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Module 18

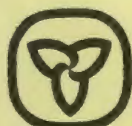
THE FRIENDSHIP MODEL OF VOLUNTARY ACTION AND
CONTROLLED EVALUATIONS OF CORRECTIONAL
PRACTICES: NOTES ON RELATIONSHIPS WITH
BEHAVIOUR THEORY AND CRIMINOLOGY

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The opinions expressed in the CaVIC reports are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the policies or opinions of the various sponsoring agencies.

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General Introduction

This report represents a minor revision of a report first distributed in February, 1976. It is intended to serve as an introduction to the several reports in the CaVIC series which focus on specific modes of correctional counselling and specific modes of supervisory practice in probation and parole. The strategies, or the dimensions of correctional process, were derived from a personal, interpersonal and community-reinforcement perspective on criminal conduct (as briefly outlined in Andrews, Kiessling, Russell & Grant, 1977).

While the literature could have been reviewed with reference to that theoretical perspective, for several reasons the decision was made to organize this introductory paper around the friendship model of correctional counselling. In the first place, the friendship model has important implications, including motivational ones for the recruitment, screening and training of correctional workers. Secondly, quality of relationship perspectives on human helping dominate not only the scientific literature but the popular press as well. Thirdly, the humanistic and social reform orientations continue to be confused with counselling and correction; note, for example, how that gross dichotomy of punishment versus rehabilitation continues to flourish in formal policy statements and in the popular press. Fourthly, there is substantial

evidence to suggest that the quality of the interpersonal relationships among participants in correctional programs is important in determining program impact. A major thesis of this paper is that a friendship orientation interacts with other modes of counseling in determining impact.

This introductory paper and its companion pieces in the CaVIC series argue that advancement in correctional counselling will only come when closer ties are formed between correctional practices and theory in the social and behavioural sciences. This is not a novel or particularly startling statement. Glaser (1974) made the point well. However, since the preparations of the first half of the present report, the author has had the opportunity to study in some detail three recent and major correctional documents, Berger et al. (1975), Cook and Scioli (1975), and Martinson (1974). It appears, on the basis of reading those documents, that corrections is moving, not closer, but even farther away from the main stream of the behavioural sciences. Berger et al. (1975) designed a beautiful evaluation of a volunteer program but met serious methodological problems, problems so serious that the integrity of their design was lost. This, however, did not stop the authors from stepping away from their data and concluding that the direct "rehabilitation" function of the courts (not just of volunteers) be suspended! They went on to cite Schur's (1973) incomplete and distortion-filled review for back-up support.

Martinson's (1974) review of the correctional literature is massive and impressive, particularly when compared with Schur's (1973) polemic. Martinson however, failed to distinguish between modes of counselling within the gross categories of, for example, individual counselling and group counselling. Martinson, like reviewers before him, found that 40 to 50 percent of the published studies reported positive impact. Thus, he suggested, there was no consistent evidence of the efficacy of correctional practices. Andrews (1974) reviewed much of the same literature in the group counselling area and concluded that there was consistent evidence of the efficacy of certain specific modes of counselling. It is the position of this author, and this series of CaVIC papers, that, given a theoretical perspective on criminal conduct, we can move well beyond rhetoric and begin to become prescriptive.

Cook and Scioli's (1975) review of the voluntary action literature in corrections provided a handy bibliography and several nicely stated summaries of generally agreed-upon goals in the management of volunteer programs. However, given their policy orientation and a preoccupation with the management sciences, they failed to recognize the continuities at the theoretical level among studies within the correctional area, not to mention complementary studies in mental health. Again it is the position of the CaVIC series that effective policy will flow from an

understanding of criminal conduct. With an understanding of criminal conduct, "standardization", "cost effectiveness" and the other management goals will be more readily served. Any attempt at this point to enforce standardization in programming and evaluation can only serve to inhibit the resolution of the major problems in criminology and corrections, ie. the virtual total lack of agreement on the predictive, construct and convergent validity of correctional programming. The CaVIC reviews of the correctional literature are devoted to the search for such validity.

Introduction

Until recently, the dominant rationales for volunteerism have been the Judeo-Christian and the participatory democracy traditions (Scheier, 1970). The disciplines associated with the two service traditions, theology-religion and political science, are not ones associated with high levels of specification, measurement and control. Not surprisingly then, the literature on volunteerism tended to fall into one or all of three categories: evangelical calls to action, descriptive reports of on-going programs and/or surveys and public opinion style research.

Recent reviews by Shelley (1971) and Peters (1973) documented this fact and emphasized the need for more controlled research. Their atheoretical emphasis suggested an alternative perspective on voluntary action research, i.e. a management orientation. The management orientation with an appropriate emphasis on "accountability", asks that relative costs and benefits be documented and that the problems be broadened to consider not only impact on the client but impact on the volunteer, the professional, the agency, the criminal justice system and the community at large. A management orientation toward process suggests systematic evaluations of recruiting, training and program practices. Certainly, Peters' (1973) plea for improved methodology and her provision of a set of sophisticated criteria for evaluation research will increase the quality of research in volunteerism and the academic and professional acceptability of volunteer programming.

The management orientation, when combined with research technology, has certain advantages. While the pure service traditions provided a stimulus for action programs, the management orientation ensures that goals are specified in measurable terms so that evaluation might ultimately result in enhanced service. However, for both the service and management orientations, there remains an important question. How, among the wide range of potential program formats and their infinite variations, does one select one or two formats for application and evaluation? Certainly, the selection of program specifics will be based on some combination of ethical, political and economic factors as well as the personal preferences of the program manager. Consideration of factors such as community acceptability and costs is important. However, their exclusive use does not ensure that evaluation proceeds in an orderly fashion, in a fashion likely to result in the most efficient, powerful and enduring programs.

A potentially powerful orientation is one which incorporates the search for general and valid statements on the necessary and sufficient conditions for desired change. The suggestion here is that the volunteer movement would profit from closer association with the disciplines of psychology, sociology and criminology. The disciplines are those which attempt to reach a general understanding of social structure, interpersonal process, individual conduct and criminal behaviour. The theories or conceptual systems

within the disciplines may provide guidance in selecting the most potentially powerful program arrangements. Perhaps most importantly, the search for general explanatory statements, for descriptions of the "necessary and sufficient" conditions, will provide explicit guidance for the rearrangement of program factors in order to maximize effects.

