes (1975) and was statistically confirmed in a second study (Andrews, Farmer & Hughes, 1976). Thus, there is evidence that volunteer programs may reduce the stigma associated with routine counselling programs. There is also evidence in support of the second assumption.

First, six separate studies of the Community Group format have confirmed that citizen volunteers score higher than prisoners on attitudinal and personality measures relevant to interpersonal style. Secondly, within the discussion groups, the volunteers tend to emit more friendly statements and emit significantly fewer unfriendly statements than do offenders. (Andrews, Wormith, Daigle-Zinn, Kennedy & Nelson, 1976). Thirdly, Andrews,

Farmer and Hughes (1975, 1976) have directly compared client perceptions
of quality of relationships within Community Groups and the more routine
resident-only groups. The results were complex and depended upon the
particular institution at which the study was completed as well as upon the
particular operational definition of quality of relationship sampled. However,
within at least one institution and on some of the indices, clients did
report that the interpersonal conditions were better within the Community
Groups than within the Resident Groups.

While not an explicit aspect of the friendship model of voluntary
action, it is usually implied that the volunteers should be "good models".
Relative to clients, citizen volunteers do represent such persons. Recall,
that the Community Group studies have confirmed that volunteers are more
anticriminal in pretested attitudes and do present more anticriminal
arguments within the groups. A finding not anticipated by the friendship
model of voluntary action has been that the volunteers engage in more
problem-solving and task-oriented behaviour within Community Groups than do
the offenders (Andrews, Wormith, Kennedy, Daigle-Zinn & Nelson, 1976).

Clearly, citizen volunteers differ from clients on a number of
dimensions likely to be important in determining ultimate outcome. In
fact, within group formats, the presence of volunteers is likely to
help solve the major problems associated with the pure group dynamic
traditions in corrections: the establishment of i) interpersonally
facilitative conditions, ii) a strong task orientation and, iii) an anticriminal
orientation within offender groups.

Volunteers relative to professionals in one-to-one formats.
Kiessling (1972), Howell (1972), and Andrews, Kiessling et al. (1977) have
confirmed that volunteer probation

officers are in more frequent contact with their clients than are professional probation officers. The magnitude of the differences in rate of interaction probably varies with the size of the case load of professionals and of course, with other aspects of the professional work load such as presentence report preparations. Howell (1972) considered the role constraints associated with the professional role and deduced that the volunteer officers would not only be in more frequent contact with their clients but also more liked by their clients, more liking of their clients and perceived as less authoritarian by their clients. Such deductions are, of course consistent with the friendship model. Briefly, relative to professional officers, the volunteer officers were more liked by their clients, did like their clients more and were perceived as less authoritarian. Andrews, Kiessling et. al. (1977) reported similar results and extended the finding to a variety of measures of process.

The above noted comparisons of clients and volunteers and of professionals and volunteers confirm that volunteers as a group are in a special position with reference to their ability to form "good" relationships. However, among themselves there are differences between volunteers on variables related to interpersonal style. How do these differences relate to the intervention process and to impact on the client?

The literature on professional counselling provides some suggestions. Truax, Wargo & Volksdorf (1970) investigated several questions on group counselling with incarcerated juvenile delinquents. The leaders of the groups were not volunteers and the actual form of treatment offered was not clearly described in the report. Some therapists were described as client-centered and others as psychoanalytic or ecletic in orientation. The study is reviewed here

because of the emphasis it is given in various reviews of relationship
approaches and because it is representative of the manner in which a
number of studies on interpersonal skill factors were conducted.
Therapists or group leaders were assigned to the "high therapeutic condition"
or "low therapeutic condition" classes on the basis of ratings of brief,
(three minute) but many,audio-taped sequences of group sessions. Independent raters
showed high agreement on their ratings of the levels of accurate empathy,
positive regard and genuineness offered by the therapists. The outcome of
clients in groups with low functioning therapists was compared with that of
groups with high functioning therapists.

Twenty outcome indices were sampled, including various personality
scales as well as time out of institution during a one year followup. The
findings were very impressive. The outcome was more favourable on nineteen
of the twenty indices, including time out of the institution on followup.
The findings of this study cannot be ignored but, as the social learning
perspective suggests, it would be more convincing if we knew
what behaviours the therapists were modelling and differentially reinforcing
in their groups. We do know from this study that the addition of extra
group sessions in which the leader (the representative of anticriminal
behaviour patterns) was not present resulted in significantly poorer outcome
than a smaller number of sessions with the leader always present.

Andrews, Daigle-Zinn, Wormith, Kennedy and Nelson (1976) investigated
the effects of the interpersonal skills of volunteers who participated along
with prison residents in Community Discussion Groups. Prior to their
involvement in the counselling groups, the volunteers rated each other
on the extent to which understanding, openness and warmth were evident

in mini-encounter group sessions, (GAIT sessions, see below and Goodman, 1972). The counselling groups were then composed of either high (above the median rating) or low (below the median rating) functioning volunteers as coparticipants with the prison residents. Briefly, the high functioning groups were described as more open by participants than were the low functioning groups and the prisoners in the high functioning groups showed more evidence of prosocial attitudinal gains following the group. The high and low functioning volunteers did not differ on pretested attitudes toward the law, law violations and law violators but both sets were significantly more anticriminal in orientation than were the prisoners. It appeared that the high functioning volunteers were better able to communicate and transmit their positions on matters related to law.

The caution that is required in the matter of emphasizing a positive interpersonal style in correctional programs was suggested by the previously noted results when communication is opened up within delinquent groups (Andrews, 1977a) and by the suggestion in Goodman's (1972) program of a tendency toward increased management problems when volunteers are trained in noncontingent openness and understanding. A third suggestion was provided by another evaluation of the coparticipant role for volunteers in group counselling. Andrews, Farmer and Hughes (1976) essentially replicated the conditions of high and low functioning volunteer study with one exception. That one exception appeared to produce results opposite to the earlier study. Rather than assign volunteers to the high and low functioning groups on the basis of peer ratings of actual performance in preservice groups, the investigators divided the volunteers on the basis of high or low scores on the Hogan Empathy scale. The scale is a reliable and well validated self-report questionnaire measure of a

personality dimension which is clearly suggestive of positive helping behaviours. However, they found that prisoners in association with high empathy volunteers were tending to show deterioration on attitudinal measures of criminal orientation relative to prisoners in groups with low empathy volunteers. A check on the attitudinal correlates of scores on Hogan Empathy revealed that the high empathy volunteers were also showing higher scores on tolerance for law violations. Again, it appears that facilitating interpersonal styles in combination with procriminal views resulted in negative outcome.

The college students in Goodman's Companionship Program participated in Group Assessment of Interpersonal Traits (GAIT) sessions prior to their assignment to boys. Briefly, the GAIT is a structured mini encounter session in which participants are asked to <u>disclose</u> an interpersonal concern to the group and one member of the group then attempts to <u>understand</u> the concern. In turn everyone in the group acts as both a discloser and an understander. All members of the GAIT session then rate each other on interpersonal style. Observors also rate the participants. Since Goodman used GAIT scores to screen out low functioning volunteers, the variability of GAIT scores among those selected-in was reduced. Hence, the strength of the association between GAIT scores of counsellors and client changes was likely attenuated. However, there was still some evidence that the more understanding, open, flexible and less depressed counsellors, as assessed on the basis of GAIT sessions, were the more successful counsellors in terms of client change. There was also some evidence that counsellors who described themselves as "outgoing" in project application forms were more successful counsellors than those described as "quiet".

The last three studies demonstrate the complexity of the relationship dimension. Within the Community Group format, two studies held program factors constant and varied the interpersonal skill level of the volunteers. With one measure of interpersonal skills, a behavioural one (the GAIT), the higher the skill level, the more positive the impact on the clients. With a different measure, a self report questionnaire (Hogan Empathy), the higher the skill level, the more negative the impact on the clients. The questionnaire measure, unlike the behavioural measure, proved to correlate in an unproductive manner with the procriminal-anticriminal dimension. Clearly, the matter of how interpersonal skills of volunteers are measured may be an important factor in determining the success of a program. If the highly skilled individual is also one who is highly tolerant of criminal activity, then we are reintroducing the procriminal friend strategy of helping.

Goodman's (1972) positive findings on the predictive value of pretreatment ratings on interpersonal skills are particularly interesting in view of the overall negative findings with reference to his companionship therapy program relative to the control condition. Recall that the overall findings on companionship therapy versus the control and special training versus limited training suggested that the pure relationship approach was a poor strategy. However, the more interpersonally skilled the counsellors, the more positive the impact on clients, even within the context of a questionable program. It appears that the interpersonally skilled counsellors were doing something positive with their clients in spite of the program guidelines. There is no way of knowing what that "something" was, but recalling Truax and Mitchell (1971) and Andrews, Wormith et al (1976), the more naturally skilled volunteer may also engage in more direct

helping behaviours such as confrontation and provision of leadership.

A major study of volunteer personality in relation to impact on probationers in one-to-one supervision is Scheier, Fautsko and Callaghan's(1973). The investigators examined seventy-five predictor variables in relation to five separate outcome indices. Their recidivism index was the most reliable, objective and meaningful of the outcome indices and hence only it will be considered here. Among the predictor variables, two have obvious implications for the variable of interpersonal style: dominance and extraversion. Both dominance and extraversion of the volunteer were measured by the 16PF test administered prior to case assignment. Volunteers dominance was reliably, and apparently strongly, predictive of negative impact. Dominance, as a general personality trait, appears incompatible with the establishment of warm and accepting relationships. Contrary to expectations on the basis of Goodman's (1972) findings with reference to "outgoing" volunteers, volunteer extraversion was unrelated to client recidivism.

Scheier et al (1973) also examined the personality traits of volunteer tenseness, stability of self concept and sensitivity in relation to impact on the client. Again, the measures were based on the 16PF test. One result was statistically significant. The more tense the volunteer, the poorer the outcome. However, caution is indicated in using "tension" as a predictor of success. There was some indication in Goodman (1972), that with the GAIT measure of tension, positive results were signaled.

The evaluation of the Ottawa program included an analysis of a number of the officer trait measures which have been implicated in previous research and theory. Considered alone, neither Hogan Empathy, Gough Socialization nor Identification With Criminal Others reliably related to recidivism. However, in combination, and as predicted, each was important. The lowest recidivism rate was found among probationers assigned to officers who were interpersonally sensitive and tolerant yet prosocial and anti-criminal. The highest rates of recidivism were found among the clients of officers who were a) highly prosocial and interpersonally insensitive, or b) interpersonally dominating. There was no evidence that officer anxiety or tension related to recidivism.

Summary and Conclusions

Four theoretical perspectives on the quality of relationship factor were reviewed. In addition, systematic empirical investigations of the effectiveness of interpersonal relations approaches were reviewed as well as investigations of the effects of the interpersonal style of correctional workers. While much work remains to be done, several strong trends were evident. A high quality relationship, in and of itself, is not sufficient to produce changes on indices relevant to correctional goals. The most consistent evidence in favour of the friendship model of voluntary action emerged when explicit attempts were made to combine a high quality relationship with exposure to, and reinforcement of, prosocial and anticriminal behaviour. A possible limiting condition is the consideration that there may be certain sets of clients and/or certain intervention goals, for whom and which the pure relationship approaches are most effective. The questions of differential treatment and the matching of worker and clients are discussed and empirically examined in the evaluation of the Ottawa volunteer program (Andrews, Kiessling, et. al., 1977).

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The Authority Dimension: General Considerations

Authority is a real and important aspect of correctional settings and programs. While the client may have some choices within a setting or program, his presence within that setting has occurred through an order of the court. Further, the setting will be characterized by the presence of a set of formal rules and formal sanctions which apply to the client's behaviour. Within probation, the formal rules and sanctions are part of the probation order. Within an institution, there are also formal rules and sanctions. The style and manner with which the rules and sanctions are applied may vary but some degree of control is at the base of most correctional programs.

