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IMPLEMENTING NONPROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS IN HUMAN SERVICES.
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DESCRIPTORS- *NONPROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL, *PROGRAM PLANNING, UNEMPLOYED, *SOCIAL SERVICES, COMMUNITY AGENCIES (PUBLIC), EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, ON THE JOB TRAINING, PROGRAM GUIDES,

SPECIFIC PROCESSES FOR UTILIZING NONPROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES IN HUMAN SERVICES ARE PRESENTED. THE BACKGROUND, CURRENT STATUS, AND PROBLEMS ARE DISCUSSED. THE ELEMENTS CONSIDERED ARE RECRUITMENT, SCREENING AND SELECTION, TRAINING, PLACEMENT, SUPERVISION, UPGRADING, AND EVALUATION. EXAMPLES OF NONPROFESSIONAL POSITIONS INCLUDE THE CASE AIDE IN SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS, THE COMMUNITY (NEIGHBORHOOD) HEALTH AIDE, THE SCHOOL AIDE, THE GROUP AIDE IN YOUTH AGENCY PROGRAMS, AND THE HOUSING AIDE. A JOB CONTINUUM MODEL SHOWS HOW THE CREATION OF NONPROFESSIONAL JOBS CAN PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE CURRENTLY UNTRAINED, ALLOW THEM TO ADVANCE TO NEW LEVELS OF SPECIALIZATION, AND RESTRUCTURE THE ROLE OF THE PROFESSIONAL SO HE FUNCTIONS AT A LEVEL APPROPRIATE TO HIS TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE--(1) THE NONPROFESSIONAL WHO PERFORMS CLERICAL, SUPPORTIVE, AND ROUTINE ACTIVITIES, (2) THE SPECIALIST OR UPGRADED NONPROFESSIONAL WHO PERFORMS TASKS THAT SPECIFICALLY REALLOCATE AND REDEFINE PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES, AND (3) THE "NEW CAREER LINE" EMPLOYEE WHO WORKS WITH THE PROFESSIONALS ON A TEAM BASIS. TO AFFORD PERMANENT STATUS TO NONPROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS AND MAKE THEM INTEGRAL PARTS OF THE TOTAL HUMAN SERVICES SPECTRUM, (1) LARGE SCALE PROGRAMS MUST BE INSTITUTED IN PUBLIC AGENCIES SUCH AS HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, (2) SMALLER DEMONSTRATION AND RESEARCH EFFORTS MUST BE FUNDED TO EXPLORE NEW APPROACHES FOR DEALING WITH PROBLEMS, (3) TRAINING SYSTEMS FOR ALL PERSONNEL AT ALL LEVELS MUST BE CONSTRUCTED, (4) LEGISLATION SUPPORTING THE TRAINING MUST BE CONTINUED, AND (5) CERTAIN LIMITING FACTORS MUST BE EXPOSED AND REMEDIES PROPOSED. THIS DOCUMENT IS AVAILABLE FOR $1.00 FROM CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF UNEMPLOYED YOUTH, GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, 853 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003. (PS)

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Aaron Schmais

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IMPLEMENTING NONPROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS IN HUMAN SERVICES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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This publication is part of a project conducted by the N.Y.U. Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth under a grant provided by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop curriculum materials for program planners and operators.

SUMMER 1967

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CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

PURPOSE

The Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth of the Graduate School of Social Work reflects fundamental policies of New York University to reach out and contribute to the progress and development of the community.

The Center engages in a variety of activities designed to contribute to knowledge of the multiple problems faced by unemployed youth and to assist in the planning and administration of programs for such youth. By facilitating the interaction between practitioners and academic specialists, the Center hopes to improve understanding and skill in each area of concern resulting from the unemployment of young people. The activities of the Center are supported with funds provided by New York University, The Office of Economic Opportunity, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the U.S. Department of Labor.

PROGRAM

Research. The Center is currently completing a three-year study of changes in work attitudes and performance of youth enrolled in the Neighborhood Youth Corps in New York City.

Curriculum Materials. The Center develops training materials primarily through workshops and institutes, participated in by planners and operators of youth-work programs among federal, regional, state and community agencies. The curriculum materials are intended to serve the training needs of personnel engaged in youth-work programs at all levels.

Technical Assistance. The Center offers technical assistance in the planning, operation and assessment of Comprehensive Employment Programs and Scheuer nonprofessional programs for selected metropolitan areas.

Training. The Center designs and conducts training programs for staff personnel of the Bureau of Work Programs.

IMPLEMENTING NONPROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS IN HUMAN SERVICES

INTRODUCTION

The employment of nonprofessional personnel has grown to a point that the formal consideration of hiring those with less than traditional credentials and experience has become quite commonplace. A considerable amount of material has been written describing general approaches,[1] particular program experiences,[2] various program aspects,[3] and critical comments[4] about nonprofessional employment. Despite this outpouring, material that attempts to systematically describe the mechanics of implementing overall nonprofessional programs is still lacking. This paper attempts to detail the specific processes whereby those charged with operating programs employing nonprofessionals can effectively implement them. As such, the following is likely to be viewed as a manual. However, to the degree that a manual suggests a set of instructions that can be easily applied, the following material will prove unsatisfactory. In fact, one of the major themes of this paper is the need to tailor and devise special approaches that meet particular circumstances.

Further, a good deal of the current problems faced by nonprofessional programs results from the application of common program activities to varied and distinctly different program goals. This paper is better viewed as a training and background document, one that endeavors to present a range of information that can contribute to planning and choices in action, when applied to specific situations.

There are a number of complicating factors that must be noted since they are important in determining the manner in which content is treated and organized in this paper. No subject as broad as the employment of the nonprofessional in human services, with it's many implications for employment, human services, professional policies and practices, and resident involvement, could be covered fully in one document. The emphasis in this paper is on those program elements that are vital and generic to all nonprofessional programs. Chapter IV, PROGRAM ELEMENTS, deals with the Recruitment, Selection, Training, Placement, Supervision, Upgrading and Evaluation of nonprofessional programs. Since the intended readers of this paper will vary and include those from large cities and rural areas, public and pri-

1. See, for example: Pearl, Arthur; and Frank Reissman, Eds. New Careers for the Poor, New York City. Free Press. 1965.
2. See, for example: Shaffer, Anatole; and Harry Specht. Training the Poor for New Careers. Monograph No. 5 Richmond California. Contra Costa Council of Community Services, 1966.
   Benjamin, Judith; Marcia Freedman; and Edith Lyndon. Pros and Cons: New Roles for Nonprofessionals in Corrections. Washigton D.C. U.S. Dept. of H.E.W., Welfare Administration, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, 1966.
3. See, for example: Fishman, Jacob; and others. Training for New Careers. Washington, D.C. Howard University, Center for Youth and Community Studies. 1965.
4. See, for example; Barr, Sherman; Some Observations on the Practice of Indigenous Nonprofessional Workers, New York City. Mobilization For Youth, Inc. 1966.

vate agencies, large and small programs, and at the same time have jurisdiction over a wide diversity of job functions, these program elements are described in a general way. However, the descriptions are detailed in the hope that the reader, in addition to availing himself of material that is immediately usable, will become cognizant of what a more complete program is like.

Secondly, because of the climate urging speed that has surrounded the implementation of these programs, there appears to be an absence of historical context and in turn, perspective. Since the particular directions taken by nonprofessional programs, including their assumptions, goals and problems, are partly derived from the past, Chapter I draws attention to some historical precedents and to the more recent background of the nonprofessional "movement" in order to better understand the present.

Thirdly, although the major focus of this paper is on the implementation of nonprofessional programs (Chapters III and IV), there are certain program issues that cannot be passed over. However, rather than a lengthy discussion and critical analysis of the nature and worth of nonprofessional programs, Chapter II concentrates on those issues that are relevant after the decision to employ nonprofessionals has been made.

Finally, it would be remiss for any paper dealing with nonprofessionals to not address the issue of next steps. However, the focus in Chapter V is not so much directed at broad policy formulations and change strategies as it is on what can be done with the framework of those programs conducted by those likely to be reading this paper.

The absence of definitive statements is deliberate. These are few aspects of these programs that are "right" or "wrong;" rather, there are decisions to be made that must be based on the goals of the program, the services offered, and the idealogy of those administering the program. The need to make these explicit and internally consistent is what determines how "right" or "wrong" the program or its aspects are.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any for me to join with those who express dissatisfaction with the term "nonprofessional." Of the many valid reasons for taking exception to its usage the one I find most convincing is that it ascribes a non-function to a person and instead of stating what he does, it identifies wl t he isn't. Nonetheless, the use of this term has become so widespread and accepted (however reluctantly), that it will be used throughout this paper. (Besides, other terms offered as substitutes seem equally undesirable). However, it is expected that agencies and institutions employing nonprofessionals will use the term only as a descriptive one for a general level of personnel and instead designate specific titles for nonpro-

fessionals based on job functions. Even as a general term, nonprofessional, should be used only to describe those whose work, although not "professional," is nevertheless within the broad context of professional functions or are supportive of professional functions. This should exclude janitors, secretaries, handymen, etc., who too often have been designated as nonprofessionals.

I. BACKGROUND

By 1965, considerable attention had already been focused on the most direct self-help effort of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO); employing poor people to work in Community Action Programs as paid nonprofessional employees. Within a very short period of time this "new weapon" was receiving wide and favorable publicity as one of the promising program thrusts in the War on Poverty. At the end of that year over 20,000 full and part-time nonprofessionals were employed and many people, including the OEO officials, predicted these numbers would increase substantially. Overwhelmingly, the increasing publicity given this effort was positive and moreover encouraged wide adaption of the hiring of the poor to work with the poor. Some observers were moved to predict that the utilization of the poor as nonprofessionals could ultimately dwarf other anti-poverty measures and constitute one of the program's more lasting contributions. Others, estimated that eventually millions of people could be employed as nonprofessionals, would perform well, and as a result of their involvement aid professionals and that the service programs would undergo significant change.

One truism of this and other program innovations, is that they do not suddenly spring forth without any prior history and experience, and instead, are rooted in the past with a history that provides a meaningful perspective about the present. Beyond this, the emergence of a program innovation, such as the use of poor as nonprofessionals, into prominence at a particular moment does not occur by chance but is a response to a variety of social problems and reform opportunities. The newly focussed attention and concern about nonprofessionals came at a time when, because of the activity of the civil rights movement, the rediscovery and attention paid to poverty and the repeated and documented criticisms of social services, the low-income community was both aroused and anxious for new participation opportunities. This, combined with new legislative possibilities,[5] particularly suited for involving low-income residents, and a useful history of prior

5. The Urban Renewal Program, Community Mental Health Services Act, The President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime and the Anti-Poverty program all stressed giving the poor a voice in the planning and carrying out of programs.

experience in using nonprofessionals, provided the back drop to their expanded use.

SELF-HELP PROGRAMS

Perhaps the oldest source of significant experience in using "nonprofessional" persons comes from the numerous self-help organizations[6] who stress the therapeutic effects obtained through the sharing of problems among persons who have them. These programs focus on the elements of recipriocity; of helping oneself by helping others. The major qualification for a person successfully engaged in helping others is the possession of a similar personal problem. It is especially important to note that the problems dealt with are often those that have been resistant to conventional treatment, e.g., drug addition. One of these, Synanon, a rehabilitative program for drug addicts is managed by ex-addicts who have been trained as therapeutic agents. Uniquely qualifying these "Synanonists" is their own lengthy addict experience and the powerful resocialization experience they underwent during training.

Embedded in this approach are several aspects that have remained as the core of some nonprofessional programs: the "helper" principle; the acceptance that nonprofessionals can effect significant change and accomplish certain therapeutic ends, by virtue of their special kind of inter-personal relations that the professional might not be able to; and the potency of human interaction when it comes from people who are not only interested and concerned, but who share or have experienced a similar set of problems.

YOUTH (DELINQUENCY) PROGRAMS

With but slight modifications, programs dealing with delinquent youth, have been willing to innovate in the kinds of personnel utilized along the lines of the self-help organizations. For example, around 1950, the New York City Youth Board's Street Club Project that worked directly with teenage gangs hired nonprofessional staff workers who did not possess the required professional credentials but who had themselves once been gang members. They reasoned that as former members of gangs, these workers would have significant advantages in being able to relate to and work with hostile, aggressive and acting out delinquent youngsters. Further, that the gang members would more easily accept direction from persons who previously had had similar experiences. It was significant that since this pro-

6. Estimates run as high as 265 separate organizations, such as Alcoholics Anonymous, Parents without Partners, Narcotics Anonymous, etc.

gram was sponsored by New York City the positions were made part of the Civil Service system and thereby afforded these nonprofessional workers a formal status and legitimacy.[7]

A similar program in Chicago sponsored by the YMCA attempted to go beyond the mere hiring of nonprofessional staff (former gang members), and institute some beginning career ladders for them. They initiated three positions; Assistant, Consultant and Senior Consultant, each marked by increase in salary and responsibilities.

In both cases, these programs demonstrated that indigenous nonprofessionals who were untrained and often poorly educated, and who had been gang members could function successfully as paid staff in difficult and important work.

A third example, taken from the N.Y. State Division for Youth, again confirms the existence of this potential. In 1963, this agency developed a Youth Worker Training Program intended to recruit and train college students as youth workers. The following year, however, they selected for the same program, several different sub-groups of trainees; college youths from low-income backgrounds, high school graduates and drop-outs from disadvantaged areas, and young people from Residential Treatment Centers operated by the Division. It was found that the rehabilitated offender was able to perform as well as those from the other groups and was more likely to be influenced and enabled to become a Youth Worker. So, what began as only a concern for the manpower shortage, resulted in the consideration of utilizing low-income and ex-offenders as nonprofessionals in Youth Work.[8]

In the examples cited up to this point the decision to utilize nonprofessionals, who themselves had been members of the "client system," was based on the conviction that they could accomplish more than their professional colleagues in certain kinds of work with certain kinds of populations. The last example introduces two new concepts that quickly became part of the nonprofessional ideology; the utilization of the the nonprofessional in an attempt to meet manpower shortages, and the recruitment of indigenous nonprofessionals who, although not necessarily members of the client system, are nevertheless close enough to it to be considered effective in working with members of that system.

7. Despite their becoming "bona-fide" civil service workers, eligible for all benefits thereof, it was an exempt position and therefore could not be used as a rung in a civil service career ladder. In addition, since the next upward step up in the hierachy demanded traditional credentials there was considerable job discontinuity between steps. Both these problems still affect many nonprofessional programs.

8. Gordon Edmund; and Gertrude Goldberg. Report on the Youth Worker Training Program. NYC. Yeshiva University; and New York State Division for Youth, Youth Research, 1965.

HUMAN SERVICES

It is in the more traditional areas of human services, e.g., education, public welfare, that the blending of several goals for using nonprofessionals became more apparent. For some, the increased employment of nonprofessionals represented a legitimization of trends in the use of different levels of personnel that had been existent for many years. For others, the introduction of the nonprofessional represented an attempt to cope with manpower shortages and the need to reestablish effective rapport with the "clients" of their service.

EDUCATION

Although educators have been aware of the short supply of teachers for some time, it was only recently that they employed auxilliary nonprofessional personnel as a means for improving, and making more effective and widespread, the use of existing teachers. Functioning largely as teacher aides and/or assistants, the efforts of these new personnel were directed at relieving the burdens of the teacher so that more time could be devoted to direct instructional work. This was an attempt to deal with manpower problems and as such, more "competent" women were recruited. However, with increasing attention paid to the educational problems of low-income children, there was a growing recognition that these children presented special problems that required special solutions. For example, it was felt that communication blocks existed between the middle class school (teachers, teaching style, and focal concerns) and the low-income child, especially when they were from a minority background. Explorations in hiring the parents of these children and of other members of the low-income community as nonprofessional teacher aides were begun in an effort to close these gaps and also establish better ties between the community and the school. Such jobs as school-community relations worker, team teaching aide, and family worker were specifically designed to introduce members of the low-income community into the school network.

The above experience represents two different thrusts: introducing the nonprofessional as a means for dealing with teacher shortages; and, introducing the nonprofessional as a means for bridging the gap between the institution and the community. In neither case was there an attempt to modify the basic function of the teacher. Even with the vast expansion in the use of teacher aides currently occurring as a result of federal legislation (Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title I) the primary focus is on teacher shortage and bringing new kinds of auxiliary personnel into the system.

PUBLIC WELFARE

In the case of public welfare, a variety of factors have occassioned the recent growth of nonprofessional utilization. Shortages of professionals, which has been chronic in nature was made even more critical as demands increased. For example, the 1962 Social Security Amendments that accounted for increases in social services, served also to compound the problem of shortages. In response, a number of social welfare agencies introduced case aides whose functions (like the teacher aide) were designed to relieve the professional by performing less demanding and more routine tasks. One indication of the concern for dealing with the problem of shortages through the introduction of the nonprofessional is the number of studies undertaken by social welfare agencies and their associations. For example,[9] the Advisory Committee on Social Welfare Education established a committee charged with projecting personnel needs and formulated two types of worker roles (professional and nonprofessional); the Bureau of Public Assistance (Educational Standards Project) launched a study of utilization of various levels of personnel in public assistance programs; The Children's Bureau has studied the use of case-aides; and the Medical Social Work Section of the National Association of Social Workers proposed a study to examine the specific tasks done by medical social workers to determine which components could be delegated to nonprofessional personnel.

More recently, however, because of the anti-poverty program and the concern of enlightened administrators to re-establish trust, rapport and communication with clients, there has been increased utilization of nonprofessionals drawn from the low-income population. This has been buttressed by the recent agitation of welfare client groups who among other concerns have expressed demands for jobs.

Together these efforts have resulted in the utilization of low-income persons (some of whom were welfare recipients), as case-aides, homemakers, day-care assistants, foster-care-aides and family-aides.

As is true of Education, Public Welfare is experiencing two separate but related pushes in the use of nonprofessionals. On the one hand is the attempt to deal with a severe manpower problem by introducing new kinds of personnel, most of whom are semi-professionals or pre-professionals (that is, they have some degree of education and experience). Then there is the low-income nonprofessional who may be helping the resolution of manpower shortages but is primarily hired in order to work with the client system and thereby improve the nature of services offered.

9. These studies are reported in a publication of The National Association of Social Workers; Utilization of Personnel in Social Work: Those With Full Professional Education and Those Without. National Association of Social Workers, New York City, 1962.