The guidelines which follow from a conceptual orientation include the following: (i) select, for systematic evaluation, programs which vary on theoretically-relevant variables, (ii) if a relationship between the program variables and outcome has been established, then begin to dismantle the "effective" condition, until those components are identified which, if present, maximize effectiveness and which, if absent, render the program ineffective, (iii) once key program elements influencing outcome are isolated, begin to broaden the evaluations to include different measures of outcome, different types of background conditions or settings, and/or different types of clients and helpers, i.e. establish the parameters of influence, (iv) as much as possible, select program factors for evaluation which, if discounted, discount at the same time the greatest number of competing hypotheses.

A disciplined conceptual orientation, like the management and pure service orientations, will be properly subject to the restraints and encouragements of ethics, politics, economics and personal

preferences. However, once underway, the process of program selection, evaluation and reformulation should lead to programs of some lasting validity. Without identification of the effective components of a program, there is the possibility that a program may suddenly begin to have no effects or even negative effects because the unidentified but crucial factors have shifted. It is possible that a program established in one setting may prove ineffective in another setting because the crucial component was not introduced into the new setting. In the pages that follow a series of studies are reviewed which involved volunteers in association with prisoners. It will be seen that association influenced prisoner attitudes only when certain conditions were present. If the crucial conditions were not present, then change was not evident. Theories can assist in the identification of effective variables. The goal is for the program to have construct validity as well as predictive validity.

In the search for construct validity, the elements of a program are seen as operational definitions of theoretical constructs. For example, when a program establishes a relationship between an offender and a nonoffender, one is operationalizing elements of the differential association theory of criminal behaviour. The theory would predict that changes in criminal attitudes, values and behaviour will depend upon factors such as frequency of contact and the exposure of anti-criminal behaviour patterns. The process of construct validation must be a two-way matter. Ultimately, it will influence both service and theory.

The conceptual alternative to the pure service and management orientations brings voluntary action research into the mainstream of social and behavioural science. It recognizes explicitly the continuities between volunteer and professional correctional programs, between volunteer helping and professional "helping", and between volunteer-client exchanges and any person-to-person exchange. That is, if volunteer-client interaction is having systematic effects on the attitudes and behaviour of participants, then the principles governing those effects are likely the same as the principles operative in any interpersonal situation.

Current theories in psychology, sociology or criminology cannot provide a definitive conceptual system for volunteerism. In fact, the major theories of crime and delinquency are so vaguely expressed and based on such an inadequate data base that the parameters of predictive validity and utility have even yet to be explored. It has been suggested that the systematic evaluation of volunteer programs may provide, for the first time, the opportunity to complete systematic investigations in which theoretically-relevant variables are deliberately varied under controlled and specified conditions. Thus, it is not only service which might profit from a construct validity approach. The potential pay-off for theory is great should the volunteer movement begin to look to theory for their rationales and procedures.

The construct validity alternative to the pure service and management orientations does not negate the importance of utility. Utility depends upon costs and benefits, both economic and those associated with other human-social values. In fact, the ethical and value questions become more focused when it is recognized explicitly that i) the activities of volunteers may have systematic effects on clients, and ii) that the activities of volunteers and clients are being examined systematically in order to identify the effective components. With increased clarity, there may be greater attention to the ethical questions which all orientations must share.

Our interest in this paper is the processes involved in determining impact on the client as a function of interaction with a volunteer. Thus, we will look to social psychology and counseling for theories of interpersonal influence. Since the impact questions are focused on effects on the criminal attitudes and behaviour of clients, we will also turn to criminology. In order to maintain continuity with current service models of voluntary action, we begin with a review of the friendship model of volunteerism.

The Friendship Model

The dominant model of voluntary service is that of the volunteer as a friend. The assumption is that the development of a close relationship between a volunteer and an offender will result in positive effects. While there are suggestions in the literature

that some consider the "relationship" of value in and of itself, our focus will be the search for the processes by which a "relationship" may have effects on future delinquent or criminal behaviour. By attempting to identify and measure the elements of a "relationship", we hopefully avoid the endless speculation on whether a worker and client may become friends in the sense that "friendship" is conventionally used (Wise, 1974).

The friendship model of voluntary action would be relevant to criminal conduct and hence the design of correctional programs if one or some combination of the following general assumptions about criminal behaviour were valid:

- a) The probability of criminal behaviour is increased when one is "without friends".
- b) The probability of criminal behaviour is increased when one is "without friends" who are noncriminal and/or hold anticriminal behavioural expectations and/or model or directly reinforce noncriminal alternatives.
- c) The occurrence of criminal behaviour may be associated with any number of states or environmental conditions and a "friend" may influence those states or conditions.

Variants of the first assumption abound in criminology. Gough (1948), Grant and Grant (1959), Warren (1970) and Hoqan (1969) have presented perspectives on criminal behaviour which rely heavily on

the notions of disturbed, inappropriate or immature interpersonal functioning. One deduction from these perspectives would be that the enhancement of interpersonal relationships should decrease the probability of future criminal conduct. The group dynamics perspective from social psychology (Cartwright, 1951), the relationship models of counselling (Rogers, 1957), and the notions of "therapeutic community" and "milieu therapy" (Jones, 1960) have all had impact on correctional practice and the quality of interpersonal relationships are important to each perspective. Our interest is in one particular intervention strategy which shares links with the theories of criminal behaviour and behavioural influence: the strategy of intensifying the relationships and opening up interpersonal communication within offender groups. To maintain continuity with the friendship model of voluntary action, the series of studies reviewed will be seen as relevant to the procriminal friend approach.

Empey and Erickson's (1972) treatment guidelines included a particularly lucid statement of the procriminal friend strategy: the peer group should be seen as the primary source of help and support and the rewards for candor must exceed those provided for by adherence to either delinquent or conventional behaviour patterns. Schur's (1973, p. 170) more ambiguous prescription is likely to have the same effect: "available evidence favours emphasizing relatively unstructured group sessions more than intensive individual psychotherapy".

