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AUTHOR Matheny, Kenneth B.; Oslin, Yvonne
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ABSTRACT

The early use of paraprofessionals by the National Youth Administration in the 1930s is briefly reviewed, followed by an examination of the three main settings in which they have been employed: 1) teaching, where a variety of programs has used students and neighborhood residents for tutoring, assisting as teaching team members, monitoring study centers, managing audiovisual equipment, strengthening school-community relations, etc.; 2) social work, where hospitals, child adoption agencies, and social service programs have been able to employ housewives and indigenous workers; 3) counseling and psychotherapy in state hospitals, mental health agencies, rehabilitation agencies, and schools. The specific functions of the paraprofessional are considered, as well as the problems which arise if they seem to threaten the status of the professional or because of different and conflicting values and life styles. The success of the programs is seen to depend on proper selection, adequate training, clear definition of the role to provide for budgeting support and career development, and the successful interaction between supervising professionals and the paraprofessionals. Many major studies of the subject are cited in the text and there is a 65-item bibliography. (MBM)

UTILIZATION OF PARAPROFESSIONALS IN EDUCATION AND THE HELPING PROFESSIONS

A Review of the Literature

Kenneth B. Matheny
Professor of Education
Georgia State University

and

Yvonne Oslin
Instructor of Education
Georgia State University

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UTILIZATION OF PARAPROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL IN EDUCATION AND THE HELPING PROFESSIONS
A Review of the Literature

Kenneth B. Matheny
Yvonne Oslin*

The burgeoning demand for additional personnel in education and the helping professions is without dispute. Whether this is a result of a rising humanitarian tide, better diagnostic procedures which have more clearly demonstrated the need for assistance, the lessening of the demand for workers within the goods-producing occupations, or whatever, is a matter for speculation. That the demand for personnel in these professions far outstrips the supply of professionally trained workers, however, is not a matter for speculation. It has been repeatedly attested to by manpower studies and task force reports. Such analyses have frequently suggested the utilization of prarprofessionals to help close the gap (Departmental Task Force, HEW, 1963: Bureau of Family Services, HEW, 1965; Smits, 1969; Porter and Matheny, 1968; Truax, 1968).

These studies have been accompanied by a raft of legislation during the sixties which has provided for a number of research and demonstration projects experimenting with the use of paraprofessionals in the helping professions (Rioch, NIMH: Bank Street College of Education, OEO: Wyoming Division of Vocational Rehabilitation and Arkansas Rehabilitation and Training Center, VRA; et al.). Although such studies have tended to support the use of paraprofessionals, this practice has met and will likely

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*Kenneth B. Matheny is Professor of Education and Yvonne Oslin a Graduate Assistant in the Department of Counseling and Educational Psychology at Georgia State University.

continue to meet with staunch resistance on the part of certain workers and agencies. Embryonic professions struggling to solidify their status positions tend to view the use of paraprofessionals as a dilution to the quality of services rendered and a threat to their upward mobility. More securely entrenched professions such as medicine have been able to develop and utilize to great advantage an entire array of paraprofessional occupations which have subsequently achieved semi-professional or professional statuses on their own.* It seems highly probably that current, scattered resistance will fade and widespread utilization of paraprofessionals on the order of the medical model will increase geometrically within education and the helping professions.

A plethora of titles for designating paraprofessionals exists, but trainees, aides, assistants, and associates are titles most frequently employed. Where career ladders are used, these terms are sometimes ordered hierarchically (Bowman and Klopf, 1968). For the most part, however, such titles are used interchangeably. The entire class of such workers is randomly referred to as support personnel, subprofessionals, or paraprofessionals.** Populations from which paraprofessionals have been drawn include housewives, indigenous workers, secretaries, and retirees.

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*Nursing and midwifery; medical and dental assistants and laboratory technicians; medical corpsmen, occupational and physical therapists; X-ray technicians.

**There is a tendency for the term paraprofessionals to be preferred over other synonyms. The terms, however, will be used interchangeably throughout this paper.

EARLY EXPERIMENTS IN THE USE OF PARAPROFESSIONALS

Perhaps the earliest, well publicized use of paraprofessionals in this country was by the National Youth Administration during the depression years (1930-1943). Unemployed, out-of-school youth and potential dropouts were recruited, given brief training, and placed as paraprofessionals in social service. Although the NYA was discontinued, the idea of paraprofessionals caught on in the fields of corrections and health during the forties and is continuing to date.*

Supported by high risk capital from the Ford Foundation the Bay City, Michigan, schools in 1953 began the first major experiment with paraprofessionals in American education. This experiment was followed up by two similar projects also supported by the Ford Foundation: the Yale-Fairfield (Connecticut) study and the Rutgers Plan. Evaluations of the projects showed mixed results. Teachers on the whole reacted negatively; they felt funds could have been better used in the employment of fewer professionally trained teachers than in the employment of a greater number of subprofessionally trained workers (Bowman and Klopf, 1968).

In the early sixties numerous legislative acts provided federal funds for the employment of paraprofessionals in education: OEO, MDTA, ESEA, the Javits-Kennedy Act for Impacted Areas, and the Nelson-Scriver Amendment to the Poverty Act all provided sources of support. The use of such workers picked up sharply during the mid-sixties as federal funds became more plentiful.

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*Faculty from Georgia State and the University of Georgia conducted extensive training of prison guards to serve as counselors during 1968-1969 (cf. Megathlin, 1969) under a grant from the Correctional Rehabilitation Study Act of 1965. A prime objective of this act is to stimulate the utilization of non-professional personnel in counselor-like functions.

SETTINGS WITHIN WHICH PARAPROFESSIONALS HAVE BEEN UTILIZED

In Teaching: Ever since the pioneering work of the Bay City system, scattered schools and school systems have experimented with teacher aides with varying degrees of success. In a survey of 800 New York school districts, Samter (1963) found that fifty-one percent of the respondents utilized aides. Studies by Singer (1962), Sauer (1962), and Jewett (1964) also reported widespread use of aides in the schools.