A correctional worker is generally charged with two responsibilities: protection of the public and the rehabilitation of the client. Usually, we equate the authority role with the protection and/or custodial responsibility. Roles such as trainer, therapist or helper are equated with the rehabilitation goal. The goals (and the corresponding roles) are often thought to be incompatible. That is how one can be an interested or concerned helper while also acting from a position of authority? If we assume that rehabilitation includes reduced criminal activity and hence protection of the public, then a more sophisticated question is that of how the use of authority may serve the goal of rehabilitation and be an explicit part of correctional counselling.

Several factors inhibit the effective use of authority. One set of factors relates to the matter of accepting the legitimacy of the authority position. A second set relate to the tendency to equate authority with "domination" or other equally negative phrases such as "raw power" or "forced compliance". Thirdly, those rules and sanctions which are associated with the authority position may be such that the chance of one actually influencing behaviour from that position is very low.

A position of authority implies that an individual may legitimately i) expect certain specified behaviours to occur and others not to occur, ii) may monitor to insure that the behaviours are occurring or not occurring as prescribed or proscribed, and iii) may dispense sanctions or arrange for the dispensement of sanctions as a function of the occurrence or nonoccurrence of the behaviours. If the individual correctional worker, volunteer or professional, respects the system which bestowed the authority upon him, then to exercise that authority is reasonable if not a moral imperative.

For a volunteer to feel ill at ease in a position of authority is not unusual. Many professionals feel the same way. However, the legitimacy question is not a strong base for the uneasy feelings. If the legitimacy of ones position of authority is personally unacceptable, then other types of volunteer work should be seriously considered. If one is simply uneasy about working with certain types of offenses or offenders, then the program coordinator can probably arrange not to assign that type of offender.

It is generally the case that the authority bestowed upon a volunteer is less than bestowed upon a professional officer. In any given program, the volunteer will be advised of the limits and nature of his or her authority. Certainly, at a minimum, a volunteer will be required to report to his professional supervisor whose responsibility it is to actually initiate formal sanctions. Since the volunteer reports to the professional, the authority question cannot be avoided.

The matter of authority being equated with domination and possibly inter- fering with other aspects of the relationship between an officer and a client is important. First, there is nothing in the probation order (or rules of an institution) which demands that the authority figure be domineering, apply

the rules in a cold or formal manner or need to appear preoccupied with
formal rules. A reasonable base for a relationship is to fully inform
the client of the nature of ones responsibilities as an agent of the
criminal justice system. The client should be informed of the limits of con-
fidentiality which exist and of ones responsibility to the system. To
not so inform the client is to leave ones position on the requirements of
the probation contract in an ambiguous state and hence subject to the client's
own interpretation. If you should be forced later to initiate formal sanctions,
such an exercise of authority might then be viewed as a violation of trust
or friendship. With open discussion of your position on the question of
authority, then the relationship with a client may develop within the limits
established.

The question of the extent to which one in a position of authority
is even capable of actually facilitating the goal of rehabilitation is the
focus of the main body of this report. A social learning analysis of
authority suggests that the degree of control actually available to an
authority figure is far less than that implied by terms such as "raw power".
The next section examines authority as a behavioural influence process and
suggests a very basic approach to enhancing the effectiveness of whatever
potential the formal aspects of a probation order may have. We focus on
probation but the analysis overlaps with other correctional counselling settings.

A Social Learning Perspective on The Effective Use of Authority

The probation order consists of a specified set of rules or behavioural
prescriptions and proscriptions and a set of sanctions. The officer has the
right to monitor and investigate to ensure that prescribed behaviours are oc-
curring and proscribed behaviours are not occurring. As the one with authority
the officer has the legitimate right to apply the sanctions or to initiate
their application depending upon how the rules are being followed. Again, in

the analysis that follows, it is not suggested that the formal aspects of the probation order need be the only concern of the officer with reference to an individual client. Nor is it suggested that the manner and style with which the rules are applied need be cold, hostile or overly formal in style.

Authority would be ineffective or less than maximally effective if i) the client was unaware of the behavioural prescriptions and proscriptions included in the probation order, ii) if the client was unaware of the sanctions, iii) if the sanctions were in fact not applied or, iv) if the quality of the sanctions or their manner of presentation rendered them neutral events as opposed to reinforcing or punishing events.

If the probation rules, as behavioural prescriptions and proscriptions, are specific and concrete in terms of what behaviours are expected to either occur or not occur, then the ability of those rules to actually influence the occurrence of the specified behaviours is increased. Thus, a first component of the effective use of authority is to insure that the client is aware of the rules. In the possible confusion of court and sentencing and the tension of the first meeting with an officer, such awareness is not a necessary state. Further, the individual offender's interpretation of the rules may not match the officer's. A careful and explicit review of the rules is suggested with probing and requests for feedback to insure that there is a mutual understanding of what is expected. In each of the suggestions which follow, we assume that the client is an active participant in the process.

The probability of rules influencing behaviour is further increased when

the consequences of following the rules are spelled out in specific and concrete terms. Thus, a second component of the effective use of authority is to insure that the client understands the relationship between his rule-following or rule-breaking behaviour and the official formal sanctions. The sanctions which the officer may initiate should be explained in detail, in terms meaningful to the client. The events which may accompany an "early termination" or a "breach" may not be obvious to the client without an explanation in his own vocabulary.

Rules lose their controlling function when it is learned that the sanctions which were said to follow conformity or rule-breaking do not in fact follow. In other words, symbolic control through rules requires back-up demonstrations that what was implied in the written or spoken word is in fact an accurate reflection of the real contingencies. Probably most important would be the reputation among delinquent associates of the office or individual officers. To what extent is probation "known" to be such that one can "get away" with quite "a lot"? An individual officer dealing with a given client at a given moment in time can do little to influence the reputation of probation as a whole. Moreover, many offenders have learned through their own law-breaking experiences that the implied consequences are not reliable occurrences. With appropriate respect for confidentiality, an individual officer can provide an individual client with concrete examples from the past of cases in which rules were followed or broken and sanctions were differentialy applied. The examples can be chosen such that they increase awareness of the rules, increase awareness of the sanctions and support the notion that sanctions are applied.

A major limiting factor of authoritarian control may be that the sanctions available to the officer may not in fact be of sufficient quality or flexibility to function as adequate reinforcing or punishing events.

In behavioural terms, a reinforcing event or consequence is one which increases the future probability of occurrence of the behaviour upon which it was contingent. A punishing event is one which decreases the future probability of the behaviour whose occurrence preceeded the event. Neutral consequences of behaviour are events which do not influence the future probability of that behaviour occurring. The reinforcing value of any given event may vary from person-to-person and from time-to-time with any given individual.

The behaviours prescribed by a probation order are ones whose probability is intended to be increased or maintained at appropriate rates. Examples would be "report to the probation officer as directed" or "attend a certain educational program". The behaviours proscribed by the order are ones whose probability is to be reduced to zero, at least under certain conditions. Examples would be "refrain from the use of alcohol" and/or "avoid association with person(s) X and Y". For a sense of completeness it is necessary to specify that we are talking about prescriptions and proscriptions which are situation-bound. For example, it is unlikely that negative sanctions would be applied if alcohol was known to be consumed during a religious service or that association with criminal others occurred in the waiting room of the probation office. The question is whether the formal and official sanctions which the officer may initiate are capable of influencing the future probability of the behaviours specified in the probation order.

Basically, there are four major formal sanctions which may be applied or initiated by the officer: i) an increase in the number of contacts with the officer or increased general surveillance, ii) a decrease in the number of contacts with the officer or decreased general surveillance, iii) breach of probation, iv) early termination of probation. The reinforcing or punishing value of these consequences is likely to be highly idiosyncratic.

Is a requirement of increased contacts a positive or negative consequence?
It might be interpreted as an expression of interest in and concern for the
client or as an indication of a lack of trust and further restriction of
freedom. Is an early termination a reward to be sought because it represents
being relieved of the label "probationer" or does it signal rejection or
the loss of an opportunity to interact with an interesting and possibly valued
other? The sanction of "breach" appears more clear-cut, but, for an individual
case, may the possibility of incarceration not represent the opportunity to
demonstrate to peers that one is in fact "tough"?

The next suggestion on the effective use of the authority position is
really a variant of the second: it is important that the formal sanctions are
translated and interpreted in terms meaningful to the individual client.
This means pointing out those other events which go along with an early
termination or a breach - those other events which are likely to be most
meaningful in terms of the client's individual interests.

As if the matter of the variable if not questionable quality of the
reinforcing and punishing consequences of the formal sanctions was not of
a sufficient difficulty, there are also questions relating to the "finality"
of the sanctions and of their "timing". A major problem with "early term-
ination" and "breach" is their finality. They are events which bring the
officer-client relationship to a formal end. Thus, once used, there is no
opportunity to use them again.

Behavioural influence through reinforcement and punishment is a gradual
process. The lesson is learned best when the relationship between specific-
appropriate behaviours and specific rewards is established through repeated
pairings. Often times the desired behaviours are so complex that they may
only emerge in full form following reinforcement of successive approximations.
For example, a gradual reduction in the frequency and duration of contacts

with delinquent friends may eventually result in the desired objective
of zero contacts with delinquent others. Neither the "breach" proceedings
for too high rates of association with delinquents or "early termination"
for low rates of association are capable of shaping behaviour so that the
zero rate is gradually achieved.

While we have been talking about the possibility of the sanctions function-
ing as rewards or punishment, a more precise behavioural statement given the
"all or none" nature of the ultimate sanctions is that the sanctions may
function as incentives. Thus, another suggestion with reference to in-
creasing the effectiveness of authority is that of reminding the client
of the ultimate consequences. If it has been established that one of the
formal sanctions is likely a positive incentive, then the officer might
verbally link currently evident prescribed behaviour to that ultimate positive
consequence in vivid terms. If it has been established that one of the
formal sanctions is likely a negative incentive, then the officer might
link any currently evident or about-to-be evident proscribed behaviour to
that ultimate consequence.

A problem for the officer is judging which of the formal sanctions may
have incentive value. The ultimate test of an incentive is in fact whether
it does influence behaviour. The officer does not have the ultimate evidence
and must make decisions on the basis of other indicators of incentive value.
The indicators are the common place indicators of events or opportunities
which could be judged as positive or negative. For example, does the client
talk frequently and with enthusiasm about the prospect of early termination?

The effectiveness of consequent events in influencing the occurrence
of behaviour also depends upon the time interval between behaviour and
the application of the sanction. The application of the sanction may be

delayed and this reduces the chances of that sanction influencing behaviour. Here too the officer is required to close the gap through verbal descriptions which tie even long-term consequence to behaviour. We know that many offenders do not perceive a direct relationship between their law-breaking behaviour and the final legal consequences. The legal sanctions are said to be contingent upon "getting caught", "being sloppy in an execution of a break and enter" or upon "having a poor lawyer" and not upon the act of breaking and entering. It was previously suggested that the officer use vivid case illustrations to underscore the point that sanctions are applied. The case illustrations should make the connection between the behaviour and the sanction explicit.

If there is a delay between behavioural events and the application of sanctions, then other consequents, ones more immediately tied to the behaviour, have a much greater chance of influencing the future occurrence of that behaviour. Thus, "not appearing for a scheduled supervisory session" or "breaking a curfew rule" may well have been immediately reinforced by the social exchanges or drinking or whatever was going on at the time. Again, in providing illustrative material, the officer can only try to make the point that the ultimate consequences are more important in the long run. For example, "with repeated rule-breaking you will lose any opportunity to have fun with your friends for some time."