The second general assumption regarding the determinants of criminal conduct is best represented by differential association (Sutherland and Cressey, 1966) and by the subcultural approaches and their variants (Klein, 1971, p. 28-38). The treatment strategy which follows from the second assumption regarding interpersonal relationships and crime is the provision of, or arranging for, relationships with persons who are anticriminal in an explicit manner. Two sets of studies will be reviewed: one set in which the other represents an authority figure who expects noncriminal behaviour and a second set in which the other models and directly reinforces noncriminal alternatives to criminal conduct, i.e. the authoritarian or controlling friend and the anticriminal friend.

The third assumption is very broad in that any number of personal states and/or environmental conditions may influence criminal conduct. There is no shortage of theories to help suggest specifics: a sample of personal factors includes neuroticism (Quay, 1965a; Eysenck, 1964) inadequacy (Quay, 1965a) psychoticism (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1970), stimulus-seeking (Quay, 1965b) reading deficits (Roman, 1959), and having been labelled (Schur, 1973). A list of environmental conditions might include socio-economic status (Merton, 1957), position in the opportunity structure (Cloward & Ohlin, 1961), family dissension (Quay, 1965a) and scholastic maladjustment (Quay, 1965a).

The intervention strategy associated with the third general assumption is the provision of a "friend" with the skills, abilities, knowledge or power to influence the relevant states or conditions. The roles of the friend may variously be described as that of a therapist, coach, tutor or teacher, as well as advocate, broker or environmental facilitator, i.e. a skilled and knowledgeable friend and/or a socially powerful or influential friend.

The Interpersonal Relations Approach: The Procriminal Friend

Several systematic and controlled investigations of the interpersonal relations approach are now available. The review will be ignoring much of the voluminous literature and concentrating only on those studies which included i) a control or comparison intervention condition, ii) comparable groups of clients in each condition, and iii) specific and objective outcome measures, which are iv) subjected to statistical tests of significance. Note that the studies reviewed usually included other program elements in addition to the interpersonal focus. However, in each case the programs appeared to establish conditions consistent with a "procriminal friend" strategy.

The Milieu Approaches

Craft, Stephenson and Granger (1964) compared a self-governing group therapy unit for hospitalized adolescent psychopaths with a more firm and paternalistic, authoritarian unit. Post-discharge

follow-up revealed that the residents discharged from the self-governing unit had a significantly higher recidivism rate than did the other group. The Matsqui experiment, as documented by Murphy (1972), compared an intensive group dynamics program, including academic upgrading, with a more routine prison program for incarcerated drug addicts. Process measures demonstrated that residents of the intensive unit were engaged in more group activity and that communication within the intensive groups was more open relative to groups in the routine program. However, on follow-up, the residents paroled from the intensive unit engaged in more illegal use of drugs and earned more illegal dollars than did residents paroled from the routine prison program.

Grant and Grant (1959) established a living unit system for navy and marine offenders. The treatment strategy was to establish close, continuing relationships within the units. The effect of the program appeared to depend upon the extent to which the unit supervisors were able to establish the desired treatment conditions and upon the maturity level of the offenders. Among low maturity offenders, the "better" the supervisors were judged to be, the poorer the post-release adjustment.

In summary, three experimental investigations of peer-oriented, open communication systems have shown significantly negative effects. Note that the results were not simply zero effects, but increased criminal orientation on post-release indices.

Peer-Oriented Group Counselling

Similar, albeit less dramatic, results have been found in systematic investigations of group counselling within prison settings. Mann (1955) evaluated a group therapy program in which a focus was the attitudes and feelings of delinquent boys toward themselves and toward the therapist. Mann was unable to demonstrate any significant effects of treatment. In fact, an attempt to sharpen the peer orientation by having the boys lead the groups themselves resulted in "chaos". Wayne (1972) attempted to establish positive relationships within counselling groups while also introducing a systematic and structured approach to discussions of rationalizations for law violations. Wayne was also unable to discover treatment effects and noted that the criminal peers were "solid" in their procriminal orientation. Andrews, Farmer and Hughes (1975, 1976) have reported on two projects each of which included comparison conditions very similar to the Wayne (1972) groups. They found that focused discussion within an offender group may be associated with an increased criminal orientation on attitudinal measures. In fact, there was evidence that the higher the levels of mutual trust, likeability and sense of participation within the groups, the more negative the change in attitudes toward the law and the greater the increase in tolerance for law violations, i.e., the better the perceived relationship, the poorer the outcome.

Truax, Wargo and Volksdorf (1970) were able to show that delinquents in counselling groups with interpersonally skilled

non-delinquent leaders showed more positive changes than did delinquents in groups with less interpersonally skilled leaders. Note, however, that the interpersonal skill factor was measured with reference to the non-delinquent leader and not with reference to the interpersonal functioning of the clients. The study included another variable of more direct relevance to the question at hand. For half of the counselling groups, the number of sessions was doubled through the addition of sessions in which the leader (the noncriminal other) was absent. Those groups showed significantly poorer outcome than did the regular counselling groups.

The largest scale evaluation of group counselling in prisons is that of Kassebaum, Ward and Milner (1971). They examined Fenton's (1960) approach to group counselling which placed considerable emphasis upon open communication among participants and minimal direction from the formal leaders. They varied size of the groups and other factors but there was no evidence for the effectiveness of treatment.

Group Programs in Probation and Parole

Evidence on the questionable value of the procriminal friend approach is also available from community-based programs. Faust's (1965) data indicated that group counselling of probationers, again with an emphasis on open communication, was no more effective than routine one-to-one probation. Empey and Erickson (1972) were unable

to demonstrate the post-probation value of a complex and sophisticated guided group interaction program relative to routine probation. Similarly, the guided group interaction programs within the Community Treatment Project do not appear to be as effective as a more individualized differential treatment approach (Palmer, 1971). Not all of the guided group studies reviewed by Stephenson and Scarpitti (1974) are of equal methodological sophistication, but, and again, it appears clear that production of favourable impact on criminal indices is not greatly aided by the peer orientation.