Rioux (1965) found that teaching aides had been used in the following ways: (1) assisting as a teaching team member, (2) monitoring study centers, (3) managing audiovisual equipment, (4) assisting on field trips, (5) helping on playgrounds, (6) helping school nurses and doctors, (7) advising case workers and gathering information, (8) strengthening school-community relations, and (9) assisting the preschool program. Bookout (1959) reported on the use of indigenous personnel as aides in adult education within the ghetto. Gray and Fynboe (1960) reported on the use of aides to teachers of mathematics, English, and chemistry. Deason (1957), Faust (1957), Cronim (1957), and Johnson, Lobb, and Patterson (1959) all wrote favorably of the use of teacher aides in the schools.

Teacher aides are utilized rather widely with the mentally retarded. Mase (1964) reported that teaching assistants are used by many programs for the mentally retarded in Sweden and Denmark. Teachers of these classes as well as principals of the schools say that where aides are used the productivity of teachers is sometimes doubled and tripled. A survey (Rich, 1964) of approximately 500 administrators of sheltered workshops, state schools and other institutions found that over half of them use volunteers.

The single most important source of information regarding the use of paraprofessionals in schools is a recent volume entitled New Careers and Roles in the American School (Bowman and Klopf, 1968). This volume reports on the use of teacher auxiliaries within fifteen demonstration training programs scattered throughout the United States, financed by OEO during 1966-67, and planned, coordinated, and researched by the Bank Street College of Education. The basic hypothesis underlying the study was ". . . that the utilization of low-income workers as auxiliary personnel in school settings may, with appropriate role-development, training, and institutionalization, have positive outcomes for pupil learning, home-school relationships, teacher competence, and development of auxiliaries as workers and persons" (p.12). The study concluded that auxiliary personnel are capable of making a positive contribution to the learning-teaching process providing: (1) a floor and ceiling for auxiliary functioning is established; (2) within these limits, role development is stressed in such a way as to consider the needs of each learning situation, the structure within which the auxiliary works, and the personal strengths of the auxiliary; (3) teachers and auxiliaries are trained together both in pre-service and in-service stages; (4) the auxiliary role becomes institutionalized as a new career model; and (5) every staff member is perceived as capable of contributions (p.14).

Moreover, the "New Careers" study suggested three major benefits from the utilization of indigenous personnel as auxiliaries: (1) the indigenous auxiliary has a cultural bridge by which he can approach the disadvantaged child in a way that is neither strange nor threatening; and (2) he serves as a social model for disadvantaged children; and (3) he can help the middle-class teacher to better understand the needs and resulting behavior

of the disadvantaged child (p. 10).

It is a great disappointment, however, that the above mentioned training programs were not designed to furnish experimental research evidence regarding effects of auxiliaries upon teaching-learning efficiency, teaching-learning economy, teacher satisfaction, pupil satisfaction, etc. The design was ". . .conceived as essentially descriptive and developmental, with emphasis on process analysis" (p.244). Correlational matrices were constructed, however, which (1) identify aspects of the training program which differed from project to project; (2) examine the relationship between auxiliaries' personal characteristics and the similiarity of their perception of teachers with whom they worked; and (3) examine the relationship between auxiliaries' personal characteristics and grades obtained among scores on success criteria.

The National Commission on Resources for Youth, Inc., began the Youth Serving Youth tutoring program in the summer of 1967. The program employs underachieving fourteen-and-fifteen-year-olds from poverty income families to tutor elementary school children in reading. It has proved so successful that many school systems across the nation are adopting the program.

The Cross-Age Helping Program sponsored by the Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge reports positive results of seven years of experimentation with student tutors (Lippitt & Lippitt, 1968). They stress the personal advantages accruing to the tutors.

The Atlanta Public Schools have made extensive use of teacher aides in forty-seven ESEA Title I schools since the spring of 1967 (Ireland et al., 1969). One hundred and eighty aides were assigned to teachers in self-contained classrooms on a part-time basis. Approximately fifty-five percent of the aides had formal training beyond high school, and only ten percent had not completed high school. During the experimental period significant differences in the reading gains of the approximately three hundred Title I

and non-Title I third grade pupils occurred in favor of the Title I pupils (with aides). Both primary and upper elementary teachers considered the direct services of teacher aides to pupils to be more valuable to them than indirect services to pupils. Direct services rated most valuable were: developing good interpersonal relationships among pupils; counseling, advising, and disciplining pupils; providing instruction to individuals and small groups; and examining the work of pupils. The Atlanta Public Schools are also reported on the use of aides in instructional teams at the first, seventh, and eighth grades (Boyles, 1969). The experiment has continued for three years with three teams consisting of one lead teacher, two regular teachers, four teacher assistants, and one or two teacher aides. Although the achievement of the control groups exceeded that of the experimental groups to a statistically significant degree during the initial year, the reverse was true during the second and third years. Evidence of the usefulness of the team instructional approach making use of aides is accumulating at the Herndon Elementary School. In May, 1969, seventy percent of the one hundred forty-nine first graders scored average or above on the reading subtest on the Metropolitan Achievement Test Battery in spite of the fact that only thirty-three percent of these same pupils in April, 1968 were predicted to succeed in the first grade on the basis of their performance on the Metropolitan Readiness Test. The team appears to be more effective with first graders than with seventh or eighth graders and with low ability seventh graders than with average or superior seventh graders.

Davis (1962) reported on the Fennville teacher aide experiment wherein three homemaking classes had the services of aides performing clerical and semi-professional responsibilities and three other homemaking classes served as a control group. Pupils were compared on the bases of class marks, days absent, test scores, and number signing up for homemaking classes for the

following year. Interaction effects were noted between presence or absence of aides and the intelligence of children as measured by California Test of Mental Maturity Scores. The more able students appeared to benefit most from the presence of the teacher aides. Less able students liked the aide program, but didn't achieve as well as their counterparts in classes without aides. Average students also appeared to perform better in classes without aides.