In summary, we have attempted a social learning analysis of the "athoritarian" role of a probation officer. We briefly noted that the authority is legitimate in the sense that it is bestowed upon the individual officer in a formal manner and a real aspect of the officer role in one-to-one supervision. Every officer, volunteer or professional, must come to terms with the fact that they have authority and the right if not the responsibility

to exercise it. However the manner and style of that exercise of authority is to a great extent up to the individual.

Volunteer officers often feel uneasy as an authority figure. Many professionals feel the same way. As noted, the authority role is suggestive of "raw power", "forced compliance" and other equally negative phrases. In fact, our social learning analysis of authority has suggested that the power or controlling potential associated with the authority role is quite limited. In fact, given the number of problems identified, the authority dimension may well prove to be one of the least potent aspects of probation supervision.

However, the probation order is at the base of the officer-client relationship. Thus, whatever potential it has for behavioural influence should be maximized. The order was analyzed as a set of behavioural prescriptions and proscriptions for the client and a set of formal sanctions available for initiation by the officer. Effective use of the order was suggested to depend on the client's awareness of the rules, awareness of the sanctions, and awareness of the contingent relationship between the rules and the sanctions. The major sanctions, early termination and breach, were seen as "all-or-none" events, events which end the relationship between the client and the officer. They are not capable of repeated application hence their value as reinforcing or preventing events is limited. Their positive and negative value is also questionable and likely variable from case-to-case. The use of vivid illustrative cases was suggested as a means of making the rules, the sanctions and the relationship between them more meaningful to an individual client. The sanctions of more or fewer required visits or contacts with the officer are also of questionable and variable quality in reinforcement terms but they are more flexible sanctions. The officer can

vary frequency and duration of visiting requirements over the course of
the probation period in a manner closely tied to the rule-following or
rule-breaking behaviour of the client.

The authoritarian or controlling role of the officer is an example
of symbolic control - one highly tied to the manipulation of symbols,
verbal representations of behaviour and verbal representations of ultimate
consequences. Other dimensions of supervisory process, such as quality of
the relationship and problem-solving, are more concrete and more flexible
in application. For example, an expressed interest in and concern for the
offender is "here and now", capable of being withdrawn or postponed when
inappropriate behaviours occur, but readily reintroduced when appropriate
behaviour occurs. Thus, the potential reinforcing events available for
dispensement go far beyond the formal sanctions specified in a probation
order. Similarly, the possible helping or assisting behaviours of the
officer range beyond the monitoring of the occurrence of the behaviours noted
in the probation order and the application of sanctions. For example, while
the probation order may include a no drinking rule, the probability of that
rule being followed can be increased by arranging for non drinking social
alternatives such as membership in a recreational organization, i.e. environmental
facilitation.

Systematic Empirical Evaluations of the Authority Dimension

Measurement of the authority dimension is important. It is a real
and continuing aspect of one-to-one supervision. If use of that authority
invested in the officer's role can be measured then its use can be examined
in relation to ultimate impact of probation on the client. If use of authority
and outcome are related then the measures of authority can be used in training
programs to sensitize officers to potentially effective vs harmful styles.

With measurement, the extent to which authority varies with other aspects
of supervision may be examined as well. It may well be that the effectiveness
of authority depends upon other aspects of the supervisory process.

The direct manipulation of the authority variable. One way of studying
authority is to operationally define what behaviours represent effective
use of authority and observe the consequences of the officer exhibiting those
behaviours. The author is unaware of any study in probation and parole in
which this was done. One study (Andrews & Young, 1974) with young incarcerated
offenders did make explicit use of authority (rules and official sanctions)
in a manner consistent with the social learning analysis presented in this
paper. While the group counsellor did attempt to maintain a warm and open
relationship with the young prisoners, he also attempted to specify the prison
rules and official sanctions in detail. The prisoners were encouraged to
generate their own examples of some of the consequences (short and long term)
which were associated with the official sanctions. The young prisoners who
participated in the groups did exhibit fewer violations of prison rules
than did a comparable group of prisoners who had only had the rules read
to them in the routine orientation program at the prison.

Additional examples of authority oriented approaches in institutions.

The CaVIC overview of voluntary action research in corrections (Andrews,
1977a) referred to several evaluations of institution-based programs in which
the comparison or control condition was the paternalistic and authority-
oriented approach of many prisons. Craft, Stephenson and Granger (1964)
compared the traditional authoritarian approach with a peer-oriented,
self-governing, therapeutic community approach. Young, but serious,
delinquents who were assigned to the authoritarian unit committed fewer new

offences after their discharge than did the boys in the self-government program. Similar results were found in Murphy's (1972) evaluation of a program for adult heroin addicts in a federal penitentiary. Offenders who were subjected to a routine prison program showed better adjustment on parole than did offenders who had participated in a peer-oriented group program. What is not clear from these studies is whether the authoritarian regimes were of positive value or whether, in fact, the peer-oriented approaches were of negative value. Interpretations offered in the CaVIC overview of studies (Andrews, 1977) stress both positions. With an intensification of relationships within delinquent or criminal groups, there is an increased opportunity for modelling and reinforcement of criminal attitudes and behaviour patterns. However, the explicit presence and exercise of authority helps to insure that anticriminal patterns are perceived and the formal sanctions associated with authority may help to balance peer or other pressures toward procriminal behaviour.

The measurement of officer personality characteristics though to be related to use of authority. Another approach is to assume that certain personality traits are likely to be more consistent with use of authority than are others. Thus, measures might be taken on personality variables such as "dominance" or "expressed need to control". Scheier (1973) reported that the more dominant the volunteer probation officer, the poorer the outcome with clients. Dominance was measured by the 16PF test and the outcome measure was an indice of recidivism. The findings suggest that domination is a harmful approach AnJrews, Kiessling et al (1977) found similar results with another measure of "need to control", the FIRO-B CON (expressed) scale. However, the social learning analysis of authority, in terms of the effective use of rules and sanctions, does not require that the officer "dominate"

the client. Scheier's (1973) results in combination with the social learning analysis strongly indicate that use of authority and domination should not be thought of as unitary concepts.

Officer reports on their perception of their role. A more direct approach than the measurement of broad personality traits is to ask officers to report how important they think the authoritarian aspects of their role are and how often they exercise their authority. The author is not aware of only one completed study in probation and parole services. However, several relevant studies are underway (Warren, 1972). Scheier (1973) reported that attempts to employ the Quay system of classifying workers and clients, a system which includes categories relevant to authority, have been discouraging in probation. The role preferences measure employed by Andrews, Kiessling et al (1977) was unrelated to recidivism.

Client reports on perceived authority of the officer. Howell (1972) has provided a sophisticated empirical analysis of the role of authority in volunteer and professional probation supervision. He was able to examine client perceptions of authority in relation to other aspects of supervision such as rate of contact, mutual liking as well as attitude and behaviour change. He found, as might be expected, that volunteer supervisors were seen as less authoritarian than were professional supervisors. However, the direct correlations between perceived authority and attitude or behaviour change were not significant. That is, the fact that an officer was perceived as more or less authoritarian did not indicate what the outcome of probation would be.

Howell's results did support one of the fears of many volunteer probation officers. Probationer's liking of officers and officer's liking of probationers were negatively correlated with authoritarianism. That is

the more positive the reported feelings of a client for his officer and the more positive the reported feelings of an officer for his client, then the less authoritarian the officer. This was true for both volunteer and professionally supervised cases.

However, the potentially most important finding presented by Howell was the fact that the ultimate importance of mutual liking of client and officer for each other, depended upon the extent to which the officer was thought to be authoritarian. This finding was reviewed by Andrews (1977a) in a paper suggesting that relationship elements of supervision are important only when other elements of supervisory process are apparent. The reader is referred to that paper for a review of the relevant evidence. Briefly, Howell found that his measures of mutual liking of officer and client were most predictive of positive impact on the client when authoritarianism was present at at least moderate levels.

The measurement of officer behaviour during supervisory sessions. The evaluation of the Ottawa program included content analyses of audio-taped supervisory sessions. In that study, clients who were exposed to high level reviews of the probation order recidivated at a lower rate than did other clients.

Summary. Available empirical evidence suggests than when rules and sanctions are explained carefully and fully in a warm and open manner, positive behavioural effects are evident (Andrews & Young, 1974; Andrews, Kiessling et al, 1977). However when the officer is a dominating type of person, negative effects may be expected Andrews, Kiessling, et al, 1977; Scheier, et al 1973). We expect that the trait of dominance overruled an open and warm relationship. Finally when authority is present and perceived, then the more positive the relationship between the officer and client, the more positive the impact (Howell, 1972). Thus, the available evaluations

of the authority dimension suggest that under certain conditions, the authority role is not something to be feared or avoided, but a potentially effective component of correctional counselling. However, more studies are required. For example, the Community Treatment Project (Palmer, 1971) and the work of Ingram (1970) suggest that "authority" may be more effective with certain types of clients than with others. While as yet unconvincing, it appears that the aggressive, psychopathic type of offender and on the more "committed" delinquents and/or the less empathic offenders would most profit from a relationship with an authority figure.

Summary and Conclusions

This discussion paper provided a social learning perspective on the use of authority. Authority was analyzed as an example of symbolic control. The difficulties associated with the use of authority were such that, while authority is important, other aspects of supervisory process are more concrete, more flexible and hence more likely to be of major importance in determining the ultimate outcome of probation and parole. Approaches to enhance the potential that the authority role does hold, included i) acceptance of the legitimacy of the authority position, ii) communicating to the client, the nature of the supervisor's responsibilities, iii) full, concrete and personalized descriptions of the rules, the sanctions and the relationships between the rules and sanctions, and iv) the use of vivid case illustrations to underscore the descriptions of rules, sanctions and their contingencies. Available empirical evidence does suggest that while domination of the client may produce negative effects, the communication of rules and sanctions by a warm and open counsellor or supervisor, may produce positive effects on client behaviour. The effective use of authority area for future research.

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The Anticriminal Dimension and Self-Control

An intermediate target of the anticriminal dimension of correctional counselling is change in attitudes, values, beliefs, knowledge and behaviours conducive to the occurrence of criminal acts. We assume that the adjudicated offender, like the nonadjudicated offender and the nonoffender, is a morally responsible person ie. a person capable of responding with reference to his attitudinal, value, belief and knowledge systems.

Attitudes, values and beliefs have not been particularly respectable concepts in the hard-core social and behavioural sciences for the last fifteen years. The debate on the nature of the relationships between attitudes and behaviour has been raging and a variety of competing hypotheses put forth: attitudes and other cognitive/emotional/verbal expressions are mere epiphenomena, not causally related in any manner to behaviour; attitudes cause behaviour; behaviour causes attitudes. The phenomenologists look with some disgust at studies dealing with "mere behaviour" while behaviourists sadly shake their heads at those studying verbal/emotional expressions.

The general conditions under which attitudes and behaviour covary remains an open question. However, for fairly solid evidence

that attitudes and beliefs influence behaviour, we need only look

to the correspondence found between the expressed thoughts of

scientists and their behaviour. Scientists who believe that attitudes

cause behaviour study attitudes, while scientists who value more highly

the study of behaviour study behaviour. Unless we assume that

scientists represent a very special breed, persons more under

cognitive control than the rest of us, then we may safely assume

that persons who hold values and beliefs to the effect that criminal

conduct is "OK" are more likely to commit criminal acts than are

persons who hold values, attitudes or beliefs less conducive to

law-breaking.