CORRECTIONS

Corrections has been concerned with increasing the number of professional staff, but at the same time has attempted to upgrade it's traditional nonprofessional staff. For example, correctional officers have been upgraded to function as members of classification committees and as lay group counselors. More recently, nonprofessionals, many of whom were former inmates, have been employed in functions that bridge the chasm between the institution and the community. For example, field service aides interview prisoners, assist in pre-release processing and do follow-up work in the community. A number of nonprofessional roles have been assigned to inmates that are focussed on therapeutic or rehabilitative functions. For example, adult education programs manned by inmate instructors, tutoring potential school drop-outs in the community as part of a pre-release work program, and conducting socio-therapeutic groups in the institution.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS

Considerable credit needs to be given to a number of Federal programs that have played a very major role in fostering and supporting nonprofessional programs. Significantly, these programs developed nonprofessional components in order to upgrade and extend services and not primarily to meet the problem of manpower shortage.

Although the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961, which created the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (PCJD) did not originally identify the development of the nonprofessional as a major program thrust, it did become an important ingredient in the comprehensive programs initiated and developed under this Act. This occurred because the use of nonprofessionals was viewed as a meaningful way in which to implement one of the major program goals namely, the involvement of local residents in the planning and execution of programs. This was seen as a means for increasing the compentences of the low-income community to deal with a range of social problems. In addition, one innovation of these comprehensive programs was the development of Neighborhood Service Centers located in the "target areas." This form of service delivery was particularly suited for the utilization of neighborhood people as nonprofessional staff since the Centers were intened to reverse the pattern of services in the low-income community which were characterized as impersonal, unresponsive, and inaccessible.

For the most part, nonprofessionals in these programs were involved in community organization activities and providing direct services. Overall,

the program re-enforced the concept of employing the "indigenous non-professional" as a means of "bridging" the gap between services and clients.

Another Federal program, Project Cause, emphasizing the special abilities of nonprofessionals in reaching and serving resistant client populations, was sponsored by the United States Department of Labor. In the summer of 1964, some 1750 people were recruited for an intensive 8-10 week training program conducted at Universities across the country, to prepare personnel for nonprofessional roles in Youth Opportunity Centers, specialized branches of the Employment Services. Following training, they become Counselor Aides and Youth Advisors and functioned as ancillary personnel to fully qualified counselors. They were seen as being especially appropriate and effective in "reaching out" to low-income youth, finding and meeting them in the areas where they would normally congregate, winning their confidence and getting them to participate in programs.

Further, a recent study,[10] showed that many of the experimental and manpower programs funded by the Department of Labor, Office of Manpower, Policy, Evaluation and Research (formerly OMAT) have used nonprofessionals, although few identified them as such. The 35 programs reported that they used nonprofessionals in a number of different capacities, e.g., neighborhood employment expediter, training assistant, recruiter, counselor assistant job developer, work crew leader and youth advisor. In addition to the diversity of job functions, these programs were equally varied in their auspices (mental hospitals, youth centers, universities, etc.) and their location (large urban, small towns and rural areas).

It is without question that the Office of Economic Opportunity has been responsible for the most significant breakthrough in the utilization of the nonprofessional, one that doubtlessly has charted major directions for this "movement." As such, it is important to understand how and why this developed since there is little, if any, legislative history calling for the use of nonprofessionals in the original legislation. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 required that the poor participate in all community action programs. Specifically, that these programs be "developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of group served.[11] A major strategy developed for bringing about such involvement was through hiring low-income residents into the anti-poverty programs and placing them in positions where they

10. Carper, James; The Nonprofessional in Experimental and Demonstration Projects. Community Programs and Training Consultants, Inc. Wash. D.C. 1966. Prepared for Office of Economic Opportunity.

11. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Title II.

could influence the objectives, policies and practices of the organizations. Although resident participation was seen as the primary goal, the planners of these programs did suggest other reasons[12]. for this approach. Among these were the following: there were critical shortages of skilled professionals in many occupational fields crucial to the work of community action programs; the anti-poverty program should provide jobs for persons without other opportunity; that resident nonprofessionals chosen from the local area, could perform certain tasks better than middle class professionals; and finally, as a subsidiary goal, there was a need to explore activities and gather data which might lead to the development of future career lines for nonprofessionals. In order to promote the growth of this new labor force and implement specific goals for resident nonprofessionals, the OEO proceeded along several lines. First, the national office engaged in a program of education and encouragement of local anti-poverty officers encouraging them to include large numbers of nonprofessionals in their community action programs. Over time, this became more and more a condition that needed to be satisfied in order to receive funds. Secondly, through the Demonstration Title of the legislation, the OEO gave high priority in funding programs that developed new kinds of nonprofessional positions (unlike those in the local community action programs), to programs that offered significant numerical potential in terms of their auspices (health, education and welfare); to those that could commit institutionalization of the jobs following the demonstration; and to those whose acceptance and utilization of nonprofessionals would prove influential. Thirdly, complementing the local poverty programs and the demonstrations were programs to train nonprofessionals and otherwise provide support to the whole endeavor. Overall, the Demonstration and Training programs were to provide the learning and experience that would be "fed" into the ongoing community action programs. Finally, to back up this effort, the OEO prepared a number of written materials; a Workbook (treating the nonprofessional subject in depth), a paper on Nonprofessionals and Community Action, a statement on Standards in The Use of Nonprofessionals, and prototype job descriptions for certain nonprofessional positions to be implemented during the early program development stages.

CURRENT STATUS

By the end of fiscal year 1965, some 25,000 nonprofessional jobs existed in OEO funded community action programs. Another 46,000 nonprofessionals were employed in Project Head Start, an OEO program. Although no comparable year-end figures are available for fiscal year 1966,

12. Schmais, Aaron, NonProfessional and Community Action. Office of Economic Opportunity. Mimeo Washington, D.C. 1965.

monthly totals for nonprofessional employment have averaged about 40,-000 in the OEO community action program. Even though some of these jobs were part time (the Yankelovich study[13] of 9 major cities showed that 25% of nonprofessionals were part-time), this achievement remains among the most significant accomplishments of the anti-poverty program. Today, when these nonprofessionals funded under the OEO are combined with those hired through other Federal programs (Project Cause, MDTA, PCJD, Home Health Aides, and The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965); through state and locally funded programs; through local agencies and neighborhood settlements; and through self-help movements, it is quite likely that we are approaching the 200,000 mark.

However, impressive is this total, its true significance may be measured in other meanings, equally impressive. Perhaps most important is the fact that large numbers of persons, previously unemployed or under-employed (Yankelovich study[14] showed that over ⅔ of the nonprofessionals had been unemployed and under-employed and that about ⅓ were out of work at the time of recruitment), and, without training or background for the kind of work for which they were hired, were employed successfully. Further, that the concept of hiring the poor, the disadvantaged, and the former recipients of services is experiencing more acceptance by human services agencies and organizations. Although still too rare and the exception, some organizations are accomplishing these personnel shifts without public funds or as part of a grant. Unfortunately there is still too little hard data to justify much optimism about how frequently and effectively this has occurred.

Although the specific use of nonprofessionals varies greatly, their introduction often has served to open up the question of who can best plan for the beneficiaries of service, a monopoly formerly held by the professionals. Directly and sometimes indirectly, their employment has helped in the development of new programs which have at their core the decentralization of services into target areas and the use of the nonprofessionals as a significant factor in service delivery.

Notwithstanding the number of new kinds of educational and training designs as well as auspices that have been created to prepare the nonprofessional, perhaps the major contribution of these activities has been to force the uncomfortable recognition that a serious and critical crisis exists in the training of the nonprofessional, as well as for other levels of manpower.

Overall, this experience has demonstrated that the nonprofessional has

13. Yankelovich, Daniel, Inc.; A Study of the Nonprofessional in the CAP New York, 1966 (Prepared for the OEO).

14. Ibid.

the ability to be trained and to perform, often beyond expectations, in a variety of jobs that are needed and have social utility, and from which he was previously excluded. This is now known and is beginning to receive the kind of attention, acceptance and spread that such recognition deserves.

PROBLEMS

The foregoing is not intended to suggest that the development and expanded use of nonprofessionals has occurred without problems. To the contray, the implementation of this concept has been beset with problems. Many are of the type that could be expected to occur with the implementation of any major social innovation. Others are the result of a beginning success and the subsequent moving to deeper levels of confrontations with the issues surrounding the use of nonprofessionals. Still others, also predictable, are part of the necessary "debugging," as theory is translated into program. In highlighting problems, the focus is on those that appear to be more universal and excludes those that may have been experienced by many, but that have been solved by others.

JOB DISCONTINUITY

Too many of the jobs held by nonprofessionals continue to be supported by "soft money," (grants and demonstration programs), and conversely, few have been set up as permanent jobs. Most often they are isolated and unrelated to the job structure of the agency or organization, so that even highly successful performance is no indicator or predictor of lateral or upward moves into permanent job slots. Over time, this lack of opportunity dissapates the high morale and sense of responsibility that characterizes many nonprofessionals.

A great number of nonprofessional jobs are in service areas that are somewhat outside professional jurisdictions, such as neighborhood workers, block workers, community development aides, and community action technicians. Although the relative absence of professional resistances may account for the numbers so employed, these functions lack a built-in potential for professional regulation, standard setting, sanction, eventual acceptance and legitimization. Conversely, those employed in job activities more normally within a recognized professional jurisdiction, (case aide, health aide, etc.) have been fewer in number and even then are often performing functions that lack any real professional meaning.

UPGRADING

Upgrading, or perhaps better stated, the lack of upgrading, has been a problem for almost every program employing nonprofessionals. This has

occurred without any relevance to successful performance. Although some programs have instituted training and education programs geared to prepare and qualify nonprofessionals for upgrading (job responsibility and advancements) these remain the very rare exceptions.

SELECTION

To a large extent, agencies using nonprofessionals have "creamed" their staff, i.e., selected those who possess the most qualifications, and even selected people whose qualifications were far beyond what was originally stated as desirable. Perhaps, this could be defended in some programs but in light of the entry-level nature of some jobs and the fact that some programs have been set up specifically to employ the poor, the disadvantaged and the untrained, questions can be raised. Interestingly enough, the Yankelovich study[15] reports that apparently there was little difference in performance, responsiveness, morale and enthusiasm between the "creamed" and the "hard core" groups. Perhaps the answer lies in the kind of work being performed which in most cases did not call for any special educational requirements or previous work experience. It does suggest, however, that when the jobs for which the nonprofessional are being selected are of an entry-level type and there is a stated goal of employing low-income persons, the "creaming" phenomena is quite unnecessary.

Some agencies have set very rigid selection critera, while others have had no criteria at all; in each case an unfortunate situation. In the first, too many deserving people are screened out from jobs that they could perform. In the second, it may indicate misguided romanticism or a lack of committment to use this experience to develop potential and provide upgrading opportunities since under such a plan it is unlikely that any career mobility is intended. In one case a "locked out" condition is created while the other "locks in" the nonprofessional.

PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT

The fact that 25% of the nonprofessionals are part-time as reported in the Yankelovich study,[16] (although the study was based on 9 community action programs, we suspect that the data are quite typical of all nonprofessional programs) is a factor that can constitute major problems. Part-time employment creates a lack of job security which has a negative influence on performance and motivation. Moreover, part-time work tends to reinforce the already predominant number of females in these programs.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

It hinders attempts at job upgrading and making these jobs permanent and, too often, means hourly wages without any fringe benefits. All in all it tends to confirm that the nonprofessional is an "under-class" in the agency.

SUPERVISION

Many nonprofessional programs have reported problems in supervision, and especially the lack of interest and committment of time on the part of professionals. There has been too little training, and what has occurred has not always been appropriate. Almost all agencies point to the virtual absence of evaluation as a major problem.

MARGINALITY

Finally, there is the problem of marginality that the nonprofessional experiences; he is not always sure who and what he is, where he is going, or what is the nature of his relationship with professional and recipients of his services.

GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

In tracing the varied beginnings of nonprofessional programs it is evident that differing goals and objectives have accounted for a major share of the above cited and other problems. Building on the early experiences of self-help and rehabilitative programs in which the nonprofessional was engaged therapeutically, a variety of agencies developed programs using "aides" as a means for adding ancillary staff to existing professional manpower. The delinquency, and later the anti-poverty efforts, formulated programs with a somewhat different focus, emphasizing institutional change in service agencies to be partially made by the introduction of resident nonprofessionals. Finally, a number of programs sought to further extend the nonprofessional concept as primarily an anti-unemployment measure.

The resultant absence of a unity of purpose and direction among those developing nonprofessional programs inevitably led to a commonly-shared set of problems; lack of preciseness in goals, in defining the "unique" qualities of nonprofessionals, and in their specific utilization. Following the early enthusiasm and perhaps overstated hopes generated by the OEO, nonprofessional programs experienced some setbacks and a number of problems. Nevertheless, the same pressures that initiated these programs, i.e., manpower shortages, the intrinsic value of employing persons of the client system to serve the client system, and the need for change in the kinds and quality of services rendered, continued to exert influence and push these programs to grow at an accelerated pace. That this has occurred is testimony

to the potency of the idea, making it all the more important to focus on the core problems still faced by this concept. This does not include those expected problems that in most instances have constituted no more than the usual amount of difficulty accompanying the implementation of new programs. Or, even those that stem from the mixture of diverse efforts loosely affiliated under the same general rubric-nonprofessional program — but that reflect wide differences in methodology and actual utilization. Instead, it is that group of problems unfortunately of no small importance, that result from a lack of resolution over very specific program issues, i.e., goals, committment, social change, and professional resistances.

II. PROGRAM ISSUES

Even so cursory a review of the development of non-professional programs amply demonstrates the variation in original auspices, and more importantly, how different have been the goals and objectives of these programs.

These tend to fall into the following three clusters or groupings:

a) those who view the development of non-professionals as a means for attacking the problems of service, often seen as inadequate and inappropriate, and who claim that the participation and performance of nonprofessionals will revitalize and perhaps revolutionize the existing professions;

b) those committed to seeking and providing meaningful human service employment opportunities to the poor, the disadvantaged, and the minorities; and,

c) those that view the introduction of the nonprofessional as a means for resolving acute professional manpower problems.

The result of this varied set of goals and objectives might ordinarily not lead to unfortunate consequences. However, where this mixing has occurred in nonprofessionals programs, most often without any ordering of priorities, it has led to confusion, inefficiency, and limited effectiveness. Each of the above mentioned dominant goals, taken separately would logically lead to a different kind of program in terms of recruitment, selection, training, job functions, etc. However, when mixed, each tends to develop program aspects that, although relevant to one goal, are in contradiction with other goals. For example, if the aim of the program is to enlist members of a welfare clients' group in self help activities as a means of rehabilitation, then clearly, the recruitment, selection, training, and role expectancies are very different from a program hiring the same people, but whose aim is to rationalize the work role levels among case workers, social work students, and case aides. In the former, concern would be focused on the amount and quality of change occurring in the participants as a result of the experience and not whether a new job has been created which can be fit into an existing organizational structure. The mixing of objectives has served to limit assessments on program effectiveness or even on the particular program aspects, since there are no clear benchmarks for making judgements. Although this apparent inability to separate and rank goals, and then develop specific programs to meet these, may be due in part to the relative newness of the approach, it more likely results from the absence of systematic thinking-through of basic program issues that determine the nature of programs.

NATURE OF THE "CRISIS": MANPOWER OR HUMAN SERVICES

Since for most programs the introduction of nonprofessionals, constitutes a major administrative and programmatic departure, it is reasonable

to assume that there is prior recognition that a crisis exists, one, that this new manpower presumably can ease or resolve. Defining the specific nature of this crisis, however, is difficult because of the differing perceptions of its reality. For example, is it as some have argued a lack of trained manpower — of limited numbers of professionals — and, therefore, a need for auxiliary nonprofessionals to relieve the professional of less demanding tasks and make him "truly professional." Or, is it a general manpower crisis, in which the nonprofessional is introduced as an attempt to rationalize personnel demand and supply, and simultaneously fashion new careers for new kinds of workers. Others, however, have suggested that the real crisis exists in the present state of the human services, and view the nonprofessional as a new resource, potentially capable of introducing improvements and changes in the overall patterns of service.

There seems to be little question that all three views touch upon and partially identify the crisis and, when taken together, more truly define it. However, it is also clear that each perception does not, and should not, carry the same weight and importance.

Probably, the most compelling factor in the area of public policy has been the recognition that, despite our achieving a level of unmatched national prosperity, having expanded and upgraded our human services, we are still faced by the paradoxes of poverty, unemployment, lack of education and other social ills. Although the human service agencies and professions cannot be held responsible, they, nevertheless, are charged with and have accepted the responsibility for dealing with these problems. The picture is not an encouraging one; for example:

—we are still failing to provide a basic education to many of our children, to prevent drop outs, and to prepare many young people for meaningful and productive lives;

—we are still failing to break the cycle of poverty for those receiving welfare assistance and to make receiving such assistance less demeaning to the recipients;

—we are still failing to reduce the disproportionate rates of employment for minorities, for youth, and for the hard-core unemployed;

—we are still failing to erase poverty for many of the aged, even those receiving aid;

—we are still failing to make many services and promising programs (e.g. mental health), relevant to the needs of the poor and the uneducated; and,

—our social welfare programs, taken together, are still failing to stem the tide of poverty, crime, delinquency, illiteracy, and alienation.

Human Service agencies, and institutions, unfortunately too often, are

still characterized by an unfamiliarity, and a lack of understanding of their client's motivations, fears and aspirations. For example;

> —they are still largely unable to recurit the clients to participate in "rehabilitative" programs since the planners perceive the problems differently from those they seek to serve;
>
> —they are frequently still bound to procedures and policies that are not adapted to the styles, needs, and aspirations of those they seek to serve;
>
> —they have not provided the means and mechanisms for assuring that the recipients of service are involved and participate in decisions affecting their own lives.

There is considerable merit in the position, that even were full manpower needs met, this situation would not be reversed, until that manpower is directed at making these programs more effective in reaching and serving their client population. A review of the more innovative nonprofessional programs, for example; Contra Costa Community Council, Lincoln Hospital Mental Health Services, Howard University, confirms this view since their major aim was directed at the improvement of services through the introduction of this new personnel and, of lesser importance, were such considerations as relieving professional shortages, providing employment to the needy, and developing a more rational use of existing staff. Accordingly, the provision of nonprofessionals must be seen as being relevant to the tasks of human and community service and generating a change process within the agencies and organizations in which they work.

