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PARAPROFESSIONALISM

A STUDY FOR
THE WINNIPEG POLICE COMMISSION

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A Study for the Winnipeg Police Commission

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1977

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I INTRODUCTION

This investigation of paraprofessionalism is intended to set forth the salient issues of the phenomenon as reflected in current literature and as revealed in original research work conducted for the study. Before proceeding however, a comment on the term "paraprofessional" is necessary.

The term itself is a "salient issue". It has as yet no clear and consistent meaning, nor, for that matter, does any one term have universal acceptance. The various general terms in common use include, in addition to paraprofessional, subprofessional, professional aide, new professional and new careerist, and for each individual occupational field, there are a variety of specific terms in use. For the sake of clarity, this paper will use the term "paraprofessional" or the prefix "para" throughout, by which will be meant:

a person who performs, for pay, sub-sections of work previously performed by professionals for which full and traditional training is not necessary or work that expands the scope of professional service.¹

As will become clear in later discussion, this definition omits aspects that some consider crucial to the concept, such as indigeneity, career ladder, human service, or supervision. However, these concepts are still very much matters of debate, and so a definition has been chosen that is broad enough to encompass most of the forms of paraprofessionalism as they actually occur.

The one major limitation contained in the definition to be employed in this paper is that referring to work for pay. The investigation excludes volunteers. Initial inquiries led to the determination that paid paraprofessionalism and

1. Adapted from Lynton, "The Subprofessional", 1967.

volunteerism are two different concepts, with different historical developments, involving different "actors," performing different roles with different motivations, and often raising different issues; in short, a study of volunteerism is a separate study. In addition to conceptual differences, however, there are other problems involved in including unpaid paraprofessionals as a subject of investigation. Data on volunteers tends to be more elusive, less formal. More often than not, unpaid paraprofessionals work part-time rather than full-time, so part-time in fact, that it borders on the casual. The determination of who is an unpaid paraprofessional, with the emphasis on "professional" and who is simply unpaid is often impossible to make (for example, the vicar's wife who regularly helps local families in the neighbourhood; the teen-age "candy striper" at the hospital, etc.). Using the presence or absence of training as a criterion is unsatisfactory because even "formal" unpaid paraprofessionals very often receive no training. The one possible exception in this regard is the unpaid paraprofessional in the field of law enforcement. There will be further reference to the volunteer police paraprofessional in a later section.

The paper will begin with a survey of issues common, to a greater or lesser degree, to paraprofessionalism in all occupational fields. This will be followed by sections providing a more detailed look at selected occupational fields: medicine, law, education, social work (including correctional, health, and psychiatric social service) and other occupations. The next section will deal with paraprofessionalism in law enforcement. The final section will provide a summary and conclusion.

II ISSUES IN PARAPROFESSIONALISM

Rationale: Historical development and objectives

Beginning with the widespread urban unrest of the early 1960's in the U.S., there has been a growing movement -- in government, housing, welfare, the environment, etc. -- to involve the citizen more closely in the planning and operation of all social services. The recognition of inadequacies in service delivery to certain segments of society, a recognition prompted by the unrest, called attention to the absence of this segment from the decision-making and service delivery process. The pre-1960's conception, in which the professional unilaterally offered a service to the client gradually gave way to the idea that the involvement and participation of the client is essential. This has been reflected in the growing trend toward citizen advisory boards, citizen participation schemes, and also in the growing strength of consumer groups and other "Common Cause" - types of organizations. The notion became firmly entrenched that the consumer of the product, be it a service, a facility, or a manufactured item, had to be represented in some way in the genesis of that product.

Against this general background the awareness grew, simultaneously but more or less independently in the fields of medicine, law, teaching, law enforcement and the social service professions, in the mid 1960's that there were serious inadequacies in service delivery for some sub-groups of the potential client population. The poor, the minorities, the elderly, and the geographically remote had no voice in the system and indeed were found to be largely overlooked or misused by the system. The level of services provided for, and taken up by, these groups was distressingly low.

This factor -- inadequate service delivery -- constituted the main impetus for the development of paraprofessional level jobs in the various occupational jobs.

The reasons put forth for the difficulties in provision of adequate services were many:

- a) perceived manpower shortages among professionals.

In the 1960's manpower shortages were felt to be acute and were forecasted as worsening in all professions. Increasingly larger numbers of trained people would be required to meet the needs of the population in the coming decades, according to predictions of the mid-1960's. Realistically, it was not expected that public or private funds could be made available to train and hire all the professionals that would be needed.

- b) class barriers between professional and client groups.

It was felt that professionals, who were drawn almost exclusively from the middle classes, could not relate effectively with lower class client groups. Because of different sets of values and cultural standards, there was difficulty in communication between the professional and client groups. Professionals were ill-equipped to reach and serve certain kinds of people. Mutual suspicion and hostility under these circumstances were inevitable, thus leading to further breakdowns in service.

c) increasing organizational complexity

The trend amongst professional jobs was for more and more time to be spent in consultation, supervision and administration and consequently less time in direct service with the client. Paper-work demands on professionals was forcing them into a state further and further removed from the client.

d) increasing task specialization

The growing complexity of professional knowledge led to increasing specialization of training and practice. The result was two-fold: professionals were less willing to spend time on duller, less challenging tasks; and it became too expensive to devote professional time to the less demanding and less desirable work, both of which led to increasing unavailability of services.

The answer to these problems was, in part, the paraprofessional. A number of advantages were expected to accrue. By hiring less than qualified people to perform entry-level jobs, agencies could meet their manpower needs in an economically-feasible manner. By recruiting indigenous people to work in their own communities, agencies would be able to reach and serve the previously unreached, unserved groups, because the new paraprofessional with his better understanding of the client group would serve as a "bridge" between professional and client. He would interpret client needs to the professional, and professional positions to the client. In so doing, he would effect meaningful, institutionalized change in the attitudes of both groups. The

presence of paraprofessionals would also permit agencies and professionals to return to a more direct service orientation, either by paraprofessionals' taking over the paper work, thus freeing up the professional for more client contact, or by performing the direct service work himself. And finally, the paraprofessional could take on the less difficult, but nonetheless necessary, tasks that the professional is unwilling or unable (because of time, cost or inclination) to perform. The paraprofessional would not only perform the simpler tasks but also significant new functions that perhaps used to be performed by professionals in simpler times or that should not be performed by professionals at all -- for example, the more subjective functions related to the paraprofessional's special role. The paraprofessional would have more (and cheaper) time to spend on evening visits, or long tutoring sessions, or personal chats. Distance and objectivity may be not only inevitable but also valuable for the professional. The paraprofessional could take on the subjectivity that is inappropriate for the professional. In short, the paraprofessional would improve and broaden the nature of services.

There was another major reason, in addition to improved service delivery, that was advanced as a rationale for the creation of paraprofessional-level jobs -- this was the eradication of poverty. The use of paraprofessionals as a strategy in the war against poverty was one of the essential ingredients of the New Careers movement, the ideology for which was largely provided by a book published in 1965 titled "New Careers for the Poor" (Pearl and Riessman). It proposed that hiring the poor to serve the poor was a fundamental approach to poverty. In this view, the content of jobs derives not from poor people's assumed lack of talent, but from those skills acquired by virtue of being poor. The fight against poverty would be waged by providing poor people with career

ladders so that they may begin in nonprofessional jobs and move up to professional or administrative status, through a combination of work experience, on-the-job training, and time release for formal education. The idea was to provide people with employment first and diplomas later. For Riessman, the crucial aspects of paraprofessionalism were indigeneity and upward mobility, because the main goal was to produce meaningful jobs for people who need them. In this model, improved agency services is seen almost as a by-product, albeit an inevitable and desirable one, of paraprofessional development, for the same reasons outlined earlier (i.e. freeing up of professional time, improved inter-class communication, etc.) Seen from the New Careers approach, paraprofessionalism would have a great "multiplier effect" in that it not only lifts the direct actors out of poverty but also affects the various personal psychological dimensions of poverty and has additional benefits in providing significant potential for improved service and real institutional change.

The anti-poverty rationale for paraprofessionalism has not gone unchallenged. Lynton² has objected that in the fields of health, teaching and social services, the goal too often has been job creation for the poor, and the appeal has been on the basis of humanitarianism rather than on worker effectiveness. As humanitarians, agencies have responded with temporary and make-work jobs. As employers, they have not considered it in their interest to hire on a permanent basis the workers produced by such projects.

2. Op. cit.

It is important to view paraprofessionals as a manpower resource with potential for extending the range and quality of services, not as a means for providing the poor with jobs.

Not only has the anti-poverty "angle" been attacked, but also the bridging concept, and from several directions -- from those who think that indigenous people should provide a bridge, and those who think they should not.

Beginning with the latter, some assert that bringing the client into a malfunctioning system only serves to perpetuate the system, not change it. The low-income paraprofessional is employed only to deflect the militancy of community groups -- "the indigenous stool pigeon". The bridging concept is nothing more than co-optation.

Then there are critics who feel sympathetic toward the idea of the indigenous person providing a bridge, but feel that the bridging concept is an unreasonable expectation. Those who are interested in a paraprofessional career are upward oriented and eager to identify as professionals. Those who have a chance to escape poverty do not want to maintain an identification with their less fortunate fellows.

Indeed, there are many authorities who do not accept the rationale for paraprofessionalism at all. Many continue to believe in the concept that only the expert can deliver services, and that most professionals are capable of understanding the poor. This paper will not attempt to deal with such general opposition to paraprofessionalism but will, further down, discuss specific objections and problems related to the implementation of paraprofessionals.

In sum, then, the major general goals shared by the paraprofessional movement in all fields were to improve service delivery -- by easing manpower shortages, improving client/agency understanding, and becoming more client-oriented -- and to reduce poverty.

Restructuring of Service Delivery

In addition to similar history and goals, the paraprofessional movement in all fields is deeply involved with the re-structuring of entire service delivery systems. For many professionals, an important major assumption was that traditional concepts and systems could be maintained intact, simply by fitting the paraprofessional into the already existing structure of service delivery. But the phenomenon of paraprofessionalism is not an isolated development. It is part of a larger re-structuring scheme that will probably affect how all services will be made available to the public in the future. The overriding concern is: How can finite resources be made to reach and service the maximum number of people in need? Traditional methods of service delivery are being re-examined. Job tasks in all professions are being re-assigned. At present, the re-structuring process is largely theoretical but in each profession it points to a basic re-distribution of power and responsibility. Teachers are less and less the sole authority in the classroom; dentists less the sole dispensers of dental care; and social workers have less and less sole responsibility for case work. Resistance -- organizational and professional -- exists. There is always resistance to attempts at broad social and institutional change. Resistance is "inevitable", according to Pruger and Sprecht.³ An organizations' traditional modus operandi becomes, not a means to an

3. Robert Pruger and Harry Sprecht, "Establishing New Careers Programs: Organizational Barriers and Strategies", Social Work, October, 1965, p. 21.

end, but the end in itself. Rules become sanctified, the moral or right thing to do. The individual professional, himself, has an urge to maintain a clear distinction between those who receive and those who give, "the allocation of privilege." But, as professional associations in most fields are telling their members, existing structures and relationships will not endure indefinitely. There will always be change and the only questions are: how will that change come about; who will initiate the change; what form will the change take. Later sections will describe in greater detail the specific systems, of which paraprofessionals are only one part, envisioned in each field. The point to be made here is that the restructuring of service delivery systems is a general trend common to all fields as a concomitant of the paraprofessional phenomenon.

Growth of Paraprofessionalism

The third major point to raise about the paraprofessional phenomenon is its rapid growth. It is, most definitely, "catching on". In the U.S., where paraprofessional projects in many fields are federally financed and often backed by federal legislation mandating or encouraging the creation of paraprofessional jobs, the phenomenon has been growing at a remarkable rate since it first appeared about ten years ago. "Paras" are being suggested for almost every profession.⁴ There are an estimated 1,000,000 paid paraprofessionals in the

4. The U.S. President even suggested para-judges to "give judges more time to judge" (New York Times, March 12, 1971, p.1)

schools; about 15,000 trained paraprofessionals in medicine; about 30,000 paralegals employed by the U.S. government alone.

In Canada, except in the field of education, paraprofessionalism has not been developing as quickly, but interest is growing. For example, the Ontario Ministry of the Attorney General is currently conducting a study of paraprofessionals in a variety of occupational fields. The study, which is not expected to include law enforcement, will be completed in 1978.

In a recent address to the Canadian Bar Association, the Premier of Saskatchewan pointed out the need to develop paraprofessional positions in the legal profession in Canada to expand the delivery team for services. In Manitoba there is a New Careers project which has been training and placing a limited number of paraprofessionals over the past few years.

Unresolved Problems

The tremendous growth of paraprofessionalism has been accomplished despite the persistence of numerous unresolved problems and issues:

a) tension between professional and paraprofessional

Sources of tension between professional and paraprofessional are many. Job threat is one. Professionals are worried that paraprofessionals may be used as cheap substitutes, instead of as supplements. This fear is found amongst professionals of every occupation where "paras" were introduced.

Professionals often resent the intrusion of less-than-fully-qualified people taking over some of their jobs. They charge that the introduction of paraprofessionals will result in the dilution of standards within the profession.

This attitude stems largely from a lack of acceptance of the principles of job re-structuring, that different parts of a job can best be performed by different kinds of people.

Just as class differences were found to be a source of difficulty between professional and client, so the same differences create difficulties between professional and paraprofessional. Paraprofessionals tend to be less educated, more often members of minority groups, female, from lower-class backgrounds. As Riessman himself, a strong proponent of the New Careers concept, asks: "Can professionals who manifest all manner of difficulties in working with the poor, really select, train and supervise non-professionals . . . who have themselves come out of the lower-class culture . . . in relating to the disadvantaged and deprived".⁵

b) Vaguely defined work roles

Job duties of paraprofessionals are frequently ill-defined. The lack of job definition is not necessarily although sometimes is the result of carelessness or poor planning, but rather due to the genuine difficulty of job analysis. It is a recurrent theme in the literature. An education administrator ponders "Who is a teacher?"⁶ An attorney asserts "the lawyering process has never been precisely defined."⁷ A doctor admits the "roles and claims of all health

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5. A. Pearl and R. Riessman, "New Careers for the Poor", New York, The Free Press: 1965, p. 200.
 6. Sterling McDowell, in "Implications of the Employment of Auxiliary School Personnel", Canadian Teachers' Federation, 1974, p. 59.
 7. Joaquin G. Avelon, "Legal Paraprofessionals and Unauthorized Practice", Harvard Civil Rights - Civil Liberties Law Review, v. 18, 1973, p. 106.

professionals are (beset by) unseemly territorial skirmishes."⁸ With regard to police, James Q. Wilson points out "there is no body of generalized written knowledge nor a set of detailed prescriptions as to how to behave."⁹

Precise job definition in most fields is an elusive goal. It is a serious problem which continues to spin off difficulties. One is anxiety on the part of paraprofessionals. It is unsettling and demoralizing for the paraprofessional when he does not know exactly what he is supposed to do.

Another is increased tension between professional and paraprofessional. There are direct job clashes as a result of vague job definition and over-lapping tasks, and this contributes to the antipathy already described.

A third difficulty of imprecise job territories is that of discretion - how does the paraprofessional know when he has reached the limit of his capability and therefore of his job responsibility. The paraprofessional's judgement as to when to call in the professional is a crucial but hard to pin-point aspect of his job duties.

There is a further basic unresolved issue in paraprofessional-level job content. Should paraprofessionals be hired to perform the human service contact that professionals have been ignoring, or should paras be hired to do clerical or other routine tasks, thus freeing up the professional for more client contact? The question is really not so simple as it here appears, nor is it necessarily an either/or situation. But it nonetheless reflects a

8. Edmund D. Pellegrino, in "The New Health Professionals," Bliss and Cohen (ed.) Aspen, 1977, p.xv.

9. James Q. Wilson, "Varieties of Police Behavior", Harvard University Press Cambridge, 1968.

recurring problem in the implementation of paraprofessionals in every field. Frequently this issue is left unclear at the hiring stage. In actual operation, paraprofessionals have been doing more of the clerical routine work than they expected or like -- as one teacher's aide put it, "more maids than aides". What is at issue is one of the basic tenets of paraprofessionalism: that the para is uniquely capable of relating to the client. But if the paraprofessional is hired to create and sustain these client relationships, to be the client's friend and confidante, then what happens to the professional's role? He becomes even more remote and alienated.