However, it is one thing to accept the legitimacy of attitude

change as an intermediate target for correctional programs and an

other to specify the processes by which such changes may become

evident in behaviour. For example, some thirty years of work by

the symbolic interactionists has done much to specify the content of

the attitudes, values and beliefs of various deviant and nondeviant

groups, but virtually nothing to enhance our ability to predict or

influence the behaviours of interest. In this paper, we will

also briefly review some twenty years of wasted effort on guided-

group interaction programs —— wasted efforts because, for the most

part, the evaluators simply assumed that a focus on the delinquent

values, attitudes and beliefs of groups would be effective without

testing and evaluating the assumption.

It is our position that attitudes, values, beliefs and knowledge
are converted to behaviour change through the processes of self-
management and self-control. Wormith (1977) has recently provided
the first experimental investigation of the joint effects of an
attitude change-oriented intervention program and special training
in self-management strategies. With replication and extension,
Wormith's (1977) study may well prove to represent the first real
step forward for symbolic interactionism and the cognitive/pheno-
menological schools in some thirty years. Very briefly, self-
control may be conceptualized functionally as having occurred when
an individual has influenced the probability of the occurrence of
some act (criminal or noncriminal) at Time Two by having emitted
some other act at Time One. Most of us have experienced the value
associated with counting to ten before expressing our dissatisfaction
with some event. This principle may move beyond the simplistic
when readily operationalized and testable strategies are formulated
and when such strategies are analyzable through a coherent body of
knowledge. Mahoney (1972) has strongly suggested that the operant
perspective is such a body of knowledge.

The available self-management literature is of variable quality

and as yet self-critical and tentative in its statements, but
serious program managers cannot afford to ignore it. Enhanced
understanding of self-management processes may prove valuable
with reference to a key issue in correctional counselling: in
so far as the individual is capable of self-management he/she is
freed from the control of the immediate environmental contingencies
and in this sense the counsellor is truly engaged in freeing the
client.

Within a behavioural perspective, attitudes, values and beliefs
may be interpreted in various ways. When persons evaluate certain
behaviours as good versus bad, we have a measure of the extent to
which such behaviours have lead to reinforcement in the past or
are expected to lead to reinforcement in the future, ie. measures
of reinforcement history. When persons evaluate certain events,
events (or persons) as good versus bad, we have an indication of
the reinforcing or punishing value of such events (or of the responses
of the persons) when the events are made contingent upon some act.
Through counselling, there may be changes in the expected consequences
of certain acts and/or in the attractiveness of events or persons.
In so far as the individual is cognizant of outcomes at the time
preceding an act, then the attitudes, values and beliefs may influence
behaviour. In self-management terms, the individual may self-instruct

with reference to the attitudes, values and beliefs. Thus, one

aspect of self-control is self-instruction.

Another aspect of self-control is self-evaluation. The indi-

vidual may self-label on a good-bad dimension with reference to the

extent to which alternative behaviours are consistent with or

contrary to acquired values or beliefs. Similarly, an individual

may emit certain justifications for deviance "or rationalizations

for law violations" and hence avoid negative self-labelling when

rule-breaking occurs (Matza, 1964).

For the remainder of this discussion paper, we will assume that

the individual offender has at his/her disposal a set of self-

control techniques. In the problem-solving paper (Andrews, 1977b)

we deal with the matter of a deficit in self-control.

The Content of Procriminal and Anticriminal Definitions

We have been assuming that there exists a set of attitudes,

values, beliefs and norms which promote criminal behaviour and a

set which promote conventional behaviour. In the language system

of the symbolic interactionists, there exists "definitions favour-

able to law violations" and "definitions unfavourable to law

violations". The sociologists have been particularly sensitive to

the substantive aspects of such "definitions" and a brief review
of sociological perspectives on crime highlights the content we
allude to (any standard textbook in criminology includes such a
review, Schur, 1973, for example).

Merton (1952) argued that both criminal and noncriminal pursuits
were motivated by an internalization of the American success goal.
Thus, in this sense, crime was imbedded in the social structure.
Cohen (1955) argued that delinquent values represented a reaction
against middle-class values and hence stealing, hedonism and agression
were substituted for respect for property, rationality and control.
Cloward and Ohlin (1960) stressed the prescriptive nature of much
of the content involved in criminal learning, ie. the means rather
than the goals. For Cloward and Ohlin, subcultures provide norms or
prescriptive statements which suggest that certain forms of illegi-
timate activity are reasonable and relatively effective means to
valued end-states; depending upon social structure factors, the
prescriptions may include forms of property crime, fighting and
agression or drug-use.

Miller (1958) provided one of the most substantively explicit
statements of the types of sentiments which promote criminal activity.
Miller thought such factors were imbedded in the lower class cul-
ture and while many have questioned the validity of such localization,

the "focal concerns" are of sufficient generality that we reproduce

his tabular summary in full:

FOCAL CONCERNS OF LOWER CLASS CULTURE

Area	Perceived Alternatives (state, quality, condition)	
1. Trouble:	law-abiding behavior	law-violating behavior
2. Toughness:	physical prowess, skill; "masculinity"; fearlessness, bravery, daring	weakness, ineptitude; effeminacy; timidity, cowardice, caution
3. Smartness:	ability to outsmart, dupe, "con"; gaining money by "wits"; shrewdness, adroitness in repartee	gullibility, "con-ability"; gaining money by hard work; slowness, dull-wittedness, verbal maladroitness
4. Excitement:	thrill; risk, danger; change, activity	boredom; "deadness", safeness; sameness, passivity
5. Fate:	favored by fortune, being "lucky"	ill-omened, being "unlucky"
6. Autonomy:	freedom from external constraint; freedom from super- ordinate authority; independence	presence of external constraint; presence of strong authority; dependency, being "cared for"

Sykes and Matza (1957) and Hartung (1965), in the tradition of

Merton (1952), argue that criminal and conventional values and

norms are continuous. To a considerable extent offenders maintain

a commitment to the dominant cultural values and expectancies even while participating in illegal activity. This is accomplished by employing a "vocabulary of motives for law violations" or a set of "techniques of neutralization" or a set of "rationalizations for law violations". The broader society provides all its members with a set of verbalizations which establish the conditions under which rule-breaking behaviour is proper. The "rationalizations" serve to avoid negative self-evaluation and, when emitted in the presence of someone likely to negatively evaluate the rule-breaking, serve to avoid or escape the disapproval of that someone. Like Miller's "focal concerns", the "rationalizations" are so readily available and frequently practiced that they warrant a review (here we draw heavily upon Hartung, 1965, and upon our personal experiences with criminals and with ones own attempts to come to terms with rule-breaking).

The denial of responsibility: "I couldn't help it"; "It's not my fault"; "I'm emotionally disturbed/poor"; "The devil made me do it".

The denial of injury: "I only borrowed the car"; "No one was hurt"; "We were just having fun".

The denial of the victim. "He had it coming to him", "He was only a homosexual/a black/a...".

The condemnation of the condemners/rejection of the rejectors: "The police/courts/businessmen are alcoholics/dishonest/brutal/uncaring ..."; "They are picking on me"; "Everyone has his own racket".

The appeal to higher loyalties: "I did it for my friend"; "I didn't do it for myself"; "You have to be true to your friends/ brother/father ...".

Some care has been taken to delineate the content of the "definitions" which favour law-breaking because any correctional worker is going to be confronted with such content. The content is seductively reasonable for the most part and in fact, the "rationalizations" are enshrined in many of our formal theories of crime, in our sentencing policies and in our day-to-day cognitive appreciation of our own activities. Whatever the individual worker's personal position on the theoretical and moral validity of the "definitions", there must be a recognition that to approve and condone such expressions on the part of individual offenders is potentially to support their illegal activity.

This section on the content of criminally favourable definitions, closes with a note on the sentiments supportive of conventional pursuits.

More recent theoretical perspectives have begun to recognize the
importance of definitions favourable to conventional and legal
pursuits or, more generally, of ties to convention. While it
may be theoretically possible to establish a continuum to represent
procriminal-anticriminal orientations such as is yet to be done.
Rather, cultural and individual experiences provide a variety
of definitions of situations and events. A given individual may
call upon any number of often contradictory prescriptions, pro-
scriptions, expectancies, rules, attitudes, values and beliefs.
Within this mixed bag are sentiments which place high value upon
the home, the family, the church, the school, the job —— those
community-based settings or institutions which generally support
conventional behaviour. Assuming that such settings are anti-
criminal in orientation, then the establishment of a reaffirmation
of positive attitudes toward such settings is a reasonable cor-
rectional strategy. One specific to be learned or supported is the
belief that illegal activity occurs at the risk of a reduction
in rewards for conventional pursuits. If such settings are not
providing rewards, then the settings become a proper focus for
problem-solving (Andrews, 1977b) rather than the anticriminal
dimension of correctional counselling.

A major problem in the analysis of the content of procriminal
and anticriminal definitions is that there has yet to be established

a generally agreed upon analytic and operational scheme for working

with "definitions". Authors, including the present one, typically

fail to distinguish between norms, rules, attitudes, values, beliefs,

opinions and knowledge in a consistent way. For the purposes of the

present survey, norms, rules and beliefs refer to statements which

specify the connection between certain outcome events and certain

behaviours. In the behavioural system, they function as "discrimi-

native stimuli" or "symbolic role-models". What are called

attitudes and values indicate what sorts of behaviours or events

are likely to be approached versus avoided. The "rationalizations"

for law violations rather clearly represent self-management re-

sponses of the avoidance type.

The Anticriminal Dimension in Theory and Practice:
The Shameful Failure of the Guided Group Interaction Evaluations

An anticriminal focus of correctional counselling owes its

greatest debt to Cressey (1955) who attempted to establish the prin-

ciples of a "clinical sociology". However, as we shall see, following

twenty years of work, the "clinical sociology" has yet to show any

sign of development beyond Cressey's (1955) original guidelines.

While having made contributions via rather loose descriptions of

the content of criminal "definitions", sociologists have actively

impeded the development of correctional counselling through a self-

serving inattention to the processes by which criminal definitions

are acquired and translated into action. We delineate this example

of deliberate avoidance of assumption and process testing in some

detail because similar pressures are now being exerted on vol-

untary action programs by management-oriented research recommen-

dations (Cook & Scioli, 1975) as opposed to recommendations

which give priority to theoretically-relevant process and outcome

questions. The anticriminal focus of "clinical sociologists" share

another important link with voluntary action programs: the over-

emphasis on the relationship and group dynamics factors in counsel-

ling. The third link between voluntary action programs and the

programs which followed Cressey's guidelines is the general disre-

spect shown for professional efforts and a misreading of professional

treatment.

Cressey opened his classic 1955 paper with a tirade against

"individualized treatment" and a tragic misrepresentation of the

method of clinical medicine. The clinical method includes at least

four elements: diagnosis, prescription, intervention and evaluation

of intervention. On the basis of the diagnosis, certain hypotheses

are formulated and then tested through intervention. If intervention

does not have the predicted effect, on either the intermediate or

ultimate targets, then the diagnostic stage is re-introduced, alter-

native hypotheses derived and other interventions implemented.

Cressey (1955) ignored the fourth and crucial element of the clinical method, ie. process-relevant evaluation. In fact, his followers rather proudly proclaimed that they were breaking with the clinical tradition and hence "the program did not utilize any testing, gathering of case histories, or clinical diagnoses... peer group interaction was believed to provide a considerably richer source of information about boys and delinquency than clinical methods" (Empey & Erickson, 1972, p. 9). Only in criminology, an area which has yet to develop professional standards of conduct and a solid scientific orientation, would such an arrogant belief in one's own position be allowed to influence how one actively and widely intervenes in the lives of others. An alternative position is clear. The lives of others are too important to be subjected to intervention based on self-serving and untested assumptions. Process-oriented evaluation is not only valuable, it is a prerequisite to responsible intervention on a large scale.