One of the more exciting developments in the use of teacher aides is the growing utilization of students as tutors. The Times Educational Supplement (1969) describes the successful use of high school seniors and college students as tutors for backward children in New York. Duval (1960) reported on the use of college students as assistants to public school teachers. Cutler (1964) reported on the use of high school students to team teach at the high school level in San Diego, California. Two studies reported the use of gifted students as tutors: Gleason (1958) wrote of their use in the colleges. French (1957) reported on the use of selected high school students in an attempt to recruit them to the teaching profession as well as to furnish assistance to teachers. Perkins (1966) described a Sarasota, Florida program wherein ninth grade students were recruited to teach elementary physical education. The program's primary goal was the development of leadership ability among the ninth grade volunteers. The program is deemed to be successful since it is continuing into its tenth year and has spread to the high schools as well as to another of the local junior high schools.

Programs utilizing students to teach students are frequently as concerned with changes occuring in students doing the tutoring as with changes occuring in the tutored. This was the case in the Sarasota, Florida program and it was likewise the case in programs reported on in American Education (vol. 3, 1967) and Cloward (1967). The report in American Education described a program wherein sixth graders, in a California

school populated mostly by children of the poor, are excused from their classes for forty-five minutes a day to work with first graders who also leave their classes. Although no special curriculum was prescribed for these short tutoring sessions, previously failing first graders were said to eagerly learn their ABC's and 1-2-3's from their youthful tutors. Tutors were chosen from among the backward and rebellious "problem children" as well as from the bright. The report concluded that such children not only are effective tutors but themselves show remarkable improvement in their behavior, their dress, and their attitude toward learning. Cloward (1967) reported on the use of 240 tenth and eleventh grade students as tutors of fourth and fifth grade pupils whose reading achievement was below grade levels. Tutors were paid $11.00 per week for six hours of tutoring and two hours of inservice training. Tutors represented various ethnic extractions and varied considerably in their own reading level (range extended from grade seven to twelve). The design employed two control groups: one group consisting of untutored fourth and fifth grade pupils and a second control group comprised of tenth and eleventh grade students not utilized as tutors. Results indicated that both the tutored and their tutors improved in reading skills significantly more than their respective control groups. No significant changes in attitude for tutors or tutored were noted. It was suggested that students volunteering to serve as tutors would already hold high aspirations and positive attitudes.

Trasin (1960) summarized the advantages of using students as teachers: (1) students are able to establish a supportive relationship with other students more rapidly than with teachers; (2) students feel no threat from an authority figure when learning from a fellow student; and (3)

students that teach also learn from their teaching efforts. Moreover, he suggested that teachers should serve as arbiters or resource persons rather than as supervisors who constantly intervene in the tutoring effort.

In Social Work: An enormous quantity of studies regarding the use of paraprofessionals in social work appears in the literature. Perhaps the best known single source of such accounts is to be found in New Careers for the Poor (Pearl & Reissman, 1965). In this volume past efforts to cope with the poverty problem are reviewed, and the establishment of new careers for the poor is recommended. In this way the poor will be helped by having new sources of employment available to them and by the expanded services made possible via the increased numbers dispensing services. In addition, the professional role within the helping professions will be reorganized in the direction of increased supervision, consultation, teaching, programming, and planning.

Riessman (1965) refers to the "helper therapy principle" by which is meant the tendency for the dispensers of services to benefit more than the receivers of services. He cites the use of this principle by Alcoholics Anonymous Recovery, Inc., Synanon, and other lay therapy groups. The treatment is administered to those in the act of treating others. In this vein Carkhuff and Truax (1965a) speaks of training as being the preferred mode of treatment. The recruitment of such persons tends to give them a stake in the system and to improve their sense of self-importance. This principle leads Reissman to suggest that social work's strategy should be to devise ways of creating more helpers from among the problem population being served.

In 1967 Project ENABLE was created to provide nonprofessional social work careers for the poor (Birnbaum & Jones, 1967). This project was sponsored by three nation, voluntary social work agencies as a Community Action Program.* Project ENABLE was established after the Social Security Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90-248) legislated the use of paraprofessionals in social work. This law required states, by July 1, 1969 to provide for the utilization of full-time or part-time employment of persons of low income, or persons receiving public assistance, as community service aides. The law is aimed at using the products of a social problem in coping with the problem. Other projects making use of paraprofessionals existed prior to Project ENABLE, but none were of its magnitude.

Heyman (1961) discusses the effective utilization of social work aides in a hospital setting; Epstein (1962) describes how social work aides have been used with the Traveler's Aid Society in Chicago; Fanar and Hemmy (1962) explored the use of paraprofessionals in working with the aged; and Weed and Denham (1961) and Montgomery (1964) reported on ways of using social work aides in child adoption agencies. Montgomery pointed up the importance of selecting supervisors who can relate well to others, are secure and confident individuals, and have learned the art of delegating responsibility. Richan (1961) presented a theoretical model for determining the roles of professional and subprofessional personnel which considered the interaction effects between high and low levels of client vulnerability and high and low levels of worker autonomy.

Social work aides were employed by the Milwaukee Public Schools in the departments of Social Work, Head Start, Special Education, and Psychological Services (Coggs and Robinson, 1967). These aides were idigenous community

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*According to Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Title II, Section A, "a Community Action Program is a program which is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the area and members of the group served."

leaders who were trained for nonprofessional employment in education and social work in order to release professional staff from unskilled tasks, provide additional services, and offer persons in underpriviledged communities an opportunity to improve their economic statuses while broadening their leadership in the community.