Many professionals readily accept the idea of paraprofessionalism, if the paraprofessional takes over the clerical work. Paraprofessional job content stems often not from the needs of the client but from whatever the professional happens not to want to do, whether clerical or client contact. Paraprofessionals in all fields are resisting this, regarding the resulting work as menial. This continues to be a thorny issue contributing to the fuzzy concept of what a paraprofessional is and does. It compounds the tension between professionals and paraprofessionals, and provides a source of job dissatisfaction for paraprofessionals. Paraprofessionals expect to do important, meaningful work, helping the client. Typically, though, they are relegated to the clerical or dull tasks that nobody wants.

c) Paraprofessional dissatisfaction

Low salary and lack of upward mobility -- "the twin evils" of paraprofessionalism according to Lynton¹⁰ -- are the recurring complaints of people employed as paraprofessionals. Many paraprofessionals are led to expect, during training or recruiting phases, that though they would be starting out at low salaries, a career ladder was built in to the job and there was a prospect for obtaining better, higher paying, more responsible positions. Upgrading has not occurred. Although there have been exceptions, this remains a major problem for paraprofessionals in most occupations. The result is disappointment, low morale, even bitterness. Five paraprofessionals¹¹ working in the mental health field have described, in particularly graphic fashion, the frustration and anger experienced when they realized this "dark cloud" existed.

d) training

As might be expected from the lack of clear job definitions, there are few agreed-upon training standards within any occupational field. The type, duration, content and quality of training vary widely. In some cases, professional associations have tried to impose training standards and set training curricula. These are not always followed. Usually, local programs and institutions develop their own training schedule geared to their own specific needs. The result is that lateral mobility among paraprofessionals is sharply limited.

10. Op. cit.

11. Roberta Boyette, William Blount, Karen Petaway, Ethel Jones and Sandra Hill, "The Plight of the New Careerist: A Bright Horizon Overshadowed by a Dark Cloud", Amer. J. Orthopsychiatry, 42(4), July 1972, p. 596-602.

Another problem related to training occurs when instruction is offered apart from the potential employing agencies. This raises two difficulties: jobs are not always available afterwards; and paraprofessionals who find employment often discover they have been either overtrained or undertrained for the job.

e) issues of legality and formal status

No occupational field has yet completely resolved the problems of certification, licencing, or legal liabilities of paraprofessionals. There is little agreement amongst professionals or paraprofessionals within a field as to how these issues should be handled, and the literature for most fields is replete with argument pro and con which will be presented in the following sections. There is little discussion of this issue in the literature on police paraprofessionals. This is less of a problem for law enforcement, because unlike doctors, teachers, etc, fully sworn officers are not licenced or certified anyway, police acts and other enabling statutes rarely specify who may or may not be employed as a police officer, in terms of formal qualifications, and legal liabilities are usually clearly assigned to the employing agency, be it municipality or other governmental level. Civil service rules continue to impede the career development of paraprofessionals in many fields including law enforcement, but the question here, as in certification, licencing and so on, is: who initiates policy. Civil service rules and legislation can be, and have been, changed, when the desire to remove such obstacles is great enough.

Evidence

Earlier, the paper described the general objectives of paraprofessionalism: 1) to improve service delivery by easing manpower shortages, improving client/professional relationships and returning to a greater client orientation and state of service availability, and 2) to reduce poverty by employing the previously unemployed.

The paper also described difficulties encountered in the process -- tension between professionals and paraprofessionals, ill-defined work roles, paraprofessional dissatisfaction, lack of training standards, and legal obstacles.

Growth of the paraprofessional movement has not waited for these problems to be resolved. The push towards paraprofessionalism has seemed inexorable. The possibilities of meeting manpower needs and improving services have been, apparently, too attractive for agencies to resist. The ready availability of funds in the U.S. to institute such programs has contributed to its appeal.

As to whether the expected objectives were achieved or whether predicted failures materialized, the evidence is inconclusive and sometimes contradictory. Whatever the advantages and disadvantages claimed, little has been proven. It has been difficult to prove, irrefutably, that paraprofessionals have improved service delivery. Similarly there is no incontrovertible evidence to prove, for example, that standards have been diluted or that professional jobs have been lost. Much of what is written about paraprofessionals has been written by people who are already deeply interested in or committed to its development.

It is clear that problems, as outlined earlier, exist but this does not equal program failure. Objective research studies are not found in abundance, and certainly the definitive study has not yet been conducted in any field and probably never will. The methodological problems, not to mention ethical problems, involved in doing such a controlled study of the effect of paraprofessionals are insoluble.

Typically studies of program success such as exist consist of seeking evaluative opinions on the part of program staff, professional and paraprofessional, as to whether or not services have improved. Objective measures of level of service delivery or program effect are infrequent or very circumscribed. Even evaluative opinions of client groups are rare. This kind of study is much more difficult, time-consuming and expensive to do. And, the results are often discouragingly inconsistent. Some studies show that clients welcome paraprofessional services, and talk more readily to a "para" than a "pro". Others show that clients feel slighted when a paraprofessional tries to help them, and will talk only to a "real" doctor, or social worker, or whatever. Some studies have shown that paraprofessionals come to identify increasingly with professionals; others that paraprofessional identity with the community intensifies overtime.

Even such factors as cost-effectiveness have been largely overlooked. Frequently, cost-benefit "studies" consist in pointing out the lower salaries that paraprofessionals receive and concluding that the program saves money. But if properly used, paraprofessionals should be employed to enrich and augment services and therefore may add to total agency costs. This should be balanced in turn, by the recognition of potential or actual savings in alternate social expenditures. Such comprehensive studies do not yet exist.

However, in ten years of operating time, a body of knowledge is accumulating. The particular circumstances and forms of effective intervention are becoming clearer. For example, in most occupational fields it has been found that age and attitudes of professionals are important determinants of program success. Paraprofessional programs are more likely to succeed when the professionals involved are young and when they accept the concept of paraprofessionalism in theory. In the medical field, middle class clients accept paraprofessionals more readily than upper or lower class clients. In all fields, the mere passage of time has been the most important factor in reducing professionals' opposition or hostility to a paraprofessional program.

This section, Issues in Paraprofessionalism, has presented an overview of common concerns - - goals, growth, re-structuring, problems, and evidence. The next section will take a more detailed look at individual fields to see how these issues are manifested in each particular profession.

III THE PROFESSIONS

Medicine

The history of the development of paraprofessionals¹² in the field of medicine shares in common with other fields a basic recognition of need for improvement in service delivery. Beginning in the 1960's the shortage of trained doctors became acute. There was increasing awareness of neglected areas in health care - - the chronically ill, prevention, patient education, health maintenance, and services in remote locations. In the U.S., this awareness coincided with the increasing availability during the Vietnam War of large numbers of military medical corpsmen who, upon discharge, had well-developed skills, but skills that were not immediately transferable to health work in civilian life.

The first effort to train paraprofessionals in medicine involved nurses, but the program failed because the national (U.S.) accrediting agency for nurses denied accreditation for the course at the time on the grounds that it was inappropriate and dangerous for nurses to assume these medical tasks. Just how much thinking has changed in the last 10 years is illustrated by the present acceptance of the concept of nurses trained to supplement and substitute for doctors both in the U.S. and Canada. Such persons operate under the title of "nurse practitioners". Discussion will return to this later.

12. The term "paraprofessional" is never used in the medical field except in relation to mental health aides. For the sake of consistency this paper uses the term "paraprofessional" but in medicine the terms actually employed are "physician's assistant", "physician extender", and "new health professionals", or "nurse practitioner". "Paramedic" is a term used to apply to people trained for emergency situations only and employed usually by police and fire departments.

The first successful course to train paraprofessionals in medicine began in 1965 at Duke University and enrolled former medical corpsmen, many of whom may have had up to 2,000 hours of training in the military before entering the course.

There are currently 56 programs operating in the U.S. to train people (with or without military experience) as paraprofessionals in medicine, and over 200 programs training nurses for expanded roles, in Canada and the U.S.

Beginning with the first, there is a wide variety in type and duration of training. Courses for former military medics vary in length but average 12-15 months and end with a certificate. For those who were not military medics, courses again vary in length from 1 to 4 years, but average about 2 years, ending in either a certificate or a baccalaureate degree. Courses are offered in medical schools or in universities in non-medical settings, and usually include, after formal training, a mandatory one-year (approximately) period of clinical internship under a practicing physician in a hospital setting, or in any other setting (prisons, public health centres, etc.)

Competition for places in paraprofessional training programs is high. It is estimated that for each class of 35 students there are 1,000 applicants. There is a rigorous screening process, patterned after that for traditional medical schools. Tuition is high (about \$3,000 per year) but is heavily subsidized by the U.S. federal government.

Curricula generally train students to elicit a comprehensive health history, perform comprehensive physical examinations, simple diagnostic laboratory tests and basic treatment of illnesses, including minor surgery, and to respond to commonly encountered emergency care situations. Some also provide training in preventive care.

Initially, trainees tended to be white and male. Now more and more minorities and females are being trained. Most applicants have had some college training and almost all have some kind of previous experience in the health field (as medical technologists, for example). Average age at graduation is 30 and many go to work in areas with sparse health care resources. They work for doctors in solo or group practice; they work for clinics, hospitals, nursing homes, and other institutions. The average salary in 1975 was \$14,300 in the first 2 years of employment. All those in a 1975 survey who had been working more than 5 years at that time earned over \$15,000, with almost half earning over \$20,000. There are now about 5,000 paraprofessional medics in practice in the U.S., and they are being graduated at the rate of 1200 per year. They have formed their own association -- the American Academy of Physicians' Assistants.

Training for nurses to become nurse practitioners also varies widely, including in-service or formal training, with or without internship, offering varying qualifications (certificate, masters' degree), and lasting anywhere from 3 to 24 months. Enrollees are not even always R.N.'s but usually are.

A recent study¹³ of 46 different training programs showed that all had similar content, but the longer the training, the better were training goals impelmented. However the varying admission requirements were found to be unrelated to program goals achievement.

Students in these courses, as might be expected, are overwhelmingly female, and tend also to be white. They are usually in their early 30's and one survey showed that about half are unmarried.

13. "Implementation of Goals in the Curricula of a Sample of Pediatric Nurse Practitioner.Associate Programs", R.L. Taunton, J.S. Sakumura and J.M.Soptick, ANA, Kansas City, 1976.

Nurse practitioners often function in a pediatric setting and one authority who has been involved in training -- Dr. Henry Silver -- performed studies that demonstrated a pediatric nurse practitioner can replace the pediatrician for about three-quarters of his duties. In Canada there are several programs which train nurse practitioners to provide services in the North. Another common setting is maternity practice. There are now, in all, over 7,000 nurse practitioners in Canada and the U.S.

In medicine, as in every other occupational field, traditional notions of the division of labour among MD's and other health personnel and the locus of authority and decision-making are being called into question. The previously closed precincts of the physician's activities are now being safely and competently entered by other health workers. One health expert quoted in Hapgood, states:

Fully 80% of illness is functional, and can be effectively treated by any talented healer who displays warmth, interest and compassion regardless of whether he has finished grammar school. Another 10% of illness is wholly incurable. That leaves only 10% in which scientific medicine -- at considerable cost -- has any value at all.¹⁴

Traditionally all medical tasks, of whatever level, were deemed to be the purview of only fully-qualified professionals. Dependence on the physician created severe demands on his time, inflated his value and limited his accessibility. New systems of health care delivery are being developed as alternatives to present patterns which have not resulted in universally available, reasonably priced, compassionate accessible care, seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day, at a convenient location to where people live. The feeling is growing that what is needed in health care is someone who will take the time to listen, to explain, to allay anxiety. More money and more professionals is not sufficient. The founder¹⁵ of the Kaiser-Permanente system (in the U.S.) has conceptualized a re-design of the

14. David Hapgood, "The Average Man Fights Back," Doubleday: N.Y., 1977, p. 49.

15. S.R. Garfield, in A. Gartner, "Paraprofessionals and their Performance", Praeger: N.Y. 1971, p. 78-79.

entire health delivery system. At the heart of the new organization of health services would be a testing centre, from which people would be referred for preventive maintenance, health care, or sick care. Only "sick care" would be manned by M.D.'s (with paraprofessional assistance). All else would be done solely by paraprofessionals.

Not everyone agrees about the new role of paraprofessionals. A recent AMA manual described the paraprofessional as "still a poorly understood member of the health team." It may be that doctors do not want to understand. There is still a great deal of professional hostility toward paraprofessionals in medicine, despite its rapid growth. As Hapgood rather uncharitably puts it: "The doctors viewed the (paraprofessional) with mixed feelings. He spelled money in their pockets if they charged their rate for his lower-paid work . . . But on the other hand, could they share the mysteries . . .?"¹⁶

Officially, the AMA has endorsed the concept and plays a major role in accrediting curricula and in certifying paraprofessionals. But as we shall see later, a continuing complaint of paras in medicine is lack of acceptance and regard by M.D.'s. One study reported in Gartner¹⁷ found that younger doctors were more favorably inclined toward paraprofessionals than older doctors. This suggests that paraprofessionals will be more welcome in the coming generation of doctors than in the present one.

16. Hapgood, op. cit., p. 71.

17. Op. cit., p. 78.

The public legal status of paraprofessionals in medical practice is a welter of confusion. This legal confusion has not for the most part touched nurse practitioners because they are able to function under their nurses' status without new legislation. For those paraprofessional medical personnel not certified as nurses, there are problems. Many states in the U.S. do not permit them to practice at all. In every locality where paraprofessionals now practice, amendments to the various medical practice acts have been the means of permitting them to function. There is a national certification test for medical paraprofessionals but it is currently required in only twelve states out of the thirty that have paraprofessionals.

There is no consensus on the degree of supervision required, even though most enabling statutes use the words "under the direction and supervision of a licensed physician". Supervision, in fact, appears to be one of the most challenging aspects of medical paraprofessionalism and the issue of "when to consult" is the key and still unresolved question. The decision to consult is in the paraprofessional's hands. Therefore the most important test of a para's competence is his ability to judge where his competence ends, and when he must call in an M.D.. Studies reported in Bliss and Cohen¹⁸ show that medical paraprofessionals tend to err on the side of restraint. But paramedical practice is becoming increasingly independent of M.D.'s especially as they become less tied to hospitals and structured settings. Decentralized and informal neighbourhood health care clinics, of a small scale, are more and more frequently the locus of practice. In New York City, pediatric nurse practitioners now handle one quarter of all patient visits to the city's network of 80 such small health stations.

18. Op. cit.

Three states in the U.S. have now authorized limited independent practice for medical paraprofessionals.

Although there have been no medical malpractice suits thus far involving paraprofessionals, the liability to the M.D. would be greater if he had delegated medical acts to paras. Some insurers will not provide coverage for paraprofessionals, or for doctors hiring paraprofessionals; others provide coverage but at greatly increased rates.

Clearly the consensus is, at least among insurance companies, that paraprofessionals are less reliable and more risky than fully-qualified doctors. But the public does not seem to think so.

There has so far been little opposition or hostility documented from the client population. Most client surveys have found high support for the use of paraprofessionals. A supervisor of one paraprofessional program reported that some problems missed by doctors have been caught by para's, not, in all probability, because the para was more skilled but because he had more time to devote to the case. The same source reported that a mother whose child saw a doctor because the para was absent called the para at home to ask if it was all right to follow the doctor's advice.

- A 1974¹⁹ survey of medical paraprofessionals revealed the following problems:
1. Most paraprofessionals felt that doctors had an "appalling ignorance" of the para concept. The paraprofessionals themselves are convinced that they can provide more readily available, more efficient and more economical medical care, but feel they are not appreciated by doctors or (regular) nurses. They especially complained of the reluctance of nurses to accept the suggestions or instructions of paraprofessionals.

19. E.S. Bursic, in Bliss and Cohen, op. cit., p. 195-206.

2. The lack of precise legislation on the status and permissible activities of paraprofessionals causes problems. The ambiguous and delicate unresolved legal questions of licensure and liability make M.D.'s wary of hiring paraprofessionals. In fact, paraprofessionals, once hired, are still in danger of losing their jobs due to charges of practicing medicine without a license and this has happened on several occasions.