Short of this view, those employing nonprofessionals can easily become committed to a position that sees the problems of manpower shortage, ("If we only had more bodies"), as the major shortcoming in human services and use the nonprofessional to further entrench existing professional practice in continuing to perform the same level and type of services. The abundant documentation of inadequacies and failures in human services should point us in the other direction.

CHANGE: Challenge or Threat

By its very nature, the introduction of nonprofessional personnel, regardless of the agency or organization in which they work, is likely to set in motion a climate of change. Of course, the quantity and quality of change will vary according to the degree nonprofessionals are seen as agents for change, the numbers employed, their specific functions, and the criteria for their selection. In a considerable number of instances the change will be more imagined than actual, although the impact may be no less real.

To a large extent this occurs because of the implications and the realities associated with the utilization of nonprofessionals, regardless of how change-oriented was the original intention. The nonprofessional entering a program will be challenging traditional personnel practices and often be in competition with the established personnel, many of whom are aware of the new ideology that surrounds the use of persons without the formal educational and experiential credentials. When used in capacities that require the nonprofessional to absorb former professional functions there is a implication that those previously performing these functions were inadequate. To the degree that the program employs nonprofessionals as a means of involving community residents to become more responsive to community need, there is a strong suggestion that the previous definitions of the professional as the planner of services will be re-examined. The nonprofessional is easily viewed as being intrusive, not always because his arrival means real change, but because his presence forces a second look at aspects of agency life that are uncomfortable for the professional to question; e.g., treatment of "clients," styles of professionalism, lack of advocacy; lack of willingness to overcompensate for years of inequality or lack of opportunity; the questionable meaningfulness of stated qualifications; the ill-defined skills or professionals; and finally, all the rituals and means by which status and success are acquired.

The push to reorganize professional qualifications that has taken years to build and been insisted upon as valid and necessary, will hardly be received with favor. Often the very qualities that are desirous in a nonprofessional are those that may cause problems to a program; they often are quite outspoken, less likely to "buy" into "professional discipline" and organizational requirements; appear to be disloyal; and question many accepted procedures and practices. For the administrator, a nonprofessional component can cause strains on an already over-taxed budget and require him to supply additional recruitment, selection, training, and supervisory resources.

Whether program planners envision the nonprofessional as a means of instituting change or not, they can expect that their introduction and utilization will not be accomplished without a certain degree of resistance. The most serious resistance can be expected from those who are most influenced by the changes, implicit, real, or imagined. It will come, primarly, from those who will lose power or influence which they formerly controlled by the exercise of functions now allocated to nonprofessionals. This will be especially so when there are indications, however covert, that the previous work done was somehow lacking, or, when the reasons for the change and its specific nature is not made clear. Overall, resistance is likely to even be

stronger when the major reasons for introducing the nonprofessional are seen as bowing to outside pressures, or because of an ideological commitment, that is not universally shared.

Since resistance can be anticipated, the program is in a better position to prevent or limit its ill-effects, although it is unlikely that they will be able to obviate all of it; after all, some individuals unquestionably will lose status, power, or influence. Program planners must help staff develop their own understanding of the need for changes suggested by the use of nonprofessionals and become aware of and deal with, how they feel about it. Staff should be permitted to participate in planning for the use of nonprofessionals and further, how to best implement whatever changes are considered necessary. It is especially advisable to involve those who will be most directly affected. A major way in which resistance can be softened is by thorough interpretation, particularly when done by the nonprofessionals themselves. This approach has often served to reassure professionals and others that the nonprofessional is a capable, intelligent and responsible person and certainly not just interested in supplanting or sabotaging the professional's role.

Appealing to, and using professional organizations and associations to support and sanction the use of the nonprofessional is very much advised. Care taken to be clear and specific about job responsibility, supervision, training and evaluation will likewise pay dividends. To the degree that it is possible to identify meaningful new roles and tasks for professionals, and not just relieve them of arduous chores, it will help allay fears about meaningful involvement. Above all, a continued clarity and absence of romanticism is necessary to convince and win over potentially resistant individuals and groups.

COMMITMENT

Another issue to be considered prior to initiating a nonprofessional program, is the quality and degree of commitment of the agency and its staff to the nonprofessional. Too often, because programs hire nonprofessionals and because professionals work with them, commitment is assumed to exist. Yet the experience of most programs indicates that this is not enough, and what is needed is a more thorough commitment, one that is basic, continuous and demonstrable. To some degree this results from the attempt to select those people previously excluded from such jobs or opportunities and who quite naturally experience difficulty in becoming integrated into professional agencies. However, the major reason for the need for commitment is due to the additional strains put on this new manpower by virtue of their

role as a nonprofessional setting, and on occasions being asked to perform certain functions that approach the professional level.

This is not to suggest that nonprofessionals are by nature inadequate and in need of inordinate amounts of compensating allowances. To the contrary, they often come with considerable degrees of sophistication and strength, but they do need support and a recognizable confidence if they are to overcome previous disadvantages and take advantage of new opportunities. Moreover, because of the newness and ambiguity of role, the often anomolous position between professional and client, and the demand for certain levels of performance, commitment is most vital.

Specifically, some of the problems faced by the nonprofessional that meaningful commitment can help overcome are as follows:

—where nonprofessional know, perceive, or feel little tolerance or understanding, they may easily withdraw, perform on a very minimal level, become hostile and engage in petty conflicts, lose ambition or retreat into previous modes of functioning;

—the very nature of the title with its prefix non (or aide, sub., etc.) and the too frequently found beneficence surrounding the hiring of nonprofessionals, suggest and then reinforce a view that he has very little to contribute;

—regardless of the rhetoric surrounding the nonprofessional, the number of professionals ready to share in the status they have achieved and in the means for acquiring it are few indeed. When access is thus denied, when no plans exist for achieving any, and when the nonprofessional attempts on his own to acquire some and is rejected, the overwhelming message he receives is more than clear — there are two worlds and the one characterized by power and prestige (the professional world) is not now or is it likely ever to be available to him;

—although it is quite obvious that many nonprofessionals will need remedial work, they will tend to reject and avoid such efforts where they are given with a sense of condescension or stigma. Such efforts will require training and remedial work of a most sensitive nature that teaches and brings forth what is known, but known imperfectly, and removes imparing deficiencies;

—for the nonprofessional to grow he must be listened to, seriously and critically — otherwise, he will be coddled and thereby demeaned. He should not be protected against failure, just as he is not protected from success; and

—he must have tools (skills, mechanics, jargons) in order to be accepted and advance, but these must evolve naturally and be consistent with his background and development and not the aping of the professional. This will only obtain as he accrues status and prestige for his own development.

The ways in which commitment will be measured are too numerous to detail. Suffice to say, its presence or absence will be reflected in all as-

pects of the program. However, there are some specifics that are so common that they need to be considered.

Provision of Resources

This includes all material resources (desks, equipment, telephones, etc.) but more importantly, adequate staff time (supervision, Training, Research, etc.) and funds.

Total Staff Involvement

Even where the program is small or only a part of larger efforts, the overall staff should be involved whether in planning, implementation, operation or evaluation, and the nonprofessional made to feel a real part of the total program by staff meetings, visits, etc.

Upgrading

Plans should exist for assuring that with successful performance over a period of time, the nonprofessional will receive additional salary, status, and promotion. Further, that the agency is willing to make an investment in his future by facilitating his acquiring whatever is necessary to achieve upgrading.

Credentialing

Although there can be no guarantees, the nonprofessional should feel that the agency is interested in, and attempting to secure some legitimazation for his functioning, and minimally, that what he has been doing has currency within his own agency.

Clarity over goals

This should include clear specifications of the tasks involved in the job, and adequate allowance of time for learning the job.

Remedial Work

Providing opportunities to make up for deficiencies and upgrade skills, not only reading and writing but speech making, report writing, etc.

Evaluation

A unique combination is needed, one that rejects over-romanticization but maintains a firm belief in his potential.

PLANNING AND MAKING DECISIONS

Finally, the need for early planning and decisions on goals and objectives should be recognized as essential and be implemented before the program begins. Proper concern for planning will assure that these decisions will be made with the best possible knowledge or predictors of what their results will be. It provides the basis for ensuring that the efforts to carry out these decisions are adequately organized. And, it is not too soon to begin the building of a program to measure the results of these decisions and provide systematic feed-back on their effectiveness. This is the time to arrive at firm decisions on the conception of the nonprofessional and the particular goals of the program and from there evolve the specifc program. There is a

programmatic necessity to give prominence to one set of goals whether it is using the nonprofessional to develop new services, change existing ones, relieve professional shortage, or to provide employment to special groups, since considerations of recruitment, selection, training, supervision and upgrading will be tempered by this decision. This is not to suggest that these goals, as well as others, may not be equally desirable and worthwhile, but rather to insist that unless there is some clarity and hieracial arrangement of goals and objectives, the program may be destined to be consumed by confusion. Nor should the possibility of developing a mix of program goals be dismissed, since this may be the most sensible means for at least dealing with multiple goals. The caution is to make sure that their order of priority is articulated, understood, and implemented.

III. EMPLOYING THE NONPROFESSIONAL

It should be quite apparent that the efforts to develop new job opportunities for nonprofessionals must be related to and influenced by attempts to alter the present way in which jobs are structured. The modifications necessary to initiate the restructing of jobs fall into the following categories: 1) opening up professional activities, within present budget limitations so that some of the functions now handled by trained and skilled professionals could be carried by persons who are less trained or who possess fewer credentials. For example an employment agency needing to hire 4 counselors ($40,000) could instead hire one professional ($10,000) and 7 nonprofessionals ($28,000) and still have $2,000 remaining for special training and supervision. Not only is the staff doubled, enabling them to accomplish additional tasks but it effectively relieves the professional of several functions that aides can adequately perform; conducting preliminary interviews and recording intake information, attending to office needs (telephone, mailing lists, record keeping), tracking down special information (laws and regulations, need for licenses, x-rays), finding placements, and setting up referrals. 2) converting present services into new kinds of activities that offer greater potential for nonprofessional jobs. For example, in changing the functions of some institutional programs — such as the development of the comprehensive community mental health center or the implementation of a school-community program within the school system — there are significant possibilities for introducing these new personnel. Illustratively, under the guidance of a professional therapist, nonprofessional mental health aides have visited the homes of patients released from a mental hospital and made general assessments of the home situation or they have regularly visited participants enrolled in socio-therapy groups in between sessions. School-community workers have made home visits and interpreted the school and its program to parents, encouraged their participation in school activities or, have met with community groups and agencies to explain school programs; 3) expanding and adding services and resources in all human services. For example, it is highly unlikely that we will experience within the near future any diminishment in the need for increased health, education, welfare, recreation, cultural, public safety, housing, child-rearing, and other human services. To the contrary there is every indication that these needs will continue to mount. Each has the potential to be broken down and reorganized to provide more efficient service and job opportunities.

FULL MANPOWER NEEDS

Planning and designing the specific nonprofessional jobs requires administrators and planners of programs to consider and take into account

the needs of those to be served and the nature of the service that is offered. By beginning with the needs of those to be served by the program (the clients), planners are more likely to develop jobs that are perceived as relevant, and are service oriented, rather than merely being derivative of fixed professional roles.

Considering what the full manpower needs necessary for expanded services to the client system must be pursued seriously if these jobs are to be vital and have a chance for achieving stability. This may be based on either of two assumptions; that because of limited resources the agency or organization has been unable to fully implement what it considers to be a maximal program or, that existing programs have proven to be inadequate often because they have been so designed as to limit their full use by those persons for whom it was intended. In considering what improvements are necessary to alter this picture, the expansion and creation of new services, and the means for delivering them should receive priority attention. The detailing of necessary and additional functions and activities to bring this about will make it possible to consider which of them can be organized into specific jobs to be filled by nonprofessionals as well as new professionals. For example, using the above employment agency model, this new worker could accompany job applicants to their work station on their first assignment, be available for support, visit him periodically on the job, and check on his progress with the employer; canvass the neighborhood for new job stations; set up literacy courses; "reach out" to hard to place unemployed; after training do follow-ups and evaluations; involve families of those placed in social services; organize those placed into clubs that would seek out others and interpret program; do public relations; and work with employers around upgrading plans, etc. Here too, the emphasis is on the improvement of services to clients as being more appropriate in determining nonprofessional activities than is the fixed-service pattern where attempts are made to fractionate predetermined professional roles.

MANPOWER ANALYSIS

The agency undertaking a nonprofessional program needs to examine itself first and analyze what their current professional resources are, as well as the effectiveness of their utilization. Too often, professionals do not work at jobs for which they were originally hired or fill positions not requiring their level of skill. And, frequently jobs are ascribed professional status in the face of repeated experience that professionals just aren't available to fill those positions. Having identified the gaps in available professional manpower, the agency should think through how these might be closed through the use of nonprofessionals. (It must be pointed out that vacancies — open lines —

are often maintained as a means for dealing with inadequate budgets and that substantial increases in nonprofessional utilization, even where such gaps exist, will occur only with increased funding levels).

In order to pursue this analysis the agency will first have to gather the following information:

—the number of current positions and their job descriptions;

—the table of organization, with special reference to hierarchical arrangements and movement thereof;

—personnel policy, especially with regard to any specific stipulations that could limit the use of nonprofessionals;

—the number of vacant positions;

—educational and experimental requirements of positions; and then matched against the backgrounds of those filling the positions; and

—activities performed matched against the job descriptions and requirements and qualifications for the position.

After collecting this data, the agency can usefully ask the following questions:

1. What clerical, routine, low-level skill, or maintenance activities do professionals now engage in that could profitably be delegated to relatively untrained persons? There is a certain amount of routine which is part of almost every job; much of which is necessary. On the other hand, the volume of routine may interfere with the prompt and judicious use of a person's time, or prevent him from adequately fulfilling his responsibility. Some examples of these are: homework checking and taking attendance; receiving people in clinics and doing minimal intake procedures; control and supervision functions at recreation and social activities; checking and following-up, and collecting and distributing materials.

2. What meaningful apprentice-like tasks could nonprofessionals be employed to perform, while being trained or educated to assume larger responsiblities? Or, what activities now being performed by professionals could be re-designed so that important aspects of the job could be performed by nonprofessionals allowing the professional to concentrate on those aspects requiring a greater amount of training and skill? Almost all professional activities can be broken down and redefined so that functions previously handled by professionals (often overtrained for these tasks) could become available to nonprofessionals. For example; case work aides; public safety aides; research aides; health aides; teacher aides; and so on.

3. What new services and activities would improve the agency's operation and could be so organized and grouped as to constitute job oppor-

tunities for nonprofessionals, especially those who are low-income residents? For example; neighborhood service center workers, community organization aides, family management aide, and housing service workers.

Even after the analysis it will be necessary to make certain judgements based on this data. For example, how important are the different positions, which ones can be continued, expanded or discontinued to provide better service. Further, the agency must examine how meaningful are current criteria and qualifications for all positions and then reach agreement on what more realistic and desirable ones would be.

Finally, there is increasing recognition that unless means are devised for effectively relating services to those whom they are intended to help, programs will continue to fail. This includes consideration of the kind of service, the manner in which it is delivered, where and by whom. As such, nonprofessionals chosen from the community are especially well suited to perform such fuctions. They often have considerable ability to develop rapport with low-income individuals, including the most deprived and disadvantaged in the community, and motivate them to take advantage of services. When such services are either in fact inadequate or perceived as such by the clients, indigenous personnel can become a decisive factor in helping agencies reorganize their approaches.

JOB CONTINUUM MODEL

The proliferation of nonprofessional jobs that can result from these attempts can provide new opportunities for those currently untrained and also restructure the role of the professional so that he functions at a level appropriate to his years of training and experience. At the same time, it can lead to the expansion and development of needed new services, and create new models for the organization of services. The increased use of this new personnel will result in changing the ratio of professionals to nonprofessionals, with more and more nonprofessionals assuming responsibilities that were previously not considered possible or appropriate for them. It will mean that professionals will function as supervisors and teachers of nonprofessionals, as highly developed specialist practitioners, and on other occasions as the consultant or expert-trainer to groups of nonprofessionals.

For the nonprofessional, these efforts can result in a continuum that allows him to rise within his category, to advance to new levels of specialization or to carve out a new career line that will exist between nonprofessional and professional. One way of looking at this model is as follows:

a. nonprofessional — performs clerical, mechanical, maintenance, supportive, relating and routine activities;

b. specialist (upgraded nonprofessional or subprofessional) performs tasks that specifically reallocate and redefine professional activities;

c. new career line — performs functions which traditionally have been spread over several professional disciplines or is the result of new dimensions in rendering service, but now organized into a new career line working with professionals on a team basis.

Not to be discounted, of course, is the movement into professional levels (with training, education and credentials), or the eventual professionalization of the new career lines.

JOB DESCRIPTIONS (Job Continuum)

The number of nonprofessional job possibilities are too varied and numerous to attempt full description in one document, nor would such a listing necessarily be desirable since each agency and organization needs to develop and tailor these to fit its particular needs. The following is suggestive of possibilities that exist in some of the more prominent fields of human services. Many, will appear to be duplications of one another and in other instances seem to be overlap. It must be kept in mind, however, that these are prototypes, and as they are implemented under different auspices, they will change according to the actual duties performed. In still other cases the types of activities suggested are not so much description of actual jobs as they are labels which connote a range of activities that can be organized into specific jobs.

SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS

Given the vast need for personnel it is inconceivable that all jobs in social welfare could be filled by professional social workers. Even if it were possible, it would be undesirable since not all positions require such a high degree of training. There has been an insufficient amount of experimentation in recruiting to the social welfare effort nonprofessional persons who might serve in partnership with the social worker.

Some nonprofessional job possibilities include Home Service Aides, Family Counselor Aides, Welfare Aides, Homemakers, Home Group Aides, Child Care Aides, and Case Aides. Using the **Case Aide** as a prototype, functions could be organized and stratified to provide different levels of job responsibility with increasing levels of "professional" and independent activities as follows:

Nonprofessional (aide) — assists in maintenance of general records and

case files, covers telephone; attends to children of clients visiting agency or having appointments with case worker; seeks out newcomers to area, familiarizes them with services available and, where appropriate, attempts to recruit them to program; assists case worker in identifying needs of new comers and with caseworker provides information and sets up referrals; acts as guide and accompanies clients to appointments or meetings, etc., helps clients figure out budgets and fill out forms.

Specialist (semi-professional) — does simple intake at agency; assists caseworker in making investigations (e.g. foster care, welfare eligibility, adoptions, etc.); under supervision of case worker develops plans for individual families; maintains list of community agencies and services and maintains ongoing contact with them; makes home visits on assignments; works with families around budget planning and shopping; collaborates with other agencies in working through plans for individuals and families (e.g. education, training and employment): maintains and writes case records on families; makes interpretations to agencies on policies and regulations.