Summary and Additional Issues

Encompassing a range of settings, programs and clients, there is very little evidence in support of pure relationship approaches when anticriminal components are not built into the programs. In fact, the most frequent finding has been one of significantly poorer outcome relative to routine programs. The results should not be surprising. Within delinquent peer groups, the reinforcement for delinquent behaviour far outweighs the reinforcement for nondelinquent behaviour and the efforts of individual staff or volunteers to reverse this ratio are not likely to be of sufficient frequency, quality or consistency. Buehler, Patterson and Furniss (1966) have provided a descriptive behavioural analysis of the phenomenon within a girls' training school.

Before reviewing studies relevant to the anticriminal friend approach, certain limiting factors should be noted with reference

to the procriminal friend strategy. The review of the literature should not be interpreted to indicate that group counselling approaches with offenders are generally ineffective. There are many examples that groups may be effective when systematic training procedures are employed (Andrews, 1974). Several of these studies are noted in later sections of this paper. Further, as noted, Truax, Wargo and Volksdorf (1970) found that the value of groups may depend upon the interpersonal skills of the leader. Additionally, the negative effects may be evident with only certain types of offenders. Among Grant & Grant's (1959) high maturity offenders, there was a tendency for those living limits supervised by the "better" supervisors to be characterized by better outcome. The high maturity offenders were ones who, presumably, expressed and reinforced more anticriminal values and belief i.e. an anticriminal friend.

In view of the negative findings on the procriminal friend approach, some mention must also be made of two current trends in correctional practice: the involvement of peer helpers and ex-offenders in programs, i.e. the self-help movement. While neither have yet to be subjected to controlled evaluations, the A.A. and Synanon models are very successful with an as yet unspecified proportion of clients. It is probably the case that some peers and some ex-cons are able to develop "better" relationships with some clients under certain program conditions than are some professionals or some

volunteers. The parameters of the differential abilities of peers, ex-inmates, volunteers and professionals to form counselling or helping relationships with correctional clients have yet to be empirically established. In fact, the results of one small-sample investigation of the differential impact of indigenous and non-indigenous workers within an experimental analogue of correctional counselling suggests extreme caution to be exercised in the use of indigenous workers (Tully, 1977). The studies reviewed in the next two sections of this paper would suggest that, whatever the situation on the relationship dimension, the characteristics of any helper on the more directive dimensions will be crucial in determining impact. The successful self-help programs are likely those ones which develop procedures to ensure that the peer counsellors, and/or the ex-inmate, model and reinforce anticriminal and prosocial behaviour patterns.

The discussion of the procriminal friend approach has reviewed a number of studies. In fact, not one of the studies has involved the use of procriminal volunteers. The author is not aware of any systematic evaluations of volunteer programs which explicitly programmed opportunities for the development of a close relationship between a client and a volunteer who actively took a procriminal attitudinal and behavioural stance. (It appears that such programs have only been seriously introduced by professionals in corrections). In fact, descriptions of recruitment, screening and training programs for volunteers typically emphasize the need to provide the client

with "good" models. One point of our review of the procriminal friend studies, is that the friendship model of voluntary action has yet to catch up with the actual practices within volunteer programs. The friendship model or theory of voluntary action should no longer simply emphasize the "good relationship" but also those aspects of the volunteer's behaviour, or those aspects of the volunteer-client exchanges, which are likely to determine what is learned as a function of the "good relationship".

There are two sets of studies which speak directly to the question of the volunteer not only as "friend" but as a representative of anticriminal attitudes and behaviour. Both sets of studies may be integrated within the framework of differential association theory (Sutherland and Cressey, 1966), that is, as examinations of the conditions under which association with noncriminal others may produce changes in criminal attitudes and behaviour. The first set corresponds to the one-to-one supervisory role for volunteers in probation. The second set has to do with volunteers as coparticipants in group counselling with prison residents. In both sets, there has been an attempt at the conceptual and empirical levels to isolate the general conditions by which a relationship with noncriminal others may influence criminal attitudes and/or behaviour.

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The Volunteer as a Controlling Friend

The most explicit empirical and theoretical analysis of the friendship model in probation supervision is Howell's (1972) comparison

of volunteer and professional probation officers. Howell applied Homan's theory of elementary social behaviour, specifically, the following principles: (a) with increases in frequency of interaction between two or more persons, their liking of each other will increase; (b) with increases in interaction and liking, the more alike the attitudes and behaviour of the two persons will become; (c) in a situation in which one person has authority over another, the relationships among interaction, liking, attitudes and behaviour change may not hold because of the constraints placed upon interaction. While not made explicit by Howell, it is clear that he has specified one set of principles by which differential association may operate. The assumption is that the probation supervisor, (professional or volunteer) is the noncriminal other and that his/her prosocial and anticriminal attitudes and behaviour will be acquired by the client within the context of their relationship.

Howell's (1972) use of Homan's theory is a particularly good example of how service and theory may be mutually profitable. Howell has taken those elements which are most frequently cited as the positive factors associated with volunteer supervision and placed them within a more general social psychological orientation. That is, volunteer supervisors, freed from the role constraints and obligations of the professional, are able to see clients more frequently, are more free to develop a friendship and are less likely to be viewed as an authority figure.

Relative to the clients of the professionals, the clients of volunteers did interact with their supervisors more frequently, did like their supervisors more, were liked by their supervisors, and did report their supervisors as less authoritarian. However, there were no statistically reliable differences between volunteer and professional supervisors in terms of impact on client attitudes and behaviour. It is noted that Howell's finding is not an isolated one. Kiessling (1972) reported large differences on rate of interaction with clients between volunteers and professionals yet also found no differences in outcome. As well, the literature shows rather clearly that simple size of professional caseload, and hence frequency of contacts with clients, does not influence outcome in any necessary way (Warren, 1972).

A critical question from the point of view of Homan's theory and for the friendship model of volunteerism, is that of the relationships among interaction, liking, attitude and behaviour change, with authority as a control variable. Howell divided his cases into those who perceived their supervisors as authoritarian (i.e. above the mean on authority ratings) and those who reported their supervisors to be less authoritarian (i.e. below the mean rating). Separate correlations among interaction, liking, attitude and behaviour change, were reported for the high and low authoritarian cases. Contrary to the predictions from Homan's theory and a simple friendship model, the strongest positive

correlations between interaction and liking and between each and the outcome measures were found when authority was high. That is, when the supervisor (volunteer or professional) was perceived as an authority figure then high rates of interaction and high levels of liking were tending to be associated with positive client changes on the attitude and behaviour indices.