If the failure to attend to process-relevant questions cannot be accounted for by either ignorance of (or haughty dismissal of) well-established clinical traditions, it can be further understood by reference to the specific content of the untested

but key assumptions. Again, we quote Cressey (1955, p. 117):
"... the behavior, attitudes, beliefs and values which a person
exhibits are not only the products of group contacts but are
also the properties of groups. If the behavior of an individual
is an intrinsic part of the groups to which he belongs, attempts
to change the behavior must be directed at groups."

Thus, "a diagnosis of criminality based on this theory (dif-
ferential association) would be directed at analysis of the cri-
minal's attitudes, motives and rationalizations regarding criminality
and would recognize that those characteristics depend upon the
group to which the criminal belongs. Then, if criminals are to be
changed, either they must become members of anticriminal groups,
or their present procriminal group relations must be changed."
(Cressey, 1955, p. 118).

Cressey (1955) then takes the group dynamics principles of the
1940's and reformulates them in the form of guidelines for correc-
tional work.

> a) Criminals "must be assimilated into groups which
> emphasize values conducive to law-abiding be-
> havior and, concurrently, alienated from groups
> emphasizing values conducive to criminality.
> ... special groups whose major common goal is
> the reformation of criminals must be created."

b) "The more relevant the common purpose of the
   group to the reformation of criminals, the
   greater will be its influence on the crimi-
   nal members' attitudes and values."

c) "The more cohesive the group, the greater
   the members' readiness to influence others
   and the more relevant the problem of con-
   formity to group norms. The criminals who
   are to be reformed and the persons expected
   to effect the change must, then, have a strong
   sense of belonging to one group: between
   them there must be a genuine "we" feeling.
   The reformers, consequently, should not be
   identifiable as correctional workers, pro-
   bation or parole officers, or social workers."

d) "Both reformers and those to be reformed must
   achieve status within the group by exhibition
   of "pro-reform" or anticriminal values and
   behavior patterns."

e) "The most effective mechanism for exerting
   group pressure on members will be found in
   groups so organized that criminals are in-
   duced to join with noncriminals for the
   purpose of changing other criminals. A
   group in which criminal A joins with some
   noncriminals to change criminal B is pro-
   bably most effective in changing criminal
   A, not B; in order to change criminal B,
   criminal A must necessarily share the
   values of the anticriminal members."

f) "When an entire group is the target of
   change, as in a prison or among delin-
   quent gangs, strong pressure for change
   can be achieved by convincing the members
   of the need for a change, thus making the
   group itself the source of pressure for
   change."

What is most noticeable about these guidelines is the complete

lack of specificity with reference to how one actually establishes

the anticriminal focus, that is, beyond status being achieved through

pro-reform expressions and "convincing" the members of the need for

change. Empey and Erickson (1972), or Empey and Rabow (1961) ori-

ginally, were somewhat more specific about how the conditions were

to be arranged and the "correctional process established: they

refer to a) the absence of formal structure and "the lack of clear-

cut definitions for behaviour" and b) rewarding candor to a greater

extent than the delinquents rewarded delinquent expressions and to

a greater extent than the officers rewarded conventional expressions.

If any set of assumptions fly in the face of conventional wisdom,

such assumptions as those associated with the guided group interaction

program so do. That is, if implemented they demanded to be tested.

The results of over twenty years of work on Cressey's position

has recently been summarized by Stephenson and Scarpitti (1974,

p. 129): "Taken together, the evidence from these studies is not

impressive with respect to the general efficacy of guided group

interaction when compared with alternative programs of correction."

The alternative programs referred to have typically been routine

probation or routine incarceration, grossly different programs which,

like the guided group interaction program, included many elements.

On what specific measures of a procriminal orientation do

delinquents and nondelinquents differ and to what extent and under what conditions do these measures relate to recidivism? —— no answer, and hence no contribution to the diagnosis of criminality! What is the relative value of a group program with an anticriminal focus compared to an individual program with an anticriminal focus? —— no answer! To what extent does the peer-orientation enhance the attainment of treatment objectives? —— no answer! To what extent does the lack of a formal structure contribute to outcome? —— no answer! In what way does a genuine "we" feeling among delinquents relate to outcome? —— no answer! How do various strategies designed to establish an anticriminal focus compare? —— no answer! What values did these studies serve? They provided a base from which sociologists could play change-agents and carry on their fight with their straw-man "clinician", a straw-man they themselves stuffed in the 1930's.

Over the twenty-year period that the costly and self-aggrandizing peer therapy of the clinical sociologists has been going on, there has been a revolution in mental health and correctional services. This revolution has been based on serious and formal evaluations of theoretically derived treatment programs grounded by testable perspectives on the effective variables in interpersonal influence situations. More has been learned from Massimo and Shore's (1963) investigation of 10 youths exposed to comprehensive intervention

program, from Person's (1966) studies of brief psychotherapy and

from the analyses of a token-economy system for delinquents

(Phillips et al., 1973), than from the twenty years of work on

guided group interaction programs.

The preceding disussion has incorporated a number of value

judgments regarding the design and evaluation of correctional pro-

grams. A deliberate attempt has been made to underscore the

value of empirically examined assumptions. Firstly, simple com-

parisons of grossly different programs are unlikely to advance

our knowledge of criminal conduct and correctional processes and

hence unlikely to serve the ultimate interests of offenders, victims

or the broader society. Secondly, to engage in extensive interven-

tion without an understanding of process or at least the potential

of enhancing understanding of process, is ethically repugnant.

The complementary suggestions for the volunteer movement

are that "faith", "good intentions" and "unstructured relationships"

are not enough nor is the hope that volunteer programs may ulti-

mately be more cost-efficient than professional programs. Neither

the unstructured companion programs (Andrews, 1977b) nor a focus

on management objectives (Andrews, 1977a) guarantee the advance-

ment of corrections. Systematic empirical evaluations are already

beginning to show the limitations of companionship therapy. Similarly, available data already show that the relative effectiveness of grossly defined volunteer programs have not been established relative to grossly defined professional programs (Cook & Scioli, 1975). If voluntary action research continues to ignore specific process factors, or if it reverts to cost-efficiency data, the conclusions reached will be as empty as that reached by Stephenson & Scarpitti (1974) on guided group interaction programs, with the added dimension of "dollars saved".

The point of all this is not to suggest that cost-efficiency is not important. It is to suggest that the potential of correctional programming will be approached when theory, service and research are closely tied. In fact, with reference to system and cost-efficiency concerns, the guided group interaction studies of Empey and colleagues (1972, 1974) are outstanding.

The Anticriminal Dimension in Theory and Practice: An Early but Ignored Sign of Hope

For the present writer, it is hard to believe that the treatment implications of differential association theory became so perverted. Ten years prior to the Cressey (1955) article, Shulman

(1945) had provided a fine example of how theory, research and service might interact. We expect that Shulman's (1945) careful and explicit focus on the conduct of individuals simply did not serve the political needs of sociology and hence the research has been ignored. Nor did Shulman fall into the trap of assuming that group dynamic principles represented the final word on inter-personal influence processes. This too did not fit with the sociological wish to ignore the need for increased understanding of behaviour change. Very briefly, Shulman reasoned that societal responses to crime tended to increase the isolation of offenders from conventional society while increasing association with cri-minal patterns. Thus, an obvious approach was to seek change through increased association with conventional patterns. Shulman evaluated a program in which problem and nonproblem children were brought together within the context of a structured activity group. Within this context, the problem children were exposed to the behaviour patterns of normal children and to the instructions and advice of "counsellors" who assisted in the completion of activities when an individual child's progress was blocked. We may argue with the specifics of the statistical tests of significance but Shulman's work was strongly suggestive of positive impact. His systematic attention to both process and outcome was also noteworthy.

The program manager who wishes to consider the use of volunteers within the context of differential association theory would be well-advised to turn to Shulman's (1945) work rather than to the guided group interaction literature.

The Anticriminal Dimension in Theory and Practice: Some Limited Tests of Basic Assumptions

The Community Groups

The Community Group format for involving volunteers as coparticipants in prison-based group counselling has proven a useful service method as well as a testing ground for certain assumptions of differential association theory. The studies are reviewed in some detail in other CaVIC modules (Andrews, 1977a, b) and will not be so reviewed here. However, the deductions from differential association theory are of sufficient importance to the design of volunteer programs that some special attention is required. Forgetting the confusion introduced by Cressey's (1955) guidelines, we will begin by returning to the classic theory and its behavioural reformulations.

According to differential association theory, persons become criminal because of contacts with criminal patterns and isolation

from anticriminal patterns. Four elements of the position are
noteworthy: first, the classic theory recognized that an adequate
theory of crime must be concerned with both criminal and noncrimi-
nal pursuits. Secondly, it was not by accident that Sutherland
made reference to differentials in association with "patterns"
rather than "others". Behavioural reformulations of differential
association theory (Burgess & Akers, 1966; Adams, 1973; Andrews,
Brown & Wormith, 1974; Wormith, 1977; Andrews, 1977a) also stress
that it is not the criminal or noncriminal nature of other persons
that is crucial, but differentials in exposure to, and reinforce-
ment of, criminal and noncriminal attitudes, values, beliefs and
behaviours. However, and thirdly, there was a recognition in the
classic statement that a major part of learning, criminal and
noncriminal, occurs in interpersonal situations. Additionally,
and other things being equal, we may expect that criminals will
express and reinforce procriminal patterns at a higher rate than
will noncriminals and that noncriminals will express and reinforce
anticriminal patterns at a higher rate than will criminals.

The most obvious deduction from differential association
theory is that reformation programs should arrange for the inter-
action between criminals and noncriminals. The next most obvious
deduction is that the interaction should be structured such that

the differentials in exposure to, and reinforcement of, procriminal and anticriminal patterns should favour the expression and maintenance of the anticriminal. The third deduction is that the differential exposure and reinforcement should occur within the context of relatively high quality interpersonal relationships.

Very briefly, a series of studies outlined elsewhere have examined these assumptions (Andrews, Brown & Wormith, 1974). More positive gains on attitudinal indices of an anticriminal orientation were evident following interaction with volunteers than following routine prison programs (Andrews, Young, Wormith, Searle, & Kouri, 1973; Wormith, 1977). The gains were more evident following participation with volunteers in group discussions with a focus on personal, social and moral aspects of the law than following recreational interaction with volunteers (Andrews, Wormith, Kennedy, Daigle-Zinn, 1977). The gains were strongest when the volunteers were interpersonally skilled (Andrews, Wormith, Kennedy, Daigle-Zinn & Nelson, 1975). Finally, and in direct contradiction to Cressey (1955), association with volunteers within the context of a one-to-one or two-to-two program was more effective than a group program (Andrews & Daigle-Zinn, 1976).

The Community Group studies provide a remarkably consistent series of findings but the reader is alerted to the short-comings of the studies. For example, so far only short-term attitude change has been monitored and direct links with recidivism have yet to be established. However, we do know the changes on the anticriminal attitude indices are related to reduced recidivism in probation programs.

A Probation Program

The evaluation of the Ottawa Volunteer program examined the anticriminal dimension in two major ways (Andrews, Kiessling, Russell & Grant, 1977). In the first place, volunteer and professional probation officers were pretested on trait measures relevant to quality of relationships (the Hogan Empathy scale), to a prosocial orientation (the Gough Socialization scale), and to a specific anticriminal orientation (Identification With Criminal Others). It was clear that the most effective officers, in terms of attitude change and recidivism by the clients, were interpersonally sensitive yet prosocial and anticriminal in orientation. The least effective officers were those who were highly prosocial in orientation and yet nonempathic, ie. the more austere moralistic type. Of some interest in view of the preoccupation of the group dynamic's tradition with the "we" feeling, was the fact that pro-

social gains were greatest when the officer and client were similar on a number of bio-social characteristics. However, this was not the case unless the officer was interpersonally sensitive and prosocial.