The imprecision of enabling statutes leads to arguments over permissible activities. A recent article in the New York Times,²⁰ for example described the fight on-going in the State legislature over whether existing regulations do or do not allow paraprofessionals to prescribe medication.
3. There is professional discrimination against paras. Many doctors, according to paraprofessionals, will not delegate tasks for fear of appearing incompetent to their peers. Other doctors resent paraprofessionals on personal, emotional grounds. Others, especially nurses, feel a job threat. Uncertainty about the paraprofessional role is responsible, say the paras, for this hostility towards them.
4. Paraprofessionals feel that their salary is too low.
5. There is now a concern that too many paraprofessionals are being turned out, making jobs more difficult to get.
6. Jobs frequently underemploy paraprofessionals. The para is disillusioned with the mundane tasks he is required to perform, after training programs misled him into thinking he could effect real change in the system, do "good works" with and for the people, and so on. Some feel they are being used as LPN's

20. "Physicians' Assistants Face Loss of Right to Prescribe Medication", Richard J. Ceislin, New York Times, February 20, 1977.

(licensed practical nurses). Others feel exploited -- that M.D.'s over-tax them and leave them to run the show, presumably while they, the M.D.'s, make for the nearest golf course.

Despite the problems, there is little question that paraprofessionals in the medical field are here to stay. For all the "cons", the "pros" have it, apparently. One study, in 1975, showed that the use of paraprofessionals increased the number of patients served an average of up to 25%. Another study, a federal evaluation, concluded that paraprofessionals "proved to be an economic boon to the physician". Bliss and Cohen point out that though there is plenty of data to show the extent to which paraprofessionals in medicine can improve the balance sheets of private physicians and public hospitals, there is little to show the extent to which paras can improve the clinical outcomes of sick people.

Still, the federal government in the U.S. has invested heavily in the development of paraprofessionals in medicine. National legislation passed in 1975 cites as a priority, "the training and increased utilization of Physicians' Assistants". Other legislation in 1975 and 1976 authorizes funding to support such programs.

The future of paraprofessionals themselves is less clear. There is no built-in mobility -- a paraprofessional wishing to become a doctor gets no credit for his experience as a para but must begin all over as any entering freshman. Presumably, his special background is taken into account in admission. One final point -- in the 1960's, paraprofessionalism in medicine was prompted by a severe doctor shortage. Since then, the number of medical schools and graduates have nearly doubled, thus easing the shortage considerably. How this will affect the paraprofessional phenomenon in medicine is unknown.

Law

In 1968 the American Bar Association formally recognized

"that freeing a lawyer from tedious and routine detail, thus conserving his time and energy for truly legal problems, will enable him to render his professional services to more people, thereby making legal services more fully available to the public." ²¹

The ABA accordingly recommended the legal profession recognize that there are many tasks in serving a client's needs which can be performed by a trained, nonlawyer assistant that is, paraprofessional, working under the direction and supervision of a lawyer, and that the profession encourage the training and employment of such assistants.

There are no estimates of the total number of legal paraprofessionals now employed, but there are well over 200²² formal educational programs for training legal paraprofessionals in Canada and the U.S. Most of the published information available on paraprofessionals in law originates in the U.S. so this paper will of necessity deal mainly with the American experience.

The main objective in the development of paraprofessionals has been the delivery of legal services at lower cost to a greater number of people. The efforts of private and legal aid attorneys are perceived as insufficient to meet the needs of not only the poor but also people of moderate income. Problems of inadequate staffing, physical inaccessibility and lack of rapport have all been cited as obstacles in the delivery of effective services.

Although training programs for legal paraprofessionals are offered in a variety of institutions, they appear most frequently in community or junior

21. "Liberating the Lawyer", America Bar Association, June 1971, p.5.

22. Some estimates place the figure at over 500.

colleges. Some are in regular four-year institutions, such as the program at Carlton University in Ottawa.²³ Training is usually connected to the law profession in some way, in the form of advisory committees of lawyers, or having administrative connections with law schools or local bar associations. The curriculum usually follows that suggested by the ABA in 1971. In 1974, the ABA began formally accrediting courses but has so far (as of April 1977) only granted approval to 26 programs. In Canada, the Bar Association currently approves no programs, but the Executive Director stated that the CBA intends to appoint a staff member who will "be involved in the matter of legal assistants or para-legal personnel".²⁴ The form of involvement is unspecified.

Some training programs are conducted by private paralegal institutes, unconnected with law schools or universities. There are many such programs in the U.S., and at least one in Canada -- in Montreal. The Quebec Bar Association is in no way involved in it, but most of the teachers are lawyers.

Not all training programs are formal educational programs. Many are in-service. One survey²⁵ found that 60% of paralegals have had no formal training.

The length of training courses varies, from two months to four years. Most train people as specialists; some as generalists. Courses may end in a certificate, an associate in science or arts degree, a baccalaureate degree, an M.S. degree, or a B.A. in law. Admission requirements are varied: none, high school diploma, a B.A. degree, 18-year age minimum, employment as a legal secretary, satisfactory performance on legal aptitude tests, etc. Many programs are evening courses, so

23. The program at Carlton is not a paralegal training program in the same sense as others under discussion. While its stated objective is "to bridge the gap between the law and the citizen", it is not intended to prepare people to practice law in any way, but rather to understand it in a social science context. Professor R.D. Abbott of the Department of Law, in a personal communication with the author, stated that many graduates of the course go on to professional law schools, but receive no formal credit toward a law degree for courses taken at Carlton.

24. J.M. Cantin, in a letter to the author, dated June 6, 1977

25. "The Significance of Paralegals in the Legal Services Program", NPI, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 6.

enrollees typically hold jobs during the day in law offices (as clerks, secretaries).

Paralegals tend to be young (under 30) and female, especially if employed in the private sector. In public law, paralegals are more equally divided amongst male and female.

Most paralegals have had some college training. One survey placed the figure at 70% with college-level work at the time of entering a paraprofessional training program.

A 1974 survey conducted by the National Paralegal Institute in the U.S. showed that there is a relatively high rate of blacks among paralegals (21% compared to 9% for the general population).

The same survey showed that salaries are low (almost all under \$8,000 annually) and upward mobility is practically nonexistent. There is no hierarchy of functions among paralegals, no systematic changing of duties that might be considered advancement.

The duties of paraprofessionals in law vary greatly -- from office to office, and according to the training and background of the para himself. They may conduct intake eligibility interviews in public law offices, interview clients, do counselling and referral work, and perform clerical and communication functions. They may represent clients at administrative hearings. In private offices they may assist in preparing cases for trial by summarizing and indexing depositions, may keep records and prepare court accountings in the administration of estates and trusts, may make arrangements with clients to appear at hearings, may prepare pleadings of a repetitive nature, draft post-trial motions for review by a lawyer, interview witnesses, etc. Although legal paraprofessionals perform a variety of tasks, in one survey²⁶ almost all felt they should be allowed to do more and that they could be used more effectively.

26. "The Training and Use of Legal Assistants," ABA 1974, p.24.

The degree of supervision of paraprofessionals varies. Some work very closely supervised by attorneys and some are allowed to work independently under the general direction of an attorney, with only completed work reviewed. In the NPI survey mentioned earlier, the overwhelming majority of paraprofessionals in law practice felt they should be allowed to work independently. Speaking for the paralegals, the NPI states that the paralegal comes to the job with considerable work and life experience. He may, though, because he lacks the attorney's education, feel ignorant and the attorney "either reinforces that know-nothing feeling or can encourage the paralegal . . . to build on his existing knowledge, attitudes, and skills".²⁷ On the other hand, an ABA publication speaks of the need for professionals "to exercise the control".²⁸

Thus there is evidently sources of friction between lawyers and paralegals over work functions and degree of independence. Paralegals are even opposed to the ABA's accrediting paralegal courses, because "paralegal occupation is new and accreditation standards . . . are premature".²⁹ It is apparent that paralegals resent any attempt by lawyers to control them. In 1974, paralegals in the U.S. formed their own association, and in 1975 resolved to become a "professional" association for paralegals.

27. NPI publication, op. cit., p. 130.

28. Certification of Legal Assistants," ABA, 1975, p. 29.

29. NPI publication, op. cit., p. 13.

There is no licensing for paralegals, and likewise no agreement as to whether or not they should be licensed. In general, paralegals resist licensing, especially if dispensed by the ABA, since they see it as a means of restricting the growth of paraprofessionalism. Other paralegals welcome licensing, motivated by a desire for status and greater recognition.

Amongst attorneys, as with doctors, there are mixed feelings about paraprofessionals. In one survey, about half the firms surveyed indicated that at least initially there were problems in the relationship between paraprofessionals and the rest of the staff, but these diminished with time.

Paraprofessionals themselves feel that younger lawyers accept them more than older lawyers. The older lawyers are seen as more skeptical, less flexible, and inclined to feel that only a law degree qualifies a person for legal work.

There are hostilities based on job insecurity, and with some basis. About one-fifth of the firms surveyed (above) said that as a result of hiring paralegals they were now hiring fewer lawyers. But over one-half reported that the employment of paralegals had not affected their employment of attorneys.

Almost none (less than 5%) of the firms surveyed reported better quality work from their attorneys because of the assistance of paraprofessionals.

However, there remains a compelling reason to hire paraprofessionals in law practice. The ABA did a cost analysis showing that a lawyer could double his income by hiring a paralegal to assist him. In a chapter entitled "Increasing Your Net Income"³⁰, the ABA explains the necessity of breaking down tasks into mini-systems and reorganizing the work so that each procedure is efficiently completed by the least expensive person competent to handle that procedure.

30. in "Liberating the Lawyer" op. cit., p. 43. ff.

This technique is not an unmixed blessing for attorneys. It is a technique that has been discovered by a growing number of legal clinics. Prices are kept down by a number of means: hiring paraprofessionals, accepting cases only in which the attorneys in the clinic have specialized, and shortening preparation time by breaking down standard procedures into smaller work modules that can be completed more efficiently.

This represents a basic re-organization and re-structuring of service delivery in the law profession that is likely to become more and more common in the future. The first of these opened in Los Angeles in 1972, and is now a major producer of low-cost legal services. Prices are posted in the offices and customers can comparison shop. As such, these legal clinics pose an economic threat to attorneys in traditional practice. But despite charges of unethical practice brought by local bar associations, this restructuring is likely to proliferate, with paraprofessionals being an integral element in the new type of delivery system. This type of practice holds great appeal for many paraprofessionals for the opportunity it provides to service low-income neighbourhoods. "Unauthorized practice" statutes are not seen as an impediment to paraprofessionals because there are no specific guidelines as to what constitutes the practice of law. However, one advocate³¹ of paraprofessionalism urged legislators, nonetheless, to draft statutes which clearly state which functions of law practice are delegable to paraprofessionals.

The use of paraprofessionals is certainly expanding³² despite the absence of clear legal status. In Canada, the Ontario Ministry of the Attorney General is

31. J.G. Avila, op. cit.

32. In the U.S., approximately 1200 paraprofessionals in law are being trained every year, according to a 1971 report.

looking into the need for recognition and definition of the roles of paraprofessionals in the Law Society Act. Use of paraprofessionals is becoming more varied. In California, special paralegals are being created to help the elderly. The paralegals are themselves senior citizens who can more readily act as advocates for elderly people. This is a clear reflection of the goal of breaking down barriers between the courts and the people.

An important development has occurred in the U.S. government. Paralegals, as of August 1975, have been incorporated into the federal civil service structure. Significantly, the civil service acknowledged that it was establishing the new position in response to developments in the field. Civil service structures do change in response to changing times. Even though the position is now thoroughly bureaucratized it still reflects the general uncertainty about what a paraprofessional in law is or does. The bulletin defining the new series leaves it as a fairly vague grab-bag: paralegals will do work "not classifiable in some other series".³³

As for the future of paraprofessionals in the practice of law, there is some concern that too many are being turned out now and jobs, at least in the U.S. are becoming scarcer. In Winnipeg, however, a recent advertisement in a local newspaper for a paralegal to work for a trust company brought a very small response and attracted nobody qualified; the job is still available.

A small proportion (about 10% in one survey)³⁴ of paraprofessionals themselves view their status as merely temporary, with personal plans to pursue a law degree.

33. U.S. Civil Service Commission Bulletin 930-17, August 11, 1975, Attachment 1, p. 1.

34. "The Training and Use of Legal Assistants: A Status Report" ABA, 1974, p. 25.

As a concept, though, paraprofessionalism in law is well established.

Here is the conclusion of one report:

"The great variety of tasks formerly performed only by attorneys and now being assigned to legal assistants with very satisfactory results indicates that substantial opportunities for increased efficiency and productivity are available to those attorneys willing to surrender the more routine and repetitive tasks they presently perform themselves. The acceptance of the concept that certain functions can be effectively delegated to nonlawyers carries with it a great responsibility for the attorneys to supervise and control the efforts of the legal assistants who perform those functions. The firms (in this particular study) . . . agreed that the opportunities for improvement more than justified the assumption of such responsibilities."³⁵

35. "Liberating the Lawyer", op. cit., p.64.

Teaching

The introduction of paraprofessionals in the schools dates back to the 1960's. The two major motivating factors were the teacher shortage and rising salaries. Paraprofessionals were seen as a way of maintaining effective service levels at reduced cost.

Other factors were involved as well: changing needs for school services, new dimensions in education requiring a more complex and demanding role for teachers; heightened awareness of the special learning needs of disadvantaged children; recognition of communication gaps between middle-class professionals and lower-class pupils.

Federal funds, in the form of Local Initiative Program grants, acted as the catalyst in the growing use of paraprofessionals in the schools, particularly, in the western provinces.

As with other professions, paraprofessionalism in teaching is embedded in a context of over-all structural change. The new model of service delivery is referred to as "differentiated staffing" and in general it involves a re-organization of the teaching functions within a school so that duties formerly assigned to the classroom teacher are redistributed among staff on the basis of responsibility, function, skill and salary. A typical differentiated staffing plan, developed in 1969,³⁶ calls for various levels of teaching staff, from instructional aide (paraprofessional), through associate teacher, staff teacher and senior teacher, to master teacher. Each would have different duties and responsibilities.

Paraprofessionals were part of a total differentiated staffing plan introduced into nine Manitoba schools in 1971 with a grant of \$200,000 from the province. All involved several simultaneous departures from standard

³⁶. The Temple City Differentiated Staffing Plan, in "School Staffing Practices", Department of Educational Administration, University of Alberta, 1976, p. 12.

teaching methods, including (in addition to the use of paraprofessionals) team teaching, individualized instruction, open education philosophy, volunteers, and in-service training. One project terminated in 1974 when provincial funding ceased. The others are still in operation. The adoption of differentiated staffing by school systems in Canada has been limited. However, the introduction of paraprofessionals, without a complete reorganization of school personnel, is now a common occurrence, and is often locally funded. For example, the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, in 1976, funded ethnic teacher aides in inner city schools at a cost of \$320,000.

A recent bulletin of Statistics Canada points to the continuing growth rate of paraprofessionals in Canadian schools. In 1974, there were nearly 6,000 paid paraprofessionals working in public schools in seven provinces,³⁷ an increase of 49% over the previous year. Manitoba in 1974 reported 1,174 paraprofessionals in the schools, an increase of 85% over 1973.

According to educational theorists writing in the area, paraprofessionals perform a wide range of tasks, including clerical, maintenance and supervisory duties, as well as teaching duties that would involve them with "ongoing day to day interaction with students in classrooms following the strategies prescribed by teachers",³⁸ such teaching duties to include participation in long range and daily class planning, work with small groups or individual children, preparation of lesson plans under the direction of the teacher and assisting the children in independent studies.

37. Quebec and Alberta could not, at that time, supply reliable data; Prince Edward Island used no paraprofessionals.

38. N.J. Chamchuk in "Implications of the Employment of Auxiliary School Personnel", Canadian Teachers' Federation Publication.

The reaction by teachers' organizations has been one of resistance to the involvement of paraprofessionals in the instructional process. They are completely united in their determination of what paraprofessionals should not do, and that is teach. Virtually every provincial teachers' federation has prepared position papers outlining what they regard as the tolerable limits of paraprofessional activities. The paraprofessional must remain strictly under the control of the teachers, and duties should be limited to clerical, maintenance, audio-visual and general non-instructional assistance.