An examination of Howell's measure of authoritarianism is instructive. The items reflected the extent to which the client saw the supervisor as one who expected to be listened to and as one who would apply formal sanctions if violations occurred. The suggestion is that a positive relationship (i.e. high rates of interaction and mutual liking) will be effective when prosocial and anticriminal expectations are clear and the consequences of failure to meet the expectations are clear. Within the context of social learning and counselling theory, if a relationship has been established, then the volunteer is in a position to serve as a model and/or as an effective reinforcer. However, what is learned depends upon the behaviour modeled and the behaviours reinforced.

Howell's (1972) ground breaking research needs to be followed by studies in which the key variables of interaction, liking and authority are explicitly manipulated under controlled conditions. While the clients of professionals and volunteers were carefully

matched on relevant variables, the measures of the key theoretical variables were based on participant reports. We do not know to what extent other subject factors may have been varying along with interaction rates, liking, and authority and hence have been influencing outcome.

There are very few studies which have examined the authority aspect of correctional work in any systematic way. Our review of the procriminal friend approach did refer to the Craft, Stephenson and Granger (1964) study in which an authoritarian regime was more effective than a peer-oriented approach. A few other studies are reviewed in the CaVIC paper on authority (Andrews, 1977). One study is particularly noteworthy in that it helps to make the point that the use of authority need not be equated with domination of the client. Scheier et. al. (1973) found that the personality trait of dominance was negatively related to a volunteer's success with a probationer. The maintenance of an open and warm relationship with a client need not be incompatible with the exercise of authority, and the exercise of authority need not involve interpersonal domination.

The Volunteer as an Anticriminal Friend in Group Counselling

The Assumptions

The coparticipant role for volunteers involves establishing groups composed of equal numbers of citizen volunteers and prison

residents, i.e. Community Groups (Andrews, Brown & Wormith, 1974). Research on the role has been guided by three major theoretical orientations; (a) a behavioural reformulation of differential association theory (Burgess & Akers, 1966), (b) social learning theory (Bandura, 1969), and (c) counselling theory (Carkhuff, 1969, 1971). The initial study (Andrews, Young, Wormith, Searle & Kouri, 1973) found that residents in Community Groups showed positive changes in attitudes toward the law and tolerance for law violations relative to residents in the routine prison programs. Later studies have explored the assumptions underlying volunteer participation. The key theoretical assumptions have been that positive changes in criminal attitudes and beliefs depend upon two factors:

- i) the exposure and reinforcement of anticriminal patterns and
- ii) the quality of interpersonal relationships established within the groups. The presence of volunteers in groups was thought to

- i) increase the rate and quality of anticriminal expressions and
- ii) to enhance interpersonal relationships within groups.

Four sets of data relate to the matter of volunteers enhancing the expression of anticriminal positions within groups. First, six separate studies of Community Groups have confirmed that the volunteers, relative to the prison residents, have more positive attitudes towards the law and judicial process, show less acceptance of rationalizations for law violations and lower identification with criminal others. Secondly, scores on the attitude scales are of some known validity in that they relate to self-reported

delinquency (Wilkins, 1975) and to recidivism (Andrews, Kiessling, Russell & Grant, 1977). Thirdly, content analysis of discussions within Community Groups has confirmed that volunteers present arguments which are less procriminal than are the arguments of prison residents (Andrews, Farmer & Hughes, 1975). Fourth, Wormith (1977) has recently confirmed that within Community Groups the prosocial arguments are approved while the antisocial arguments tend to be disapproved. Such demonstrations were necessary to confirm that the Community Group format provided a paradigm within which to explore the treatment implications of behavioural reformulations of differential association theory.

Three sets of data relate to the matter of volunteers enhancing relationships within groups. First, the previously cited studies have confirmed that, relative to the offenders, the volunteers are more accepting of self and others and more empathic on self-report measures of personality. Secondly, an analysis of interaction process within the groups, showed that volunteers made significantly more friendly statements and relatively fewer unfriendly statements than did the prison residents (Andrews, Daigle-Zinn, Wormith, Kennedy & Nelson, 1976). Thirdly, one study (Andrews, Farmer & Hughes, 1975) compared resident reports on relationships within groups, with and without volunteers as coparticipants. Within at least one prison, residents reported more positive relationships when the volunteers were present.

Thus, there is fairly consistent evidence overall in support of the volunteer as a representative of anticriminal attitude and behavioural patterns and as one likely to form high quality relationships with clients. It is of some interest then to see i) how opportunity for the expression of anticriminal positions influences impact on the client, ii) how the interpersonal skills of the volunteer influence impact, and iii) how the anticriminal and relationship factors jointly influence outcome.

The Anticriminal Factor

Cressey's (1955) outline of the treatment implications of differential association theory stressed the notion that the focus of a group program should be on reformation and not matters of personal or recreational interest. Similarly, a behavioural reformulation of the theory would suggest that it is not simple association with noncriminal others in and of itself but the opportunity for exposure to and reinforcement of anticriminal attitudes and behaviour. To investigate the matter, Andrews, Wormith, Kennedy and Daigle-Zinn (1977) randomly assigned volunteers and offenders to one of two types of Community Groups; one, a discussion condition with a focus on the personal, social and moral aspects of the law and the second, a social-recreational condition. Within each condition, the volunteers differed from the prison residents on both criminal and interpersonal orientation. However, the discussion format encouraged the exposure of attitudinal

and behavioural patterns with reference to the law and law violations while the recreation condition did not ensure that anticriminal patterns would be expressed. Within both conditions, leaders were asked to encourage the development of warm and open relationships among participants. The results were strong, clear and an inter-institution replication was imbedded in the design. In each of two different institutional samples, the discussion condition was associated with improved attitudes toward the law and judicial process. Within one institution, the discussion condition was also associated with decreased tolerance for law violations and decreased alienation.