"New career" — responsible, under direction, for supervision and training of aides; collects data, interprets data and communicate trends to casework staff; organizes food buying groups, client education groups, welfare rights groups and other self-help groups; in collaboration with agency staff develops as consultant to local resident groups and agencies.

HEALTH SERVICES

There is a need to improve health services provided to neighborhood areas to bridge the gap between hospital professional staff and low-income patients, particularly with regard to ambulatory and preventive services. The possibilities for nonprofessional jobs are varied and could be organized into two general categories; the community (neighborhood) health aide and the personal care aide (home health aide). For example, the **community health aide** could perform a variety of functions as follows:

Nonprofessional (aide) — discovers persons in neighborhood who appear to have unattended health problems, provides information on services available and attempts to initiate referrals; follows up on referrals (including those from clinics, hospitals, Welfare Department, housing and private agencies) to determine status, attends to children or elderly relatives while other family members visit health facilities (may perform light house-keeping services); interprets eligibility requirements of various health facilities; assists professionals in greeting patients, directing them, translating instructions and arranging appointments; provides "home bound" with light

housekeeping, shopping, meal planning and "following doctors orders"; escort service and check-in visits to convalescents and incapacitated.

Specialist (semi-professional) — on assignment, visit patients and families to motivate (support, interest and understanding) them to seek health care; interprets importance of preventive care and treatment; gives instructions to individuals in the homes and in groups regarding primary prevention; under supervision evaluates health needs of families (pre-natal, immunizations, eye and dental work, etc.) and then determines priorities and a plan of care; keeps records of contacts with families and services rendered; maintains contact and shares information with public health nurse, social worker, doctor and other professionals.

"New career" — provides consultation to community organization projects in developing and carrying out health programs; helps local groups develop and distributes health literature designed to be appropriate for the people to be served; initiates and organizes community projects geared to motivate large numbers of people to avail themselves of health services and negotiate for health innovations; implement community group classes in specific health programs; supervise aide (e.g. records, group and case conferences); represents agency at inter-agency meetings; writes special reports and gives talks to community groups; conducts training (under supervision) for aides, and, in absence of supervision assumes limited assignment responsibilities.

SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Teachers, any teachers, have been in short supply for the past twenty years. An analysis of school enrollment figures and teacher graduation rates reveals that the problem of teacher supply will continue unabated. Nonprofessional personnel could well perform the myriad of energy-consuming tasks, e.g., arranging for films, correcting objective tests, scheduling trips, securing supplies, duplicating materials, arranging for speakers, and changing programs in automated equipment. In addition to the above classroom oriented functions there is a need to evolve previously performed functions for nonprofessionals, designed to modify or cancel out disabling experiences or lack of experiences associated with poverty and close the gap between community and school. "Fully-trained" college graduates are not only unavailable but not necessary to successfully perform these functions that can add significantly to the teacher's chance to succeed.

Organized under the general title of **school aide** the following continuum could be established:

Nonprofessional (aide) — provides homework help; maintains and monitors

study center (room arrangements, behavior, cleanliness of facility, etc.); maintains attendance records; arranges for audio-visual equipment, duplicates materials, secures library equipment; assist teacher in accompanying students on field trips, as chaperon, monitor, safety; takes care of younger children when parents visit teacher or school social worker; schedules students for appointments with counselor or case worker, and gets records ready.

Specialist (semi-professional) — develops and maintains file of community resources, makes contact regarding appointments, rules and regulations, fees, etc. Maintains records and records impressions of children participating in special activities; corrects true-false and multiple-choice questions on tests; supervises story telling, play activities and reads stories; provides limited service, under supervision, to persons having difficulty with reading, including some tutoring — also collects date relevant to curriculum developments in remedial area; under guidance of school social worker and counselor writes up records of pupil visits and makes home visits as appropriate.

"New career" — makes contact with hard to reach parents who have little contact with school, explains programs, rules, activities, special services and policies, etc.; participates in collecting data for school surveys or research projects; conducts special group activities for students who are having difficulties (under supervision); works directly with social agencies having referrals from the school in providing additional data, making home visits and reporting; takes change of automated instruction programs, duties include basic assistance to children in learning to use equipment, machine maintenance and changing programs.

YOUTH AGENCY PROGRAMS

Most agencies serving youth have insufficient staff to adequately serve the youngsters who attend. Often, they have had to curtail activities or the number of evenings they remain open. Many are in conflict over the question of discipline and limits, to a point where they have lost control or are so completely in charge that they have lost the children. A good many agencies are plagued by apathy, indifference or outright opposition on the part of their membership.

The employment of youth and young adults in a variety of agency roles can accomplish much in reversing these trends. These nonprofessionals could perform a variety of functions (e.g. recruit membership — may be done as a door-to-door campaign; assist a take over receptionist duties; supervise game room, lounge, or locker room; assist in trips to museums, beaches and zoos; conduct group educational, recreational and cultural ac-

tivities, and work with individuals and groups outside the agency as a means of bringing them into the Center. All of these activities can be organized into specific job categories with progressive levels of skills and responsibilities. For example, the **group aide** position can be broken down as follows:

Nonprofessional (aide) — assists in carrying out group activities for youth clubs and groups; maintains supplies and equipment; collects and prepares materials for group activities; keeps records of attendance and group activities during meetings; registers names of children, youth, etc., during intake; assigned to monitor teen-age lounge, dances and special events; provides variety of maintenance function for summer programs away from agency (equipment, bus scheduling, lunches, etc.);

Specialist (semi-professional) — provides direct leadership to youth groups, in organizing, planning and conducting meetings and activities; interviews new persons for assignment to groups; assists professional in making home visits; prepares and conducts special activities (e.g. dances, and trips); assists in conducting discussion groups; organizes and conducts tournaments, track meets, etc.; keep process recording of meetings and activities; under guidance works with individuals experiencing difficulty in group; participate in professional staff meetings;

"New career" — consults with agencies using nonprofessional staff in planning and operating group programs and activities; maintains contact with unaffiliated youth and other groups who do not use agency; sets up special programs for youth and youth groups in street; functions as liaison to anti-delinquency programs; works with parents to increase understanding of program and involvement; organizes volunteer efforts.

HOUSING PROGRAMS

Housing related service has considerable potential as a source of nonprofessional jobs in terms of both present activities and particularly expanded activities. For example, Neighborhood Conservation involves a concerted and integrated program of conserving present physical structures, improving landscape and grounds, an enriching the life style of the urban neighborhood. This includes not only the physical tasks of painting, repairing, and improving residential structures, the beautifying of boulevards and yards, the cleaning of alleyways, streets and vacant lots, and the social problems of neighborhood life. The latter phase would include such activities as stepped-up supervision of playgrounds and parks, and opening of neighborhood centers, the launching of surveys on land use, the pro-

vision of services such as libraries, homemaker and housekeeper activities, relocation assistance for families dislocated by Urban Renewal projects, and other home services.

The following represents an example of a nonprofessional **housing aide:**

Nonprofessional (aide) — becomes acquainted with residents of assigned buildings, makes regular visits to determine general conditions of buildings and attempts to involve residents in improving conditions; provide general information on available services (health and welfare); refers problems to agencies, organizes clean-up campaigns, interprets regulations and acts as intermediary in communicative problems and suggestions to management;

Special (semi-professional) — upon referral, from personnel working with families, worker (under guidance) works with problem families assisting them in such areas as children care, financial and employment difficulties, health problems, etc.; in case of renewal he would help expedite relocation and rehabilitation process, work with family "to adjust" to new housing; is available as resource to housing personnel and other social agency staff; under guidance conducts classes in money management and budgeting, nutrition, clothes maintenance, home decoration, etc.;

"New career" — develop services and educational programs based on the needs of his area, making full use of existing community resources; initiates resident organizations to deal with problems and engage in self-help programs; participates in related neighborhood organizations in effort to better community relations and community conditions; maintains records and prepares reports; conducts training and leadership courses for residents and leaders; consults with tenant organizations and block clubs in sponsoring classes (e.g. home economics, literacy, etc.)

Summarizing, the agency planning to undertake a non-professional program should think about including several occupational levels tied to existing positions in the organization and to newly created or expanded services. At each level there should be a variety of tasks that reflect specialized and program-specific functions, broadly defined tasks similar to the professionals but that are less intense and carry fewer responsibilities, as well as a combination of tasks necessary to implement new or expanded services. In order to determine the precise definition and number of levels and then tasks within these, the agency must undertake a careful analysis of its program, and current staff functioning. This includes reviewing client need, adequacy of current services and specifications of tasks to be performed necessary to improve these current levels of staff deployment, any discrepancies between job requirements, descriptions, and performance, number

of vacancies, and available manpower. The findings of the analysis should lead to attempts at job reallocation, a process that produces the following;

a. insures that those with professional credentials are being utilized effectively and in a way that makes full use of their preparation;

b. insures that the agency continually re-evaluates its primary function — service to clients — and does not get trapped into over investment in existing programs which have highly defined and professional roles;

c. insures that those who have less than full credentials are working in tasks appropriate to their level of training and experience; and

d. introduces a variety of new personnel, nonprofessional as well as professional.

IV. PROGRAM ELEMENTS

The development and implementation of a comprehensive nonprofessional program requires that a variety of program elements — recruitment, selection, training, placement, supervision, upgrading and evaluation — be meshed together and form an integrated totality. Seldom, however, are all the above mentioned elements viewed and found as discrete program pieces; they are too interrelated and reciprocal. Nevertheless, their individual importance and the need to provide adequate planning and investment for each element is unmistakable.

A. RECRUITMENT

Since recruitment is the first phase of the program and provides the initial contacts with potential nonprofessional staff, it can often create the tone and direction for much of what follows. Affording proper concern for the recruitment effort will help assure that the most suitable candidates are available for selection. The concern for avoiding undue red tape and long waiting periods should not lead to a superficial recruitment program. The frequent result in hiring mistakes are difficult to undo, and are especially awkward when low income residents are involved.

Prior to implementing a recruitment campaign, the agency must consider a number of questions.

How much specific job description is necessary at this time? — Arriving at a clear description of the job, its goals, purposes and activities — is necessary at the very beginning. It is difficult to envision any effective recruiting in the absence of precise job definitions. Having a clear picture of what is expected will help prevent early misunderstandings and subsequent misinterpretations about job responsibilities.

Who is to be recruited? — In answering this question, the agency translates the overall goals of the program and the specific requirements of the job description into definitions about the kinds of people considered most likely to successfully perform the job. Some programs lead quite naturally to seeking out particular groups. For example, programs aimed at employing high school dropouts and then training them for jobs in manpower programs; homemaker programs that employ mothers who are on welfare, to work with other welfare mothers. Or, because special requirements demand some advanced degree of competency to handle technical tasks — medical technicians, literary instructors, research aides — the program will be inclined to search for specific groups, although they might consider training currently unqualified people for these jobs.

Most nonprofessional jobs however, can be performed by a very wide

variety of people and therefore, the goals of the program become the determining factor. For example, an agency committed to reaching the "hard core" unemployed poor, or giving priority considerations to certain ethnic and racial groups. In any case, the agency should make a decision about whom they are attempting to recruit and, in the event no special group is being sought, decide to recruit randomly.

What are the most effective means for reaching people? — The same recruitment procedures will not be equally effective for recruiting different groups of potential nonprofessional staff. For example, if the agency is interested in recruiting low-income residents for jobs as neighborhood workers they may choose to use other resident nonprofessionals to make house calls and explain the program; a procedure that is not recommended for recruiting persons with some previous business skill to work in managing a food-buying cooperative.

How much time and effort will be expended in recruitment? — Ordinarily, the recognition that recruitment is the initial stage of a nonprofessional program, would suggest that it be given minimum attention. Yet, experienced program operators are generally agreed that recruiting efforts need to be improved and upgraded, realizing the importance this phase has for the total program. Every succeeding phase of the program will depend on the kind of people originally recruited and selected. Ultimately the decision of how much time and staff effort is needed will rest on available manpower and the kind and number of nonprofessionals desired. In all instances, however, it is wise to involve as many staff, on all levels, as can be spared and to initially run the campaign for a period of time that assures that a significant sample of the target group has been canvassed.

Recruitment Sources — It is essential that recruitment not be limited to any one source, institution or organization which might thereby exercise undue influence in the process of selection. There are a variety of formal sources such as social agencies, churches, social and civic organizations, local poverty programs, training programs, labor organizations, civil service, and the Employment Service that can provide many suitable candidates. Informal sources, such as self-referrals (for services as well as the job), community councils, block clubs, tenants council, friends of employees, should be considered with equal seriousness. These usually are far better sources for recruiting residents and often avoid problems faced by larger formal agencies. For example, where trying to recruit selected populations (race, age, ethnicity, income level), the Employment Service, normally a valuable source, may view these efforts as discriminatory and refuse to handle them.

In soliciting different organizations to help in the recruitment drive it

is important that initial contacts be followed up with interviews. Often it will be necessary to further explain the recruitment need, what the program is, and how they might participate in other aspects of the program. Although many organizations will readily accept responsibilities, they have to be "sold" if they are to do an active and quality job. Given the variety of social agencies in most communities it would be wise to try and deal primarily with those that have similar kinds of programs. When using informal sources it will be necessary to stipulate as clearly as possible what kind of candidate is being sought.

Utilizing the local anti-poverty agency as a source for recruitment has several advantages; they probably have employed nonprofessionals themselves and conducted recruitment campaigns. They usually maintain active files of persons seeking employment, and they have resources to enhance a recruiting drive. Further, they can provide the program with information and access to the low-income community. Otherwise, efforts to recruit low-income residents may have to rely totally on informal sources, some of which are too partisan or self-aggrandizing.

Even when all the above sources have been tried, the program may still find that it is not recruiting enough candidates or not the type of candidate desired. More aggressive methods may be necessary. One possibility is conducting community-type meetings where a thorough explanation of the program and the need for staff is made and there is opportunity to ask questions. Or, at any number of meetings that deal with different topics or concerns (poverty councils, block clubs, tenant associations, civic affairs, church, etc.) a small amount of time can be devoted to this recruitment effort. Another approach is through the use of staff, preferably other nonprofessionals, who go out into the neighborhoods and canvass the residents (home visits, street corners, informal groupings, etc.) about the job possibilities.

Still another approach is the creation of committees composed of residents who know their neighbors and can participate in decisions about what kind of staff should be recruited and by what means.

Announcements — Regardless of the media used, (printed material, radio-TV, newspaper, etc.) making announcements about the job is an essential step of recruitment. These should be made throughout the local community and should be routed selectively to appropriate organizations. Although this may seem to be a time consuming task it does accomplish the following:

—attracts a wider group of candidates, assuming a better chance of obtaining the most desirable person;

—provides assurance to the community that the hiring of staff is being conducted openly;

—becomes another means of informing the community about the nature of the program and what is being planned.

Announcements should include the following basis information:

1) **Explanation of program.** It is highly likely that this will not be widely known. This should be a brief summary, written and described in clear, everyday language.

2) **Nature of work and compensation** — A simple summary of the job description, duties and responsibilities. It should include the title, department or division, supervision, training, etc. Salary level is to be included — failure to do so results in an unnecessary amount of questioning and misunderstandings.

3) **Qualifications desired** — The important basic qualifications should be listed with as much specificity as possible. Above and beyond these, additional desirable qualifications can be mentioned but they should be clearly identified as desirable, not necessary.

4) **Where, When and How to Apply** — In addition to the name, address and telephone number of the organization, the announcement should contain information on how to get an application and the date by which the application must be received. It is desirable to include information on the procedures for making appointments and who will be contacting the applicant. A process for distributing and receiving applications and making appointments should be established early. This will prevent uncontrolled traffic and duplication of effort.

If a printed announcement is used, it should be kept in a simple form that can be reproduced cheaply and is suitable for display. If there are several nonprofessional job openings, it is advisable to have separate sheets for each announcement. These printed announcements can be used as throw-aways, in displays on bulletin boards, posted in stores and be distributed by other agencies. Other means for making announcements are through newspapers, public service announcements on TV or radio, newsletters, and through the resources of social agencies and organizations, including the formal employment agencies.

Over-recruitment — However, caution must be exercised to prevent over-recruitment. The problem can be easily multiplied when using certain recruiting techniques such as throw-aways and mass media announcements. Although no formula exists for reducing this problem, certain precautions can be taken. Merely knowing in advance that this will likely occur should motivate the agency to secure arrangements with other agencies to accept referrals of those recruited but not selected. Preciseness and adequate publicity about qualifications will hopefully reduce the numbers recruited who could not qualify, whereas clarity about procedures for referrals (employment, training, school, etc.) can siphon off those unqualified into other opportunities. The recruitment campaign should be time-limited with the

terminal dates known and honored. Strict adherence to a policy of not permitting any prior promises to be made and placing a single administrative unit in charge of recruiting can further limit the problems of over-recruitment.

In some instances, either because of limited means to conduct a recruiting campaign or because other organizations have better existing machinery already functioning, the program may choose to subcontract the recruiting effort. This constitutes no serious drawback, providing the contracting organization is fully cognizant of who is to be recruited and for what purpose. This will need considerable interpretation and continued monitoring. Convenience should not be traded away for future problems; either unsuitable candidates or poor community relations as a result of a poor recruitment program.

B. SCREENING AND SELECTION

The screening process is used to eliminate those candidates who are obviously inappropriate and to identify a number of applicants who seem best qualified for the position.

Criteria — Among the specific criteria the program may identify as appropriate for its nonprofessional program there are two considerations that should always be included; some degree of literacy (reading and writing) but without adherance to any rigid educational standards, and the absence of personal disabilities (physical handicaps, serious illness, apparent emotional disturbance, etc.,) that would severely restrict the persons ability to work. The specific literacy level required is dependent on the nature of the job to be performed.

Whatever selection technique is used it should be based on criteria that are related to the specific work to be performed and the goals underlying the hiring of nonprofessionals. The set of criteria employed is only an instrument, one that presumes to identify as accurately as possible those characteristics deemed necessary for potential success. Certainly these will vary from program to program and from administrator to administrator, but they should include some generally desired qualities;

- —someone involved with his society;
- —someone interested in the problems that the program deals with;
- —someone who has maintained contact with the community or neighborhood;
- —someone with ability to relate to people;
- —someone with a reasonable level of social maturity;
- —someone with potential leadership qualities;

Beyond these, the nature of the selection criteria should reflect the

needs of the position or positions, especially if there are to be special placements. Some very specific criteria to consider are sex, age, education, health, income level, prior activities and experience, personality factors, and residence requirements.