A 1974 survey, conducted by the Canadian Education Association, of what paraprofessionals actually do in schools shows that the teachers' views prevail. Paraprofessionals typically spend their time in such activities as: supervising hallways, lunchrooms and playgrounds; doing clerical and secretarial work for the teachers; preparing materials and operating equipment; sewing costumes; and issuing textbooks. The list reflects a total absence of instructional tasks. One study³⁹ showed that the tasks paraprofessionals least preferred to do were the same tasks that professionals most want them to take over (collecting money, taking attendance, duplicating material, etc.)

In Alberta, the provincial government sponsors a program of training and employing native Indians as paraprofessional teachers to work in the remote northern areas of the province. The training consists of a 6-month class and a 2-month field course in individualized instruction techniques. The significant feature of this program is that the paraprofessional teachers actually teach. This is attributed by a program spokesman to "the professional sanctioning body's ignorance of the program."⁴⁰

39. J.H. Balderson and M. Nixon "Teachers' Aides: Tasks and Concerns", The Canadian Administrator, Vol. XV. No. 8. May 1976, p. 1-5.

40. Taken from a statement prepared by the Alberta Vocational Centre at Grouard especially for this study.

However, when alerted, professionals are unalterably opposed to teaching by paraprofessionals. A member of the Ontario Teachers' Federation has summed up the teachers' rationale: "The farther the teacher is removed from interaction with the pupils, the poorer the quality of education the child will receive."⁴¹ Therefore, paraprofessionals should not do any of the teaching. But as Perras⁴² states ". . .in our pleas to exert caution in the use of teacher aides we should be careful to present cases which are not suspect as serving the interests of teachers rather than the educational needs of pupils." By this he is making circumspect reference to the teachers' pervasive fear that paraprofessionals will be used as cheap labour and will jeopardize teachers' salaries. The (American) United Federation of Teachers faced this fear directly. In an article urging teachers to accept the inevitability of paraprofessionals, and to take paras into the union, the UFT pointed to the recent narrow escape of the New York teachers, who had accepted paras into their union; otherwise "when the teachers went out on strike, the paraprofessionals could have manned the classrooms, kept the schools open, and . . .broken the strike."⁴³

There is no standardized training for paraprofessionals in teaching. There are a variety of training programs in Canada that offer one - two - or three year courses at the community college level. Some people function as paraprofessionals without any formal training, except on-the-job. Teacher organizations across Canada differ widely with regard to matters such as affiliation, certification, training and acceptable duties for paraprofessionals to perform. After surveying the field, one study concluded that paraprofessionals in teaching are "a disparate

41. "Auxiliary Personnel in the Schools, "Ontario Teachers' Federation, p. 1.

42. L.G. Perras "Volunteers and Paraprofessionals in School Programs", Education Canada, December 1973, p. 18.

43. "Teacher and Paraprofessional: On-the-Job Partners", United Federation of Teachers, New York, p. 4.

group at present, performing different functions and having no common standards, no organization and no certification."⁴⁴ Some teachers urge certification, based on a merit system, as a means of controlling the ratio of professionals to paraprofessionals; others oppose it. Geraldine Channon, Executive Assistant of the Canadian Teachers' Federation warns "things will get particularly messy if a lot of special certificates are invented permitting the holders to . . .supervise the loading of buses."⁴⁵

As to the effect of having paraprofessionals in the classroom, numerous studies have been conducted,⁴⁶ the results of which serve to demonstrate the total absence of consensus. As a representative sample, one study in 1972, found that students in a paraprofessional - assisted class scored lower in achievement than students in a control (traditionally - staffed) class. Another study showed paras improved children's attitudes toward school, the quality of their work, and the home-school relationship. Another showed that teachers who chose to work with paraprofessionals became more flexible in their work pattern. Another found that teachers relieved of routine chores by paras simply increased the amount of time they spend in the coffee lounge.

The studies go on and on. There probably has been more research of paraprofessionals in teaching than of paras in any other field. This may be because of the captive nature of the subjects, all collected neatly together in a school building for long periods of time. However, even under these circumstances, it is extremely difficult to pin-point the effects of any one variable in the classroom. Opinion surveys likewise provide both positive and negative views of paraprofessionals. Enns concludes that the general picture is positive, but that further research is needed "lest educators are worshipping at the wrong altars."⁴⁷

44. Ontario Teachers' Federation in CTF Publication, op. cit., p. 38

45. CTF Publication, op. cit., p. 59.

46. Reviewed by Enns in CTF Publication, op. cit., p.13 ff.

47. CTF Publication, op. cit., p. 30.

The legal status of school paraprofessionals remains unclear. Perras urges that every province should adopt legislation on the use of teacher aides. Only three provinces currently have legislation enabling the employment of teacher aides, although in practice such aides are now being employed everywhere. Perras recommends that laws be passed establishing the guidelines for use of aides. The problem is that such laws would tend to by-pass the authority of local school boards creating possible tensions and conflict. So paraprofessionals continue to be employed without, for the most part, formal legal sanction.

Although teachers are adamant in their opposition to the use of paraprofessionals to take over teaching tasks, whether for educational or economic reasons, they generally welcome paraprofessionals to take over clerical tasks. Teachers themselves have been applying pressure to redefine their jobs so as to exclude many clerical or other tasks not viewed as requiring formal teacher preparation or, at least, as not being appropriate to people with advanced training. There is also a consensus among teachers on the importance of individualizing instruction both from the point of view of increased learning efficiency and the need for schools to provide for the unique interests and aptitudes of students. An improvement in the student/adult ratio in the classroom is seen as a prerequisite for this. There is also now a general desire among teachers for greater community involvement on the part of the schools. Formerly, schools were closed fortresses set rather apart from the community. The current trend in thinking is to open up the schools to the entire community, and not just to the members of the community who happen to be students or the parents of students. The idea is to improve the school's effectiveness by getting community support for its activities, and this can be accomplished in part by hiring paraprofessionals from the community. A recent (May 1977) in-service workshop on the inner city schools sponsored by Winnipeg School Division for principals and vice-principals affirmed this faith in the use of ethnic aides in the school.

The Institute surveyed ten Native Aides currently working in schools in Winnipeg's inner city area. All are female, ranging in age from 21 to 65 years, with an average of 37 years. All but 2 live in the school area. Formal education varied from grade 8 to grade 12. None had any training as paraprofessionals prior to being employed. Previous occupation was mostly housewife or salaried menial labour. Four said they attended in-service workshops after being hired. Starting salary is \$4.34 per hour. Most of those surveyed had been working as Aides about 2 years.

As perceived by the Aides, the purpose of the program is to improve communications between the school and the native community. A serious problem in core area schools is the high rate of absenteeism amongst native children. It is hoped that by bringing the school and the community closer together, better mutual understanding will result and will lead to greater stability.

Duties performed by Aides include home visits, lunch and recess supervision, arts and crafts, bringing truant children to school, preparing breakfast snacks, and helping children in trouble or children suspected of glue-sniffing. Aides do virtually no teaching tasks, other than instruction in bead work.

No major problems or difficulties were expressed by the Aides with regard to their duties, acceptance by teachers, or job satisfaction. Two aides said there were problems with the professional staff in terms of role uncertainties.

Half the paraprofessionals surveyed said they wanted to become fully-qualified teachers and had taken initial steps to enroll in programs. Informal conversation of the author with Winnipeg school principals pointed to this -- turnover among aides due to their desire to become teachers -- as the only problem being experienced. Aides leave for mainly one purpose; to get teacher training. This would seem to support those critics who charge that the "bridging" concept is untenable. No one, given the choice, prefers to continue in the role of

representing the lower classes to the professional classes. They prefer to become members of the professional class themselves.

The mid 1960's, when paraprofessionalism began to take hold as a phenomenon, was a time of serious teacher shortage, and this was a major impetus for bringing paraprofessionals into the schools. There no longer exists a shortage of teachers. With shrinking school enrollments because of demographic population changes, and consequent closing of schools, there is now a shortage of jobs, rather than of teachers. A Statistics Canada bulletin⁴⁸ shows that between 1972 and 1974 the number of teacher aides grew, while the number of professional teachers dropped marginally. There is no agreement now as to the optimal number of aides in a school. Schools just keep acquiring more. While the professional associations may be resigned to, may even welcome, growing numbers of paraprofessionals to provide help as long as their own jobs are secure, how they will react when the numbers of professional jobs are falling is uncertain.

48. Statistics Canada service bulletin, vol. 3, no. 6. September 1974.

Social Service

The concept of paraprofessionalism in social work has less well-defined beginnings and less clarity than paraprofessionals in medicine, law, and teaching. Status of the social worker as a professional is not fully accepted.⁴⁹ Minimum requirements for professional practice in social work are still evolving. People with credentials that make them less-than-fully-qualified today (a bachelor's degree) functioned in the not-so-distant past as "professional" social workers.

In Canada, there does not exist a great deal of material in relation to paraprofessionalism in social work, according to the Executive Director of the Canadian Association of Social Workers. The community colleges, primarily in Ontario, Quebec and Alberta, have for a number of years been turning out graduates who find work in social service delivery systems as lower-level employees. In Quebec, a social service case aide program has been operating for thirty years. Information on some of the programs in Alberta will be presented further down.

Paraprofessionalism in social work has grown more directly out of an anti-poverty thrust than has paraprofessionalism in any other field. Since social services are, by their very nature, more exclusively geared toward the economically disadvantaged than any other occupation under consideration here, it was natural that when client participation was sought for the improvement of services, the development assumed an anti-poverty emphasis.

The variety of programs and agencies that make use of paraprofessionals in the field of social services is widespread in the extreme. The paraprofessional

49. There is little general agreement as to which occupations are "professions". According to Etzioni, only law, architecture, medicine, the ministry, university teaching, dentistry, certified public accounting, clinical psychology and high levels of scientific and engineering fields are professions. Both teaching and social work are relegated by him to the "semi-professions".

in social services may mean anyone from former welfare recipient to middle-class college graduate. Training is usually on-the-job and agency-specific, but may be formal and academic in nature. Duties performed by paraprofessionals include almost everything that fully-qualified social service workers do. One study⁵⁰ showed that paraprofessionals were able to perform 80-90 percent of the direct service tasks previously performed by professionals. A 1969 estimate of the total number of paraprofessionals employed in social services placed it at 300,000 in the U.S.

There is no dearth of studies focusing on the use of paraprofessionals in social services. In the U.S., the federal government, beginning in the 1960's has funded paraprofessional projects very heavily and many of these carried with them mandated evaluation components. In 1971, Riessman concluded that there was now a "vast array of data on the way in which paraprofessionals contribute to the improvement of human service practice -- by reaching hitherto unreached people, by providing new kinds of services, by improving the professional's performance and sometimes his attitudes, and by introducing a new community ethos into agencies that have limited ties to the community". While they may be true, such assertions are difficult to prove. Riessman admits that "no . . . study yields conclusive evidence regarding the effect of paraprofessionals on increased service efficiency". For all the studies available, acceptance of paraprofessionals in social service work is still in large part a matter of personal conviction. This paper will review selected findings, in order to give some indication of the pros and cons of the issue.

50. In Gartner, op. cit., p. 59.

In one study,⁵¹ former welfare recipients, aged 27 to 46, with an average 7 years of schooling, and mostly minority group members, were hired as case aides in a public welfare department. Chosen specifically for their lack of skills, poor work history and limited education, they were given a 10-week training program and then given assignments designed to draw on their past experience of living in a poverty area. Forty percent of their time was spent on providing concrete services such as finding housing, providing transportation, etc., 32% was spent on establishing eligibility requirements of clients, 20% on personal counseling in such matters as homemaking, money management, and so forth, and the remaining 8% in home visits and information-giving. Reasons given by professional caseworkers for why they referred their clients to the paraprofessionals were: a) paraprofessionals' special knowledge b) lack of professionals' time to provide service, c) another viewpoint desired, d) lack of racial or class barrier between the paraprofessionals and the client, and e) the paraprofessionals' "gut level" approach to services.

In the field of correctional social services, the Manhattan Court Employment Project functions to divert defendants from the usual judicial process. At the point of arrest, it offers defendants counselling and job opportunities. If the defendant co-operates and shows promise of permanent change, charges are dropped. Counsellors employed by the project are all paraprofessionals. The only prerequisite is that they be ex-offenders. The project has a good success rate in terms of recidivism. With regard to the role of the paraprofessionals, a study conducted by the Vera Institute of

51. D. Cudaback "Summary Report on Welfare Service Aide Project" in Gartner, op. cit., p. 60-61.

Criminal Justice in 1970 attributed their effectiveness to the fact that "they speak the language of the streets, know the ghetto neighbourhoods."

In a Maternal and Infant Care health clinic located in disadvantaged areas, neighbourhood representatives were hired specifically to represent the neighbourhood. They were not closely supervised nor did they have tasks imposed on them. The emphasis was on the development of their unique style and relations with the population being served. With such a loose mandate, the results are particularly impressive. There was a 42% increase in clinic attendance. This is highly significant because the poor are chronic under-users of health facilities which accounts in part for their high incidence of illness. The use of indigenous paraprofessionals in this case directly capitalizes on their knowledge of the local community and its trust in these workers.

Direct evidence that people will only open up to "one of their own" is provided in a unique study at the Division for Youth, an agency in New York State which treats delinquents. Three youths, all unemployed school dropouts with criminal records, were hired to conduct information-getting interviews, for research purposes, with other DFY youths. Although the three did not immediately become good workers, taped records of the interviews showed that the same interviewees responded quite differently to the indigenous interviewers than to professional social service workers. Interviewees who appeared inarticulate and passive in front of professionals became animated and articulate, in the language of the streets, for the youths.

In 1966, there was a major study of 5,000 paraprofessionals working as community aides for a federally funded program in the U.S. Findings tended to corroborate Riessman's assertions that indigenous paraprofessionals have the insider's know-how, can act as an acceptable role model, a significant other, to communicate between the classes. Supervisors felt the paraprofessionals were filling an "indispensable role" and whether "hard core" or the "cream" (community leaders) they showed the same level of reliability, morale, job performance and responsiveness. However problems were noted: insufficient training and supervision of paraprofessionals; virtually no one was fired, regardless of job performance; multiple and often incompatible objectives; ambiguities in role relationships of paraprofessionals and professionals; unwillingness of professionals to delegate meaningful jobs; jobs were primarily one-level and salaries barely above the poverty line; the danger that paraprofessionals would become no more than a new underclass of cheap help; and the rigidity of paraprofessionals in some situations.

Not all the paraprofessionals in the study conformed to the romantic myth of the poor as friendly, co-operative and concerned for their fellow poor. Some were slick wheeler-dealers. Some carried a heavy load of moral indignation, punitiveness and suspicion.

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Another study noted:

"It is extremely difficult to vitiate the effects of the many years of poverty, brutalization and discrimination endured by many poor indigenous persons. Expected limitations remain pervasive in spite of training efforts.

"Those who were most successful had in the main, experienced less poverty, were better educated, and had managed their lives with a reasonable degree of success and productivity."

52. S. Barr, in Gartner, op. cit., p. 12.

Many professional social workers are not, after having experienced a paraprofessional program, convinced that being poor, per se, enabled the indigenous worker to see problems differently or to perform better. They feel that the distinctive attributes of indigenous paraprofessionals can be learned by more qualified people.

Doubtlessly, as in any profession, social workers, through their skepticism are resisting what they see as erosions of their authority. The idea of job differentiation is not fully accepted or understood. The director of the New York City Department of Welfare⁵³ envisioned for the future a different role for the professional social worker and a complete restructuring of social work service. Rather than have one worker for x number of clients, as is the current situation, there would be functional divisions according to the needs of the people. Client needs differ. Some need highly specialized help; others need only money. Workers with different qualifications would be assigned to different tasks. The professional/paraprofessional arrangement would be complementary, not competitive.

There have been a number of cost-benefit studies⁵⁴ of paraprofessional programs in the social work field. Estimating the dollar value of direct human service programs is little more than an exercise in educated guessing, even overlooking the yield in indirect benefits which cannot be readily quantified (Riessman's "multiplier" effect). However, various studies done by different persons concerned with different population groups come up with reports in the same general range. All conclude that a case may be made for considering the development of paraprofessionals in social service work as a sound economic investment.

53.M. Ginsberg, in Riessman and Popper, "Up from Poverty - New Career Ladders for Non-professionals", Harper and Row, New York, 1968, p. 61.

54.Gartner, op. cit., p. 107-108.