The Relationship Factor

The discussion-recreation study held the liking and likeability characteristics of the volunteers constant and varied opportunity for exposure of procriminal-anticriminal attitudes and behaviour. In another study, the criminal orientation of the volunteers was held constant and the interpersonal skills of the volunteers varied systematically. Andrews, Daigle-Zinn, Wormith, Kennedy and Nelson (1976) formed two types of Community Discussion Groups. One set of groups included volunteers who were judged by their peers to be functioning at high levels interpersonally, i.e. at high levels in terms of interpersonal openness, warmth and understanding. The second set of groups included volunteers who were judged to be functioning at lower levels interpersonally. The two sets of

volunteers did not differ on the attitudinal measures of criminal orientation but both sets of volunteers were less criminally oriented than were the offender samples. The effects of the interpersonal skill level of volunteers were examined on i) participant reports of quality of relationships within the groups, ii) interaction process and iii) offender attitude change.

As expected, participants in the high functioning groups reported significantly more open communication and higher levels of mutual trust within their groups than did participants in the low functioning groups. An interesting difference in interaction process occurred on task-orientation variables. Within the high functioning groups, it was the volunteers who were directing and leading the group. Within the low functioning groups, it was the offenders who were tending to lead the groups. Finally, the offenders in association with high functioning volunteers showed more positive changes on attitudes towards the law and judicial process and decreased tolerance for law violations relative to the offenders in association with low functioning volunteers.

The Anticriminal and Relationship Factors in Combination

Considering the discussion-recreation and interpersonal skill studies, it is clear that exposure of anticriminal patterns and the relationship factors are both important. Of major interest in the development of the "anticriminal friend" model is an examination

of the correlations between offender perceived relationship factors and attitude change under conditions in which the anticriminal message is present versus not present. The suggestion is that a relationship will set the stage for learning to occur but what is learned or the direction of change depends upon the messages exposed.

The Andrews, Farmer and Hughes (1975) study of group counseling included independent measures of participant perceptions of the quality of relationships. It was previously noted, in the discussion of the "procriminal friend" strategy, that offenders who reported high levels of trust, likeability and participation within a group composed only of offenders showed negative change on attitudes towards the law and increased tolerance for law violations. Within the Community Group, offender ratings of relationships were correlated with outcome in a strikingly different manner. Recall that the volunteers' expressions were shown to be less procriminal than those of the offenders. With these conditions present, offender ratings of relationship factors were either independent of outcome or, as in the case of interpersonal openness, correlated with prosocial gains on attitudes toward the law and tolerance for law violations. The finding was evident even when statistical controls were introduced for any generalized tendency to "fake good" on the tests.

A similar trend was evident in the comparison of Community Groups with high and low functioning volunteers. Offenders in association with high functioning volunteers showed the greatest decreases in tolerance for law violations when perceived warmth and sense of participation were high. Offenders in the low functioning groups, the groups which were more highly directed by the offenders, presented significantly different correlations between attitude change and the warmth and participation ratings.

In summary, the Howell study and Community Group studies provide support for differential association theory as a general statement on how criminal attitude and behavioural patterns may be acquired or altered and as a theoretical rationale for volunteer participation in correctional programs. For the first time, elements of differential association theory have been tested under controlled conditions. The voluminous literature associated with differential association theory is largely composed of speculation, case studies, and surveys of some concurrent but rarely predictive validity. Under controlled and specific program conditions, the patterns of association between offenders and nonoffenders were manipulated and effects on criminal attitudes monitored. The program parameters do place certain limitations on the extent to which the findings may be generalized but this does not reduce the value of the studies. A basic problem with the major theories of crime and delinquency is that they are stated in such vague and general terms that only with the specification

of the program, the setting, the participant and the dependent variables will the validity and utility be determined. (Andrews, Wormith, Kennedy & Daigle-Zinn, 1977).

Some Additional Issues

The "anticriminal friend" strategy, adopted from differential association theory, is only beginning to be explored and a range of questions remain unexamined. For example, within the Community Group format, Wormith (1977) investigated the important question of how attitude or value shifts may be converted into prosocial behaviour changes through self-management training. Cressey (1955) appears to have assumed that "attitudes, values and beliefs" regarding criminality are the crucial factors and behaviour change may be expected given changes at that level. The current behavioural literature provides many examples to the contrary but also suggests some interesting self-management mechanisms by which attitudes and values may come to control behaviour (Mahoney, 1972). Within this system, the offender is viewed as a morally responsible person, one capable of monitoring and evaluating his own conduct with reference to acquired standards.

Cressey's (1955) application of differential association contains another highly dubious deduction. Cressey assumed that criminal behaviour, attitudes, beliefs, and values are not only the products of groups but also the properties of groups. Such rhetoric,

which persists today, can only divert attention away from the crucial questions of individual responsibility and maintain an ineffective focus upon group dynamics. Cressey (1955) also suggested that the reformation effort must be directed at groups rather than individuals. Our on-going evaluation of the Community Group format includes a comparison with a one-volunteer-to-one-offender condition. (Andrews and Daigle-Zinn, 1976) The initial results suggested that not only are relationships enhanced under the one-to-one format but that client change is greater than that found within the group format. It appears that the one-to-one format reduced the opportunity for peer expression and reinforcement of procriminal patterns while enhancing communication with an "anticriminal" other.

A major task is further specification of the processes of learning involved in differential association. Sutherland suggested that differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity. Behavioural reformulations, or differential association-reinforcement perspectives (Burgess & Akers, 1966; Adams, 1973), suggest that the strength of criminal learning is a function of the amount, frequency, and probability of its reinforcement and the condition of its state variables.

Andrews, Brown and Wormith (1974) speculated upon the processes evident within the Community Group format and suggested that association with noncriminal others will produce anticriminal shifts

in attitudes and behaviour when association occurs in a situation in which (a) alternatives to criminal patterns are presented in concrete detail, (b) the reinforcement contingencies associated with behavioural prescriptions and proscriptions are specified and favour the anticriminal and, (c) social reinforcement (verbal and gestural) is differentially applied in favour of anticriminal positions. Factors 'a' and 'b' relate to conditions under which instructions, suggestions, advice or other verbally expressed positions may exert attitudinal and behavioural control. They were tested in part in the discussion-recreational association study.

