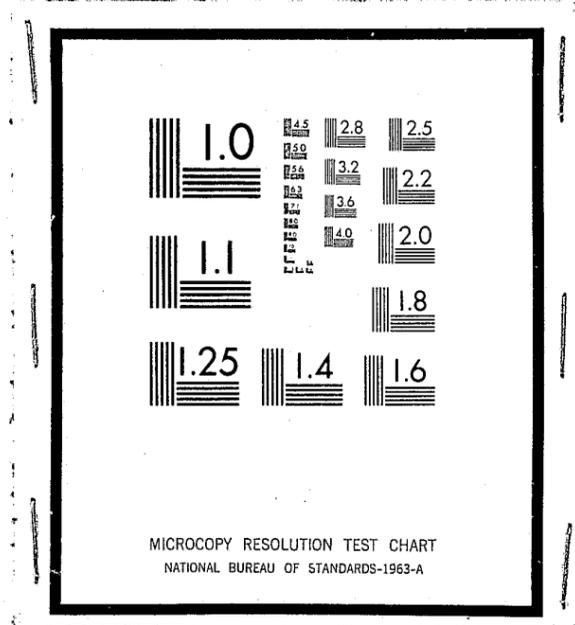


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COMMUNITY RESOURCES AND TREATMENT PROGRAMS UTILIZATION
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ABSTRACT

A review of the purpose of Community Residential Treatment Centers as one of providing a programmed and supervised transition to productive community living is discussed. This purpose generates the dual programmatic requirements of utilizing community resources to the fullest possible extent and of adopting some system, theory of interpersonal learning, for negotiating programs and supervising clients as they work toward specified goals.

The types of community resources needed is discussed as well as the role of CRTC staff in utilizing these resources. The necessity for liaison with community resources is stressed.

A number of issues are elucidated as a means of evaluating prospective theories prior to their adoption. The systems of the therapeutic community and token economy are briefly described.

Introduction

Stated in general and vague terms the purpose of Community Residential Treatment Centers (CRTC's) is to provide a programmed and supervised transition to productive community living. In examining this purpose, the first word of importance is the word programmed. CRTC's through their staff, are supposed to program a productive community living. This means that CRTC's are supposed to plan the incremental, manageable tasks suited to each client's needs which will eventually allow each client to assume a position of self-sufficiency within the community. Returning to the purpose of CRTC's, the second word of importance is the word supervised. To supervise means to oversee for direction. Thus, CRTC's need not only draw-up individualized, sequentially arranged tasks, the staff must monitor or evaluate or oversee for direction the client's progress in accomplishing these planned tasks. CRTC staff are to supervise not because the clients are not trustworthy, although some are not, but because plans or programs do not always proceed smoothly to their completion. A plan or program may have at its beginning point either tasks much too easily accomplishable or tasks beyond the ability of a particular client. Often it occurs that plans, although involving sequentially arranged steps, do not break-down the steps into manageable portions and frustration results. It also happens that plans, even though perfectly conceived, are directed at issues or problems irrelevant to a particular client's ability to become a productive citizen. The purpose then of supervision is one of assisting, of directing, of renegotiating plans or programs when they appear to be misdirected or faltering. CRTC staff function as participant teachers in planning and directing each client's road to self-sufficiency. In order to accomplish this task, CRTC staff must have a system for teaching, negotiating and evaluating. The staff must also have a system for understanding how learning and progress toward goals takes place. When programs falter or fail, the staff must critically examine both the plan and the client within some organized system of learning so that plans can be renegotiated on the basis of systematic thought and careful observation and not on the basis of momentary frustration or feelings of inadequacy. Throughout the programming and supervision of clients, it must be remembered that a transition is being made, a change is taking place. It must also be remembered that change is a gradual process which usually entails set backs.

Returning once again to the purpose of CRTC's, the result of programmed and supervised transition is a productive community life. As a result of their experience in CRTC's, clients are to be able to feel themselves as a part of the community utilizing the same community resources and supports as other non-client members of the community. This goal sets as a purpose of programming and supervision the knowledgeable utilization of existing community resources. The goal implicitly discourages the duplicity of available services. CRTC's are to act not only as teachers on an individual basis, but also as community educators for the clients served. CRTC staff must be aware of existing community resources and program and supervise their appropriate utilization. The goal of CRTC's is not to encourage dependency upon itself by providing services

adequately provided in the community. Rather, the goal of CRTC's is to teach their clients how to utilize the community so they identify themselves as community members and not as CRTC members. The utilization of community resources is the next topic.