In May of 1967 Cain and Epstein (1967) investigated the utilization of housewives as volunteer case aides. Educational background ranged from high school graduate to some college. Aides were supervised by professional social workers with whom they met periodically to discuss their patients.

Kobrin (1959) reports on the use of residents of delinquency areas in the Chicago Area Project program aimed at preventing delinquency. The following were said to be advantages of using indigenous workers in this project: (1) they understood the local society; (2) they suffered no communication problems; (3) their employment was a demonstration of sincere confidence in the capacity of the area resident for work of this sort; (4) they were more likely than nonresidents to have access to the neighborhood's delinquent youth; and (5) their employment represented a prime means of educating the local population in regard to the mysteries of conducting the welfare enterprise.

In Counseling and Psychotherapy: Throughout the sixties support has grown for the idea that less highly trained persons could successfully be recruited to perform limited counseling and psychotherapeutic functions. This trend has been witnessed within state hospitals, mental health agencies, rehabilitation agencies, and schools. Schofield (1964) suggested that we revise downward our estimate of the training necessary for performing many of the psychotherapeutic functions. He suggested that many so-called "neurotics" are really lonely persons who purchase "friendship" by frequenting the offices of psychotherapists. He maintained that "friendship" can be provided equally as well by persons with two years of graduate training as by therapists with doctor degrees.

Perhaps the most famous of the experiments with subprofessionals in mental health is Rioch's (1964) study which was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. Like Schofield (1964) Rioch assumed that troubled persons who were not seriously "sick" could be helped by therapists with less than doctoral training. A group of mature, educated, married women who had reared families were briefly trained and put to work counseling with troubled persons. Independent raters judged these subprofessionals to perform equally as effectively as the traditionally trained therapist with the kinds of clients to whom they were assigned. Rioch concluded that a pool of capable housewives are available for such training and service, and, if properly selected, they are teachable, enthusiastic, and likely to demonstrate significant usefulness in assisting psychiatric patients.

Ellsworth (1964) evaluated the usefulness of psychiatric aides in the Veterans Administration Hospital, Fort Mead, South Dakota. Aides were instructed to be themselves and to do or say whatever they felt like do-

ing or saying. They were rewarded for spending time with patients and for becoming involved with them. Patients on wards served by such aides were found to improve significantly more than patients assigned to wards not receiving the services of such aides (.05 level). Mitchell (1966) described a form of therapeutic intervention ("Amicatherapy") whereby laymen-volunteers related in sustained friendship roles to troubled and disturbed persons under the guidance and supervision of professionals.

Reissman (1965) has experimented with the use of subprofessionals in community mental health centers. Aides are indigenous to the neighborhood which they are to serve. In addition to being trained to listen, to encourage expression, and to extend acceptance to neighbors, aides are trained to provide many simple, direct services to persons in the community. Moreover, the aide becomes a referral consultant in helping disadvantaged residents to avail themselves of appropriate community services. Emphasis is placed upon dealing with specific problems. Consequently, the aide may help a neighbor to find an apartment, to move into it, and perhaps even to babysit if the need arises. Such an attempt at community treatment is acknowledged to be symptomatic; long-ranged treatment consists of attempts to change community life, to bring about cohesion and pride.

Undergraduate college students have been recruited to perform therapy-like functions with psychotic patients. In one study (Poser, 1966) undergraduates achieved slightly better results than psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers with patients in group therapy. The criterion measure employed was the psychological test performance of 296 patients before and after five months of group therapy. Another study (Beck et. al., 1963) investigated the clinical and social status of hospitalized patients

following extensive contact with Harvard undergraduate case-aid volunteers. Unhindered by rigid role definitions the case-aids engaged the patients in a wide range of activities both within and outside the hospital walls. It was found that thirty-one percent of the 120 patients treated left the hospital while working with students, and seventy-six percent of the thirty-one percent were still out at the time of follow-up (an average of three and four-tenths years after leaving the hospital).

Five lay hospitalpersonnel trained in facilitative skills (Carkhuff & Truax, 1965) saw eight groups, consisting of ten hospitalized mental patients each, twice a week for a total of twenty-four sessions. At the end of the three month period, "significant" improvement was noted in the ward behavior of the treatment groups when compared to the control group consisting of seventy patients.

Increasing use of subprofessionals as counselor aides is taking place in rehabilitation. The Wyoming Division of Vocational Rehabilitation has attempted the use of practicum-trained women residing in rural communities of large geographic districts. The effort was begun as a result of the agency's frustration in providing adequate services to clients residing in sparsely settled areas. While this project is still being evaluated, a progress report (V.R.A., 1966) suggests that significant advances in the provision of services is to be expected. The California Division of Vocational Rehabilitation has also experimented with the use of counselor aides. Many of these aides were indigenous to the population being served (mostly Mexican-Americans and Afro-Americans). At a Joint Liaison Committee meeting in San Diego, California, (March, 1969) the California Division reported differential effects of the utilization of aides depending

upon such factors as (1) counselor counselor-aide compatibility, (2) whether or not the counselor had opted for an aide; (3) whether or not both the counselor and aide had been present during the training of aides (4) the counselor's degree of professional security, and (5) the aide's personality and skills. It was also noted that while aides had frequently been selected for outreach functions (due to their knowledge of the language and culture of the population to be served), they often ended up doing much of the counseling. Several other states have initiated the use of aides since the mid-sixties, but clear evidence as to their value is still forthcoming.