Factor 'c' was related to the interpersonal skill level of volunteers. The interpersonally skilled volunteer was thought to be one who (i) emitted social reinforcement, (ii) whose withholding of approval would, in fact, function as punishment, (iii) could express disapproval without eliciting aggressive and/or escape responses and, (iv) one who, as both a recipient and source of reinforcement, would serve as an effective model. The results of the high vs low functioning volunteer study suggested still another means by which the high functioning volunteer might enhance anticriminal learning. It appeared that the high functioning volunteers were more actively engaged in directing group activities than were the low functioning volunteers.

The analysis of the volunteer as an actively anticriminal friend is consistent with current thinking within relationship models of counselling. Truax and Mitchell (1971) have suggested that the high functioning counsellor does not deliver warmth and understanding on a noncontingent basis. Rather, the levels of positive regard and interest displayed depend upon the content of the client's statements. Further, the high functioning counsellor tends to engage in more acts of confrontation and direction-giving than do the less interpersonally skilled counsellors. Carkhuff (1971) now argues that effective helping depends upon two conditions: the establishment of a "good relationship" and the application of direct training or behaviour change technology. Certainly, Rogers' (1957) statement that the "necessary and sufficient" conditions for constructive change resided in the relationship between the helper and the client has served to stimulate research and service, but must now be replaced by statements which incorporate references to how and what is learned given that a relationship has been established.

30

The Skilled, Knowledgeable and Socially Influential Friend

The Behavioural Perspective

Reviewing the behavioural perspective, the offender's illegal acts are under the control of antecedent and outcome events which favour the emission of criminal behaviour over noncriminal behaviour. We have seen that association with an anticriminal other influences

criminal attitudes and behaviour when the other actually expresses anticriminal views or expectations and that changes are greatest when the other is "liked" or able to form a positive relationship with the offender. We have assumed that being liked or interpersonally effective enhances the others' value as a model and as reinforcing agent. There was also the suggestion, although undeveloped in this paper, that changes in values and attitudes may be converted into behaviour change through self-reinforcement.

At the community level, we are interested in how position in family, peer groups, schools and employment settings might be related to differential reinforcement and hence the occurrence of delinquent acts. Certainly, we will have no difficulty with the case of families or peer groups which are decidedly procriminal. We have already noted the findings from studies in which enhanced interpersonal functioning within criminal groups resulted in increased evidence of delinquent attitudes and behaviour. Our interest here is in the conditions under which participation in family and peer groups, and in schools and employment may reduce delinquent or criminal activity.

Two processes appear plausible and have been identified as factors in various theories of delinquent and criminal behaviour. Full participation in family, peer groups, school and employment results in reinforcement at several levels: stimulation, inter-

personal approval, affection, prestige, money, etc. The provision of such reinforcing events removes or prevents one of the motivational conditions for delinquent and criminal behaviour from being established, i.e. deprivation. If one is receiving high levels of stimulation, approval, money, etc., there is low probability of exploration of criminal alternatives. With deprivation, there is the additional element of frustration. When reinforcing events are expected and not delivered, frustration responses may cue and energize aggressive and criminal behaviour. The deprivation-frustration process is the behavioural analogue of the "anomie" approaches to delinquent and criminal behaviour (Merton, 1957).

The second process is that associated with containment theories in sociology (Schur, 1973, p. 157). Behaviourally, the process is that of negative punishment. A primary mechanism by which the community sub-systems may reduce the probability of a criminal act is by withdrawing or postponing reinforcing events should criminal behaviour occur.

With a focus on community control over delinquent behaviour, the emphasis shifts from the volunteer as "anticriminal or controlling friend" to the volunteer as one who acts to help place the offender within rewarding community settings. For community control to be established, the offender must be rewarded for behaviours appropriate to the system and deviant behaviour must result in the

removal or postponement of the rewards. As noted elsewhere (Kiessling, Andrews & Farmer, 1976), the simple promise of rewards in a setting in which rewards have not previously been presented is a weak promise. Similarly, the threat to withdraw rewards in a setting within which rewards have not been presented is a weak threat. For behaviour to be rewarded, it must be emitted and to be emitted it must be acquired.

Correctional Practices with a Community Focus

The role of the volunteer (or the professional) reduces to some combination of the following: (a) assistance to the client in the acquisition of values, attitudes, behaviours and skills which are normative (i.e. rewarded) in family, peer, recreation, school and employment settings, (b) assisting in the placement of the client within those community settings which will reward the personal, interpersonal, social, educational and employment skills exhibited, and (c) monitoring the client-system exchanges to ensure the skills are being emitted and reinforced and that, for a short time at least, the withdrawal of rewards is immediate should criminal patterns emerge and that the reinstatement of rewards occurs when criminal patterns cease. With continued reinforcement within community settings, we might expect value and attitudinal shifts which would permit the operation of self-reinforcement contingent upon the extent to which the individual meets acquired standards of conduct.

There are many specific roles for volunteers. If personal factors such as excessive worrying or anxiety are interfering with full functioning in the community, then the therapist role might be appropriate. If deficits are evident in terms of interpersonal and social skills, then direct trainer and coaching roles may be indicated. Tutoring and teacher roles are indicated when academic and employment skills present a problem, i.e. limit the client's access to rewards in the community. Advocate and broker type roles are appropriate when the problem is to gain access to, or entry into, skill training agencies such as schools or into employment settings. If the client has gained entry into a system but the system is not delivering the rewards in appropriate ways then system changes may be required. Such environmental facilitation may take the form of contingency contracting with influential persons within the system or other forms of "persuasion".

There is no question that volunteers are currently involved in many of the roles noted (Davies, Jorrie, Matson & Scheier, 1973). However, systematic empirical evaluations of the various roles are only beginning to appear. Berger et. al. (1976) reported that a family-oriented group counselling program and a tutorial program were ineffective. This evidence is not crucial since we know that not all group and training methods are equally effective. A complete analysis of the volunteer as a socially skilled or

knowledgeable friend and as a socially powerful or influential friend will require studies with theoretical considerations at at least two levels. One, there is the identification of variables associated with effective training and/or effective system manipulation. Secondly, there is a need for studies which link demonstrated enhancement of social and vocational skills with changes in criminal behaviour. As the following review of a few relevant studies will suggest, a broadly based social learning theory such as that of Bandura's (1969), holds promise for the construct validation of the socially skilled friend and socially influential friend approaches.