Sex — Although some jobs appear more suitable for men, selection is often complicated by the fact that women are more easily recruited and hired.[17] To reverse this, and for other reasons (e.g., the employment of unemployed male heads of households as a priority, the desire to reverse the matriachal nature of the poor, etc.,) it will be necessary to make special efforts to select men. Some programs have found that using the expedient of advertising "men preferred" has payed off dividends in the numbers and types of men recruited. At the same time, programs should anticipate that they will have greater success with women.

Age — Although some programs see merit in trying to match the worker with the age level of those persons he will be working with; this is hardly necessary. The one exception may be in youth programs, especially those that emphasize "outreach." Again, considerations of the objectives of the program and the specific staff functions should influence this decision. If the program is attempting to build career lines for low-income youth, the choice is clear. Conversely, a program seeking to employ male heads of households will make different choices. In the absence of an objective or function that is important in determining an age choice the program should not use age as a criterion.

Education — It is quite clear that education has been a major barrier to the employment of the poor. It would hardly make sense if rigid educational standards were invoked in a nonprofessional program. Given the usual range of jobs that nonprofessionals perform it is doubtful that high correlations can be established between educational level and job performance. On the other hand, in a great number of instances nonprofessionals will be called upon to read and write reports. It is more pertinent to consider the capacity to function at these levels than it is to consider the education level achieved in school. Much of this capacity can be ascertained through the Application or other papers filled out and can be further explored by interview. What is sought in the nonprofessional is an ability to communicate and perform at a level that obviates difficulties; not at a level that approaches professional expectations. The program also has a responsibility to consider how much remediation is necessary to bring a promising candidate up to an adequately functioning educational level.

Health — Except where the job requires a particular level of health or where

17. Of course, this obtains more from the usual low-wages, make-work image, and female orientation of these positions than it does because of recruitment techniques.

there are incapacitating handicaps, health should not be used as a selection criterion. This should not preclude physical examinations. They are often helpful and necessary in dealing with minor problems that are easily resolved.

Income Level — On the assumption that all nonprofessional programs will make at least some attempts to recruit from the ranks of the poor, special efforts will be required. The agency seeking to employ low-income people will have to decide how exclusively they will pursue this objective. Without an explicit decision it is unlikely that the bulk of those selected will be of low income background.

Prior Community Experience — Previous experience and interests in organized community and social activities is a definite asset but should not be viewed as an absolute necessity.

Law Violations — Previous violations of the law should not be used as a barrier to employment in nonprofessional programs, unless, of course, the nature of the offense is so grave as to raise serious doubts. Merely agreeing to this will not be enough; specific efforts will have to be made to seek out these individuals.

Residency — Unless the program is especially set up to hire residents to work in their own community, residence should not be a qualifying factor. On the other hand, there are a considerable number of advantages to hiring residents; they probably know the agency and its program, they know the problems, and they provide visible evidence of the agency's interest in the community.

METHODS

Applications — The written application provides a valuable basis for screening and appraising applicants. Care should be exercised to be sure that it elicits all the information needed for use as a screening and selection instrument. Minimal requirements of the application form include:

personal data — name, address, telephone, age, sex, marital status, social security, draft status, etc;

work history — jobs held, nature of work, name title of former supervisor;

education — highest level of school, any special training courses enrolled in;

organizational activity — questions directed at bringing to light whether the applicant has engaged in any community activities;

health — intended to elicit information on any serious health problem;

It is important to provide sufficient space so that replies can be written out by hand. As many questions as possible should be of the multiple-choice variety allowing for the applicant to check off answers. Those designing the application should not suggest or expect lengthy answers to questions. If necessary, these can be gotten later in the interview; the application should serve to provide background information only.

Application by itself, will be insufficient to make final determinations. The danger in attaching too much importance to the Application as a selection device is readily apparent; it can easily screen out the very candidates who might be most suitable. Too often the potential nonprofessional, because of previous educational deficits, lack of experience or too little belief in himself or the program, submits a weak application.

When using the application for screening, chances of errors in judgement can be minimized by involving several people in the process and using simple rating system. This allows for judgements to be easily compared and to identify agreements or disagreements. For example, each reviewer, after screening the applications assigns a ranking (A or 1) to indicate candidates who are very well qualified, a B or 2 for those more questionable, and so on. It is then possible to narrow the field down to those who appear "best," on the application. It must be remembered that since success on the job is seldom highly correlated to educational and experiential criteria, the traditional job application may prove inappropriate as a screening measure for non-professional jobs. Most programs will want to either develop their own forms or adapt existing ones.

Application forms should be filed and maintained for all those who apply. For those not accepted, the maintenance of a file can serve as an important source for future recruitment, or as background information for making employment referrals. Moreover, it is often necessary in order to comply with fair employment practices requirements. The file should indicate the reasons why the applicant wasn't hired. For those hired, the file should include all correspondence, memoranda and other pertinent data.

As a technique for weeding out those obviously unqualified and identifying those who appear to be potential candidates the use of application forms is recommended. However, the application form will yield little more than this, and it will be necessary to follow up with additional efforts in order to develop a more complete picture so that selection decisions can be made.

Group Interviews — One such effort, the group interview, has been used successfully by many nonprofessional programs.[18] The advantage of this method is most clearly seen when faced with the need to screen a large number of

18. For example, Lincoln Hospital Mental Health Services & Strycker's Bay Neighborhood Council.

candidates or when there are limits on time and resources. It provides an opportunity for observing how candidates interact with each other and with staff, and their reactions to a number of group situations. Unless carefully planned and conducted they can become anxiety-producing or overly dominated by an individual, thereby reducing their value.

Two possible types of group meetings are:

a) assembling a group, explaining the program, answering questions, distributing an application and then having each person fill out the forms. After completion, the interviewer checks the forms and engages the applicant in discussion around some of the responses;

b) like the above, this approach also assembles a group, explains the program and answers questions. However, the difference is that there are no forms to be filled out (they have already done so) and it is used as a method for observing the functioning of the candidates. It moves into discussion and attempts to get each applicant to talk.

In both instances, the attempt is to get information not easily ascertained in the application such as understanding of the job, appearance and behavior, ability to communicate, and attitudes towards others. Immediately following the group meeting there should be an opportunity for the interviewer or the staff to review what happened, make notations, and sort out those that seem qualified and those that are not.

Selection Panels — Another method, the use of Selection Panels, is a practice that has developed in order to insure the active participation of the community's residents and to avoid charges of bias and influence in hiring. The composition of such a board is a crucial consideration. Although it should aim to be broadly representative of the general community, this kind of Board must include a majority of resident representatives if it is to achieve its goals. Ideally, there also should be a balanced representation of the major agencies and organizations in the community. This method, while providing an effective way of gaining the community's understanding and approval of program, does not come without its own difficulties. The more obvious ones are arriving at a balanced representation, getting effective representatives, achieving agreement on delegations of authority and veto power, making decisions about who does the recruiting and maintaining relations with other neighborhood councils and organizations. Therefore, it is wise to use this method only when community involvement is deemed essential and the program operations are committed to the idea.

Interviewing — Interviewing applicants is the most widely used and accepted selection technique for nonprofessionals. The purposes of the interview are: to obtain additional information; get a sense of the individual's motivation for seeking the job (past activities, serious dedication, etc.); discover aspects of

his personal life that have a bearing on the job; and to uncover further details with regard to his past experience and activities. It also provides an opportunity to check on the clarity of information contained in the application or employment form; make sure of the references listed; and provide more information on the job and the program. Through the interview the applicant's understanding of the job is checked and there is the opportunity to observe the appearance and behavior of the applicant. Considerations of how well the applicant relates to the interviewer; how much comfort, ease or tension there is; his ability to communicate; attitudes towards others; and degree of flexibility; can all be observed.

The interview should last from one to one and a half hours. The length of the interview is important since it gives the applicant a chance to relax and increases the possibility of getting a truer picture. After each interview a summary should be prepared, followed by a conference involving staff members who have had an opportunity to observe the candidate. The opportunity for further interviewing should be held open.

Testing — Although there are tests that can be used for screening (interest, intelligence, personality and attitudinal), it is generally advised to avoid their use. More often than not, testing is ineffective when used with nonprofessionals and if regularly used would tend to screen out those for whom the program is intended. Besides, tests are viewed by nonprofessionals with suspicion and resentment. Even when a program decides to use tests they should be employed only as a means of corroborating what is already indicated through other techniques and not as a selection device.

Interest tests, if used, should be handled only by competent testers. Since they are usually intended for vocational guidance they assume choices and educational planning, and are inappropriate for use in these programs. Occasionally, an applicant who is referred through a central employment agency will have been tested. Interpretations, if made, should be carefully arrived at, and done so only with the help of professionals experienced in testing.

Since intelligence tests are usually measures of achievement, they too, need to be carefully interpreted. To the degree they are used only as indicators of the applicant's levels of reading, writing, and comprehension, they are appropriate. As such, they are helpful in indicating the level of functioning to expect and the extent of remediation needed. Again, they should be avoided as specific selection devices.

Personality and attitude tests need to be administered and interpreted by persons with a high degree of training and experience. They too, should not be used to make decisions or selections. Accordingly, unless this kind of

talent is available, and there are reasons for wanting, and being able to use, this information, the program should avoid administering such tests.

Summarizing, there are four essential steps in the screening and selection of nonprofessionals:

a) filing of an application which serves to gather data and screen out clearly inappropriate candidates;

b) a preliminary interview in which the goals of the program and the selection procedure is explained;

c) the depth interview that is designed to elicit a variety of information such as values, life styles ,work and community experience, attitudes, levels of functioning, and communication skills;

d) the final selection decision.

The individual dept. interview is both the most appropriate and effective selection technique in dealing with nonprofessionals. Other methods, such as group interviews, tests, and selection panels can also be used to enable administrators to reach a better decision, but they should not replace the primary importance of the interview. Rigid requirements of education and work experience should be avoided; too often the inadequacies of nonprofessionals reflect environmental factors rather than an absence of innate abilities. More important is the discovery of a person who is mature and motivated, displays inter-personal skills, is inquisitive, enthusiastic and possesses basic communication skills. Admittedly, this is an ideal picture, but nonprofessionals like this do exist. Programs would be wise, however, not to limit their search to the composite but to select persons who approximate this prototype.

C. TRAINING

Importance — Significantly enough, when the OEO recently convened a conference on "The Crisis in Human Services," training was identified as the most crucial and neglected variable in this crisis. Perhaps this was predictable in light of the speed with which that agency moved to create and implement so many of its programs. However, any review of a number of other national or local programs in human services confirms the fact that, although training is invariable recognized as a critical element, it is developed with the least effectiveness.

This situation is especially crucial since training is essential in determining the relative success of a nonprofessional program. Training is more — much more—than the mere imparting of skills or information. Primarily it is concerned with the development of the individual's ability to perform tasks or to improve present levels of performance. Training, however, must also address how the trainee thinks and in what he believes, since these are sig-

nificant aspects that determine behavior. Seen this way, training is the overall attempt to modify behavior so that trainees become more capable of performing tasks. In turn, this is dependent on the acquisition and refinement of skills and knowledge, gaining and deepening insight and self-understanding.

Training For What? — The training program does not begin with actual instruction. Instead, the first consideration is achieving an understanding and agreement on what the nature of the job is, and the specific requirements thereof. Were all the potential nonprofessional jobs of a traditional nature, the task of job specification would be relatively easy. But, because of the indeterminate nature of the human service, and because many of these jobs are charting new employment grounds, a degree of loseness in job definition can be expected. This will be true even where job descriptions exist in fairly explicit terms. And, where they don't yet exist, it is recommended that this become the task initially to be pursued. These specifcations of tasks and functions should proceed with the participation of both the trainer and trainees and be utilized as a beginning training experience.

Training Needs — The next step is to identify what the training needs are. These will generally fall into two categories. One grouping of need are those that exist in terms of the difference between what the job demands (what has to be done, what they need to know to do it) and what the present level of skill and knowledge is. This can be ascertained by observation, questionaires, interview, performance tests, and group self-analysis. This is especially important when training for a number of different positions where it will be necessary to determine how much of the training can be generic and how much will have to be approached separately. The other category of training need is defined by nature of the service program and the training ideaiogy. Herein, attention is directed at specific skills, and the range of material designed to further self-understanding; conceptual, and theoretical backgrounds; an understanding of the problems addressed by the program, and the relationship of the trainee to his own and other institutions.

Training Aims — Following the establishment of training needs, the program should next establish specific objectives and aims for the training program. This step converts the training needs for the job to be done into the actual training program. As such, it is necessary to distinguish between short and long range goals and which training needs are beyond the present scope of the program. The importance of this step lies in its significance for the body of the program (content, procedures, methodology, curriculum, etc.) since they should be derived from overall program objectives and be supportive of them.

Who Is Trained? — The next requirement is to look carefully at the specific population to be trained. One problem associated with nonprofessional programs is the view that they are a homogenous group; undifferentiated because they are all poor, or inexperienced, or uneducated, etc. Certain characteristics and attitudes have been ascribed without appreciation of the differences, and contradictions among nonprofessionals. Although any attempt to look at these exhaustively is beyond the scope of this document, it may be useful to consider one of the more salient of these characteristics and its meaning for training.

Perhaps the most mentioned characteristic of nonprofessionals is their ability to "identify" with the client population because they, like the clients they serve, are members of the community, and therefore share the same background and experience. Without minimizing the worth of the nonprofessional being "indigenous," (which I regard as highly important), it should be recognized that although nonprofessionals may share the same background as their clients, how they perceive it and react to it will differ greatly. Many nonprofessionals see themselves as being quite different from their neighbors, whom they may view as easily with pity, annoyance and impatience, as they do with empathy and real concern. The fact they have been selected for this kind of employment can easily reenforce feelings of being different. In no way is this intended to gainsay the value inherent in being of the community. Even when feeling different, they still know the language, the style, the means of communication, and have facility in relating, which a professional seldom, if ever, attains in the same way. But it should warm those preparing training programs to not assume that all nonprofessionals, or even a significant number, will appreciate being viewed as being the representatives of client populations or that they will be especially attuned or sympathetic to the problems presented by their neighbors. They will fall into many categories; soft and empathetic, hard and judgemental, others may be manipulative and selfish, and then there will be those who conform to what they preceive to be the expectations of those in charge of the program.

Trainee Problems — Another factor to be considered prior to implementing the training program is the general anxiety the nonprofessional experiences due to the ambiguity of his role. Granted that a careful recruitment and selection program, one that has clearly inteprets why the nonprofessional was hired and what he will be doing, can offset some of this. Yet, it would be naive to not recognize that the role or nonprofessional, with its built in lack of clarity regarding present and future employment, produces a kind of marginal person, with an expected surfeit of anxiety. The training program, which has a potential for relieving some of this anxiety through the acquisi-

tion of specific skills and knowledge can at the same time also exaggerate and reinforce these and, indeed, cause new ones. For almost all nonprofessionals the formal training period constitutes a new experience and role; that of trainee. It becomes the initial "real experience" following selection, one that will be conducted and supervised by professionals. It exisits over a protracted period of time, and emphasizes learning and education. Concern over how well he will be able to perform; how "they" will use this experience in evaluating him; how much of the formal material he will be able to understand and how disabling are his current educational difficiencies are all matters that can provoke insecurity. Clearly, some of these anxieties will not be lessened regardless of efforts, but this should not cause any reduction in attempts.

TRAINING PRINCIPLES

The following is an attempt to develop some methodological principles based on the above considerations and definition of training objectives, from which more precise methods can be evolved.[19]

Learning by doing — A major way of dealing with early anxieties is to expose the trainee, from the very outset, to a set of experiences that are as close to the real situation as is possible. The focus is on developing skills, but these should be "taught" in a situational framework. Accordingly, the techniques of role playing and job simulation, which afford considerable opportunity for activity and involvement are especially well-suited. Furthermore, learning, including value and attitude change, can occur more rapidly when it is a function of purposeful activity.

Activity and Discussion, Not Lectures — Problem solving, which can be approached as an intellectual exercise with professionals, best proceeds with nonprofessionals when connected with activity. For example, organizing and conducting meetings, making observations on a field trip, devising and implementing a simple survey, are all more appropriate, and will prove more productive, than lectures on parlimentary procedure, simple evaluation techniques or beginning research. Discussions that provide opportunities to use trainee experience are equally more appealing and productive than lectures. The underlying principle is that learning is increased significantly where there is active participation by the learner.

Group Involvement — Training in groups or teams provides the opportunity for the nonprofessional to experience membership and the sharing of accomplishments. It is a protected but real setting for the trainee to see him-

19. Much of this material and that on curriculum and methodology are based on the numerous articles by Frank Reisman & Douglas Grant, and on the work done by the Lincoln Hospital Mental Health Services, especially, Training Manual I, Training of Nonprofessional Aides for Neighborhood Service Centers, prepared by Roman, Melvin and Jacobson, Sally. Lincoln Hospital Mental Health Services, Albert Einstein College of Medicine (unpublished).

self in terms of his peers and to become more effective in relationships with them. It is yet another means for involving the trainee in his own learning by having him react to, or work with, materials in units small enough so that a measure of participation is guaranteed. It also provides social content for study.

"Helper" Principle — The use of upgraded nonprofessionals to help trainees can be of great help in facilitating learning. The more experienced nonprofessionals represent concrete examples of what the trainee may aspire to and someday become. The trainee is often more willing to accept help from them and in turn they advance by giving help.

Self Study — This includes the use of self-instructional materials, programmed instruction and organized reading report writing and making presentations. Learning can be more effective when it results from efforts to find answers to self-initiated questions and proceeds on the basis of personal investment.

Self-understanding — Learning to understand one's self becomes a way of learning to understand others and to understand social phenomena as it affects the individual. It provides the basis for developing an individual style and the ability to make judgements about individual progress as well as the strengths and weaknesses that facilitate or inhibit growth.

CURRICULUM

Ideally, the total training program should proceed in a phased manner that allows the trainee sufficient time to grasp material presented at increasingly more difficult levels of comprehension and specificity. Towards that end the curriculum should be divided into three phases; orientation (pre-service training), core (basic training), and in-service (on-the-job) training. No magic is intended by these separations; indeed, in many cases aspects of one phase will overlap another. The essential consideration is to be sure that the materials covered are graded in terms of increasing difficulty, kept relevant to the job in mind, and are coupled with more and more on-the-job experiences.