The Alberta Department of Advanced Education and Manpower has provided unpublished information on a number of training and employment programs in social services. One which provides both medical and social services, trains para-professionals, mostly Native Indians, to work under a public health nurse in northern communities. The program is intended to alleviate high mortality and morbidity rates among native people, and it is thought that the problem could be better dealt with by the indigenous population. The training is a 29-week classroom and 7 week field course. Graduates, who are in their 20's with educations ranging from grade 8 to 12, perform a number of duties, including home visits to counsel on infant, pre and post natal care, geriatrics, and tuberculosis; providing hearing and vision screening in the schools, and acting as liaisons with other community agencies. Salaries are \$650-\$750. per month. Inadequate role definition has caused problems between the public health nurse and the paraprofessional, resulting in frustration and confusion. According to a spokesman for the training program at the Alberta Vocational Centre at Lac La Biche, what is needed is more preparation of nurses for a supervisory role and better role definition. Identified advantages of the program are that it provides workers who can relate to the clients and that it creates meaningful employment for native people.

Another program provides a two-year curriculum to train paraprofessionals in social work, prompted by a shortage of fully-trained workers to fill positions. The program is offered at a community college and graduates perform the same variety of services that fully-qualified social workers do, but receive about \$150. less per month. There are "a great many native students"⁵⁵ and the course has almost full transferability to the BSW program in Calgary. There was opposition to the program from professionals but with time and "a great deal of public relations work" this has eased.

55. The report from the Grant MacEwan Community College Social Service Worker Program does not specify how many.

Most of the published literature on paraprofessionals in social service work dates from the late 1960's and early 1970's. In more recent years, there has been much less written in this area. The American anti-poverty program and many of its agencies received sharp cut-backs in funds, in some cases total annihilation, eliminating many OEO-CAP community workers. Without massive federal funding, the future of paraprofessionalism in social services is somewhat insecure.

Before closing the section on social work, a description of the Manitoba New Careers Program will be presented. Though not limited to social service employment only, the NCP has a heavy human service emphasis and its experience with local problems and conditions is of special interest.

The stated goals of the Manitoba Program, which was instituted in 1970 are:

- a) To help disadvantaged people to enter the job market in areas of high need in the human services.
- b) To improve services by paraprofessionals' helping the professional in his duties.
- c) To create socially useful and meaningful jobs at the entry-level and training for advancement within and between agencies.

The rationale was that, while higher education provided access to the most desirable jobs, access to this education was effectively closed to many people because of income, race or geographic location. The program drew directly on the philosophy and anticipated benefits of Riessman's New Careers model outlined earlier.

The program made arrangements with various provincial or provincially-funded agencies in Manitoba to create entry-level jobs for program participants. Jobs covered a wide range of duties and settings, including, among others: case work (home visits , offering advice, support, etc.), work as house parents in a juvenile home, clerical and custodial functions in a correctional institution, tenant relations, and training as conservation officers. The program is two years in length and consists of a combination of on-the-job training, community college or other institutional education (made available through work release) and specially-designed courses offered by the NCP. There is no set curriculum, No credentials are provided.

New Careers is financed by the Provincial government with some Federal cost sharing. The agencies in which the jobs are created do not pay. For the first six months, trainees are paid according to the number of dependents they have, which amounts to about 5-10% more than welfare payments. At the end of six months, they get a salary that is 75% of what the job they are training for provides. This rises to 80% and 85% at further six-months intervals.

An evaluation of the program was performed in 1973. At that time, the program had accepted 83 people. Of those 59 (71%) were still in training, 12(14%) had successfully completed the program and were either working or continuing their formal education, and 12 had dropped out. Over half were native Indian. Average number of years of formal schooling was about 9. Most had had problematic work histories and one-third were single parents. One-half of the recruits were between 16 and 25 years of age.

Thirty-three of the paraprofessionals were interviewed for their views on the program. Almost half reported difficulties and problems, including low pay, conflict with supervisors or co-workers, and not enough work to do. There is

anxiety among trainees as to whether or not they will be able to find permanent employment after the training period, since the program offers no guarantees in this regard. Most of the trainees reported greatly increased feelings of personal self-confidence as a result of the program, and an improved self image. They felt the program had brought about major transformations in their approach to a work life, although, significantly, almost half still showed little interest in a career, (and little understanding of what a career is) but placed more importance on simply having a steady job.

Although the evaluation asserts that "Incorporating New Careerists into a human service bureaucracy doubtless increases the amount of service provided", there is no firm evidence presented to this end in the report.

The evaluation made a number of recommendations, three of which will be included here. It recommended that professionals should be allowed to decide whether or not to participate in the program, in order to reduce difficulties later on in communication, commitment and problem-solving. The professional should help plan the program, determine duties of the paraprofessional, and participate in selecting trainees.

It also recommended some form of credentialling be initiated, to help ensure lateral and vertical mobility for paraprofessionals.

The authors of the evaluation also recommended entry-level jobs be sought that provide potential for future advancement. The evaluation was done after the project had been in operation only three years. With a 2-year training period this was insufficient time for any upgrading to occur.

The Manitoba NCP has now been functioning for seven years. The director, Linda Wiebe, was sought for up-dated information on the program and for information as to follow-up on the evaluation's recommendations.

Provisions for career ladder steps beyond the entry level position have still not been established. Some New Careers graduates have successfully competed for more senior positions, but mobility rates have not been formally documented.

Wiebe further stated that the initial cynicism and resistance of agencies to the introduction of New Careers is being alleviated through a number of steps. A specific staff person from New Careers is being assigned the job of facilitating communication between line supervisors (professionals) and New Careers staff. Supervisors of trainees are being offered workshops on various aspects of supervision. Supervisors and trainees participate together, in another innovation, in the process of planning New Careers positions.

With regard to particular advantages of New Careers in Manitoba, Wiebe states that "specialized training has been provided in rural and remote areas which do not have educational facilities and which do not attract
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'southern trained' graduates".

In sum, it is clear that the social service profession is absorbing paraprofessionals into its ranks. The obstacles are formidable. The director of public welfare in the state of Minnesota put it this way:

"If you have a smart administrator who can use a little ingenuity and isn't afraid to experiment, who happens to have a very good civil service department, a co-operative union, a reasonable professional organization, a good salary schedule for all classes, career opportunities for (para) professionals, movement laterally and upward - - then you're well on your way toward creating a viable (para) professional role!"⁵⁷

In the real world such circumstances are not usually found, at least not all together. But, despite resistance and opposition, there are apparently

56. From a letter to the author, dated June 7, 1977.

57. In "The Subprofessional", op. cit., p. 23.

enough social workers who feel that paraprofessionals will help them to do their job better. There are numerous unresolved problems and issues but the need to develop relevance into agency operations and the desire to give disadvantaged people a chance are powerful forces on the side of paraprofessionalization.

Other Professions

Dentistry, Architecture and Pharmacy are fields that have seen the introduction of paraprofessionals in recent years. Although they will not be dealt with in detail here, it is of interest to note that all are experiencing to some extent the same kinds of problems as medicine, law, social work, teaching and, as we shall see, law enforcement. Role conflicts are the main common thread, with professionals fighting for control and paraprofessionals struggling to be independent.

In Dentistry, paraprofessionals were first trained by individual practitioners in their offices. Later group training courses became available, and standards for their education were established. In the U.S., the professional association has been closely involved in the control of paraprofessional standards through enacted legislation. Since the early 1950's the American Dental Association has urged the profession to make greater use of paraprofessionals, apparently mainly out of economic motives. The use of paraprofessionals enables the dentist to supply more services more economically.

Training is conducted separate from dental schools, and usually in community college settings. In Winnipeg, Red River Community College offers a 10-month training course open to high school graduates. Graduates receive a certificate and work under the supervision of a dentist, performing a wide variety of tasks previously performed only by fully-qualified dentists, including X-ray, oral hygiene instruction, polishing, making impressions, and application of various chemicals and sealants to the teeth.

Professional associations have maintained firm control, for the most part, of dental assistants and there is little problem of role conflicts. There is concern in the profession raised by the training of paraprofessionals in non-dental school settings. The fear is that the relinquishment of teaching

responsibilities may lead to encroachments on the profession's right to determine duties and set standards of paraprofessionals.

In Saskatchewan, however, one area of the dentist's domain is being invaded, with dental paraprofessionals at two years training providing free dental care to school children, at much lower cost than if fully-qualified dentists at six years' training provided the service.

Another type of dental paraprofessional -- the denturist -- is causing a great deal of concern in the profession. Denturists, who are graduates of training schools where they learn to manufacture dentures, are striving for the right to deal directly with the public, without the necessity of working under the supervision of a dentist. In several provinces of Canada they have won that right through enacted legislation. Elsewhere, most notably in Ontario, the battle rages on as dentists try to protect their authority, and presumably their prices.

In Architecture, technicians are employed in a variety of functions to assist the fully-qualified architect -- drafting, estimating costs, researching, reproduction, administration and graphic arts. In the U.S., the professional association has suggested that present two-year training courses be raised to four years. The two-year course has proved to be inadequate. The technician was insufficiently oriented to professional practice and conflicts with architects resulted. The American Association specified a curriculum for the course. So far, this has not been implemented.

In England, the professional architect's association controls and accredits courses for paraprofessional architects and also licenses the graduates.

Locally Red River Community College offers a 10-month course in drafting designed to assist architects. The course ends in a certificate. Other paraprofessional architects are trained in University schools of architecture,

but do not follow the full course for training qualified architects.

In the field of Pharmacy, pressure for introduction of paraprofessionals comes mainly from hospitals as a result of manpower and budget shortages. Para-pharmacists, according to a training program at Red Deer College in Alberta, work closely supervised at all times and their work is strictly defined -- take written prescription from patient, select empty container, count and pour, type and affix label, etc. They may not accept verbal prescriptions from doctors, interpret or identify written prescriptions, compound medication or give advice. According to a spokesman for the Red Deer program, there has been opposition from the professional pharmacists because they feel their jobs are being threatened. However the para-pharmacists serve to release pharmacists for a "more professional counselling role to the public."⁵⁸

58. From a statement prepared by Red Deer College, Alberta.

IV LAW ENFORCEMENT

This section will be dealt with under four sub-headings: 1) Introduction
2) Background of police paraprofessionalism - - including the historic development, recommendations for implementation and theory pro and con
3) Evidence - - a review of "hard" and "soft" existing data in the published literature, and 4) The survey - - a report on the survey of paraprofessional police programs that IUS undertook for this paper.

Introduction

In the past 25 years, police departments have seen all manner of civilian replacement programs which involved the taking over by non-sworn personnel⁵⁹ of duties previously performed only by sworn police officers - - maintenance and clerical duties, communications and identification, in detention facilities, and as station-house receptionists. The objective in each case was clearly to reduce costs and put more fully-trained men on the beat.

Although this civilianization trend (and it is a trend - - in the U.S. it is expected that civilians in police departments will number 55,000 by 1980, up almost 50% over 1970) certainly comes under the heading of "paraprofessionalism" as defined on page 1, it will not constitute the focus of this paper. The use of civilians to replace officers for in-house duties is a relatively well-established concept and surrounded by comparatively little controversy. This does not mean that every Police Department has already decided it is a good idea to employ civilians in these specialized tasks. There are some police managers who object to the presence of civilians in police departments on the grounds that they are not sufficiently dedicated to or knowledgeable about police work. Various problems have been cited, from the point of view of police departments - - officer anxieties about the reliability of civilians, higher

59. Including police cadets.

civilian attrition rates, tardiness, excessive use of sick leave, and officer concern that the use of civilians threatens job security, particularly when they fill jobs traditionally available to officers for light duty in case of physical disability. But the overwhelming majority of police departments and police officers are enthusiastic about the use of civilians for in-house duties, and the benefits far outweigh complaints.⁶⁰ Costs are reduced and officers are relieved for more critical duties, duties more appropriate to their training and, usually, to their inclination.

The qualifiers "relatively" and "comparatively" in the above paragraph are key words -- in-house civilianization is accepted and uncontroversial relative to and compared with the status of one other type of paraprofessional program in law enforcement today, and that is: the use of a less-than-fully-trained person as a field employee not sworn as a police officer, but performing duties closely resembling those performed by officers.⁶¹ The objectives, as we shall see are complex and multi-faceted going far beyond simply reducing costs, and include the alleviation of a number of police and social problems.

It is on this type of police paraprofessionalism, highly controversial and enjoying little consensus, that the paper will focus.

Before beginning, however, a comment about several other kinds of "field" paraprofessionals not included in this study. One is the volunteer or

60. A.I. Schwartz, A.M. Vaughan, J.D. Waller and J.S. Wholey, "Employing Civilians for Police Work". The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C. 1975.

61. Adapted from Radelet, Louis A., "The Police and the Community: Studies," Beverly Hills, California: Glencoe Press, 1973.

auxiliary police. As stated at the start of this paper, the study is limited to paid paraprofessionals, for a variety of reasons. Police volunteers, whose numbers have not been reliably estimated,⁶² may perform a great variety of functions. As auxiliary units working under the supervision of the P.D., they may, as they do in Vancouver, for example, patrol streets, beaches, parks and playgrounds, handle crowds during parades and special events, assist in search and rescue operations, and direct traffic. In some other cases taxi drivers, truckers, utility workers, and any other workers with their own radio communications systems, or clubs of radio band operators have stepped forward and offered to serve as extra "eyes and ears" for the police.

The main and almost total purpose of unpaid volunteers is to prevent crime. There is little if any community relations emphasis. The goal is to reduce opportunities for crime by augmenting the observation power of the patrol force in routine patrol and in emergency situations. Unpaid volunteers "are recruited from among the responsible citizens in the community . . . screened and selected with the same precautions exercised in the selection of candidates for the regular position of patrolman . . . the members of these units take a very special pride in their work and regard the assignment as one of the responsibilities of good citizenship"⁶³ As such, police volunteers are nothing really new. It is a very old idea, stemming from the ancient frank pledge of medieval villagers.

Unpaid police auxiliaries are not uncontroversial. Not every police department, by far, sees them as a useful addition to their force. So although civilian in-house replacement was excluded from this paper because of its relative innocuousness that reasoning is not relevant to volunteer policing.

62. New York City alone has 5,000 auxiliaries.

63. V.A. Leonard, "Police/Crime/Prevention", Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1972, p. 125.

The emphasis of this paper is on the paraprofessional movement in every occupation as an outgrowth of a common response to shared social problems. Volunteerism in police work, even among its supporters, is not seen as an answer to the serious social problems faced by police departments. Furthermore though volunteerism as a concept may answer some needs -- manpower shortages -- it is not a concept with a viable growth potential. It is not recommended for high crime areas.⁶⁴ Volunteer policing "is not apt to be attractive . . . to those inner-city residents already alienated from the police agency",⁶⁵ and as to the use of more upper-class outer-city residents, class conflicts of a vigilante nature are obvious, and there are other peculiar little problems as well -- for example, when a police volunteer who is in civilian life a \$75,000-per-year executive gets injured while on volunteer duty, is he to be compensated at his \$75,000-per-year rate?⁶⁶

However, it is not the intent of this paper to review the pros and cons of unpaid police, so no conclusion as to the value of such police should be drawn from the foregoing; it is only that volunteerism is not seen as a relevant issue in the over-all development of paraprofessionalism as a phenomenon cutting across all occupations.

Another form of paraprofessionalism in police work is the paid, private security force, which will be wholly disregarded in this paper. Very prevalent in the U.S., and growing in Canada, private security personnel were found in one

64. Fink, J. and Sealy, L.G. "The Community and the Police - Conflict or Co-operation?" New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974, p. 64.

65. Whisenand, P. et. al. "Police Community Relations", Pacific Palisades, California; Goodyear Publishing Co., 1974.

66. This is precisely the problem that has arisen in one locality.

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study to be poorly educated, almost totally untrained, and virtually completely ignorant of the basic limits of their legal powers.

Background

Following the urban unrest of the mid 1960's in the U.S., a national commission was appointed to look into its causes and develop solutions. The "Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders", released in 1968, cited deep hostility between police and disadvantaged communities as a primary cause of the disorders.

The Report recognized that this hostility was not totally against the police per se, but that, as the daily presence in the urban core, the police represent the most visible symbol of a society from which the poor and the minorities are increasingly alienated. The police have been catapulted into the midst of social problems that are prevalent in all large urban centres, problems that are not exclusively of their own making, but the consequences of which the policeman on the street must deal with in direct daily contact.

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A presidential commission of the previous year, 1967, noted that one of the primary causes of this hostility and resentment is the failure of police and citizens living in impoverished conditions to understand each other's problems.