Sarason and Ganzer (1973) compared modeling and group discussions as a means of increasing delinquent awareness of what constitutes socially acceptable and effective behaviour in interpersonal, educational, and employment settings. The leaders were graduate students who modelled the effective behaviours and directed role-playing sessions or lead discussion groups on related topics. Relative to a comparison condition, both social training conditions were associated with positive attitude and behaviour change as well as reduced recidivism.

Persons (1966, 1967) compared psychotherapy with routine incarceration for delinquent boys. The therapy technique incorporated an early emphasis on the establishment of warm interpersonal relationships with increasing use of directive training procedures

such as differential reinforcement of appropriate and inappropriate behaviours, role-playing and discrimination between acceptable and non-acceptable behaviour. Persons reported large and significant effects on attitudes, personality and behaviour within the institution as well as post discharge adjustment. Again, the leaders were not volunteers but Persons found no difference in outcome as a function of the experience of the leaders.

Another example demonstrates the value of close links with theory and serves to show how intervention may focus not simply upon the individual offender but upon a system as a whole. Alexander and Parsons(1973) compared a behaviourally oriented family intervention program with more traditional forms of family therapy. They found that the training of families in positive reinforcement, in clarity of communications, and in contingency contracting was associated with improved family interaction and reduced recidivism.

Hunt and Azrin's (1973) community-reinforcement approach to alcoholism is an example of how the training and environmental facilitation roles may apply to a range of skills and settings. They set out to establish two conditions: (i) increased density of reinforcement in family, social-recreational and employment settings and, (ii) arrangements such that reinforcement would be withdrawn if drinking occurred. The "time-out" procedure had positive effects on client functioning relative to a routine

hospital program for alcoholics. The Hunt and Azrin (1973) approach is one which simply must be extended to delinquent clients. The use of volunteers is indicated since the degree of intervention required would make the use of professionals economically unfeasible. While the relevant literature has only been touched upon, it is clear that the trainer and environmental facilitator roles have great potential in volunteer programs, particularly when linked to a social learning theory which suggests both effective training methods and reasonable targets.

A Field-Descriptive Study of Supervisory Process
and Outcome in Probation Services

The theoretical perspective evident throughout this paper served to guide the empirical evaluation of the Ottawa Criminal Court Volunteer Program. Attitudinal and behavioural measures were employed to examine the five dimensions of correctional counselling i.e. authority, the anticriminal, problem-solving, environmental facilitation and quality of relationship (Andrews, Kiessling, Russell & Grant, 1977). Overall, the findings were supportive. For example, the most effective probation officers, volunteer or professional, were those who were interpersonally skilled as well as representative of prosocial and anticriminal attitudes and behaviour patterns. Probationers assigned to such officers showed gains on attitudinal indices and less recidivism relative to probationers assigned to officers who presented other pretested attitude and personality patterns.

A series of examinations of officer behaviour during audio-taped supervisory sessions also provide general support for the validity of the correctional strategies and the underlying theoretical perspective. Probationers whose officer engaged them in high level reviews of the probation order (i.e. the authority dimension), recidivated at lower rates than those who were not so engaged by their officers. Probationers whose volunteers modelled and reinforced anticriminal expressions recidivated at lower rates than did probationers exposed to officers who expressed and/or reinforced procriminal patterns. Similarly, the clients of officers who engaged in high level problem-solving with a community focus recidivated at relatively low rates. The findings on the relationship indices were more complex, as the present review would predict. The direction and degree of association between quality of relationship indices and recidivism depended upon the level of the more directive aspects of supervision being offered, the type of client and, the specific index of interpersonal relationships employed.

The research report of Andrews, Kiessling, et. al. (1977) notes the caution required when interpreting correlational data such as that involved in the analyses of the audio-taped sessions. However, the consistencies evident with the available field experimental literature cannot be ignored. That literature has been reviewed in part here and in more detail in each of the CaVIC reports which focus on the separate dimensions of correctional

counselling. Briefly, we will note that Andrews, Kiessling, et al. (1977) compared volunteer and professional supervision in a field experiment. Volunteers did emphasize the relationship dimension more than did the professionals and they were significantly more effective with certain types of probationers than were the professionals. Ku et al. (undated) matched client needs to officer style and they too found volunteer supervisors more effective than professional supervisors.

Summary and Conclusions


The construct validity of volunteer programs was identified as an important component of evaluation. It was suggested that links with behaviour theory, counselling theory and criminology would be profitable for both service and theory. The relationship model of helping was reviewed with reference to investigations of the group dynamics and relationship approaches in corrections. The findings were decidedly negative. Two sets of studies on the volunteer as an explicitly anticriminal friend were reviewed and there was evidence that some understanding of the mechanisms involved in differential association was emerging. The potential of a community reinforcement approach to criminal behaviour was noted and identified as a priority area for research on voluntary action programs. Finally, a study which incorporated simultaneous evaluation of each of the five aspects of correctional counselling was briefly described and the findings were consistent with the findings of other studies.

The general introduction to this paper noted with some discouragement the distinctly atheoretical perspectives of recent reviews of the correctional literature. The suggestion was that attention to theory would help to organize the previous findings so that conclusions could move beyond rhetoric and platitudes. Adams (1975) has shown that the expectancies of reviewers have been incredibly naive. Palmer (1975) has documented their failure to consider differential treatment hypotheses. We hope that the present review has documented the value of attending to the theoretically-relevant continuities which exist among studies in the evaluation literature. Hopefully any future policy experts who cry that "nothing works" or "leave the kids alone" will be met with requests for specifics on the practices, settings, clients, and indices to **which** they refer.

More positively, we hope that the voluntary action programmers will recognize the continuities which exist with professional programs and will work jointly toward enhanced understanding of criminal conduct through establishment of the construct validity of their endeavours. The simple friendship model of voluntary action is as inadequate as is the increasing movement toward case processing models in professional programs. We close with our own bit of rhetoric: correctional counsellors, paid or unpaid, will be truly professional when they work from a coherent body of knowledge and an associated repertoire of skills. Such a body of knowledge will not spring magically from the management and policy sciences

nor from political and economic analyses; it will develop slowly from conceptually-based empirical examinations of correctional practices in relation to criminal conduct.

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