Orientation — The overall focus of orientation is to introduce the trainee to the specific area in which he will be working. Of primary importance for the trainee is the need to understand the agency, its goals and structure, staffing, services, personnel practices, and what is expected of him as an employee. This can be accomplished by a combination of didactic presentations and discussions, as well as short visits throughout the agency. These visits are important in enchancing the trainees role and image as a member of agency staff, especially if he formerly had a client relationship to the agency.

This pre-service period affords him the time to "put himself together" and deal with personal problems which may interfere with his functioning. It provides a "protected" period of time to deal with any insecurities, doubts and self-questioning which may result from entering into the formal training program. The importance of having sympathetic and competent staff always available to deal with these potential problems cannot be overestimated.

Another focus is beginning the development of primary skills. Essentially, what has to be developed during orientation are those entry, novice skills, that can give the trainees a sense of beginning adequacy. For example: writing letters, making personal contacts, arranging appointments, eliciting information, gathering data (observing, listening, recording), and planning meetings. The methods to be employed in mastering these entry skills are demonstration, role playing, simulations, use of case materials, discussion, audio-visual materials, and actual tasks such as making a call, writing a letter, interviewing a client.

Finally, the pre-service phase should begin to expose the trainee to some theory and principles. At this stage the most effective method is through discussions and beginning to draw inferences and meaning from whatever limited activities they are engaged in.

Core Training: Goals — This phase of the training program, characterized by supervised on-the-job training, is focussed on providing the trainee with the necessary information, understanding, knowledge and job skills to become an effective staff member. Following core training the nonprofessional worker should understand adequately the client population he will be dealing with and the problems they face. He should be familiar with the functions and responsibilities of the various professionals and agencies that exist in his community with whom he will have contact. The worker should achieve a better understanding of himself and his immediate peers and how he relates to others. He should develop enough specialized skills to be able to fully utilize his talents and provide a competent level of service.

Content — Obviously, the specific content of the core training will vary considerably from one program to another and for the specific assignment of the nonprofessional within the program. For example, a home health aide will need to know a great deal about diseases, stages of illness, body care, nutrition and home management, while a research aide will need to know about sampling procedures, statistics, constructing questionnaires, and methods of analysis. Regardless of the differences in need for specific skills and those that derive from particular settings, there is a body of content that is applicable to most, if not all nonprofessionals. This content can be

seen as falling into 5 general areas: conceptual, interpersonal, information and general knowledge, skills; and problem focussed.

Conceptual — Although an excessive concentration on theoretical content is to be avoided, some concern with theory is necessary and can be extremely useful in providing a frame of reference that will enhance the learning process. In all instances it should be tied to the current experiences and practics of the trainees. Of particular value are discussions about the economic and sociological factors influencing the problems that their client population faces. The trainees should be given some perspectives on the theory and operation of their own program in its attempts to meet these problems. Beyond this, the amount of conceptual involvement should be limited, especially at the outset, to only those areas that flow from the work of the trainees.

Information and General Knowledge — Minimally, the trainees should learn the particular characteristics of the population and the community in which they will operate. This should include the structure of community institutions and their resources, their approaches to resolving problems and some attempts at quantifying their effectiveness. They should become informed about the development and the use of nonprofessionals including the problems and the potential.

Skill — Skill content may refer either to what the trainee needs to know about a highly specific job or about human services generally. In view of the fact that many of these job categories are still in flux, that future possibilities hopefully will expand, and that the program has an obligation to insure the possibility of upgrading, it is recommended that the skill content not be restricted to a specific job. Among the skills that are most important are the following: interviewing; collecting and evaluating information; planning and conducting meetings; upgrading the basic skills of speaking, reading and report writing; contacting clients and professional; organizing groups; and service giving procedure.

Interpersonal — Content in this area focus on the trainee's relationship to co-workers, administrative staff, and the client population. It also deals with those attitudes, values and behavior that can get in the way of effective functioning on the job. It attempts to develop insight and understanding into the workers own feelings,how different people feel and react and how awareness can be helpful in developing the social skills necessary for coping with interpersonal difficulties.

Problems — Sufficient time should be allotted for group discussions to deal with a variety of problems that will arise during this phase. While they cannot all be anticipated, some of the more common are: problems between the

trainees and trainers (nonprofessionals and professionals); relationships with other agencies and their personnel; issues of confidentiality; attitudes toward clients; and all the petty annoyances connected with schedules, stipends, holidays, use of materials, etc. Many of these can become blown up if not handled properly. They also have potential as training content when used creatively.

METHODOLOGY

Consistent with what was said earlier about methodology, the core training phase allows for the greatest flexibility and the use of almost every training technique. Basically, this period of training is divided between supervised practical experience (on-the-job), and "classroom" experience. In both cases there should be opportunity for the trainees to have total group, team and individual experiences. There can be workshops, projects or seminars. Group and team experiences provide valuable opportunities for the trainees to begin working cooperatively, learn from each other, assert and test themselves against their peers. Trainees also should be permitted to work alone, select and develop projects that stem from their own interests and on occasions be given specific assignments that are set up to develop special skills.

Whatever the activity, the focus upon problem solving should be built in. A tolerance for making mistakes, for struggling through difficult decisions (help coming only when necessary), should characterize this training period. Efforts to increase the ease and fluency of self-expression through the use of the trainee's own experiences is of prime importance. The trainee must be taught to evaluate his own ideas and performance against what he and staff expect. The methods used during this phase are numerous and include: field trips and planned observations followed by seminars related to observations; assigned readings; role playing workshop, technique demonstrations; use of visual aids; case conferences; use of outside consultants (particularly suited for developing writing skills — use of writers and reporters as opposed to english teachers is recommended); short term field assignments; skills practicum; and discussions (problem-solving, evaluation and feedback, individual and team presentations, and theoretical).

Length of Training — Many of the specific arrangements attendant to the administration of training will depend on the nature of the particular program. In all cases there must be enough time allotted to make the training program meaningful and assure the nonprofessional that training is viewed as a serious enterprise. I would recommend that the training program (orientation and core training) be spread over 2-3 months. The first week or two should be spent in the classroom and thereafter, the time be divided

between field and classroom with increasingly more time spent in the field. For example, following the first two weeks, the next three weeks can be divided to have the trainees in class three days a week and in the field for two. During the next six weeks this can be reversed, with the trainees spending 3 days a week in the field and two in the classroom. A final week should be reserved for assigning final placements, going over evaluations, and tying up all unresolved problems.

IN SERVICE (on-the-job) TRAINING

This phase, a continuation and extension of the core training, is carried out within the specific job setting and is concerned within increasing skills and competence. The nonprofessional is no longer a trainee, but a worker receiving on-going training. This training, conducted mainly by the supervisor, is characterized by limited didatic and simulated experiences, and instead uses the real experience of working directly with clients and problems as its major content.

The major method of learning will be by doing, which should be carefully planned and supervised. Scheduled conferences and discussions with the supervisor and other staff are necessary and can be extremely helpful. The new worker will be increasing and refining the skills and knowledge assembled during the basic training period and, in addition to what he receives through the formal supervision, will also learn from older staff by watching and working with them in teams.

Another aspect of in-service training, sometimes labeled supplementary or "up-grading" training, is an attempt to develop the workers talents, and significantly increase competency, so that opportunities for advancement, in and out of the program, can be taken care of.

TRAINING RESOURCES

The approach to the provision of resources necessary to conduct a training program is very simple; it should be done with the same care devoted to other phases of the program. It would be unfortunate to sacrifice the quality of a well thought out training design because there was insufficient planning.

Allocation of Space and Time — The physical facility should be one conducive to training, a place where the trainees can see themselves as adults. It need not be a classroom but should have qualities similar to a classroom; bulletin boards, black boards, adequate ventilation and light, sufficient privacy, and space enough for formal and informal activities. If possible, there should be an area set aside for reading and writing reports, mail boxes for communications, storage space for books and materials and a place to relax and chat. Determinations on the length of the training day, the training

week, and the total training program should be made prior to beginning the program. Specific schedules will depend on the variety of experiences planned and the different methods to be used, how much specialized knowledge is required and the quality and number of training staff available. In all instances, however, time components should be agreed upon, known in advance and honored. The length of one session should never exceed the length of the working day. The schedule should alternate between activity and didactic sessions, between field trips and classroom work, etc., and provide a varied, but integrated program.

Materials, Supplies and Equipment — Training programs will require support in the way of materials, supplies and equipment. Audio-visual aids should be used when available and the trainees should have the opportunity to operate the tape recorders and motion picture projectors. Tape recorders are especially helpful as learning devices. There should be sufficient furniture for the trainees to have a place to work (chairs, desks, lamps, file cabinets, bookcases) and the materials necessary such as writing supplies.

Ideally, the trainees should have access to reproducing equipment (Xerox, mimeographing etc.) and reference materials, (books, magazines, etc.) There should be equipment available so that breaks can be pleasurable such as coffee pots, cups and saucers, telephones, magazines, etc. Clearly, a listing such as this can be as long as one chooses to make it. The main consideration is to support the trainee in a serious, training program, with all the equipment and material necessary to enhance learning.

Training Staff Resources

In some instances it may be necessary to use an outside resource for conducting the training program. Usually, this occurs when the agency lacks sufficient staff, does not have the necessary specialities represented on its staff, or finds that its less expensive to contract for training staff than to employ them. When this is indicated, care must be taken to assure that the program does not abdicate its basic responsibility for the training and to the trainees. The outside resource is to help make effective training possible, not to take over the program. Two types of outside resources have been used to train nonprofessionals; the educational system, and training centers specially designed for the training of nonprofessionals. Some of the drawbacks to utilizing the educational facilities (adult education, community college, extension services and universities) are their rigid admission policies, an inabilty or lack of intesest in educating the disadvantaged, and the presumption of a training capability that is more often imagined than real. On the other hand, the educational system holds great promise

for the nonprofessional since it does possess numbers of talented potential trainers, and constitutes the most viable auspices for upgrading, accrediating, and credentiating. Further, there recently have been indications that some universities are willing to forego the traditional entrance requirements, establish new courses and methods of instruction, and experiment with giving credit for learning and experience acquired outside the classroom.[20]

A major problem of the specially constituted training centers is that they are often too removed from the everyday needs of trainees, as they try to devise generic curriculums to suit a highly differentiated group of nonprofessionals. And, like all agencies under contract to do training, they lack certain authority and committment to specific trainees. Further, it can lead to a situation where training become compartmentalized from the nonprofessionals total experience with little opportunity to have training dovetail with ongoing supervision. However, it does offer a dedicated group of people who are committed to the training of nonprofessionals and who soon will have acquired some of the most thorough experience for training this level of staff.

It is strongly recommended that, when feasible, the employing agency itself undertake the training of its nonprofessional staff. Short of that, the agency should seek to involve outside resources, but with a strong recommendation that they retain their own person as the training coordinator, who will be responsible for planning, and developing the training model and then working with these outside groups in carrying out the program.

Training and Orienting Professionals

A training program for nonprofessionals would be incomplete if it did not also address the need for orienting and training the professional personnel to whom they will be responsible and with whom they will work. Few professionals have had the opportunity of working directly with nonprofessionals and typically lack the experience necessary to establish effective working relationships. Others, despite the best of intentions, may harbor misconceptions, stereotypes, and condescending attitudes that can prove deliterious if they carry supervisory responsibilities. Still others will be resistent, either because they are concerned about deteriorating professional standards, have questions about the concept, or refuse to extend themselves. Therefore, the inclusion of a training sequence for professionals, especially those who will supervise and otherwise be responsible for guiding the nonprofessional, becomes a necessity.

20. See, for example Southern Illinois University (Experiment in Higher Education), N.Y.U. — (Second Chance University-proposal, Institute for Urban Services Aide) Georgetown University.

Some of the overall goals of such a program should include:

—acquainting professionals with the general characteristics of the nonprofessional; his style, "unique" qualities and skills (it can be assumed that most professionals will be unaware of these);

—planning specific nonprofessional job functions that can take advantage of these characteristics;

—acquiring techniques for dealing with the anticipated stresses and anxieties encountered by nonprofessionals when working with professionals in professional settings;

—learning specific techniques of supervision and how to adapt traditional methods for dealing with nonprofessionals;

—learning to recognize and deal with problems related to confidentiality, authority, competition, and relations with the community;

—familiarize professionals with the differences in cultural styles; and

—developing a criteria for judging competence and evaluating nonprofessionals.

As readily can be seen, the effort involved in training professionals, although directed at imparting content, is equally concerned with having the professional play a part in the development of the program. Hopefully this involvement will build commitment and reduce the number of problems. The style of training should reject any methods that suggest the professional are "trainees." For example, scheduled seminars for all those involved in supervision are more appropriate than lectures or classes.

D. PLACEMENT

Placement refers to the nonprofessional assuming a full time staff position. Perhaps the most crucial issue related to placement, is at what point in the process does it occur. I would recommend early and permanent placement as being most desirable, since it satisfies the overriding need of the nonprofessional, — acceptance of his potential and commitment to his development.

For those programs using the training period as a selection device, placement can only occur after the completion of the training program. Despite the advantages cited, e.g., it provides a better opportunity to know the candidate and therefore reach a wiser decision, I would not recommend this approach for several reasons. It increases many unnecessary anxieties, makes for less honesty among the trainees since they know they are being judged and therefore attempt to perform according to what they perceive as professional expectancies; and creates the potential for viewing this delay as a lack of committment, and as being experimental and arbitrary with the

poor, the disadvantaged, or the uneducated. If a program chooses to use training as a selection device they are obliged to so inform the trainees at the very outset and then repeat this several times during the program. And, in almost all instances, they should be prepared to deal with a considerable amount of anxiety and insecurity during the training period and/especially as it nears the end and decisions about placement need to be made.

If the trainee is scheduled to be placed in another agency, it is essential that the trainee know this in advance and that arrangements be secured prior to the trainee entering the program. To have selected and trained a person, raised his ambitions and hopes and then have these dashed due to poor planning is at best unfortunate and at worst, irresponsible.[21] Even when placements have been arranged, there is a need to maintain an outgoing communication with the receiving agency throughout the training period. They should be familiar with the trainees as well as the training program. Preparations to receive the new staff people need to be made well in advance and take into consideration that many of the initial anxieties connected with joining the program will be reactivated upon placement. Once placed, training program staff should follow-up and maintain contact with the nonprofessionals and their new employees. Arrangements and procedures should be detailed in advance to deal with anticipated difficulties, including the possibility that some of the trainees may not work out.

Some programs will be involved only in training, hoping that other agencies will make the placements or believing that nonprofessionals once trained should have little difficulty securing jobs. Clearly, such programs are even more obliged to make this known and repeat it many times. Too often, this has not been interpreted because it was felt the trainees had enough anxieties without adding new ones. However well intentioned such an approach may be, it borders on condenscion and needs but one disappointing experience to expose its transparency.

Most programs, however, make the placement prior to the training phase with a permanent assignment contingent upon the successful completion of the training and orientation sequence. Even then there may be probationary periods and review at planned intervals, but for all intents and purposes, assignment at this juncture constitutes full employment. As such, the new employee should be eligible for all the usual benefits that other staff acquire.

The issue of how much salary a nonprofessional should be paid upon placement has been of major concern. Unfortunately, the salary levels

21. Even the best planning cannot always avoid the collapse of commitments; e.g., budgets may be cut, funds delayed, the Board alters its position or the timing doesn't mesh. Where placement is not assured, provision to maintain the trainees for a period of time beyond the completion of the program is advised.

characteristic for nonprofessionals have been geared slightly above the poverty line and although ranging from a typical low of $3,000 to as high as $6,200, they have clustered around the $3,500-$4,500 mark. Low salaries have been defended as being necessary in order to conform to prevailing wage rates or as a means of preventing community resistance and hostility to the program. Whatever the reason, it is patently irresponsible to pay nonprofessionals below or so close to what is considered a poverty income, that this kind of employment, which supposes to represent new opportunity, provides very little real financial increase or work incentive. If salaries for nonprofessionals remain depressed at the same time that salaries for professionals continue to rise, we will witness the increase of serious morale problems and nonprofessional-professional bickering. Ultimately, the successful integration of the nonprofessional will not be achieved by testimony to its cheapness as a solution; rather, it will depend on this new personnel being engaged in necessary and meaningful work for which they are adequately compensated, so that they can achieve a decent and respectable style of life. This must include having available real opportunities to move up the salary scale. The presence of an upgrading system, while not reducing the importance of the starting salary, would put it into a more realistic perspective. The other benefits that placement should secure are vacations, sick leave, holidays, health insurance, the right to come together and bargain collectively, etc., in short, whatever is available to professional staff. What must be avoided is the creation of a caste system within the program whereby nonprofessionals are treated differentially, either in terms of salary or benefits.

E. SUPERVISION

Following formal training and assignment to a specific job, the nonprofessional worker's primary relationships are with fellow staff and those charged with supervising his performance. Whether the staff person who handles the ongoing supervisory functions is titled Supervisor, Director or Chief is relatively unimportant, what is essential is the fact that this person(s) will be responsible for the ongoing training, education and administration of the nonprofessional's functioning.

Training and Supervision — Too frequently, the functions of training and supervision become mixed and overlap, with the result that their differences are blurred and supervision becomes merely an extension of training. True, supervision does include a teaching and learning function, however, one that significantly differs from training. As a trainee, the relationship between the nonprofessional and those in charge was a clear one, defined by the training task. The trainee knew that whatever he did or did not do would

not result in any serious consequences for himself or those he worked with. Now as a worker on the job, he is responsible and vulnerable, and may alternately want someone to tell him exactly what to do, not just teach and certainly not indirectly; or he may resent any intrusion by his supervisor feeling that he already knows enough and sometimes that he knows best. The supervisor often confronted with such inappropriate expectations — the nonprofessional seeking magical answers or total independence — must try to fashion a relationship that at once is free enough so the fledging worker feels independent but structured enough to provide opportunities for instruction and learning. Training, which is essentially a teaching-learning situation, that proceeds with a fixed curriculum, is time-limited and group focused, differs from supervision which is an ongoing, highly individualized experience that uses the workers real life situation as the teaching material.