"There is a critical need to improve this understanding. For example, though a primary function of the police is to perform many services for the community, there is little recognition of this fact by citizens in slum sections of a city. And it is they that often have the greatest need for

67. "Private and Auxiliary Police in the U.S.", The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, 1971.

68. "Task Force Report: The Police", The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967.

such services. Further, since relatively few persons from slum communities become police officers, police personnel have limited knowledge of conditions that encourage criminal behavior in these communities".(p. 123)

Other factors further isolate the police from the community. The need to improve police operations and efficiency by reducing the time it takes to respond to calls for service has resulted in motorized patrol, eliminating the "cop on the beat". Centralized operations, administrative duties, increased specialization have further removed the police, so that no individual officer knows the community.

Organizational problems were cited as well. Under traditional police organization, the initial responsibility for confronting the entire range of police problems, of both a criminal and non-criminal nature, rests with the patrolman. As a result of these divergent demands, patrolmen are over-extended to the point of being unable to give adequate attention to criminal matters. Despite rising crime rates, patrolmen must continue to devote a large portion of their time to non-criminal, social service oriented tasks. Various surveys show that patrol officers are able to devote only from 10 to 30% of their time to criminal matters.

Aside from the problem this creates for effectively controlling and preventing crime, it also creates a problem in police morale. A fully-qualified police officer receives training in various crime-fighting techniques and has certain expectations about his work. On the job, however, he finds that much police activity is relatively simple - - rescuing pets from rooftops, opening bathroom doors to free children locked inside - - and does not require extensive training. It is regarded by many as "not proper police work".

As a result of all these problems - - manpower shortages for crime control and prevention, lack of communication with lower class populations, increasing job complexities and specialization - - a complete re-structuring

and re-organization of police services was envisioned, as we have seen was the case in every other occupational field.

Three classes of police officers would be established, and tasks would be assigned to each on the basis of skills, intelligence and education necessary to perform them. Instead of having all patrol officers respond to all demands placed upon a department, the most competent officers would devote their time to the police work that requires the greatest degree of ability, education and judgement. The three classes of officers recommended by the Task Force were:

1. The Police Agent

Police Agents would perform the most complicated, sensitive and demanding police tasks, however they are defined within a given department, in a given time, such as patrolling high-crime neighbourhoods or investigating major crimes. Agents would replace the existing detective but would have much wider responsibility.

2. The Police Officer

Police Officers would perform the duties of enforcing laws, investigating those crimes that can be solved by immediate follow-up, and responding to selected calls for service.

3. The Community Service Officer

This is the paraprofessional position. The Task Force cited five purposes in creating the position: 1) to improve the quality of police services in high crime and high tension areas, 2) to enable police to hire people who can provide a greater understanding of minority group attitudes and problems, 3) to relieve police agents and officers of lesser, i.e. service, duties, 4) to increase the opportunity for minority group members to serve in law enforcement, and 5) to tap

a new reservoir of manpower by helping young people who have not been able to complete their education to qualify for police work.

It was visualized that the CSO⁶⁹ would be 17 to 21 years of age with the aptitude, integrity and stability to perform police work -- a type of police cadet working in the street under close supervision. He would not have full law-enforcement powers or carry a weapon; nor would he perform any clerical duties. He would wear a distinctive uniform of some kind.

His paraprofessional duties would be to assist police officers (and agents) in their work and to improve communication between police departments and the neighbourhood. He would render certain carefully selected police services to the neighbourhood. Following are examples of recommended duties:

- work with juveniles
- aid the sick or elderly
- facilitate referral of citizen complaints to social service agencies
- assist police officers in family crisis intervention
- investigate minor thefts and loss of property
- make referrals for jobs, welfare benefits, education and health services
- organize recreational activities
- report and locate stolen cars, and receive complaints about abandoned cars, unsanitary conditions or minor neighbourhood disturbances.

The CSO would operate as a visible police presence, with some of the qualities of a community ombudsman and explicitly mandated to serve as a community resource. Applicants for the position would not have to meet the conventional educational requirements of a department. They would be residents of the community and would have the personal attributes that the people are likely to value -- directness, honesty, a willingness to speak out, strength of character, and evident

69. Community Service Officer

concern for the welfare of the community. Minor police records would be ignored. Otherwise, it would be difficult to recruit members of minority groups, since the Task Force found that there is a 60% chance that minority youth growing up in the slums will have such a record.

Thus the Task Force recommended the complete restructuring of the delivery of police services. In addition to the task restructuring, as above, other plans were developed by the Task Force and other sources in response to social problems, including minority recruitment, (domestic) crises intervention units, and neighbourhood policing. Indeed, the Task Force recommended that all these be implemented together for a maximum impact. It represented a package of responses to a package of problems. For example, an integral aspect of the neighbourhood policing concept is the paraprofessional. To counteract the isolation of the police from the community created by the centralization of police operations and the motorization of personnel, small neighbourhood units with storefront offices would be established in disadvantaged communities which would serve as locations where the same CSO's, agents, and officers who serviced a community could be available for consultation with citizens during certain hours of the day.

Similarly an integral aspect of minority recruitment is the CSO, for two reasons. The CSO provides an entry level job which, with opportunity for continuing education at department expense and time release for classes, enables more minorities to become fully-qualified officers. And secondly, the introduction of CSO's makes an energetic policy of minority recruitment at regular officer level even more important, because a department that admits minority group personnel only at the CSO level will merit the charge that it is practising a subtle kind of discrimination.

Since the Task Force recommendations ten years ago, complete re-structuring in all its aspects has not actually occurred, but parts of plans, in isolation or in combination, have been implemented or planned in many localities.⁷⁰ Where paraprofessionals have been introduced into a police department, they are frequently in a context of neighbourhood units, though not involving the total stratification of officer/agent levels. For example, in San Francisco, paraprofessionals complement the sworn officers in the neighbourhood unit. Twelve CSO's advise 18 officers as to community needs and problems, and do much of the time consuming work that would otherwise fall on members of the police team.

Another context for CSO's has been in crisis intervention units, or conflict management teams. It is necessary in any conflict assessment situation to have a broad cross section of viewpoints and capabilities. "The community understanding of paraprofessionals makes their utilization imperative".⁷¹

Here in Winnipeg, the Provincial Ministry of Corrective and Rehabilitative Services and the Department of the Attorney-General have developed a joint proposal to establish paraprofessional police in the Centennial Community Committee area, an area where the Winnipeg Police have already instituted a neighbourhood unit. The rationale and nature of the paraprofessional program, entitled the Community Special Constable Program, are similar to those outlined in the

70. As we have seen, this is a common experience in other professions as well. Here in Winnipeg, for example, paraprofessional teachers have been introduced both as part of a total differentiated staffing plan in some schools and as an isolated (more or less) element in other schools.

71. Wasserman, in "Improving Police/Community Relations."

Task Force Report. It was developed by a former superintendant of police and is a response to the deteriorated conditions that breed crime and to the proliferation of uncoordinated social services in the area. The special constables, numbering 36, would serve as neighbourhood police and would operate out of a storefront location in the area.⁷² In 1976 the proposal received approval in principle by the provincial cabinet, but city council has made no official response, and its current (May 1977) status has been described as "stagnant" by one source.

There are, not unexpectedly, objections raised to paraprofessionalism in police work.

Re-structuring police tasks and the creation of a paraprofessional level job pre-supposes an accurate and comprehensive job analysis of total police function. This is extremely difficult to achieve. James Q. Wilson was quoted earlier in this paper on the elusive nature of a police officer's job (p. 13) Others have voiced the same problem; for example, Ramsey Clark: "We still do not have a careful analysis of the appropriate content of police activity."⁷³ Given this circumstance, it is difficult to carve out a specific job function for paraprofessionals. In theory, paras would not be assigned any high-risk tasks, for example. So that Clark advises that no duties even potentially sensitive should be shifted away from regular officers. Err on the side of caution, not risk, so that officers continue to spend much time doing things that could be done by less skilled people. But Wilson stresses the highly unpredictable nature of danger in the police officer's job. He points out that the patrolman's job is mainly the maintenance of order, not actual law enforcement, and the maintenance

72. Taken from an unpublished government document.

73. Clark, R. "Crime in America", N.Y. Simon and Shuster, 1970.

of order exposes the patrolman to physical danger of an unpredictable type. The danger in handling a domestic squabble (one of the recommended functions of CSO's) is of a random, unexpected nature, as opposed to the "routine", taken-for-granted danger involved in, say, chasing a bank robber. And it is this unpredictability in the policeman's job that renders a task analysis useless.

Order maintenance also necessarily involves the exercising of substantial discretion. Wilson asserts that the patrolman's decision, for action or non-action, has an importance unmatched by any chief. In this respect, as Etzioni points out, the police are unlike any other occupation: in police organization the lowest man in the hierarchy -- the patrolman -- has the greatest pressure of discretionary power. Entrusting this discretionary power to less-than-fully-trained people is, according to some critics, a dangerous practice.

The Fremont, California, Police Department commissioned the Social Development Corporation in 1973 to conduct a thorough task analysis of the policeman's function.⁷⁴ Using a systematic method developed by the U.S. Department of Labour, the SDC did an investigation into the precise nature of all tasks performed by all employees of the department, both sworn and non-sworn. Based on this analysis, the SDC presented the department with a complete restructuring alternative for the delivery of services. The format includes detailed job descriptions and training outlines for 15 different sworn and non-sworn positions. This paper will deal only with those relevant to paraprofessionals.

The study created several non-sworn positions, which they entitled "Police Services Technicians" designed to relieve police officers of routine responsibilities as identified in the job analysis and to enhance the services

74. "Use of Manpower in a City Police Force", Social Development Corporation, January 1973.

offered by the department. These paraprofessionals could specialize in one of a number of areas - - patrol, community programs, evidence, investigation, etc. and each position would carry with it a specified career ladder, although in operation, of course not all would lead to sworn positions. In creating these positions, the study noted that service-oriented functions take up a large portion of the sworn officer's time. Based on the SDC observations, the study found "this work is more often than not performed in a highly perfunctory manner, if it is performed at all . . . (which) . . . precludes adequate attention to these delicate human relations problems". (p. 5)

The Police Services Technician would have full responsibility for many duties in the non-criminal and minor criminal areas, as well as supportive roles in activities related to major crimes. Significantly, the study states:

"Particular care was exercised to avoid certain aspects of the non-sworn 'paraprofessional' programs implemented by other law enforcement agencies. For example, the PST is not seen as a community relations specialist. The community relations approach has often resulted in the 'good guy-bad guy' syndrome whereby the police officer was relieved of any responsibility for understanding and working with the community while the specialist was seen by the citizenry as possibly being its ally, but definitely not representative of or having any influence in the police department." (p. 3)

This raises an important issue for police work. For many, it is important that service functions are not wholly taken over by other agents. If police are "reduced" to enforcement of the law, they will become even more alienated from the community and this will result in even greater problems in crime control and prevention. Even the President's Commission, mentioned earlier, that recommended paraprofessionals take over service functions, warned that the role of the police should not be changed radically; the performance of social service functions helps the police, over-all, to control crime. In so stating, though, the

Commission was making a case for integrating the service-oriented CSO's completely in the police department, so that they are truly in and of the department. As we shall see in a later section, this has not often been successfully achieved.

In "Varieties of Police Behavior" (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass, 1968) James Q. Wilson grapples with these interrelated issues of police discretion, order maintenance, and community service orientation. Although written before paraprofessionals came on the scene, its observations are highly relevant. According to Wilson, the policeman is not a professional, but a member of a "craft" and as such, as stated earlier, there is no written rules as to how he should behave. This is the basis for the great problem of police discretion -- when to arrest, when to overlook minor misdeeds, and in part accounts for the great varieties in police behaviour from officer to officer, city to city. He states his opposition to one of these varieties, service-oriented patrolmen, because they are "to a substantial degree commanded by those whose disorder they must regulate." Wilson, however, recognizes that each neighbourhood has its own level of tolerable disorder, and law enforcement cannot operate effectively without the support and co-operation of those subject to it: "community norms need not be changed so much as understood This requires hiring officers who are (minority group members) even if they do not measure up fully to the standards of professional police departments". (p. 287). But the difficulty with this, as Wilson points out, is that community oriented policing in the central city is a contradiction in terms. The central city is not a community in the same sense as a suburban community is. The central city is used by people from all over the metropolitan area for work, entertainment, shopping and services, as well as by the residents. As a result,

competing life styles and competing sets of community norms exist side by side. To have a special police force geared to mainly one aspect of the community, in the form of neighbourhood units, indigenous civilian aides, or whatever, a police force that is more tolerant of resident community norms, is equated for Wilson with giving up the effort to create the best and highest level of order, and means turning the inner city over to those who come in search of disorder - - prostitution, cheap beverage rooms, and the like. Some inner city residents may not like having the police try to maintain order at the highest level, that demanded by the businessmen, business owners, shoppers, theater-goers, students and public officials who use the inner city.

Further, there are deep cleavages within residential inner city groups. Wilson talks about apprehensiveness and hostility between members of different ethnic groups which would only be exacerbated by community aides.

Given these problems, Wilson concludes the best step would be, not to bring discretionary decision-making closer into the neighbourhood, but to take it further away from the neighbourhood; as he says "to raise the level at which decisions will be made", but at the same time to hire patrol personnel who are familiar with the neighbourhood, especially by hiring people who live there.

Clearly, in this last statement, there remains a problem. Which is why, presumably, Wilson ends with "In sum, the police can cope with their problems but they cannot solve them". (p. 299).

In the beginning (page 9) of this paper, reference was made to organizational resistance that is inevitable when paraprofessionals, or any new concept, is introduced. It is relevant to enlarge on this in the context of police departments. Pruger and Sprecht speak of the "structured ignorance" that shapes

the relationship between any public agency and the community. Neither can have complete information about the other and this is inherent in the nature of organizations and communities. Nonetheless, each perceives their structural ignorance of the other to be a complete and equitable basis for action. Anyone who supplies new or fuller information is perceived as an irritant. Both the organization and the community move to protect their mutual isolation. In the case of the police paraprofessional, although organizationally sanctioned to behave differently from the regular patrolman, he is highly suspect in his own community. If, with his more intimate knowledge of the P.D. he offers his neighbours a more balanced interpretation of activities, the community's suspicions of him are confirmed. Rather than performing an effective bridging function the para may be caught between the two: the P.D. may mistrust his loyalty and the community may view him as merely a second-class policeman.

Police departments are, organizationally, even more ill-equipped than, say, hospitals, to absorb paraprofessionals, because hospitals have traditionally housed a wide variety of occupations and levels (doctors, nurses, social workers, occupational and vocational therapists, psychologists, researchers, various aides) while P.D.'s have housed a much more limited variety of occupational specialities and have no clear orientation to the employment of aides.

Pruger and Sprecht make other observations about organizations and paraprofessionals that are relevant. The degree to which an organization perceives their responsiveness to the community as being inadequate, and therefore seeks consciously to improve it, is an important determining factor in organizational acceptance of paraprofessionals.

Further, community attitudes contribute to the likelihood of successful introduction of paraprofessionals in different parts of an organization. For example, the community is generally more sensitive to the treatment of children by police than the treatment of adults. Therefore it would seem more

reasonable to expect more success with a police paraprofessional in a juvenile bureau.

Other factors which can affect an organization's barriers are more unique, situational factors: for example, the degree to which a chief of police is concerned about the P.D.'s public image, or, as Pruger and Sprecht point out, the degree to which the chief sees political advantages in sponsoring the program. Because of these situational factors, the most common response to a paraprofessional program is an ambivalent one. The head of an organization may anticipate a friendlier, more co-operative community and public congratulations for bold innovativeness; and may dread a militantly aroused, critical community, service breakdowns, and public embarrassment.

A recent workshop on police paraprofessionals organized by the Manitoba Police Commission reflects this ambivalent attitude at all levels. The workshop was geared mainly to volunteers (although 74% of participants favored paid paraprofessionals). Participants were drawn from police, public, and community groups and most (77%) favored the introduction of auxiliary police in Manitoba but there were wide-ranging disagreements expressed concerning where and how they should be used.⁷⁶ The Workshop also raised questions of union concerns about job security, and the availability of suitable recruits for a paraprofessional program.