The second approach to examining the anticriminal dimension in the Ottawa program involved the monitoring of audio-taped supervisory sessions between the probationers and their officers. With the volunteer probation officer sample, it was clear that those clients assigned to officers who consistently modelled prosocial and anticriminal patterns and who differentially approved of the client's expressions were most successful. Again, the reader is cautioned about the findings; they were based on correlations and not on experimental investigations of modelling and reinforcement. However, their consistency with the Community Group studies cannot be ignored.

The issues are far from resolved. Contrary to expectations, the modelling and differential reinforcement indices employed in the Ottawa probation program related to recidivism but not to attitude change. The recidivism effects were expected but the theory suggested that they would be mediated by changes on the attitudinal measures. In fact it was officer's performance on the authority dimension which related to anticriminal gains on the

attitude indices. Similarly, Wormith (1977) was unable to

establish a direct link between differential reinforcement and

attitude change in his study of Community Groups. Wormith's

results also suggested that a focus on a prosocial and anticriminal

orientation may only be effective when clients are concurrently

involved in programs which provide them with the self-control

strategies necessary to translate prosocial gains into behaviour.

Additional Studies

Confidence in an intervention strategy increases as success-

ful demonstrations accrue from different settings with different

operational definitions of the process. Such convergence is

beginning to become apparent. For example, in one group study

the principles of group dynamics were followed carefully but

structured attempts were also made to deal with delinquent acts,

the consequences of the acts and noncriminal alternative routes

to reinforcement. The structured methods of establishing the

anticriminal focus included role-playing and differential rein-

forcement. Ostrum, Steele et al. (1971) did find increased

self-control and reduced criminal activity among participating

probationers but their findings remain controversial because of

subject attrition.

In a prison setting, Persons (1966, 1967) has shown that
a group program with a strong anticriminal component was assoc-
iated with gains on personality indices, improved institutional
performance and reduced recidivism. Explicit methods of estab-
lishing the anticriminal content within the group included dif-
ferential reinforcement of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour,
role-playing and deliberate attempts to associate anxiety and
stress with antisocial conduct. Of course, the therapists also
attempted to maintain open communication within the group.

Fo and O'Donnell (1974) have provided one of the most dramatic
and convincing demonstrations that the approval and interest of
the helper is most effective when applied contingently upon the
client's expressions of prosocial patterns. Very briefly, rewards
from indigenous nonprofessional "buddies" influenced the school
and home related problems of problem children only when the
application of such rewards was contingent upon appropriate be-
haviour. Overall, the buddy system was also effective in reducing
recidivism among clients who had presented histories of serious
offences. The results provide striking confirmation of the
notion that prosocial and anticriminal patterns are appropriate
intermediate targets for corrections.

However, and most disturbing, the less delinquent participants

showed increased criminal activity relative to nonparticipating control youngsters. Fo and O'Donnell (1975) suggest that through the project, the less delinquent participants developed relationships with the more seriously delinquent participants. The explanation was after-the-fact and was not directly addressed by the researchers but is certainly consistent with an impressive body of findings from the studies on differential association. More generally, the establishment of negative effects for certain groups of participants underscores the absolute necessity to routinely evaluate on-going programs.

The Anticriminal Friend

In summary, the last series of studies reviewed have shown that positive impact might be expected when offenders interact with volunteers in relatively warm and open ways and when the volunteers expose noncriminal alternatives and reinforce the offenders' anticriminal and prosocial expressions. Elsewhere, this strategy has been described as that of the anticriminal friend (Andrews, 1977a, b). The other CaVIC modules just cited also present evidence that a procriminal friend strategy (ie. a peer-oriented approach without successful attempts to introduce anticriminal conduct) is associated with significantly negative impact. Other CaVIC modules also reveal that an acriminal friend

(ie. companion and recreational programs) has yet to be shown
to be effective.

We hope that the present review has suggested the potential
associated with the anticriminal friend approach and yet not
given the impression that the processes are fully understood.
Many questions remain unresolved and others not even explored.

Summary

This discussion of the anticriminal dimension of correctional
counselling has outlined the content of procriminal-anticriminal
attitudes, values, and beliefs and has suggested that such cog-
nitive-emotional content may relate causally to criminal conduct.
Differential association theory and its behavioural reformulations
were indentified as strong bases upon which to design and evaluate
voluntary action programs.

The guided group interaction programs were reviewed in some
detail because of a number of links they share with design and
evaluation of voluntary action programs. For example, voluntary
action programs, like the guided group interaction programs,
do relate to differential association theory, are strongly assoc-
iated with relationship-oriented and group dynamic approaches to
counselling and are under pressure to ignore the important questions

of process and concentrate rather on efficiency and ultimate

impact. The utter failure of the guided group interaction programs

to significantly advance our understanding of offenders and crime

was outlined with some distaste. The shame of the twenty years

of work on a "clinical sociology" is not that the relative

effectiveness of the programs have not been established but that

nothing has been learned because of an arrogant and blind accep-

tance of assumptions and a tragic misreading of the basic elements

of professional conduct in both service and research. If there

was any lesson here, it was that volunteer programming should not

follow the same blind and irresponsible path of eschewing the

wisdom of professional counselling and ignoring the potential

of disciplined enquiry.

The review of the anticriminal dimension closed with a

survey of studies which underscored the potential of volunteers

as explicit role-models of prosocial and anticriminal patterns,

ie. as anticriminal friends.

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PROBLEM SOLVING AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACILITATION

Community Control of Crime.

A personal, interpersonal and community-reinforcement perspective on criminal conduct recognizes that the consequences maintaining criminal conduct are rich in variety and have multiple sources. At the personal level, there are reinforcing consequences intrinsic to many acts as well as classically conditioned anticipatory responses. Perhaps most important at the personal level are self-management responses based on one's acquired standards of conduct, values and beliefs. Such anticriminal or procriminal standards and values are acquired primarily in interpersonal situations and within the context of the major socializing institutions of family, school and work.

There is good reason to believe that the community settings within which one operates have important implications for the acquisition of the cognitive and emotional elements of a prosocial or antisocial orientation. However, full participation in the community is also likely to exact more direct control over criminal conduct. A high density of rewards for prosocial pursuits eliminates one of the motivational bases for crime, ie. deprivation and/or

frustration with reference to stimulation, excitement, money,

status, affection and many other potential reinforcers of criminal

activity. If noncriminal alternatives are being rewarded in a

variety of ways and at a high rate, then the probability of

exploration of criminal activity is reduced. This interpretation

is the behavioural base to the "anomie" theories of sociology.

High levels of reward for noncriminal pursuits in the community

may also be interpreted as the behavioural base for what the

sociologists have called "control" and "containment" theories of

crime. Behaviourally, the major controlling process is that of

negative punishment (or response cost or time-out). The pro-

bability of criminal acts occurring is reduced if they occur at

the risk of a reduction in, or postponement of, the reward levels

in effect for noncriminal activity.

A General Problem-Solving Strategy

With the behavioural perspective, we have a solid theoretical

basis for arguing that problem-solving is an important element

of correctional counselling programs. Problem-solving activities

may take many forms and the counsellor will select from a wide

range of potential targets. As a general rule, the early stages

of problem-solving involve an exploration of the major areas of

adjustment for signs of existing levels of satisfaction and

discomfort: further areas include family, school, employment,

recreation and associates. The exploration should not be seen

as a witch hunt for problems: if, in the opinion of the

client and the counsellor, existing levels of rewards in a given

area are satisfactory then the client is to be congratulated

for his levels of achievement in that area.

If, as is the case with many clients, there are multiple-

problems then the counsellor and client must decide which areas

have priority. As a general rule, it is probably best to select

only one or two areas for higher-level problem-solving over any

given time period and then only those areas which most clearly

relate to the presenting problem, ie. the occurrence of criminal

acts. We expect that one useful criterion for selecting among

the possible targets is to first examine the consequences which

appear to have maintained previous criminal activity. For example,

if the approval, affection and interest of delinquent associates

appears to be important to the client, then a reasonable target

for further exploration is the enhancement of satisfaction from

interaction with nondelinquent associates and relatives. If the

acquisition of money and property appears particularly important,

then exploration of the employment and financial areas is indicated.

Higher level problem-solving will always involve attention to the specific nature and source of satisfaction and discomfort. Are the specific signs of discomfort anger or hostility, fear, resentment, jealousy, boredom or what? Are the sources of discomfort related to the individual's conduct and/or to the responses of others?

Once the nature and sources of discomfort are indentified, problem-solving activity may focus on the search for solutions. Solutions generally involve the implementation of new behaviours in the problem situation, new behaviours on the part of the individual and/or on the part of significant others in the problem setting. The alternative behaviours must be delineated in concrete terms and then the differential consequences of the alternatives examined. Symbolic or verbal rehearsal, modelling and actual rehearsal through role-playing represent means of making alternatives concrete and explicit.

The highest levels of problem-solving are attained when a choice is made among the alternatives and the selected alternatives implemented. On-going problem-solving at the highest levels

involves checking to ensure that the alternatives are in fact successful and introducing modifications where such appears reasonable.

The preceding review of a general problem-solving orientation has drawn heavily upon Carkhuff's (1969) stages for implementing an effective course of action and upon the developing principles of behavioural counselling (Krumboltz, 1966). They have also been operationalized for the purposes of examining problem-solving in probation and parole supervision (Andrews, Kiessling et al., 1977; Kennedy, 1976). The reader is of course aware that there are many systems and theories which purport to represent problem-solving methods all of which have their own associated strengths, weaknesses and preferred techniques: we refer of course, to the multiple variations of psychoanalysis and behaviour therapy, and to reality therapy, transactional analysis, client-centered counselling, didactic counselling, transcendental meditation.........
The general statements above are certain to inadequately represent the specifics of any given approach. However, we are assuming that effective problem-solving aims to enhance the client's levels of satisfaction and such is most readily attained by attention to the contingencies between behaviour and consequences of events. The source of discomfort may rest with either or both of the

client's behaviour and the failure of the systems to deliver

appropriate contingent rewards.

There is no assumption that problem-solving automatically

results in reduced criminal activity. If personal, interpersonal

and social satisfactions are enhanced within procriminal community

settings, then criminal activity might well increase (Klein, 1971).

The proper focus for the problem-solving aspect of correctional

counselling is enhanced satisfaction within anticriminal or con-

ventional community settings.

Some Specific Targets of Problem-Solving

The general problem for correctional counselling programs is

to produce shifts in the balance of reinforcement for criminal and

noncriminal alternatives such that the noncriminal alternatives are

favoured (Andrews, 1977a). Explicit use of the rules and sanctions

associated with probation and parole is a rather direct attempt to

produce such a shift (Andrews, 1977c). The modelling and differential

reinforcement of procriminal and anticriminal attitudes, values and

beliefs represents another (Andrews, 1977d). Generally there are

strong reasons to believe that such strategies are particularly

effective when the correctional counsellor has established open and

warm communication with the client (Andrews, 1977a, b). An open

and warm relationship is also likely to facilitate problem-solving

when the focus is on enhanced personal, interpersonal and com-

munity functioning. The general target is to increase the density

of reinforcement for conventional pursuits in community settings,

thus the effective worker is a <u>socially skilled friend</u> or a

<u>socially powerful friend</u>.

Many factors may contribute to low levels of reinforcement

for such pursuits. At the level of personal habits, there is

considerable evidence that inadequate and immature persons are

over-represented in offender categories. The behavioural

repertoire of immature and inadequate individuals may be too

limited, so limited in fact that they have not acquired the

behavioural prerequisites to success in school, or on the job.