Purpose — The function of the supervisor is widely understood and accepted; he is charged with overseeing and taking responsibility for those assigned to him. Using this model many nonprofessional programs have defined supervision as the process by which the new worker is inducted into the organization, instructed in the particular skills and processes that must be performed and then held to some general level of accepted standard performance. This approach, although quite valid, may prove too narrow a view for nonprofessional programs for the following reasons: most orientation and training programs are too limited in time and scope to fully prepare the nonprofessional for traditional on-the-job supervision; the built-in ambiguity of the nonprofessional job requires more time and commitment from the supervisor; there is a continuing responsibility on the part of the supervisor to train, educate and develop the nonprofessional so that upgrading can occur; and finally, the upward boundaries of the nonprofessional's ability to perform are unknown and it becomes the duty of the supervisor to continually escalate tasks and responsibilities to match worker skills and new found competence.

Seen this way, the purposes of supervision include a) skill and knowledge acquisition b) quality control of services rendered by the worker and c) growth and development of the worker in all areas affecting his performance.

Ratios — In order to achieve these purposes, it is best that the supervisory function be lodged with one professional person who is responsible for a specific number of nonprofessionals. The actual ratio of nonprofessional to supervisor should be determined by their assignment. For example, if nonprofessionals were employed as case aides and dealing with serious problems, giving advice and some counseling, the ratio of one supervisor to 6

nonprofessionals would be appropriate, whereas one supervisor could easily handle double this number if the nonprofessionals were working as recreation staff. Still another possibility is the use of upgraded nonprofessionals or other agency personnel in combination with an experienced supervisor. For example, in a community organization component employing 16 community workers there could be two upgraded nonprofessionals who serve as "crew chiefs" or field supervisors responsible for monitoring the work in the field, being available for consultation around problems that may arise, and demonstrating methods and techniques. Backing them up is an experienced supervisor working closely with the field supervisors and indirectly with the total staff in developing conceptual skills, reading records, and in the area of personal development. The larger the component and the number of nonprofessionals, the more likely it is that there will be a stratification of supervisory functions. However, in all situations there should be someone immediately available to every 8-10 nonprofessionals who has the time and the competence to engage in on-the-job training and learning activities.

Problems — The greatest hazards for a meaningful supervisory experience are indifference to the development of the nonprofessional, excessive service burdens demanded too early, and an inadequate amount of time for phasing into the job. The supervisor, aware of these pitfalls, will allow for a leisurely pace, anticipating a greater pay-off in the long run. Standards should not be reduced or de-emphasized but expectations of production should be scaled down at the beginning and then raised overtime.

Actual supervision, whether performed on-the-job, in the field, or during conferences is a process requiring skill, patience and commitment. The efforts of the supervisor are not always appreciated and are often resisted. Direct on-the-job supervision will be important at the beginning and set the tone for much of what follows. The supervisor structures the teaching relationship by actual demonstration at first, then through sharing responsibilities, then to providing support by being available in case there are mistakes and finally, through his role as observer and discussant. The supervisor does for and with the worker when he has difficulty, but strives to move away from direct intervention to his more typical role of analyzing, interpreting and bringing insight to the nonprofessional's experiences of the nonprofessional. As the worker becomes more experienced the nature of the supervision becomes more problem-focussed and worker-oriented.

This kind of relationship will most likely be a new experience for the nonprofessional worker, one that he may have difficulty with. Typically, it requires a level of sophistication, and a degree of self-discipline and confidence so that discussions concerning weaknesses and areas of less than adequate functioning are not construed as damaging or negative criticisms.

This process often raises the issue of professional-nonprofessional differences, that unless dealt with forthrightly and early can prove troublesome.

The nonprofessional more often than not is accustomed to a supervisor who is a boss and tells workers what and what not to do, rather than asking why. It becomes further confusing when the supervisor is also administratively responsible for his time, attendance, vacation, salary recommendations, etc. Supervisors who attempt to achieve this kind of relationship should expect ambivalence and hostility with appeals for a more democratic ideology that would deny any "professional" differences. If possible, the supervisor should not be saddled with heavy administrative responsibilities that are likely to exaggerate differences. If it is impossible to relieve the supervisor of administrative duties, it may be desirable, especially at the outset, for a somewhat "neutral" figure to take responsibility for those aspects of supervision that are primarily concerned with the worker's personal growth and development.

It can be anticipated that a good number of nonprofessionals will request help around personal problems that may range from family situations to housing needs to getting a drivers license. Again, it would be wiser for the supervisor to avoid getting too involved or entangled in these problems, except insofar as they effect the worker's performance. Despite good intentions and a "professional" outlook, some nonprofessionals have experienced a judgemental response from professional staff when presented with "negative" information. Unfortunately, this information can affect judgements about worker performance. One way of handling this is for the program to assign a skilled professional person without administrative responsibility to be available to the group. Or, the program can contract with an outside agency to provide help on a need basis.

When nonprofessional staff is to be assigned to another agency the issue of supervision is likely to become problematic. The program that originally hired the worker must assure that he will receive proper supervision. At the same time the agency in which he is placed will rightfully want to exercise control over its staff. In most cases, the easiest solution is to initially have joint supervision. These kinds of arrangements should be secured in advance and frank conversations held as to the kind of problems it is likely to present. The hiring organization should be explicit both in its acceptance of responsibility and in its desire to relinquish control as soon as possible. In fact, a time table for transfering authority, but with stated areas of compliance, agreed upon assignments of responsibilities, and prior steps to be accomplished, will be helpful. The major concern is to make the administration of such joint efforts as simple as possible, and move quickly to have the delegated agency assume full supervisory responsibility.

Evaluation — An important aspect of the supervisor's function is the evaluation of the workers assigned to him. Many programs report that evaluations are a source of great difficulty and agitation to the staff. In some cases their concerns seem justified — evaluations have been prepared by staff that are not familiar with the workers or their work; they have been based on highly subjective judgements in the absence of stipulated levels of performance submitted irregularly; not been shared with those being evaluated; judged on too high or low expectations; and frequently have not served any useful purpose.

The function of an evaluation is to record the effectiveness of the worker, to indicate shortcomings and strengths, and decide whether he should be retained, advanced or put on some probationary status. In most cases evaluation takes on fearful aspects and exaggerates worker anxiety about the capriciousness and subjectivity on the part of their supervisors. Much of this can be reduced by a sensible and consistent approach to evaluation. To begin with, the nonprofessional should be informed that there will be evaluations. He should be made aware of exactly what is contained in the evaluation, what activities will be looked at and how judgement will be made. Prior to the due date of the evaluation conferences between the supervisor and the worker should be held to cover the material contained in the evaluation. This will not only allay fears and give the worker an opportunity to express his concerns and insecurities, but more importantly, it begins the process of objectifying work as separate from considerations of self. The supervisor must realize that this kind of detachment is difficult and be prepared to spend time in explaining its importance. At the beginning it may be necessary to have frequent evaluations, perhaps every 3 months, although programs generally use two 6 month evaluations for the first year and annual ones thereafter. The content should be as specific as possible and the supervisor should not resent having to defend the materials and judgements he has included.

F. UPGRADING

Much of the above discussion regarding the nonprofessional has focused on the need to provide upgrading opportunities by creating career ladders. In turn, this has prompted some observers to question whether all nonprofessionals need to be upgraded and also, whether all nonprofessional jobs should be devised with built-in career escalation. Before dealing with these issues, it will be useful to pursue some prior questions that may put the above ones into perspective.

How important, and to whom, is the issue of upgrading? To the individ-

ual nonprofessional the virtues of upgranding are quite apparent; they will receive additional compensation, status and responsibility. Yet there are other equally important factors that perhaps can be more clearly seen when upgrading does not occur. Accepting as a given fact, that some or many nonprofessionals will demonstrate ability and show capacity for upgrading, the lack of specific plans to implement advancement is very likely to create serious morale problems. This lack of opportunity is not likely to awaken any significant initiative on the part of the nonprofessional who senses he is consigned to the lowest levels of an organizational hierachy. Not only is it more likely to reduce motivation, but it will tend to reinforce prevalent sterotypes about professionals being unwilling to relinquish any meaningful roles for this new manpower. As they continue to cluster in low-level entry jobs, they will assume the role of a permanent underclass of the professional world. This can easily reduce the potential number of entering nonprofessionals as this level expands with no place to go. Conversely, systematic upgrading can continue to expand the openings for nonprofessionals, open up many new professional jobs (trainers, supervisors, etc.) and become a major new source of recruitment to the professions. Of course, an agency can pursue a policy of encouraging rapid nonprofessional turnover and thereby maintain a fixed member of nonprofessional entry positions. Not only does such a policy adversely affect the nonprofessional but it is delterious to the program since it limits possibilities in utilizing experienced nonprofessionals and wastes training efforts. Further it exploits the nonprofessional. Even without such a policy, the lack of opportunity can easily lead to large and rapid turnovers with the same kind of results.

It is ill-advised for an agency, especially one committed to human services, to practice policies, that if applied for other level of staff, would be considered inappropriate. Almost all agencies have plans for staff upgrading; the failure to provide one for nonprofessionals will indicate more of the agency's real attitude about nonprofessionals than does the sum total of any rhetoric that extolls their use.

The lack of a plan whereby nonprofessional staff can move up will be disruptive to the professional who likewise is seeking upgrading opportunities. Either the professional gives up some functions that have importance, (in which satisfactory performance by the nonprofessional is prized and rewarded) along with others that are less important, or he can easily face the indictment that much of what he has been doing was unimportant. This in turn, can raise questions about the significance of his current functions. Unless the nonprofessional is viewed merely as performing meaningless tasks and seen as a passing phenomenon; the relationship between the two must be acknowledged and the professional realize that his own future

may be tied to the development of the nonprofessional. In a closed system, or where the gaps between occupational levels are so extreme artificial separations will be strengthened. Without any real upgrading, those professionals who are serious about working and developing nonprofessionals can only be stymied, as they face a group of discouraged, perhaps disgruntled employees, who will not easily or kindly take to efforts aimed at helping them "realize their potential."

Ultimately, then, the importance of upgrading goes beyond immediate gratifications to selected individuals; it is of value to the entire nonprofessional group, and to their professional co-workers. Upgrading is absolutely necessary if nonprofessionals are to be motivated to perform, to seek education, and to be responsive to their clients, trainers and supervisors. Upgrading can avoid many invidious self-fulfilling prophecies about the absence of aspiration and lack of capacities of the poor. Above all, it is necessary if this approach is to be taken seriously by the general community, the nonprofessional and the client system, and be considered a viable answer to the problems of human services and manpower. Finally, the provision of incentives and upgrading must be instituted to meet the basic requirements of equal and fair treatment for all employees. The poor, the disadvantaged, the uneducated and miseducated, should not be exploited under the guise of providing opportunities.

How can this upgrading be achieved? For example, does it mean that all nonprofessionals must become eligible for professional positions? On the contrary, there are a number of ways in which the nonprofessional can be upgraded and yet remain a nonprofessional. And, while we would not rule out the possibility of his eventually moving to a professional level, the first priority is to develop a system to insure advancement for most nonprofessionals. Although an increase in salary by itself is a limited approach, it does constitute one kind of upgrading. It can be done by regular increments over specific periods of time, including the possibility of double increments for outstanding work or it can be accomplished by raises based on merit. In addition to increased wages, satisfactory performance can be rewarded through increased responsibility. Often, the status attached to new responsibilities is as important as salary increases, although one should not be used as a substitute for the other. Clearly, the more desirable form of upgrading should reflect both an increase in salary and in responsibility. It can occur by moving the nonprofessional upward in a graded series on nonprofessional jobs, each carrying additional salary and responsibility, or it can be done laterally, in advanced grades within the same basic nonprofessional job. For example, the neighborhood aide may move successively to neighborhood worker, senior neighborhood worker, assistant supervising neighbor-

hood worker and finally, supervisor of neighborhood work. Or, within one job title there may be several grades, e.g., neighborhood worker I, II and III and Supervising Neighborhood Worker I and II.

In some situations a lateral move, as recognition of practitioner competence, or when the next significant upward step is so highly professionalized that advancement is unlikely, has clearer advantages than does the upward move.

In either case, these moves must be meaningful and not patently obvious attempts to create a sense of career ladder. In addition, since grade steps should reflect an increase in responsibility and salary, there is a limit to the amount of fractionating of jobs which can occur.

Upgrading must concern itself with the need for continuing development of the nonprofessional. This includes additional training in specializations and time given for pursuing the more "academic" areas such as reading, writing, speaking, and reporting. A variety of training formats can be used to achieve the above; lectures, seminars, use of outside consultants, self-study groups, correspondence courses; and special service courses administered by colleges and given at the agency. The program should encourage and, if necessary, coach nonprofessionals to assure they receive a high school diploma or an equivalency. Of course, enrollment in community colleges and universities should not be discounted. The employing program will need to decide the extent of it's responsibility for enabling nonprofessionals to upgrade their educational levels. This can range from flexible scheduling of work hours, giving time off, providing scholarships, stipends or fellowships, or setting up procedures whereby staff are sent to school with the proviso that upon completion of their studies they will return and work at the agency. Perhaps the ideal method for achieving upgrading is through the development of a system whereby the nonprofessional is placed on the job, receives training, goes on for special education and/or training, obtains credentials and then is moved up to the next level where the same process is repeated.

Returning now to the original question (whether all nonprofessionals need be upgraded and all jobs designed with this in mind), one answer is to strongly suggest that nonprofessionals should, at the very least have choices and options available. Too often, proponents of nonprofessional advancement, have suggested highly structured models of career escalation. Most are designed to change the nonprofessional into a professional, as if this were the only choice. Some change the prefix "non" to more professional sounding ones at each step of the ladder, presumably thereby making the transition more palatable. The frequent result is that, in order for a non-

professional to advance, he must do so on the agency's terms and within a professional model that prescribes formal education and credentialing. Certainly having some route available is better than none, and without it real choice is nonexistent. Nevertheless, this single model without choice about whether to advance or not, and more importantly, how to advance — can become another kind of professional manipulation. Potentially, it can reduce the viability and meaningfulness of the "lower level" nonprofessional jobs, propel thousands into a search for credentials that often have little bearing on what they need to know in order to perform their jobs, and deflect the concern of nonprofessional programs away from the aim of institutional change to one of pre-professionalism.

Some jobs will and should be entry-level only, with no attempts made to escalate them, since they are not sufficiently viable as careers. Other jobs are rightfully more concerned with their rehabilitative potential than their career potential. Some jobs, which constitute intermediate steps in a career continum, can if more fully extended, represent meaningful careers. Some nonprofessionals will be satisfied to stay at the same level with periodic salary increases, some will want an entry level job to gain experience for other positions, and, others will need, want and demand opportunities to expand knowledge and increase skills so that they can move up a career ladder, assuming greater responsibility and earning more money.

A more varied approach to upgrading that can account for the above differences, should not lead to a lessening of efforts directed at opening up more formal routes — civil service, college credits, tests — but instead should combine these with new possibilities. Credentialing should occur in other than formal and academic terms, e.g., licensing and certification based on experience and in-service training. Salaries for different positions within a graded system should be overlapping so that the worker who wishes not to move to the next step (which hopefully carries different responsibilities), can receive equal, if not more compensation, than those beginning at the next step. For those wanting to move to another level they should be able to do so either by meeting formal requirements or by equivalencies that match experience and on-the-job training with education and testing.

Overall, the practitioner level jobs should become highly valued, receive abundant compensation and not fall heir to the practices of other professions where the more competent practitioners are regularly removed from providing direct service and given supervisory or administrative functions as the only means for providing rewards. The aim of upgrading should be to provide status, recognition and compensation at all nonprofessional

levels; the practioner level, the supervisory level and the administrative level.

G. EVALUATION

In considering evaluation as a separate program element there is awareness that extensive research activities will be beyond the scope of most organizations fielding nonprofessional programs. However, this should not preclude minimal evaluation, even if it is little more than data collection. To date, the momentum behind the drive for increased utilization of nonprofessionals has proceeded more from conviction than from documented experience. If permanency for these new personnel is to be achieved, if agencies are to secure and increase budget allocations for nonprofessional components, and if these workers are to be utilized with more effectiveness, evaluation programs that offer objective data on the nature and outcomes of the programs are a crucial necessity. Further, the experimental nature of many of these programs requires that evaluation be conducted in a serious manner. Since the level of research resources of most nonprofessional programs will vary, the following attempts to describe a general evaluation program, one that doubtlessly is not possible for all programs to undertake fully.

The overall purpose of evaluation is to determine what is happening in the program and how effective it is. More specifically, assessments of procedures, specific aspects of programs and general experience can increase the likelihood that more rational reasons will guide their being modified, expanded or discontinued. Evaluation can be used effectively to determine future choices and for studying and improving specific procedures techniques and types of interventions. At a different level, it can serve to provide the benchmarks and guidelines for more intensive studies, including those that attempt to measure and qualify the nature of change.

In any case, evaluation must begin with a question — a problem — a practical decision about what will be looked at. Certain areas logically present themselves as being of major concern; the nonprofessional worker, the program in which he works, and the agency that employs him.

The Worker — Of primary importance in looking at the worker is performance, and secondly, what is happening to him personally. To evaluate effectiveness of performance it is necessary to measure the quality and quantity of work against short and long term goals that have been set as indicators of progress. For example, within a very short period of time the case aide should be able to perform minimal intake procedures, e.g., get and record information, interpret services and make a referral. After more

time has passed, the case aide can be expected to upgrade his knowledge of community resources, conduct interviews, record and make assessments, and propose action. Following more experience, he should be able to be involved in collaborative interventions, do some counseling, write up case studies and handle more serious problems. Failure to reach these goals can be the result of inadequate worker performance, but also indicate deficiencies in training, improperly designed job responsibilities or lack of effective supervision. Whatever the reason, it is essential that performance be evaluated in terms of an agreed-upon expected level of effectiveness.

Determining the extent of change in the personal life of the worker is more difficult and should be limited to just those aspects that have significance for his work performance. Some of the common elements to be looked at include: changes in attitudes towards clients, agency staff and fellow worker; how he is coping with personal problems that have interfered with performance; and what changes, if any, are noticed in "life style." There has been considerable discussion suggesting that as the nonprofessional becomes more a part of the middle class agency establishment and, as his own aspirations and attainments rise, he begins to lose touch with, or rejects his previous life style and mode of behavior with a concommitant loss of ability in realating to clients. Although the accuracy of this view is highly questionable, evaluation should question whether these changes result in new attitudes and rigidities and what significance does upward mobility have in terms of nonprofessional identity and work performance.

Another interest in the degree to which the worker is experiencing dissatisfaction with the job or the level of performance and how he intends to alter these. For example, is he making better use of supervision, asking for more training, or seeking additional education?