Truax (1968) has reported on the use of counselor aides at the Arkansas Rehabilitation Research and Training Center. After extensive selection efforts* a limited number of counselor aides were recruited as secretaries, with no provisions for a career ladder. Clients were assigned either to (1) counselors working alone, (2) counselors assisted by counselor aides, or (3) counselor-aides functioning in the complete role of counselors under daily supervision from counselors. When clients were later evaluated as to quantity of work produced, work attitude, and dependability, clients handled by counselor-aides working under the daily supervision of counselors showed most progress, clients seen by counselors alone showed next most progress, and clients seen by counselors assisted by aides showed least progress. Furthermore, professional field counselors referring clients to the Center rated the case management of their clients by aides working alone as highly as they rated the case management of

*In personal communication with the writer at Coldwater, Florida, in December, 1968, Dr. Truax spoke of rigorous and intensive selection procedures which allowed for the selection of approximately one out of every six applicants. This ratio of applicants selectees is roughly the same ratio used by Rioch (1963).

professional counselors working alone or with aides. Moreover, the tape recordings of interviews by aides were judged to demonstrate a significantly higher level of nonpossessive warmth and a somewhat higher level of empathy than tapes from professional counselors. Truax concluded that the somewhat more positive effects achieved by aides under supervision was likely due both to the higher level of warmth and empathy communicated to clients and to the greater motivation and enthusiasm of aides, as evidenced by the fact that they spent over twice the amount of time with clients as did the counselor working alone. The relatively good performance of the aides was most likely a function of the adequacy of selection procedures which were aimed at identifying persons demonstrating high levels of enthusiasm, warmth, and empathy. On the other hand, selection of students into professional training programs for rehabilitation counseling is primarily a function of academic potential and, unfortunately, has little to do with the presence or absence of such personality variables as enthusiasm, warmth, and empathy.

The use of counselor aides within the schools appears to be a less frequent practice than the use of aides in mental health and rehabilitation agencies. As a result of an informal survey of counselor educators at regional conventions of the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision Munger (1968) concluded that counselor educators and public school directors of counseling had little interest in the use of subprofessionals. Gust (1968) expressed concern that the status of the professional counselor would be threatened and his functions encroached upon if aides were allowed to function as independently as Truax's aides were allowed to function. The American Personnel and Guidance Association statement of policy (1967) recommended the use of aides to offer technical assistance to the counselor, but discouraged their use in establishing

formal counseling relationships. Patterson (1967) urged the profession to make a clear distinction between the roles of the counselor and counselor-aide, but Wrenn (1965) warned that schools and agencies cannot presently be expected to make such a distinction. Hansen (1965) suggested that the basic difference between the two roles should be the professional autonomy of the counselor to determine the functions necessary to attain the goals of counseling.

Rioux (1965) reports that counselor-aides have been used in the schools to make appointments, care for the children of parents being interviewed, and to follow up on cases to make sure that referrals to community agencies have been made by teachers or parents. Golann and Magoon (1966) describe the placement of a housewife without <u>traditional</u> training as a mental health counselor within public high school. The housewife had undergone a brief training program described by Rioch et al. (1966) and held a masters degree in American history. The researchers concluded that such persons have a significant contribution to make to the mental health of high school students. The limitations of this study will be readily appreciated by the reader.

Vriend (1968) used peer leadership in counseling and study groups with a group of inner-city high school students. Achieving peers were used as models. Group members developed higher educational-occupational aspirations and higher grades. Brown (1965) used student-to-student counseling for college students and reported significant improvement in grade point averages. Matheny and Anderson (1970) are currently using the 11th-grade students as instructor-models to teach decision-making skills and model

positive school attitudes and behaviors to ninth-grade inner-city youth.

Many schools have provided student clerical assistance to counselors, and a few counselors have solicited the gratis assistance of housewives as part-time receptionists, file clerks, and typists. However, these isolated attempts to utilize volunteer aides by school counselors have drawn little attention in the literature.

SPECIFIC FUNCTIONS OF PARAPROFESSIONALS

Subprofessionals within education and the helping professions have performed varying functions. The sophistication of functions to be performed by paraprofessionals depends upon (1) the degree to which the paraprofessional role has been institutionalized, (2) the professionals security of the supervising personnel, and (3) the peculiar assets of the paraprofessionals. Within medicine the role of the paraprofessional has been highly institutionalized; i.e. it is accepted by the profession, the functions to be performed have been clearly identified in order to minimize ambiguity regarding the interface between professional and subprofessional practice, and provision has been made for both training and advancement. However, the degree of institutionalization of the paraprofessional's role within other helping professions and within education is markedly less. Slowly the necessity for it is being recognized, and scattered attempts (cf. Bowman and Klopf, 1963) to correct the situation are being made.

The major impediment to this effort, especially within the helping professions, appears to be the inadequacy of current role definitions for professional personnel. Before the functions of paraprofessionals can be articulated satisfactorily, the role and functions of the professionals must be more explicitly developed. The evolving nature of the professional's role in social work, psychiatry and counseling renders the task of identifying functions for paraprofessions extremely difficult. The effort is

somewhat analogous to the attempt to paint in complementary colors a background for a kaleidoscope in rotation.

The insecurity of the supervising professional often places severe limitations upon the functioning of the subprofessional. The subprofessional sometimes threatens the professional when students or clients are drawn to him as a result of untrained, natural warmth or charisma. At the Joint Liaison Committee meeting of university rehabilitation counselor educators and state directors of vocational rehabilitation in San Diego (1969) it was pointed out that aides in rehabilitation counseling frequently have as much or more client contact as do counselors. This same observation was made by Truax at the Arkansas Rehabilitation Research and Training Center (1968).

Moreover, the unique assets of the paraprofessional also influence the functions which he performs. Indigenous* aides, for example, frequently have language and color advantages as well as a keener appreciation for the plight of the underprivileged than the middle class counselor. These are powerful assets and suggest that paraprofessionals may be used to great advantage in outreach efforts.

Certain functions of paraprofessionals in teaching were mentioned with a high degree of frequency in the literature. Representative is a list of functions ranked according to their importance by aides taking part in the fifteen programs coordinated by the Bank Street College of Education and financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity**. (Bowman &

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*Indigenous merely refers to having characteristics in common with the population to be served; consequently, it may refer to having been an alcoholic, psychotic, criminal or any other type of clinical case depending upon the nature of clientele to be served. In the Wyoming DVR study indigenous referred to being a member of one of the small remote communities in a vast geographical area.