In sum, the advantages claimed for paraprofessionals in police work are: they will improve the quality of police services; they will serve to bridge the communication gap between police and community; they will relieve higher trained officers to perform more demanding duties; and they will provide a means for

76. Data taken from "Evaluation of Workshop of Auxiliary Policing", document obtained from the Manitoba Police Commission.

impoverished and minority groups to enter police work and upgrade themselves to regular members of the force.

The disadvantages outlined in this section are: discretionary power and unpredictable risks are key factors in police duties and cannot be isolated out of a paraprofessional's assignment; since central city areas are not homogenous communities, community service-oriented policing will only serve to sharpen community conflicts; paraprofessionals cannot effectively perform the bridging role because of inevitable police/community isolation and suspicion; paraprofessionalism creates an underclass of minority police personnel; paraprofessionalism creates a "good guys vs bad buys" image in the community, and further alienates the police; and paraprofessionals will take jobs away from police.

All the problems raised in the general introduction to this paper (page 7 - 16) are also applicable to police programs and the reader is referred to this section. The present section has been oriented to more exclusively police-related issues. These, as well as other specific problems will be dealt with as they arise in the following two sections on existing programs.

Not all the issues however are addressed, or even raised, by operating projects. As stated earlier in the paper, most programs are written up by people who believe their program was a success and problems are glossed over. Articles in police journals or New Careers books are generally headed "X City Para Program a Success". Rarely do we see headlines heralding failures.⁷⁷

77. There is another factor possibly operating here. Virtually all the CSO programs in the U.S. were funded with federal money. If a police administrator admits to a great deal of problems it is not seen in any way as contributing to the sum of knowledge we have about particular programs, but is equated simply with program failure, and leads to a termination of funding at the end of the grant period, rather than renewal. For most administrators in any discipline, turning down money is anathema. The ultimate test is: what does the police administrator do when federal funding ceases - - solve his problems or drop the program?

Even in the program survey I.U.S. conducted presumably those failing to respond had different reasons than responding agencies. And of responding agencies, those designated as program spokesmen are generally those who are committed to the program concept. Thus the disadvantages predicted may tend to remain theoretical and untested.

Evidence

In the U.S., there have been literally hundreds of CSO-type paraprofessional programs funded by the federal government since the passage of the Safe Streets Act in the late 1960's.⁷⁸ Despite the large numbers of such programs in police departments, little hard information about them is available. Much of what has been written is anecdotal in nature, and though probably accurately reflecting the feelings of the various authors - police personnel as well as sociologists - it is not very helpful in providing a detailed understanding of how these programs actually fared in operation.

There have been several careful studies. One, a case-study approach of a paraprofessional program in a single community - Richmond, California; and another, a survey conducted by the Urban Institute of eight U.S. cities having paraprofessional programs - will be described in detail. There are a few more worthwhile studies, and a great many more subjective reports, which will also be reviewed, but more briefly.

The Richmond Program

The Richmond CSO program was derived directly from the philosophy and approach of the New Careers movement. The program was funded by the OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) and its goals were first, to create jobs for the poor, and second, to improve police services to the community. Project goals emphasized that doing menial work under whatever title is not a new career. There was to be no washing of police

78. In Canada we were able to learn of the existence of only one paid CSO-type program - that operated by the RCMP. It involves hiring Native Indians as special constables to patrol reserve areas. They have more lenient entrance requirements, shorter basic training, and lower pay than regular RCMP constables. The program is included in the survey charts.

cars for the five CSO's under the guise of career. The work was to be a meaningful contribution to the department, the person involved, and the community. The Program was introduced in 1965 and evaluated in 1967 by the Survey Research Center of the University of California at Berkeley.

The project was a joint venture of the police department and a social work agency. The chief was a member of a local community services council and was approached with the New Careers idea by the director of the council. The chief became interested, despite reservations ("What we really need is professional help").

Although such joint sponsorship of CSO programs is not typical (usually they are totally P.D. programs), the dual aspect brought to light many of the critical issues that exist. It took two months of negotiating before the two could agree on job duties for the CSO's. According to the social services people, the police kept emphasizing what the CSO's could not do. There was also a lot of discussion centered around the matter of loyalty to the department and what would happen if the CSO's witnessed incidents which later led to grievances against the department. In the end, it was agreed that paraprofessionals would work in the juvenile bureau, making home visits to discuss police programs, delinquency and crime prevention, juvenile offenses, and laws; experimenting with methods to relate to neighbourhood youth; and interpreting police programs and problems of juvenile offenders to parents and community groups.

Conflicts arose over recruitment. The social agency, according to the police department, wanted to recruit on a too wide-open basis.

Police were more concerned about applicants' backgrounds. For example one applicant, a waitress, was rejected by the police because the restaurant she worked in was known to be a place where drugs were passed. Earlier in the discussion it had been agreed that the department reserve the right to reject any applicant. It was also agreed by the department that merely having a police record per se would not be disqualifying. In fact, however, all applicants with records were rejected. The social agency objected to what they termed as the "moralistic" orientation of the department. News of some of these divisive discussions reached the newspapers and there was a minor furor.

Only the "top brass" were in on these discussions. The Sergeant in Juvenile who was selected as supervisor of the paras was not too sure of what he was supposed to use these people for. The social work agency imagined that the Juvenile section already had an established practice of working "in depth" with juveniles and their families, when in fact this was not so, and their function had been far more perfunctory. No wonder the Sergeant was concerned.

Recruits got a three-months' social orientation and skills training course from the social services agency all of which was largely resented by the recruits but generally approved by the staff, and then they were given the equivalent of about two-thirds of the formal training given to any rookie policeman (60 hours compared to 104 hours for police). After that, they were assigned to the juvenile bureau and began to assume their duties.

The evaluation gives detailed case studies of various incidents in which the paraprofessionals intervened successfully. In each case,

the paras functioned as social workers, showing persistence, a wide variety of strategies, and personal interest and involvement, in solving problems, referred by officers in juvenile,⁷⁹ such as neighbourhood quarrels, petty theft, gambling, runaways, and minor property damage cases. The paras organized and conducted a police-youth discussion group, involving only youths who had had difficulties with the police. Paras were assigned by the department to observe and oversee a park that was the scene of a good deal of malicious mischief. The social agency opposed this "casual" patrolling as being too much like policing. If the paraprofessionals should come to be viewed as junior police or, as they put it, as "finks", the whole bridging concept would be thrown into jeopardy. The police, on the other hand, were strongly in favour of this observer role and saw it as a potentially valuable use of paras. And since the police took over exclusive supervision of the project after several months, the observer role was pursued. Another factor in developing this role was that the mistrust and suspicion that many officers in juvenile division had about the paras resulted in few cases being turned over to them and when officers did refer cases they often refused to let the paras see all the relevant records and paperwork on the grounds of "security". Besides this, the senior officers also felt that patrolling the park was not proper use of regular police. As the evaluation reported it: "There is something incongruous about detailing a

79. The procedure was that after a case had been closed by the police department, the officer would refer it to the paraprofessional, who was to contact the family in the name of the P.D. and explain the department's handling of the case and try to find out if there were additional ways in which they could be of service to the youth or his family.

man to chase children 9-14 years of age from a park when the board is popping with calls of a more serious nature" (p. 97)

At any rate, it turned out to be one of the most successful aspects of the program. The paras became observers and peacekeepers, handling such problems as teenage gambling in the park, rowdy children in stores, minor stealing, feisty loiterers, minor interracial disputes, and the like.

Other activities of paraprofessionals came not from patrol, or from officer referrals, but when the para learned in other ways of community problems, like school harassment or drop-outs and worked to resolve them.

In terms of effects on the paraprofessionals themselves, the evaluation found that their lives were improved by the economic and personal stability the job provided. They developed skills, a sense of self-worth, and in two cases a leadership capacity.

The evaluation studied the impact on the community in both a qualitative and quantitative way. First the qualitative assessment: The evaluation found that the paraprofessionals filled a unique and needed role in the community through their generalized helping relationship because of their motivation and interest, their general mandate to be of service, their freedom from racial and class differences with the client, and their information about the community. The evaluation qualifies the positive assessment by noting that paraprofessionals' "services are insufficient for all of the many problems in the Richmond ghetto and that in some cases even the best efforts are insufficient". (p.106)

A Citizen's Review Committee also evaluated the Richmond program, and stated in their report:

"The services provided by the aides give many families the feeling that the city really does care about them and wants to help them... A strongly affirmative response was also elicited by a questionnaire to recipients of the Police-Community Aide services."

In terms of the program's impact on juvenile crime rates, it was found that among 75 youths who received substantial paraprofessional services over the two-year period, offense rate declined. This is especially noteworthy because the youths served were typically referred for service because of delinquent acts, and it is well established that, under usual circumstances, youths who have committed offenses before are more likely to offend again. For juveniles as a whole in the area, crime rate increased during the program period.

As for the program's impact on the police department, it was minimal. Except for the chief, who was very supportive and overcame his initial reluctance to the extent that he indicated he would like 25 to 50 such paraprofessionals, the rest of the department remained generally indifferent if not downright hostile. Paraprofessional contact with policemen was limited. A survey conducted by the evaluators showed that only about one-third of the men even knew about the project. Of these, one-half were favorable. The remainder showed uncertainty, reluctance and skepticism toward social service in general, and in particular, its relevance to policing. For those few police officers who had a chance to observe paraprofessionals working, attitudes were highly accepting with regard to the para's utility to the police.

The Urban Institute Study

The Urban Institute conducted interviews with police managers, officers in charge of paraprofessionals, and some of the paraprofessionals themselves in eight different cities with CSO-type paraprofessional employees. Results were published in 1975.

In addition to communications, identification, detention, bicycle bureau, car pound and traffic duties, CSO's in these cities assist officers in contacts with citizens, lectures, patrolling schools and parks and in crime prevention campaigns. They also conduct tours in the police department, report on and patrol vacant houses, report on abandoned vehicles, and refer citizens to other agencies. In the cities surveyed, the number of CSO's employed by P.D.'s ranged from 6 to 50. More than half (55%) were minority group citizens. Average salaries ranged from \$3,600 to \$9,147 per year and averaged about \$5,400. All were funded initially by federal money. All had begun before 1972 and five out of the eight intend to continue the program, mostly on city funds.

Paraprofessionals were generally young and were recruited with the aim of interesting them in police careers and of improving police-community relations. In all cities, paraprofessionals were unarmed, had different uniforms than police officers, and had no special powers of arrest. Generally, a high school degree was not required and candidates with misdemeanor records were accepted.

All eight officers in charge stated that their programs were very beneficial to police/community relations, to the police department itself

(through cost savings and CSO support to sworn officers), and the CSO's (through educational assistance and awareness of the possibility of a police career). Paraprofessionals' perceptions were similar. Both CSO's and officers felt the CSO's were performing well. Six of the eight officers said more should be hired.

In terms of problems, five of the officers expressed some reservations but these were few and considered minor: excessive CSO absence, inadequate selection criteria, the need for a longer probationary period (one year rather than six months) and an improved relationship between line officers and CSO's.

The paraprofessionals felt they were given too many clerical duties and not enough field work, needed more training, and more supervision. Dissatisfaction was expressed about performing too many personal duties for officers, low pay, and inadequate department attention to citizen welfare. To paraprofessionals, the most difficult parts of their jobs were talking to irate citizens, trying to satisfy citizen needs and preventing disturbances.

Both officers and CSO's felt training was deficient. It averaged about one month. Officers recommended more training for CSO's in report writing, public relations and field work with officers and drugs. The CSO's wanted more and deeper classroom work and more field training.

All CSO's said they had given thought to becoming police officers before they entered or heard of the program. Most officers in charge thought the CSO's desired police careers.

Community reaction to CSO's was "very positive" according to

both officers and CSO's. The CSO's reported that their becoming police paraprofessionals had not affected their friendships "on the outside". Only 2 of the 18 CSO's interviewed said that they had lost friendships as a result of peer disapproval.

CSO-type paraprofessionals earn less than "ordinary" clerical civilians working in police departments (about \$5,400 compared to \$8,348). The average police salary in these eight cities at that time was \$10,872.

Although CSO salaries averaged 49% less than that for sworn officers, the cost savings benefit must be qualified. The complaints the CSO's had were that they wanted better pay and training. These were precisely the areas of cost savings to the department. If these are improved their cost incentive to police departments is substantially reduced.

Many paraprofessional programs are experimental and not integrated into long-range plans of the police departments. The Urban Institute described in detail, however, one program which was considered successful, and funding was taken over by the city when the federal grant ran out. In this particular program, the planning and design stages took over three years before paraprofessionals were placed in the field. During the planning period, the P.D. determined what duties were to be performed by paras. Cost/benefits were analyzed to determine which of the most time-consuming tasks could be performed by them. In the end, duties consisted basically of report-taking in the field in non-dangerous situations. Entrance qualifications were the same for paraprofessionals as for regular recruits, but eligible age was lowered from 21 to 18.

Training was exactly the same as for normal recruits. Paras were both male and female and wore uniforms different from police.

At first officers resisted the young paraprofessionals, but within a year and a half not only accepted their help but urged that more be hired. Duties of paras were expanded to include virtually all those performed by officers, except for those requiring arrest or relating to homicide investigations. The number of paras was doubled. They were supervised by the same shift sergeant who supervised sworn patrol officers.

Their basic salaries were 27% less than those of patrolmen, but they were Civil Service positions with all the usual benefits.

Neither management nor the officers had any problems with the program. But, the city involved had neither a large poor nor a large minority population; and police/community relations were felt to be good to begin with and recruits were the same as regular police but younger. Nevertheless, management's careful attention to detail in the lengthy planning stage was seen by the evaluators as the major factor in its success.

In summary, almost everybody involved in these eight programs were favorably impressed. But as the report concludes:

"Prospects for continuation... are not clear... To continue in the long run, both the city and the police department must consider CSO's useful enough to warrant funding against competition from other city programs... and since the programs are experimental and small...they are vulnerable when budgets are being cut" (p. 79)

In 1974, Booz-Allen and Hamilton evaluated federally-funded police paraprofessional programs operating in four cities in California. Project goals for all four were to reduce the workload of regular officers in nonhazardous duties, increase police job opportunities for minorities and improve police community relations. Two were found to be successful in reducing the workload of regular officers. None were very successful in increasing their departments' minority representation. The evaluators could make no conclusive statement about the programs' impact on police-community relations, based on a community attitude survey. One city had success in using the project as a recruitment base for regular officers - 12 out of 32 CSO's joined the department.

It is of interest to note that this last city, Inglewood, published a report of their program in the June 1974 issue of "The Police Chief". The article was headed "Police-Community Service Program Successful in Inglewood". There is no indication in the article that the independent evaluators failed to find conclusive evidence of positive impact on community relations. The article, instead, asserts that the CSO's are performing "a vital function: They bolster the department's public image..." (p. 20)

In Seattle, an evaluation of the CSO program found that "the program has been successful in making a system impact through providing services to the community (patrol and non-law enforcement services) and relieving police officers of non-law enforcement duties. However, the project has not been as successful in upgrading CSO employment status and skills".⁸⁰

80. "Police Community Service Officers" National Criminal Justice Reference Service, March 1977. p. 22

In Dayton, eight officers and five paraprofessionals work as a unit "with great freedom in determining courses of action".⁸¹ The unit reviews all reports on the use of force, resisting arrest, disturbances, etc. It maintains contact with the community in a variety of ways - deals with landlord-tenant disputes, poor street conditions, anything that could lead to conflict. The results are that in those areas where the program is operating, the number of disturbances and the amount of malicious property destruction have diminished.

In New Haven, a police paraprofessional program was initially described as a failure because, given low recruiting standards, insufficient resources were devoted to remedial education and supportive services. The department got additional money and began a new program. For the first six months, paraprofessionals worked out of neighbourhood centres concerned with youth problems; for the next six months, the paras rotated through various departmental units. It was not until the second year that paraprofessional work emphasized law enforcement activities.

In the San Francisco program mentioned earlier (p. 6) training for CSO's is action-oriented "in order to maintain the interest of the men and women who are recruited from the urban poor". All of the training is in the field except for 1½ hours a day in the Police Academy.