The Program — The most important consideration is determining the program's accomplishments measured against its stated goals and objectives. As was mentioned, the program must not only state these explicitly, but rank them in order of importance. A program that seeks to institute changes in the style and delivery of services by virtue of employing nonprofessionals cannot be content to record success based merely on the fact that the agency was able to employ a number of previously underemployable or unemployed neighborhood people. If successful, the evaluation should point out the degree to which the functioning of the nonprofessionals was indeed crucial to achieving these changes. For example, it is essential to know whether it was merely additional manpower that was responsible or that this new manpower contributed something quite unique in facilitating the changes.

Almost all programs undergo some degree of change from their original plans. Knowing why these changes were considered necessary, what results were anticipated and, then looking at the actual consequences can be quite important to program operators.

Hopefully, the early development of systematic feedback will have created a fund of information on recruitment, selection, training, placement and supervision. Once the program is launched there is time to look back and assess more carefully what has happened. This is especially important in phased programs with more nonprofessionals entering at selected intervals. Recruitment procedures can be altered, selection methods refined, training and supervision improved. It must be assumed that this will be necessary since there will be errors, miscalculations, and poor information. In this sense evaluation can become a self-corrective tool; a method for rationally making changes and choices without having to wait for exhaustive studies.

Each of the program elements can be looked at independently and at great length. For example, in evaluating training, one might look at the following: classroom sessions; skill sessions; teaching materials; instructional techniques; use of outside speakers; field trips. The training facility; effectiveness of training staff; participation of the trainees and the application of skills and knowledge.

The Sponsoring Agency — The most relevant area of investigation is determining what effect the introduction of nonprofessionals has had on personnel practices and the nature of general services rendered by the agency. Even when these have not been stated as goals of the program, information can be of great value in understanding professional staff reaction, nonprofessional reactions and community reactions. And, of course, to the degree they have been articulate as goals such inquiry is absolutely essential.

Another area of interest is the effect on the professional. Specifically, have professional attitudes undergone some revision; e.g., are they more willing to accept nonprofessionals, think through new tasks and enter into training and supervision with more ethusiasm or have they become disillusioned as they realize the difficulty of the task and the demands for commitment. Whether their own job really changed as a result of new manpower and, if so, in what way, is likewise important. Finally, assessing how appropriate the particular model of nonprofessional utilization is for the particular program and the degree of modification needed are important considerations.

Data and Information — Discovering answers to any of the above questions

will depend on the information gathered which must not only be reliable and unbiased, but relevant to the questions asked. Some of this information is basic and needs to be gathered regardless of how sophisticated the evaluation effort is intended to be. For example:

1—agreed upon goals and objectives of the program; for example, is it directed at relieving professional shortages, extending services, creating new ones, resident participation; providing employment or instituting new careers;

2—specific job descriptions that include functions, activities, qualifications, supervision and training;

3—agreed upon standards of performance and indicators of competence based on short range and long range expectancies.

Other sources of information and data include the nonprofessional worker (process recordings, personnel material, case write-ups, interviews, questionnaires, etc.) the operational staff (training staff-training logs, evaluations, curricula, etc.; supervisors evaluations, conference reports, etc.), agency personnel (statistical data) and: clients (questionnaires, interviews, statistical data, etc.)

Methods — Clearly any lengthy discussion of evaluation methodology is beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, a brief listing of the possible choices may prove valuable. (some have already been alluded to.)

questionnaires — personal history, behavior data, employees and employers, events, reasons for particular behavior and attitudes, effect and influence of persons and conditions, and subjective factors (desires, aspirations, meanings);

interviews — individual and group, standardized and open ended, structured and unstructured;

process recording — case histories, daily logs, home, office, agency and field visits; staff meetings; conferences;

evaluations — supervisory, training, selection committee;

data collection — census, personal documents, statistical records.

Other possibilities such as unstructured and structured observation; projective techniques; scaling techniques; analysis of anecdotal reports; and experimental designs can also be applied.

V. SUMMARY

For all intents and purposes we have passed through the initial experimental stage where it was important to show that nonprofessionals, selected from among those who had limited education, training and job experience, could adequately perform meaningful tasks. This experience should prove valuable in reassuring prospective administrators who are excessively anxious about failure. True, some programs will continue to face problems, others will face new ones, and some may fail, but there is little question that the overwhelming number of programs will succeed. There is no longer any need or justification for engaging in "number games;" either by employing very few nonprofessionals who are so rigorously screened that success is assured or by employing large numbers, but involving them in only the most entry-level tasks. Likewise, the need to sacrifice quality development in order to convince resistent or hostile administrators should become a thing of the past. Today's task is to afford permanent status to nonprofessional programs and to make them integral parts of the total human services spectrum.

Public Agency Program — This means instituting large scale programs in public agencies such as health, education and welfare. These institutions are experiencing tremendous growth, yet they are frequently faced with large numbers of vacancies.[22] Agitation to affect policies so that these services are expanded and more responsive to clients, offers a real possibility of providing new job opportunities for nonprofessionals. Before this occurs, however, it will be necessary to deal with the civil service; federal, state and local.

In many instances there will be little in the regulations to bar the introduction of these new kinds of personnel and will only need favorable intention and interpretation. In other situations the barriers — tests, exacting job descriptions, open competition — may prove difficult. One major option is through the "exception," a not uncommon civil service practice. However, caution must be exercised to be sure that the use of this procedure affords the nonprofessional something more than just the entry job and includes other benefits such as earning time in grade and being able to transfer seniority. Another possibility is to work closely with Civil Service personnel, hopefully influencing them to alter requirements in favor of the nonprofessional or at least to minimize disadvantages. For example, since tests are necessary, efforts could be made to choose tests more suitable to nonprofessionals; subject matter rather than general knowledge. Civil Service might assign weight to certain qualifications such as residence, knowledge of pov-

22. Of course, some administrators choose to maintain a level of vacancies so that unspent monies can be converted to meet other needs that are inadequately budgeted. This, however, can prove to be a short-sighted strategy. It does suggest that those interested in expanding unprofessional employment also pay attention to the need to expand budgets for other items as well, e.g. training, research, professional salaries, etc.

erty or a particular area of social service, that can better enable the nonprofessional to achieve high scores.

Demonstrations — There is still a need to fund smaller demonstration and research efforts in order to explore new approaches for dealing with a number of persistent problems faced by nonprofessional programs. Among these problems are the following:

1—The unresolved relationship between the use of nonprofessionals and the focus on social change. There still exists the need to differentiate between the uses of nonprofessionals that aim at social change, those that attempt to rationalize the distribution of scarce manpower resources, and thosethat seek to provide employment opportunities for unemployed or under-employed persons.

2—The effect of the nonprofessional on the quality of service. The need to demonstrate and document that services need not be diluted but indeed are improved as a result of employing nonprofessionals is still paramount. If employing the poor to serve the poor merely creates a new level of inadequate services, a cruel hoax will have been committed.

3—The need to define the "unique" qualities possessed by nonprofessionals. The time for separating which areas of performance and capacity are mythical and which are real is long past due. Sooner than later the mistaken view that sees the nonprofessional as the possessor of all wisdom or conversely, as a person who is merely educable at best, and then only often long and tedious reclamation on the part of the professionals, can only cause problems for both professionals and nonprofessionals. Romanticism (borne either of naivete, guilt, or idealism), and disbelief (resulting from blindness, indifference or callousness), can set back this useful social innovation more effectively than active opposition. We need to know what the nonprofessional does best, what he does adequately, what his limitations are, and what is currently beyond his capacities.

4—The need to resolve the issues surrounding selection criteria. Just as it is necessary to define reasonable performance expectancies, there is a need to determine which kinds of nonprofessionals can do different levels of tasks. It is on basis of these determinations that logical and equitable criteria for selection can be determined.

5—The need to redefine the role of the professional who works with nonprofessionals. For example, does he become the teacher-trainer, the supervisor, the seasoned practitioner, the expert-consultant, the

program planner or the administrator? Only as the role of the professional is redefined is it possible to explore the full range of nonprofessional activities. Within this the nonprofessional can easily become an expendable accessory. It can also limit the possibilities for professionals to win more status and recognition.

However, if these new demonstration projects are to be effective they must evolve an approach that guards against the dying out of consequence, where all too often the only remaining testimony to some excellently conceived and executed programs are final reports. Even when such demonstrations have fulfilled their grant requirements they usually have not developed the means for assuring that other programs adapt successful results and use these to produce change. As a set of minimal requirements, the demonstration project must achieve some measure of institutional change within it's own organizational structure, be set up to facilitate other programs in replicating their accomplishments through training and consultation, and stimulate other agencies to adopt what has proven to be successful by an active program of publications and reports. Funding agencies should insist that demonstration programs build in mechanisms whereby nonprofessionals are permanently employed at the close of the granting period. One possibility is to stipulate that the employing agency or organization gradually phase in its own funds so that at termination they are fully supporting the project. Demonstration projects in addition to publications, consulting and training functions, should provide for on-the-job observations so that together they constitute a number of laboratories that are available to other programs either on a state or regional basis. The need for carefully documented reports and evaluation is axiomatic. These need to be regularized and made more pertinent to the experiences faced by the majority of nonprofessionals programs.

Training — Training, already mentioned as a major weakness of nonprofessional programs will continue to be a critical factor in achieving effective staff development in the coming years. The startling gaps and shortages in trained manpower are too commonplace a fact in human services and unless corrective measures are set into motion this situation will affect the nonprofessional in several adverse ways. There will be fewer qualified people to train nonprofessionals, fewer programs funded, fewer possibilities to advance based on successfully completing training, and fewer opportunities to acquire credentials. There is little need to document that a vast number of professionals also need additional training; many working in human services have not been specially trained for what they are doing and if they have, it is only for the tasks they are currently engaged in. Without minimizing the special needs for training nonprofessionals, efforts must be directed at con-

structing and opening up training systems for all personnel and at all levels. This requires a two-fold approach: a) attention directed at advanced, highly specialized training, more meaningful college preparation, upgraded high school curricula and vastly improved public school education; and b) the development of new and more viable models for accreditated extension programs, and credentialed on-the-job training and in-service training programs.

Such an approach highlights the general upgrading of education as being absolutely crucial for training. At the same time it holds the potential for elevating the training function to a professional level of responsibility. This will establish new possibilities for advancing professionals as well as opening new positions for nonprofessionals. It is a strategy that can recruit a number of allies — educators, professionals, administrators, community leaders, etc. — who presently are not actively engaged in the concern for nonprofessional development. In fact, this approach, i.e., forming coalitions with significant sectors of the wider professional community to meet their own concerns and simultaneously benefit the nonprofessional is absolutely vital.

Legislation — This convergence of interest has begun to occur in several areas and perhaps best can be seen in the amount of legislative attention the employment of nonprofessionals is currently receiving.[23] Congress already has passed and appropriated $33 million for an amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act (known as the Scheuer amendment) which provides funds to employ unemployed persons at entry level nonprofessional positions in the public sector. Significantly, this amendment emphasizes training and upgrading.

Even with some 125,000 teacher aides currently employed under Federal legislation, these are new proposal to expand this phase of nonprofessional development. In his message to the Congress on Education and Health in America, President Johnson mentioned the need for teacher aides and recommended passage of the Education Professions Act of 1967, which would "provide new authority for the training of school administrators, teacher aides, and other educational workers for schools and colleges."

In the proposed Higher Education Amendments of 1967, it is proposed that the Commissioner of Education be authorized to make grants to improve the qualifications of teaching personnel including "programs or projects to train teacher aides and other nonprofessional educational personnel."

23. The following material is taken from Nixon, R. A. Legislative Dimensions of The New Careers Program Manpower Training Series, Center for The Study of Unemployed Youth, New York University, 1967, and The New Careers Newsletter Vol. #1, New Careers Development Center, New York University, Reissman, Frank, and Felton, Nadine.

The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has before it the Teacher Aid Program Support Act of 1967, which proposes $50 million for the development of teacher aids programs in the nation. Amendments to the Vocational Education Act of 1963 have been introduced which would expand the provisions for ensuring career development, and training for nonprofessionals in the public service fields.

Corrections is another field in which there is current legislative activity with implications for nonprofessional development. For example, President Johnson in his message to Congress Recommending Crime Control and Law Enforcement Legislation, [24] suggested that police forces could be restructured to provide Community Service Officers who might not meet conventional requirements (might even have had encounters with the law as teenagers) but who would know the areas and the people who live in them. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice recommends the use of volunteers and nonprofessional aides, who could refuce the manpower shortage and often could provide help "in ways professional caseworkers cannot." Under proposed legislation — "Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967" — grants may be used for the purpose of recruiting, educating and training all types of law enforcement personnel; and, in the proposal to establish a National Institute of Criminal Justice, grants are authorized to develop new ways to meet the crime problem and rehabilitate offenders including "developing new career opportunities in these fields."

Similar efforts are being made in the area of health. For example, President Johnson in his 1967 Health Manpower Message to Congress, emphasized the need for more health manpower and drew attention to the need for new types of health workers. The Allied Health Professions Personnel Act of 1966 provides grants to train new types of health technicians, and under Social Security Medicare legislation, nonprofessionals will be employed in a variety of positions.

Another area of mutual interest flows from the manpower studies conducted by professional groups, for example, the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training was set up to increase the number of competent personnel and strengthen educational curricula needed for preparation. The priority need for trained staff is seen as encompassing both professional and nonprofessional staff.

New Possibilities — Certainly these and other efforts are salutary in the opportunities they offer and need to be expanded. Before this happens, however, certain limiting factors will have to be exposed and remedies proposed.

24. Nixon, **op. cit.**, p. 17.

Too often, the development of the nonprofessional has been associated with anti-professionalism, intended or not. It cannot help but be a poor tactic since professionals, who are gatekeepers for almost all the potential jobs, are not likely to respond favorably to antagonism on the part of unprofessionals. The nonprofessional should move towards creating a partnership with the professional where both are involved in institutive changes that improve services and upgrade the different levels of manpower. Professionals, on their part, will have to shift from a position of indifference or passive resistence to one that actively advocates the employment, training, and upgrading of nonprofessionals. Otherwise, they may miss an opportunity to aid their professions and themselves and risk being indicted as the brokers of the status quo.

There also must be recognition that professions often function as guilds, building in the protective codes characteristic of such organizations. Many professionals are covered by unions or have civil service status. Together, these factors exert formidable pressures against the easy entrance, acquisition of credentials and advancement of nonprofessionals mostly through the development of a set of standards and barriers. Despite the fact that some of these standards are no longer functional and many of the barriers are artificial, the underlying concerns that account for them are of deep meaning to professionals, the unions and the Civil Service. In some cases they are based on an earnest and necessary concern over the possible dilution of services and the deleterious effect on those who need and use the service. For others it is a means for protecting the newly gained legitmacy, recognition and status won by professional groups and workers after long and different struggles. Finally, they represent the evolvement of policies that have been designed to minimize and end the abuses associated with such practices as favortism.

In light of the persistency with which these sectors have maintained their insistence on standards some recent developments suggest that a more optimistic outlook may be warranted. For example, The New Career's Newsletter reports that the National Education Association has initiated a new national organization of teacher aides who are to be given interim status as a department of the NEA and hold associate memberships.[25] In the same issue, mention is made of a major effort by the Citizen Crusade Against Poverty to coordinate a variety of activities directed at the growing effort associated with the employment of nonprofessionals.[26] In view of the United Automobile Workers Union backing, their placing emphasis on including unions in the "new career movement" is significant. The News-

25. Op. Cit.

26. Op. Cit.

letter calls attention to two legislative bills aimed at involving the Civil Service in extending nonprofessional employment. The bill introduced by Sen. Tydings, which is directed at filling vacant Civil Service positions, allocates $250,000 for short term training to fill positions where regular Civil Service procedures fail to recruit sufficient personnel. Successful completion of the course automatically qualifies the candidate. In addition, the bill calls for $500,000 to conduct surveys aimed at determining the number of government jobs that are currently unfilled but that could be filled by the unemployed after training. Another bill, "Public Service Employment Opportunity Act," introduced by Senator Ribicoff would authorize $2 billion for public service employment opportunities to be filled by the unemployed.

Finally, at a recent conference[27] on the use of the Nonprofessional in Mental Health (sponsored by the American Psychological Association and the National Association of Social Work, itself testimony to the professions recognizing the importance of nonprofessional employment), Bertram Beck, Executive Director of Mobilization for Youth, announced a proposal[28] involving 5 accredited schools of social work that would seek to develop expectations of social work knowledge and technique which should be manifest in the practice of social workers at 5 different levels. The first two levels are "nonprofessional," level I, being a socially and economically disadvantaged person with no less than grammar school education and level II being a person who entered at level I and spent a year as a trainee. Levels III, IV, and V hold progressively higher educational qualifications.

The potential number of allies is not limited to professionals and their associations, and include political groups, civil rights groups, religious groups, unions, organizations of the poor, administrators, universities and foundations. For example, The Americans for Democratic Action have proposed that five million nonprofessional jobs be created in the public sector.

Among other ways to interest and win over significant allies is through a much improved program of publicity. To date, the concept and experience of employing nonprofessionals has received insufficient national attention and remains relatively unknown except to those people working directly in these programs. Without suggesting a conventional public relations campaign, there nevertheless is much material of interest that can be brought before the public's eye. Contained within the nonprofessional "movement" are meaningful appeals to different sectors of the population. For example,

27. APA-NASW Conference,The Use of Nonprofessionals in Mental Health Programs, Washington, D.C. May 3-5, 1967.

28. Beck, Bertram. A Professional Approach to the Use of "Nonprofessioanl" Social Work Personnel. APA-NASW Conference. Washington, D.C. May 4, 1967.

conservatives will be interested insofar as they see these efforts "making taxpayers out of poor people," while liberals will be interested to the extent that this approach is seen as a means for extending institutional responsibility for those who have long been disadvantaged by society. Without compromising the aims of the program, wide support must be sought in order to secure the necessary funds since it is obvious that, without adequate funding levels, much of what is possible can not be realized.

The concept of nonprofessional employment offers us — professionals, program planners and administrators, educators, and community leaders — a unique chance to participate in a process that could potentially influence and change the human services as we currently know them. Not only can vast numbers of new kinds of personnel be introduced, but more importantly, through their introduction, there may yet be a chance to modify the inadequacies of present programs. Moreover, the utilization of nonprofessional provides a hopeful answer for effectively dealing with the manifold problems that result from the lack of opportunity in education, training, and meaningful employment. To realize the potential inherent in nonprofessional employment poses a challenge that requires an unusual share of responsibility from those who are in positions to shape its course. It is an engagement in the "art of the possible," and to not devote our energies and commitment to this effort is less than responsible, both as professionals and as citizens.

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