Klopf, 1968). The list follows:

1. Taking charge of a small group which is working on a special project while the teacher works with another group.
2. Preparing A.V. materials such as charts at the request of the teacher
3. Helping pupils learn how to settle arguments without fighting.
4. Playing games with pupils (such as rhyming games, guessing games, finger games)
5. Preparing bulletin board displays
6. Stopping pupils from fighting (rationale: teacher usually decides when this is necessary)
7. Talking quietly with a pupil who is upset.
8. Interesting a restless pupil in some of the available activities
9. Keeping records, such as attendance and health records
10. Taking charge of pupils at various occasions, such as: during lunch period, in hallways and on bus
11. Taking responsibility for class for a few minutes when the teacher is called away
12. Listening to a pupil tell a story
13. Giving a pupil a chance to show he can do something well
14. Helping teachers take care of pupils in assembly
15. Reading and telling stories to pupils
16. Passing out and collecting pupils' materials
17. Helping pupils learn to play together (such as teaching them to take turns, share toys and other materials)
18. Encouraging pupils to make the most of themselves
19. Helping young children learn to use crayons, scissors, paste and paint.
20. Helping pupils learn proper use of tools and equipment
21. Encouraging pupils to help each other
22. Singing with a group of pupils
23. Operating equipment such as movie projector, slide projector, and tape recorder
24. Running a duplicating machine
25. Showing pupils how to clean up and put away materials
26. Helping pupil understand teacher's directions
27. Helping pupils improve their manners
28. Helping pupils get ready to put on an assembly program (such as making costumes, making scenery, listening to pupils rehearse)
29. Getting the classroom ready for the next day
30. Checking playground equipment for safety
31. Listening to pupils talk about themselves
32. Acting out stories with pupils
33. Explaining school rules to pupils
34. Filing and cataloguing materials

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*Functions listed, however, as "poor practice" and most functions listed as "teacher functions" have been omitted from the list. These functions were ranked at the bottom of the list since aides (after their preservice training) saw them as imappropriate for their practice.

35. Giving the teacher information about a pupil which will help the teacher in working with him
36. Taking pupils to and from various places in school (such as the lunchroom, nurse's office, principal's office, bathroom)
37. Checking supplies
38. Helping a teacher plan trips with pupils
39. Taking notes at meeting when asked
40. Helping a teacher make arrangements for a trip
41. Checking daily on the health of pupils
42. Helping a pupil look up information in a book
43. Checking on temperature, fresh air, and lighting in the classroom
44. Taking groups of children on a trip
45. Doing errands and carrying messages
46. Helping pupils pick out books in the library
47. Helping pupils learn how to use the bathroom
48. Giving first aid to a pupil
49. Collecting milk money, money for lunch tickets or other needs
50. Helping a pupil learn to do something new and perhaps a little more difficult than he thinks he can do.
51. Making arrangements for the use of equipment
52. Attending meetings with teachers
53. Helping pupils improve special skills (such as in gym, or sewing or dancing)
54. Talking with pupils about what they're doing when they are playing
55. Keeping a record of how a group of pupils work or play together
56. Watering plants
57. Watching pupils from back of classroom to prevent unruly behavior
58. Taking home pupils who are sick or hurt
59. Typing
60. Weighing and measuring a pupil
61. Telling a pupil what happened when he was absent
62. Playing a musical instrument for the pupils
63. Writing down what a pupil is doing
64. Taking a small group of pupils on a walk in the neighborhood
65. Feeding classroom pets
66. Sorting mail
67. Guarding doors of school
68. Helping prepare and serve food
69. Helping a pupil use a teaching machine

One of the most comprehensive lists of duties of social work aides was constructed by Birnbaum and Jones (1967). Duties listed were as follows:

(1) Assisting in the development of community assessments and in uncovering the welfare, housing, health, and educational problems of the target population (of which they were a part);

(2) Interpreting the purposes of the research to the parents;

(3) Encouraging and supporting wider use of existing health, education, and welfare services -
   a. inform parents of the kinds of local services available to them
   b. explained how to use community resources
   c. located services to meet needs
   d. helped parents with problems they encountered in using services, such as filling out application forms for public housing and jobs
   e. provided escort services for children and parents;

(4) Visiting homes. This kind of attention was tangible evidence to families involved that the participating agencies were truly concerned about them and had an understanding of their plight;

(5) Enabling parents to create a demand for new and improved services to meet neighborhood needs and interests -
   a. the aides contributed by reporting violations of individual's rights to appropriate authorities
   b. assisting parents in developing black clubs, tenant councils, and welfare groups
   c. recruiting volunteers for community activities
   d. interpreting neighborhood concerns and needs before civic and political groups;

(6) Fulfilling many practical functions in the development and operation of parent education groups -
   a. securing meeting space
   b. arranging attendance records
   c. keeping attendance records
   d. answering telephone calls

The functions of the rehabilitation counseling aide vary considerably from state to state and from work setting to work setting. The range of functions may extend all the way from following daily prescriptions by the counselor to becoming the client's agent, and in this role pressuring the counselor to give immediate attention to the client's needs. The list offered by the Institute on Rehabilitation Services in Use of Support Personnel in Vocational Rehabilitation (1968) is representative. The list follows:

CASEFINDING

1. Routinely contacts private and public community agencies to secure likely referrals

2. Explains services of the State agency to private and public community agencies.
3. Explains agency services to neighborhood or indigenous groups
4. Participates in surveys. In one instance, rehabilitation aides participated in a house-to-house survey of an improverished neighborhood looking for diabled individuals with vocational handicaps.
5. Makes initial contact with a referral received from some outside source
6. When individuals fail to follow through on referrals, makes some sort of personal contact, including home visits
7. Keeps check on referrals to insure that prospective clients are promptly and efficiently contacted