Alternatively, their repertoires may include behaviours which

are considered offensive in conventional community settings. Thus,

social and life-skill training represents a reasonable form of

problem-solving. If training facilities are already available in

the community, then the correctional worker may act as an advo-

cate-broker.

It is also possible that offenders have the prescriptive

behaviours in their repertoire but that they are isolated from the settings which would reward their expression and/or are functioning within settings which, for some reason, are failing to deliver the rewards. Thus, advocate-broker activities or other forms of environmental facilitation appear to be required.

In so far as personal difficulties of the neurotic type (for example, excessive tension, worrying, anxiety) are inter-ferring with a full and rewarding participation in community life, then such are also reasonable targets of problem-solving activity. Again, it may not be necessary that the correctional counsellor be highly skilled in the specifics of psychology and behaviour therapy but that the counsellor is aware of existing facilities and able to bring such facilities and the individual client together.

Perhaps the most frequently occurring problems have to do with school, work and the home. Needless to say, tutoring, employment counselling and family counselling have been traditional foci for correctional programs. Another traditional focus has been recreational activities. Alcohol and drug use relate to criminal conduct (Hughes, 1971) and drug abuse is frequently assoc-iated with problems at work or at home. Thus drug use may form a set of intermediate targets.

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Another set of targets have to do with self-esteem and
interpersonal skills. We expect that self-esteem does not relate
in any necessary way to criminal conduct. A confident and self-
accepting individual is likely to be a confident offender or a
confident nonoffender depending upon his criminal orientation
at the cognitive-emotional levels and upon his attachments to
procriminal versus anticriminal groups. Thus, the suggestion is
that self-esteem is a proper target of problem-solving in
correctional counselling only when there is good reason to believe
that the enhanced satisfaction with self represents a contri-
bution to a generally enhanced satisfaction in conventional
community pursuits.

Similarly, enhanced interpersonal skills are likely to be
most strongly associated with reduced criminal activity when
the rewards for exhibiting such skills are offered within con-
ventional settings. Thus, personal and interpersonal func-
tioning are proper targets only when imbedded within a general
plan to increase ties to conventional society.

However, there are additional arguments that a high priority
target might well be at the level of interpersonal skills. In the
introductory CaVIC module (Andrews, 1977a) we noted that deficits

in interpersonal functioning have been highlighted in many theories of criminal conduct. Specifically, it appears that there are subgroups of offenders characterized by low scores on various measures of empathy, egocentrism or role-taking skills. Such deficits suggest that the individual will be relatively insensitive to subtle social **cues** and expectancies and less sensitive to the effects of his actions on victims or valued others. Thus, attempts to reduce criminal activity through enhanced community ties may be rendered ineffective if the client is insensitive to the affective costs associated with offending.

As a final suggested target for problem-solving, we note the potential importance of self-management or self-control skills. Our earlier analysis of the anticriminal dimension of correctional counselling largely rested on the assumption that the clients were able to practice self-control. In fact, the phenomenological and experimental literature provide many examples to the effect that offenders as a group are characterized by relatively poor performance on self-control strategies (Wormith, 1977). In so far as self-control strategies and skills may be taught, such represents a reasonable form of problem-solving.

The Targets and the "Assumption of Basic Differentness"

This preceding discussion of target for problem-solving runs counter to much of the current "wisdom" in criminology. It is now fashionable to dismiss observed differences between offender and nonoffender groups and hence eschew treatment. Perhaps the most recent example of such a facile dismissal is that provided by Schur (1973) in his chapter on "treating the individual". Schur (1973) systematically employs the well tested methods of yellow journalism to link individual treatment with "innate or 'internal' causes of delinquency", behaviour modification with the drugging of ghetto children and the electronic monitoring of parolees, counselling with a "directed friendship" approach of the 1930's, and scientific reporting on observed differences with a newspaper report on reading disabilities and delinquency. We can only conclude that such examples of scholarship are based on ignorance of the larger body of knowledge in criminology or on self-serving disciplinary interests. Such scholarship is certainly not based upon a respect for data, since, as we shall see, support for the labelling and noninterventionist alternatives are virtually nonexistent.

Schur argues that treatment is "grounded 'n the assumption

of basic differentness". In so doing, he reveals a misunderstanding of the value of personality-oriented research and of treatment. He might have simply meant that criminals are , "human too" which is a nice thought that most of us would agree with. He might also have simply meant to restate the labelling perspective, ie. that criminal is a status conferred upon the actor and not ... etc. Platitudes too are difficult to argue with, in fact, who wants to bother. However, if he wishes to imply that offenders and nonoffenders do not differ on measures of personal, interpersonal and community functioning and/or that there are not important differences in personality within offender groups, then he is on weak ground indeed (see Quay, 1965 or Appendix D in Andrews, Kiessling et al., 1977). The establishment of reliable differences between offender and non-offender groups and/or to establish that personality scores may predict criminal conduct (even if weakly) is a step towards the indentification of those manipulable aspects of the environment which control criminal conduct.

Systematic Empirical Examinations of Problem-Solving

It should be noted that theoretical and practical questions concerning problem-solving are evident at at least three levels:

the identification of effective problem-solving methods appro-
priate to the intermediate targets, the establishment of the
relationship between changes on the intermediate target and
criminal conduct, and the selection of appropriate intermediate
targets. The importance of the distinctions cannot be over-
stated.

Most people will agree that one goal of the correctional
system is reduced criminal activity on the part of individuals
who enter the system. Thus, recidivism is an ultimate outcome
index for program evaluation. Some problem-solving activities
may be associated with effects on ultimate outcome indices and
others may not. One reason is that some problem-solving
activities are effective with reference to the more intermediate
targets while others are not. Further, the effectiveness of
any given problem-solving approach may vary with the type of
intermediate target, the type of client, the type of setting
and the type of worker. Secondly, our theories may misdirect
us concerning the appropriateness of various intermediate targets,
ie. a given problem-solving approach may effectively produce
changes on certain intermediate targets but such changes may
not relate to criminal conduct in expected ways. We simply
must not devalue the whole of correctional counselling programming,

volunteer or professional, simply because some methods fail to relate to recidivism, particularly not when effectiveness with reference to the intermediate targets has not been established.

The review of the systematic empirical literature begins with a look at the "total environment" approaches and then examines more specifically targeted approaches.

The Creation of Anticriminal and Problem-Solving Environments

Our interest here is in correctional counselling and not in system change however, recent attention to the development of community-based and diversionary alternatives to incarceration may well represent a major step forward from the development correctional milieus which are explicitly anticriminal in focus and problem-solving in practice. The CaVIC reviews of the guided-groups interaction programs (Andrews, 1977c) were highly critical of the program implementation and of the non-process oriented evaluations, but Empey's classic and courageous works (1971, 1972) stand as excellent examples of evaluations with a system focus.

Synanon and other forms of self-help oriented group homes and half-way houses are examples of attempts to establish community-

based treatment milieus. Unfortunately, the author is unaware of
any convincing experimental demonstrations of their effectiveness
relative to other forms of community-based correctional programs.
If anything has been learned about correctional counselling from
the evaluations of guided group interaction programs (as reviewed
by Stephenson & Scarpitti, 1974), it is simply the as yet
untested hope that success may be enhanced by the introduction of
formal structures which encourage problem-solving.

Conclusions are more positive when made on the basis of
the work of the Kansas group who have carefully developed a
family-style treatment home for delinquent youths (Achievement
Place; Phillips et al., 1973). Through a series of carefully
controlled studies, the Kansas group has documented the effec-
tiveness of various behavioural strategies with reference to
upgrading the social, academic and vocational skills of parti-
cipating youths. Although not based on random assignment, they
present impressive evidence that, relative to alternative treat-
ments, their structured problem-solving approach was more
effective than more traditional correctional programs. Those
advocates of nonintervention who equate behaviour modification
with the suppression of the lower class or some other equally evil
motive, would be well advised to examine Eitzen (1975) with
some care; participating youths showed dramatic increases in

self-esteem and enhanced attention to **internal** as opposed to

external control. Finally, as a case study, the Phillips et

al. (1973) report suggests that the quality of the relationship

between the treatment agents and the youths was very important

in determining impact.

A Focus on the Family

A recent evaluation of a family oriented group program using

volunteers as counsellors was unable to establish evidence of

positive effects on the criminal conduct of probationers (Berger

et al., 1975). Such a finding was so disturbing to the eval-

uators that they recommended suspending not only the group

counselling program but all rehabilitative efforts by the court.

Such recommendations are premature at best and insufferably

arrogant at worst.

Generally, in or out of correctional settings, there are few

convincing demonstrations of the effectiveness of family inter-

vention. Two exceptions are particularly noteworthy and as was

the case with Achievement Place, they both are well grounded in

behaviour theory. The colleagues and students of Alexander and

Parsons (1973) trained whole families in the methods of clear

communication and negotiation with the general goal of enhancing

the amount and balance of mutual positive reinforcement. Specific

training methods included modelling, instructions, differential

reinforcement and contingency contracting. All participating

families were referred to the project by the local juvenile

court. Additional family referrals were randomly assigned to a

client-centered family program, an eclectic psychodynamic family

program or to no special treatment condition. Alexander and

Parsons rather clearly demonstrated that the short-term behavioural

oriented treatment did have the predicted effects on both family

process and recidivism. Over a follow-up period of from six-to-

eighteen months, the rate of referrals for conduct problems to

the court were 26% (behavioural treatment), 47% (client-centered),

50% (no treatment) and 73% (psychodynamic). The same trend, but

nonsignificantly so, was evident with reference to subsequent

criminal offences. Very important to the development of the

connection between changes on intermediate targets and ultimate

targets, Alexander and Parsons also showed that the intermediate

family process measures and recidivism were statistically related.

The study represents a model of careful program design and eval-

uation, with appropriate attention to treatment specifics, inter-

mediate targets and the relationship between intermediate targets

and outcome. We agree with Alexander and Parsons that the onus

is now on the proponents of the forms of family therapy to demon-

strate the conditions under which their interventions may be

effective. The onus is also on the proponents of behaviour oriented family therapy to establish the relative contributions of the various components of their approaches and to document the parameters of influence (Weathers & Liberman, 1975).

Patterson (1974) and his colleagues have also worked from the social learning perspective on the relationship between conduct problems and family interaction patterns. Behavioural treatment was applied in both the homes and classrooms of disordered boys and evidence of positive effects attained.

Family-oriented intervention does appear to be an important area for development. However, the successful reports are few relative to the history of failure. Family-based counselling appears appropriate under only the most highly professional conditions of operation, ie. careful diagnosis, a theoretical formulation, specific intervention, monitoring of process and intermediate and ultimate outcomes. Volunteers and paraprofessionals are likely to be able to contribute to such programs but only within the confines of the strictest standards of professional ethics and practice. The interested reader may follow the development of the issues in family intervention by consulting the Franks and Wilson (1974, 1975, 1976) series.

Social and Life Skills

An early and still outstanding demonstration of community-focused intervention was that of Massimo and Shore (1963) and it has been further reported upon by Shore and Massimo (1966), Ricks, Umbarger and Mack (1964), Shore, Massimo and Ricks (1965) and Shore, Massimo and Mack (1965). The study is of particular interest in the area of voluntary action programming because the degree and range of intervention involved is simply too great to be reasonably cost-efficient without the use of volunteers. Very briefly, a comprehensive and individualized program with an emphasis on vocational planning was offered to delinquent adolescents at the point that they were expelled or dropped out of school. Treatment was of the high frequency contact type and not office-bound. While the focus was on job-hunting and remedial education, the worker was a co-participant and coach in many other areas of the boy's life.