In Chicago, a large police paraprofessional program (422 aides were hired) was begun with Model Cities funds in the late 1960's. As mandated by Model Cities, programs had to be geared to the inner city

81. Wasserman, op cit

using indigenous (hence minority) youth. It is no longer funded by Model Cities, and the inner city indigenous orientation has been dropped although most areas served are still Model Cities. Also, when the city took over funding, the number of paras was reduced to 70. The most significant feature of the Chicago program is the amount of training paraprofessionals receive - 255 hours in Criminal Law, Department Standards, Field Procedures, Social Sciences, etc. Duties in this program emphasize non-regulatory foot patrols, but except for making arrests, paraprofessionals do almost everything that sworn officers do. They are allowed up to 9 hours per week with pay to attend school, and in one district 17 out of 42 police paraprofessionals, former high-school drop-outs, enrolled in university.

According to Sgt. John Chamberlin, there has been no problems with the police union "since the duties... do not overlap but complement" (from a personal conversation with the junior author). However he did say that initially one of the main problems was to educate the police officers as to the role of the paraprofessionals. The early resentment, he said, was overcome because many policemen do not like to have to deal with lost children, or drunks, or go to school basketball games. At first, there was public resentment as well (CSO's were called "piglets") but public response now is described as excellent, by Chamberlin.

In one program, reported in Fink and Sealy, "It shortly became evident that in encounters with the police blacks tended to cooperate more readily when the black CSO was present, not because it was in his power to give them a break, but because of their anticipation that they would be treated more fairly" (p. 55)

In Atlanta, the chief of police feels that paraprofessional programs are useful as a means of recruiting minority officers. Out of 50 CSO's from the ghetto, age 17-21, the chief reported "we are convinced that eventually we will get at least 40 good patrolmen."

This brief review gives an idea of the kind of literature that exists on police paraprofessional programs in operation. They give some idea of at least potential strengths and weaknesses in police paraprofessionalism.

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

The Survey

In March, 1977, I.U.S. mailed survey forms to over 200 police agencies in the U.S. known to be operating, or to have operated in the past, paraprofessional police programs of the type being examined by this paper.⁸² In addition, forms were sent to all major Canadian cities, as well as to the Association of Chiefs of Police and the RCMP requesting information on the existence of such programs in Canada. The survey form is shown in Appendix A. This mailing yielded 47 completed survey forms from police agencies with relevant programs.

The charts on the following pages present the results. The first 5 localities (areas A through E) are responding cities with populations exceeding 1,000,000. The next 5 (areas F through J) are cities with populations of 500,000 to 1,000,000. The next 10 (areas K through T) represent cities with populations of 200,000 to 500,000. Areas U through PP are localities with populations of less than 200,000. The last 4 (areas QQ through TT) come from unidentified cities. Due to clerical error, information identifying city of origin was lost.

In presenting the responses in chart form, it was necessary to abbreviate concepts and information. The original survey responses were frequently full and lengthy, and often supplemented with additional data. We received a flood of in-house documents, reports, evaluations, plans, guides, and handbooks. We have tried to use key phrases as used by responding agencies to convey meanings (for example, referring to service calls as "nuisance work"). Although much is necessarily omitted, we have tried to compress the information and communicate the main points.

82. Names of agencies were obtained through National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, and local criminal justice planning agencies in each state.

83. Please note that CR is often used for community relations, P.O. for Police Officer, N, for number of CSO's in the Department. Other abbreviations should be comprehensible.

A number of conclusions stand out from an examination of the survey responses. In the majority of police departments where paraprofessionals were introduced, there was opposition from line police officers. Sixty percent of surveys mentioned police hostility toward paraprofessionals, based on perceived job threat. The response is nearly automatic. Even in the case (area Z) where only one CSO was appointed, and he was a 44 year old man who had been a police volunteer reservist in the department for 18 years before that, the reaction of the officers was still one of suspicion and hostility. In another city, (area CC) the one position created was taken by a white middle-aged female school teacher, and the police still felt threatened with job insecurity. It hardly matters if the position is filled by black militants or not: it is the concept that is unacceptable, at least at first, and no inroads are welcomed. In many cases it is reported that once police saw that they were not going to be replaced by the paraprofessionals, such hostility passed.

Cost savings is a major factor in introducing or evaluating paraprofessional police programs. About 50% of the responding departments mentioned cost factors either as the rationale for the program or as a benefit. It is the general consensus that services can be maintained or improved at reduced cost through the use of paraprofessionals. Significantly, though, most departments have not conducted thorough cost-benefit analyses to reach this conclusion.

A third finding is not apparent from the chart, but it is that virtually none of the departments have a built-in career ladder in their paraprofessional positions. In constructing the chart, responses to the survey question on opportunities for advancement were found to be monotonously the same -- no opportunity -- so in the interests of space-saving, it was omitted. In each

case, agencies reported that civil service rules determined the standards for the position of police officer, and no matter how long or how well a person performed as a para, this experience could not be applied in any formal way to make him eligible, if he did not meet civil service requirements.

Civil service rules are not immutable. They have been changed in the past, even to admit paraprofessionals (see the section on Law). It has been pointed out, though, by many authors (Pruger and Sprecht, Lynton, and others) that civil service restrictions are used by organizations and individuals as obstacles when change is really not desired. The experience of City "B" is a case in point. The police union, already hostile to the idea of paraprofessionals because of the threat to job security, took the issue to court on the grounds that the paraprofessional position was not permitted by the civil service.

The final column shows that many CSO's became police officers, but this is not through a built-in career ladder. They must apply just like any other would-be recruit. It is relevant to note, though, that several responding departments said former CSO's make better officers than ordinary recruits, and several departments, especially in smaller cities, said they instituted a CSO program for the purpose of officer recruitment. In these kind of departments, where they are having trouble finding recruits, CSO applicants generally are required to have the same prerequisites as police officers, except for a lower minimum age. Apparently if they don't get them young, they don't get them at all.

The survey shows that duties, salary, training and prerequisites vary considerably across departments.

Duties may include community relations, foot and motor patrol, responding to non-enforcement calls, report-taking, crime prevention, provision of social services, investigation, work with youth, and crowd control, as well as in-house clerical duties. There are suggestions that some departments have experienced the difficulty of task analysis of a policeman's job as predicted by some theorists (see page 70). But it is clear that many departments have devoted a great deal of effort into clearly defining the tasks for paraprofessionals⁸⁴ and are not experiencing any trouble in this regard. In fact, next to cost-savings, this seems to be one of the most successful factors. Paraprofessionals are effectively relieving police officers of the specific tasks which officers are least trained for and least disposed to carrying out, the tasks one department referred to as "nuisance work." With regard to the danger element in police work, there was absolutely no indication that this has been a problem. All departments seem to be managing to carve out non-hazardous duties from the sum total of a policeman's responsibilities. The statement of paraprofessional tasks frequently specifies that "x" kind of event (investigation, report-taking) may be handled by the para, where no suspect is present or when no arrest is anticipated.

One city (Area JJ) did a study which showed that paraprofessionals were being assigned only 77% of the calls they could have handled. That is, in retrospect, the remaining 23% also turned out to be safe, but dispatcher erred on the side of caution. With regard to the handling of disputes, one department went so far as to say paraprofessionals learn to be better mediators than officers because they have no power of arrest.

Almost 40% of police departments report that paraprofessionals are successfully relieving officers of certain tasks, and in addition many departments

84. Several responding departments included detailed lists of the exact calls that paras were to be sent out on.

have statistics to prove that this in turn has resulted in faster response time, more arrests, or reduced crime.

One further note about tasks: paraprofessionals in all departments are supervised by sworn officers, but the chart has an entry only when the number of supervising staff is known.

Salaries range from about \$5,000 to \$12,000. It is always starting salary that is listed. Prerequisites are varied. They usually included the categories of physically fit and good character but in the interests of space economy this has not always been listed.

Another prerequisite almost always demanded, but not always listed in the chart, was "ability to communicate with the public". But as one department respondent noted, in view of the enormous police - CSO problems, perhaps it would have been better to specify "ability to communicate with police".

Training was equally varied from none to four months, class or field, and with regard to content. It is of interest to note that training for fully-qualified police officers (listed for comparison's sake whenever available) also varies greatly. In one case (area V) classroom training for paraprofessionals was longer than for police. The average length of training (class and field, where specified) was 6 weeks for paraprofessionals and 15 weeks for officers.

Many departments reported that their CSO program resulted in improved police community relations, but other than surveys of "clients" served, there is little to substantiate this. It is certainly possible that these kinds of intangibles are elusive of proof but nonetheless real, and the respondents -- commanding officers, police chiefs, program directors -- may have a very real "feel" for the social impact of the program. Attitude

surveys conducted show the community to be pleased, in general, with the program and the paraprofessionals. There is no evidence (no search either) of a good guys/bad guys dichotomy with the public turning hostile to the regular officers, and no indication one way or the other that officers are becoming more remote as a result of loss of service functions.

Invariably though post-program attitude surveys of police show less than whole-hearted approval of the concept, despite the fact that they are being relieved of duties they apparently do not like anyway. As in the Richmond case, several responding departments found, in surveys of the men, that many knew little about the paraprofessional program even after it had been operating some time, and most officers have little or no contact with CSO's. Paraprofessionals tend to remain isolated and unintegrated in department functioning, operationally and fiscally.

One final observation about the survey results. As mentioned above, many police departments responded with a wealth of statistics, in-house and outside evaluations, and thoughtful, perceptive comments. But others seemed to have (or to release) little concrete information about programs operating in their own department. Some of this seems to be because it is federal money, not "theirs", being spent and there is little ideological commitment to the program. One department commented that they started the CSO program because they were offered federal money to do so. Another said they were unconcerned about cost/benefit analyses because it was federally funded. These kinds of comments do not reflect a great stake in the program. LEAA, the prime federal funder, has no clear, certainly no enforced, policy of objective outside evaluation of grants. As a consequence, little hard evidence is accumulating. Even when evidence is available,

there is disturbing suspicion that no one is reading it. In several of the responding "packages" we received, police administrators filled out our survey and included additional available data on their program. Though "no problems encountered" was entered in the survey form, examination of the accompanying studies suggested very definite problem areas. Do administrators not read their own department reports? They evidently did not know what was in them.

To sum up the Law Enforcement section, despite many predicted and encountered problems, paraprofessionalism in police work is well-established in the U.S. where it is almost entirely initiated with federal funding. Although paraprofessional budgets are often cut when federal funding ceases, and their potential value as social programs is subverted (through dropping of minority recruitment emphasis, making entry requirements more restrictive, or spreading target areas beyond the inner city), the programs are usually not eliminated altogether. As with many other occupational areas, police managers are finding the cost savings very attractive. One responding city in the survey (area L) said that CSO's represented the only way, given budget restrictions, that police services could be maintained at an acceptable level. Paraprofessionals are apparently safely taking over the non-enforcement tasks which are the responsibility of PO's. Opposition from police parallels professional resistance found in every occupation, perhaps exceeds it, but there is evidence that such opposition eases with the passage of time, and is ameliorated when line officers are consulted and involved in the development of the program. As Fink and Sealy state, however,

"Not all policemen...are willing to recognize that the young

minority group citizen, functioning as a community service officer, is an ally and partner of inestimable value in the work of crime prevention and crime control. Yet eventually most will see the light, and when that day comes, it will be a critical and noteworthy moment in the evolution of police work." (p.59)

V Summary and Conclusion

Paraprofessionals first began to appear in significant numbers in the mid 1960's. They were people who were trained and employed to perform parts of jobs previously performed by professionals. Paraprofessionalism developed partly as a response to social activist demands for improved service delivery. Manpower shortages, rising costs, increased specialization and bureaucratization and professional - client class barriers leading to agency unresponsiveness were all seen as contributing to inadequate delivery of services in medicine, law, social work, teaching, law enforcement and other fields. Paraprofessionalism was also seen as a weapon in the war against poverty. By providing meaningful employment for the unemployed, they could be helped to become self-reliant and financially secure.

Balancing these advantages - - improved services by easing the manpower shortage, reducing costs, ameliorating the effects of specialization and bureaucratization, and improving professional/client relationships and hence agency responsiveness and eradication of poverty - - were a number of problems, anticipated or encountered. These included: the low level, make-shift quality of paraprofessional jobs; personal and organizational barriers to bridging the professional/client gap; professional/paraprofessional conflicts, especially when both parties were poorly prepared; task uncertainties; and legal and training problems.

Despite problems, however, paraprofessionalism grew at a very rapid rate in the 60's and 70's. Spurred on by continued social activism, heavy government financing and the perception of advantages accruing, especially that of reduced costs, the number of paraprofessionals increased in all fields.

The climate now is much more conservative than it was in the 1960's. Practically all the movements of the 60's have quieted down. There has been a severe retrenchment particularly in human services. The virtual closing down of the war on poverty, in the U.S., has ended employment for many paraprofessionals.

At the same time, though, current budgetary squeezes are serving to increase the attractiveness of paraprofessionals. As Pearl notes in a recent⁸⁵ review of the state of the paraprofessional phenomenon, paras are gaining a measure of acceptance for all the "wrong" reasons: because they are cheap - - in wages and in the ease with which they can be removed.

The achieving of other goals or advantages of the program is not so clear, now 10 or 15 years later. The literature shows many studies on effectiveness of paraprofessionals, but they are plagued with design inadequacies. A large number of paraprofessionals are still employed on grants with tenuous year - to - year funding. Few are becoming professionals through built-in upgrading. Those who do are pointed out as examples of what can happen - - but generally doesn't. Paraprofessionals have not been, according to Gartner and Riessman,⁸⁶ a radical force for change in society's institutions. As workers, they are concerned with typical worker issues - - salaries, fringe benefits, advancement, and so on. Very frequently they are not indigenous people.

None of this, however, should be construed as a write-off of the paraprofessional movement. It is very much a live and viable movement, existing despite unresolved issues just as it was introduced and developed despite unresolved issues. There are problems, but no evidence that medical paraprofessionals

85. "Paras, Peers, and Pros", The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 53, 4, 1974.

86. Paras, Peers, and Pros. op. cit.

make people sicker, that teaching paraprofessionals make children duller or that police paraprofessionals make crime more rampant. Quite the opposite, in fact, in each case. According to Gartner and Riesman, both admittedly strong proponents of the concept, " . . .it is now (1974) taken for granted that persons without formal preparation and traditional credentials can do significant human service work" (p. 254)⁸⁷ And the demand is still there, both from financially-pressed agencies and from the community. A recent (June 12, 1977) article in the New York Times reported on the hostility with which inmates at a women's correctional institution greeted a better-parenting program, assailing it as "irrelevant" because none of the trainers were indigenous, i.e., paraprofessionals. They refused to accept the program until some of the inmates were trained to become counselors in it.

In conclusion, then, the paraprofessional movement is alive and well with potential for serving the needs of agencies, of professionals, of the community, and of the paraprofessional himself.

87. Paras, Pros, and Peers, op. cit.

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APPENDIX A

POLICE PARAPROFESSIONAL SURVEY

1. Why was a paraprofessional position introduced to the police department? That is, what conditions existed prior to the introduction of paraprofessionals which prompted the program?
2. What is the nature of the duties performed by paraprofessional personnel? Please describe role, specifying, where possible, functions unique to the paraprofessional position and functions formerly performed by the fully-sworn police officer. Indicate also degree of supervision. What is the rate of pay for paraprofessionals and for fully-sworn police officers?

3. What are the prerequisites (physical, educational, legal, etc.) for a person applying for a paraprofessional position and what kind of training or job preparation does the paraprofessional receive? Specify, if possible, the nature and duration of classroom and field training. Please provide also, for comparison's sake, a brief description of the eligibility requirements and nature and duration of training for fully-sworn police officers in your locality.

4. Please provide whatever data is available concerning the demographic characteristics of those persons hired as paraprofessional personnel in your department, e.g. age, criminal record, sex, education, race, previous occupation, occupation of parents, etc.

5. Has your department performed any cost-benefit analysis of the para-professional program? If so, what was the information which this analysis produced?

6. Does the paraprofessional program have any built-in provisions for up-grading? That is, is there a schedule to allow for movement from paraprofessional to fully-sworn police officer? What is the specific nature of the schedule? Has any up-grading already occurred? If so how many persons were involved? If no, why?

7. Was there any opposition to the paraprofessional program? Describe whatever social, psychological, organizational or labor problems that were encountered, either in the department or in the community, in introducing and in operating a paraprofessional program. How were these resolved, and with what degree of success?

8. Please describe the advantages, in the context of your own police department and community, of paraprofessionalization. These may include social or psychological advantages, organizational improvements, cost benefits, crime-fighting effectiveness, or whatever has been your experience.

END