INTAKE

1. Greets clients when they make initial personal contact with the agency
2. Participates in the orientation of the client to the agency
3. Assists clients in the preparation of applications and related forms
4. Gathers information needed to establish eligibility and to initiate the vocational rehabilitation process
5. Follows through when sources fail to respond to requests for information
6. Assembles case record folders
7. Sits in when the rehabilitation aide has had previous contact with the client or when the special services of a rehabilitation aide are needed - e.g., interpreter for a deaf client
8. Informs referral source when clients vocational potential and readiness for services
9. Completes appropriate reports, e.g., R-300 statistical report

CASE WORK ACTIVITIES

1. Advises referral sources and client when eligibility or ineligibility has been determined
2. Gathers additional information regarding clients as needed by the rehabilitation counselor
3. Keeps referral sources informed of vocational rehabilitation plans for those individuals whom they have referred
4. Assists clients to apply and receive services from other agencies. Most often such services have a direct bearing on the overall vocational plan. For example: helping the client secure the services of welfare, or register with a public employment agency
5. Serves as an interpreter or communicator for the client with the counselor
6. Administers psychological tests (within their competency)
7. Role plays situations with the client. For example: Role plays an employer as the client practices applying for a job

8. Helps the client work out problems related to the services provided in a vocational plan. For example: Help a mentally retarded client with a special problem (such as a deaf person or a non-English speaking person) applies for services from that agency

The specific functions of subprofessional personnel in state mental hospitals, mental health agencies, and in school counseling are less easily identifiable in the literature than are functions performed in teaching, social work and rehabilitation counseling. Nevertheless, it is clear that the range of activites performed by aides in hospitals and community mental health centers is considerably wider than is performed by school counselor aides. Psychiatric and mental health aides have performed functions ranging from psychotherapy (Rioch, 1964) to offering the patient attention and concern (Ellsworth, (1964) to babysitting (Riessman, 1965).

As mentioned earlier there is little in the literature concerning the use of counselor-aides within the schools. The role of the school counselor has until very recently been poorly institutionalized itself. The extensive efforts of the American School Counseling Association and The Association for Counselor Educators and Supervisors, divisions of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, to develop the role have been most helpful. Perhaps the lack of widespread adoption of counselor-aides in the schools is a consequence of the evolving nature of the school counselor's role. The few reports published have suggested that where used, aides are mostly limited to clerical and bookkeeping functions.

Specific functions of aides will depend upon the purpose for which they are to be utilized. Subprofessionals are primarily utilized to

fulfill one or more of the following purposes:

1. to free the counselor, teacher, or social worker for more client contact.*

2. To serve as a language and cultural bridge between the professional and the client or student. This purpose is most likely to be served by indigenous personnel.

3. To multiply the professional's efforts (two for the price of one and one-half). Here the subprofessional, under the supervision of of the professional, is expected to perform functions similar to those performed by the professional.

4. As an extension of services rendered by the professional. Here the subprofessional performs tasks for clients or students which professionals cannot perform either for lack of time or talents.

PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM THE USE OF SUBPROFESSIONALS

The introduction of a new career into an agency often results in the creation of both apparent and real problems. Such problems are frequently a function of the threat to established careers posed by the advent of the interloper. Subprofessionals sometimes compete with professionals for the more exciting, professional duties. Generally such problems lessen as the new career becomes insitutionalized and thereby limited to certain functions.

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*However, there is some reason to believe that additional client contact may not be what counselors, at least, really want. There is some reason to believe that where computers are used to free the counselor for additional client contact, time savings will be spent in further work with data rather than with clients. (Cogswell, 1967) It may be that counselors have a built-in satiation point for client contact, and additional time will be spent in other, perhaps also important activities.

When the functions of the new careers are recognized to be complementary to the functions of the professional role rather than in conflict with them, the interlopers are most often appreciated for their contributions. Special problems sometimes arise in the use of indigenous aides. Indigenous aides sometimes lose credibility when serving in their new positions. One of the reasons for employing such persons is their psychological contact with improverished areas. However, it sometimes happens that indigenous aides are rejected by their peers as having sold out to the Establishment. Moreover, aides sometimes reject their own communities when they adopt the middle-class values of their supervisors. Furthermore, the aide may lack necessary interpersonal skills and be unable to "communicate" with peers in spite of their common backgrounds. Communications between clients and indigenous aides may be hindered also by the threat to confidentiality which the local residency of the aide poses. The client upon ocassion may share important self insights more readily with counselors who are less accessible to their friends and neighbors.

Where indigenous aides are used, lack of punctuality and frequent absences sometimes present an irritating problem. The teacher may have to revise a lesson plan based upon the assumption that the aide would be available to assist. Furthermore, such aides frequently arrive a few minutes after classroom activities have begun, and then it is too late to discuss the plan for the day.

Aides are frequently embarrassed by their backgrounds, behavior, and patterns of speech, especially in the beginning stages of their work.

Moreover, they sometimes grow to feel that they are capable of performing the same duties as the professionals or are performing the same duties and should, therefore, receive the same amount of salary.

Teachers and counselors often are afraid that professional standards will be lowered by the use of subprofessionals. They fear that students or clients may prefer contact with persons more like themselves, and the end result will be less professional service. They fear that administrators will confuse quality with quantity and ultimately prefer more subprofessionals and fewer professionals.

Teachers, counselors, and social workers often lack skills necessary for proper supervision. They must orchestrate a team of workers when multiple subprofessionals are utilized. This calls for special expertise which the professional may or may not have. Furthermore, such supervision takes time, and the professional may resent time taken from student or client contact. Some professionals have complained that they could do the job in less time than it takes to train and supervise aides.