In comparison with a control group of boys, some ten months after the initiation of treatment, the experimental boys showed statistically significant gains on objective measures of academic achievement, on a self-image measure, and on a measure of control of aggression. The follow-up work and legal histories of the

experimental boys also appeared to be better than those of the control boys but differences were not tested for statistical significance. At a two and three year follow-up, the gains evident among the experimental boys were still evident.

Overall, the findings are reminiscent of those reported for the Street-corner Research Project, another community-based and multi-faceted intervention program (Schwitzgebel, 1964; Schwitzgebel & Kolb, 1964). Similarly, Roman (1957) found that a tutorial program imbedded in a more generally focused thera-peutic program was more effective than either the tutorial or the group therapy programs alone. Comparing institutional settings, Shelley and Johnson (1961) also found that a minimum security setting with a counselling program which focused on vocational, educational and personal adjustment issues was more effective than a comparison institutional setting. Fox (1954) reported similar results. Shelley and Johnson showed additionally that adjustment gains within the institution were statistically associated with parole success.

The findings of Achievement Place and of Massimo and Shore (1963) and the others cited above suggest that a concern with vocational academic issues may be associated with positive effects

when intervention methods are structured and complemented by a

broadly-based approach within the context of interpersonal coun-

selling. The approaches and findings contrast rather markedly

with the highly questionable practices associated with the Provo

(Empey & Erickson, 1972) and Seattle's Opportunities For Youth

(Hackler & Hagan, 1975) programs. The work programs were derived

from a "clinical sociology" perspective and involved the forma-

tion of work gangs composed of delinquents. If no successful

attempts are made to increase the delinquent's employability

then differential association theory predicts increased delin-

quency as a function of the increased contact with other delin-

quents. This is exactly what was found by Hackler: the boys in

the work program became more delinquent relative to the comparison

boys.

The Opportunities program also included exposure to a "teaching-

machine testing program". The relevance of this aspect of the

program to what we would normally regard as potentially effective

tutoring is best understood by listening to the authors them-

selves:

> It is important to note that the goal here was not
> to use the machines for remedial education. Instead,
> the boys were asked to decide whether the machines
> would be useful in a classroom setting. Teachers
> were asked not to praise the boys when they sucessfully
> completed a lesson but rather to convey the impression
> that the teachers knew they were capable and anticipated

that they would be competent at the task. In keeping
with the theoretical framework, efforts were directed
at getting the boys to perceive that they were viewed
as adequate, nondelinquent youngsters. (P. 95-96)

In spite of the deliberate failure to tap social reinforce-

ment, there was some, but only minimal, evidence that rewarding

experiences in academic tasks were associated with reduced

delinquency. The behavioural literature on academic up-grading

programs suggests that the learning structure imposed by the use

of teaching machines, in combination with explicit use of social

reinforcement, would have been associated with much stronger

effects. Davidson and Seidman (1974) have reviewed behaviour

modification approaches to education with delinquents and, while

many methodological and applied questions have been inadequately

explored, the results to date are encouraging.

In summary, a focus on the family, work and school may be

effective when the program opportunities are structured to enhance

learning and performance and/or when intervention is comprehensive

and concerned with a range of adjustment problems. The components

of effective programs have yet to be established through parametric

and factorial investigations, but the available data inspire hope

rather than despair. Several of the successful program attempts

described in the anticriminal paper (Andrews, 1977d) included

explicit concerns with family, school and work (Fo & O'Donnell, 1974; Persons, 1966). Similarly, but in the area of alcoholism, the work of Hunt and Azrin (1973) and Sobell and Sobell (1972) show how programs may be comprehensive yet highly concrete and structured in approach.

In one of the few systematic comparisons of different intervention approaches, Sarason and Ganzer (1973) found that both explicit modelling and group discussions were more effective than routine prison treatment in terms of attitudinal gains, behaviour change and recidivism. Sarason and Ganzer provided young institutionalized delinquents with examples of appropriate and inappropriate ways of coping with social, vocational and educational situations: in the modelling condition graduate students demonstrated effective behaviours but overall the modelling condition was no more effective than explicit discussion. Daigle-Zinn and Andrews (1974) did find that role-playing was more effective than group discussions in a short-term project which targeted gains on interpersonal functioning. It is possible that modelling and the rehearsal opportunities of role-playing will be most important when working with clients who are rather grossly deficient (behavioural skills are simply not in their repertoire) while concrete and explicit discussion is sufficient with clients

who only need the information on relative appropriateness made
more salient.

Role-playing approaches to social and life skill training
have a potentially important advantage with delinquent clients.
Not only may they have the opportunity to rehearse appropriate
behaviour but they also have the opportunity to actively place
themselves in another's shoes. Chandler (1973) made explicit use
of this notion by employing drama and the making of video films
as a means of enhancing the "social perspective-taking" skills of
young delinquents. Relative to boys in comparison conditions,
boys in the perspective-taking program showed decreased egocen-
trism and reduced delinquent behaviour. To this author's know-
ledge, this is the only experimental demonstration that increased
empathy is associated with decreased crime.

Self-Control Training

As reviewed in the anticriminal paper (Andrews, 1977c),
self-management processes appear very important in criminal
conduct. Two intervention approaches appear worthwhile: model-
ling and direct training (Wormith, 1977). With reference to
the anticriminal dimension of correctional counselling, it is

probably important that workers make vivid, through their be-
haviour and words, that delay is sometimes more appropriate
than immediate gain. Certainly the content of the subcultures
of delinquency tends to deny "responsibility" (Sykes & Matza,
1957) and favour "fate" (Miller, 1958). Stumphauzer (1970,
1972) has provided some preliminary examples of the fact that
delinquents are sensitive to a model's performance on tasks
involving self-control.

When explicit training in self-control is introduced, we
are in the area of problem-solving. Wormith (1977) has recently
reviewed the literature on self-control training and criminal
conduct, as is common in corrections, the promise is
there but as yet not convincingly demonstrated. Wormith's (1977)
thesis is that correctional workers must simultaneously attend to
both the content of the client's cognitive-emotional sentiments
(ie. attitudes, values and beliefs) as well as to the client's
ability to practice self-control. More specifically, self-manage-
ment training provides a means of translating a prosocial orien-
tation into action. However, if the client's orientation is
antisocial, self-management training may have no effect on be-
haviour or even negative effects. In an experimental investi-

gation of the effects of training in behavioural principles of
self-control, Wormith did find that posttreatment performance
was a joint function of self-management training and the type
of value training program to which the prison residents were
exposed.

Sobell and Sobell's (1972) individualized approach to the
treatment of alcoholism included many components and the relative
importance of the various components has yet to be established.
However, their attention to helping the client identify the sit-
uations which influenced drinking and the cognitive search for
alternatives to drinking represents another approach to self-
management. In fact, the approach represents a general strategy
of problem-solving very much like the conception outlined in the
introductory sections of this paper.

Environmental Facilitation: The Limits of Advocacy

Several of the programs cited to this point rather clearly
involved wide ranging intervention in the home, at work and at
school. The emphasis was as much on the environment's reactions
to the offender as on the offender's behaviour, particularly in

the case of the behavioural family intervention. Similarly, the comprehensive approaches of Massimo and Shore (1963) and Hunt and Azrin (1973) involved considerable emphasis on advocate-broker activity: the worker actively assists the client in using avail- able community resources. The level of activity required can best be appreciated by the reader's careful review of the two above noted papers.

Advocacy and brokerage in the community are now very popular in corrections. In fact, we are now hearing them referred to as the "ABC's of probation and parole" (Dell'Apa et al., 1976). We know that at the system level, many would see the rehabilitative functions of courts and correctional agencies redefined in that way (Schur, 1973; Berger et al., 1975). In so far as community agencies fail to attend in helpful ways to offenders, then there is clearly a need for criminal justice workers to speak out and to suggest positive ways in which the community may deal with the problems of crime, criminals and victims. However, at the level of correctional counselling (ie. working with individual offenders on a one-to-one or group basis), there will be severe limits on the value of advocate-broker activity. It is probably too soon to redefine the correctional counsellor's role.

In the first place, the value of advocate-broker activity
will depend upon the number and quality of community agencies.
It would be naive to assume that the services are already there
or that the expertise exists to deal with the special problems
of correctional clients. In fact, most experienced correctional
workers can provide many examples of the difficulties of obtaining
services for their clients from schools and mental health faci-
lities. While this may represent a wrong to be made right, the
assumption of the principles of advocacy does not necessarily
provide concrete assistance to the individual client. Secondly,
advocate-broker type activities have long been major tools in the
social worker's kit. Hopefully, corrections will not have to re-
live the discouragement associated with evaluations of social
case work (Berleman, Seaberg & Steinburn, 1972).

The increasing attention to advocacy and brokerage is theo-
retically consistent with the labelling perspectives on deviance
(Schur, 1973). Unfortunately, there is simply no convincing, or
even impressive, evidence that the major assumptions of labelling
theory are empirically valid (Wellford, 1975). Hopefully, the
studies cited in the CaVIC review of the counselling literature
have shown that some theories of crime and associated modes of
intervention have potential. Labelling theory appears to be a par-
ticularly weak base for program and policy planning.

A Field Descriptive Study of Problem-Solving in Probation

The evaluation of the Ottawa volunteer program included analyses of audio-taped supervisory sessions between volunteer probation officers and their clients and between professional probation officers and their clients. In addition, data were collected on the number and types of supervisory contacts (Andrews, Kiessling et al., 1977).

As might be expected, the volunteers saw their clients more frequently than did professionals, had more contacts with the family and friends of the clients and saw their clients in a wider range of settings. Such freedom from the office and flexibility was a positive sign given the findings reviewed previously. However, overall there was no difference in the impact of volunteer and professional supervision. An examination of the content of the audio-taped sessions was suggestive as to why.

Several indices of supervisory process were derived relevant to problem-solving. One index was concerned with problem-solving which focused on concrete community adjustment issues in areas such as the family, school and employment. Another index reflected problem-solving with a focus on recreation and hobbies. A third reflected concerns with personal and emotional issues which were

not tied to concrete areas of adjustment. A fourth monitored
environmental facilitation or advocate-broker type activity.

The differences between volunteer and professional supervision
were not great on a personal/emotional focus or on environmental
facilitation. However, the professionls engaged in a higher level of
problem-solving with a community focus while the volunteers en-
gaged in a higher level of problem-solving with a recreational
focus. The suggestion is clear that the volunteers' advantage on
frequency of contact indices was not translated into overall
more effective supervision because of relatively low level atten-
tion to appropriate community targets. It is noted that the
volunteers also scored lower than professionals on the authority
and anticriminal indices.

Of particular interest was the documentation of the relation-
ships between problem-solving and recidivism. A community focus
was reliably and negatively related to recidivism while problem-
solving with a recreational or personal/emotional focus was
unrelated to recidivism. Our measure of environmental facilitation
was psychometrically impressive (Russell, 1976) but it too was
unrelated to recidivism. While it would be quite inappropriate to
push the finding too far, there may be a lesson for correctional
planning in one of the correlates of environmental facilitation.

Those officers who made the highest level use of environmental
facilitation, tended to have low self-esteem, to have strong
needs for affection and to identify with offenders. The reader
will forgive the author for not missing this opportunity to
suggest an analogy with our preceding discussion of the limits
of advocacy.

Summary

The review has suggested that the roles of tutor, trainer,
coach and therapist are appropriate in corrections. The literature
suggests that effective problem-solving techniques and strategies
have been implemented and demonstrated but that corrections is
still some distance from definitive statements on the appropriate
targets and the differential effectiveness of different modes of
problem-solving. At the present time, community-focused but
structured modes of problem-solving appear to hold the most promise.
Some limits to the current fad of advocate-broker activity were
suggested. The more successful programs have involved consider-
able amounts of intervention and demand flexible styles of inter-
action between worker and client. Thus volunteers are likely to
prove very important in problem-solving programs.

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