And finally, the professional is sometimes threatened by the untrained competence of the aide. This is especially true if the professional is not particularly skillful in his work or is new on the job. The situation is exacerbated if, as is sometimes the case, the aide is highly critical of the counselor and the agency.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE USE OF SUBPROFESSIONALS

Recommendations to be offered relate to the complete gamut of concerns associated with the planning and utilization of subprofessionals.

Initiating the program:

The first step in initiating a program for the use of subprofessionals is informational in nature. Administration and staff need information re-

garding the operation and outcomes of other programs. These professionals may see the introduction of another career as an additional intrusion upon their already over-burdened schedules. Guidelines from existing programs should be furnished to help assuage these concerns.

Programs should begin on a small demonstration basis to allow for the gradual acceptance of the idea on the part of staff members. Professionals to be involved as supervisors should be volunteers, or at least should be allowed to participate in the selection of the aide.

Selection of Subprofessionals:

Subprofessionals should be selected primarily on the basis of personal characteristics necessary for success in working with children, youth, or adult clients as the case may be. Educational level is a second order consideration. In selecting subprofessionals for the schools, high priority should be given to parents of children attending the school in which the program is to operate so as to facilitate communication between the school and other parents in the community. The unique assets and liabilities of indigenous personnel in social work, rehabilitation, and mental health agencies have been noted earlier.

Training Efforts:

Aside from selection, the training effort is the single most essential ingredient of a well-functioning program. Both professionals and subprofessionals in various programs pointed to training as crucial to the success of the program. Preservice as well as inservice training is necessary. Supervising professionals should attend the subprofessional's preservice training sessions to ensure common understanding of the aims of the program. Meeting with subprofessionals at the time role definitions are discussed

encourages clear expectations on the part of both professionals and subprofessionals.

The training of aides for educational settings should include: basic education in communications andlanguage arts; theoretical training in child development, interpersonal skills, and the school as an institution; as well as skill training in typing, record keeping, and the operation of audio-visual equipment.

Where the size of the program makes it practical, group counseling for both professionals and subprofessionals will provide an opportunity for the fears and irritations of members of the team to be communicated and accepted.

The preservice training of teachers, counselors, and principals in university teacher education programs should include preparation for the utilization of subprofessionals. There is every reason to believe that the school professional will some day be called upon to orchestrate a team of subprofessionals concentrating upon the cognitive and affective development of children. This training should provide such personnel with an understanding of the potential contribution of subprofessionals and a set of necessary supervisory skills.

Role Definition and Development

The role and functions of the professional should first be carefully analyzed to yield those functions which best could be allocated to the subprofessional. Where this step is omitted, programs frequently suffer from footdragging as professionals and subprofessionals compete for certain coveted functions.

The role of the subprofessional should be defined specifically enough to provide a reasonable amount of security but loosely enough to allow for

the role development which occurs naturally as both workers become comfortable with one another and as the unique contributions of the subprofessional become more apparent. The subprofessional's role should allow for both the sharing of routine tasks and the providing of personal attention and assistance to pupils and clients.

One of the more frequent recommendations offered by personnel involved in programs utilizing subprofessionals was that sufficient released time be provided to allow for daily planning. Where this is not practiced, subprofessionals tend to be under-used, and both workers tend to become somewhat disillusioned with the program.

The career development of the subprofessional should be given consideration. Upward mobility should be possible but not mandatory. The subprofessional should be allowed to cease training at the level at which he feels most comfortable. Each level should be recognized as contributing to the total team effort, and the subprofessional occupying a position at any level should be accorded respect and appreciation. Bowman and Klopf (1968, 20,21) have identified four possible stages in the career development of educational auziliaries, and the Rehabilitation Services Administration publication Guidelines for Action (1966) had identified three levels of service for rehabilitation counseling. The reader is referred to these sources for examples of extensive efforts to delineate levels of career development for subprofessionals.

Budgetary Considerations:

The "hard funds" of local agencies should be committed to the support of subprofessional programs. The uncertain soft monies of federal agencies creates a tenuousness about planning which is decidedly unfortunate.

Budgetary commitments in five or more year modules are necessary to ensure the integration and continuity of programs utilizing subprofessionals.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We appear to be on the threshold of a massive breakthrough in the utilization of subprofessionals within education and the helping professions. While experimental research studies demonstrating the efficiency and economy of such programs in contributing to the affective and cognitive development of students and clients are few and far between in the literature, nevertheless, their value is increasingly being accepted on the basis of intuition and, perhaps, logic. The cautiousness of professional organizations in endorsing such programs seems a natural reaction resulting from their inability to predict the eventual impact of such practice upon thestatus of their members. The threat of such programs appears to be giving way slowly to a growing recognition of the freedom which such assistance affords professionals to more fully meet the needs of students and clients.

The motivation for establishing such programs appears to derive from one or more of the following purposes: (1) to extend services to persons not presently being served; (2) to provide meaningful employment to persons currently unemployed or under-employed from improverished neighborhoods; (3) to establish a link between the community and the Establishment via indigenous personnel, (4) to offer a mechanism by which the disaffected and alienated may be induced to re-enter the mainstream of American life; (5) to improve the academic performance of students serving as tutors;

and (6) to offer meaning and purpose to unchallenged housewives, retirees, and students.

The success of such programs will likely depend upon: (1) the proper selection of persons well-suited to the role; (2) the adequacy of training efforts; (3) sufficient institutionalization of the role to provide for budgetary support and career development; and (4) the ubiquitous interaction effects between the personalities of supervising professionals and subprofessionals.

This direction for education and the helping professions offers only a partly charted course dimly lit by scattered and for the most part less-than-adequate research efforts. With precious few exceptions studies cited in this review were descriptive rather than evaluative. Studies were frequently post hoc efforts suited to the convenience of the researcher, leaving us with no firm evidence of the value of the practice.

Nevertheless, it is clear that education and the helping professions inspired by a plethora of enthusiastic descriptive reports will continue in this direction with increasing momentum.

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