Community Resources

It has been all too frequently observed by experts and novices alike that the correctional population consists of a high proportion of undereducated and unskilled individuals. The frequency of previous psychiatric histories hovers around 50 percent and the proportion of individuals with a significant history of drug or alcohol abuse is equally as high. Correctional staff frequently encounter people of poor physical and dental health. Generally, the correctional population consists largely of the impoverished people of this country who have had little opportunity to adequately utilize the social institutions and services available in the community to further their relative position in life. Given these general characteristics, it is obvious that nearly every service available in the community ought to be utilized by the CRTC staff. Yet, a priority of community services, a rank ordering of needed services, ought to be developed so that client needs can be met to the greatest extent.

Glasser (1969), among other criminologists, has determined that the factor which receives the heaviest weighting in equations used to predict recidivism is employment. Employment, doing something with one's time and earning a liveable wage, is the most crucial factor in keeping people out of prison. Thus, the community service which ought to receive the highest priority for every CRTC serving the employable client is employment services. Programming and supervising an individual in the securing and maintaining of a liveable wage through socially approved means is such an important factor that even duplicity of adequate community services is encouraged. To establish adequate employment services for an undereducated and unskilled clientele demands a great deal of energy and resources. CRTC staff ideally ought to function as both employment counselors and as referral sources to community employment agencies. Specifically, CRTC staff need to establish a working relationship with temporary work agencies, with sheltered employment agencies and with the public and privately operated employment agencies existing in the community. Additionally, CRTC staff should be proficient at teaching their clients the process of securing employment. The types of jobs applied for should be in line with the client's ability. Many clients require practice in filling out job applications and many more clients need repeated practice in selling themselves to prospective employers. At times, clients are prone to fill out job applications at many potential job sites and fail to make any follow-up visits to sites where they have an application on file.

The task of securing employment illustrates most practically and dramatically the skills required of CRTC staff if they are to adequately participate in planning and supervising the client. CRTC staff must know the client's ability level before making initial plans. Can the client read a

job application? Can the client write well enough to fill it out properly? What kinds of jobs can this client be reasonably expected to secure? What are this client's vocational interests and aptitudes? Does this client possess sufficient interpersonal skill to sell him or herself in an interview? Is this client willing to secure employment? How do I as a staff member know when there is some type of problem in this client's job hunting plan?

Thorough assessment of the client's current level of vocational functioning brings the realization that employment may not be the proper program goal for every client. Some clients may be either temporarily or permanently unemployable, others may wish to learn a skill before entering the employment market on a full-time basis, and still others may wish to continue their education in preparation for paraprofessional, managerial or professional occupations. In order to accommodate these various plans, CRTC's need to establish working relationships with the Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, Manpower services and other vocational training services available in the community. Furthermore, working relationships with Junior Colleges and Universities need to be established. Besides merely locating these services and referring clients to them, CRTC staff need to become familiar with the variety of grants and assistance programs available to the client such as the Basic Educational Opportunities Program, Veterans Administration benefits, Vocational Rehabilitation stipends, etc. Finally, for those clients who are temporarily or permanently disabled, a working relationship with the Welfare Department needs to be established.

A more abstract way of conceptualizing the services needed under the term employment is to think of the goal of each client as one of establishing a constructive day. A constructive day may consist of any single activity or combination of activities as long as it meets certain minimum criteria. One client's constructive day may consist of a full-time job, another's of a vocational training program and a part-time job, and yet another's as attending college full-time being supported by Veteran's benefits. The minimum criteria referred to would specify the minimum number of weekly hours engaged in the activity and the minimum acceptable weekly income. Such criteria may be something like 35 hours per week of constructive activity with a minimum gross income of \$84.00 weekly. Of course, the minimum criteria cannot be an absolute rule. Exceptions can and will take place. However, the minimum criteria can be used to establish minimal expectations realizing that either the hours of constructive activity or the gross income may vary dependent upon various circumstances.

To summarize this proceeding section, CRTC staff need to establish a working relationship with the community agencies which provide employment services, temporary work services, vocational training services, educational services, sheltered employment services and welfare services. As each client enters the CRTC, a thorough vocational-educational assessment is conducted which allows the staff to negotiate a reasonable plan which specifies the goal and steps necessary to accomplish the goal. Staff interact with the client and the agencies involved in the client's plan so that supervision is informed and meaningful.

As the staff plan a constructive day with each client other needs which may be acting to prevent the establishment of a constructive day emerge. The most obvious of these needs for which services are usually available in every community are physical health, dental care and legal assistance. Clients are not capable of securing a constructive day if they are experiencing a debilitating physical disease, or if their dental hygiene offends prospective employers or if they are in serious legal trouble. So, CRTC staff need to establish working relationships with community agencies which provide medical, dental and legal services. Often it is judicious to program each client to make contact with these agencies and perform the necessary paper work to become eligible for receipt of these services should future problems arise. It is the very unusual client who has adequate medical and dental insurance. So, providing each client an agency, public or private, to whom they can turn when needed is indeed a preventive service.

In planning the constructive day another service frequently arises as needed - basic education or remedial education. It may be that the client's level of academic achievement is preventing him or her from securing the type of job which interests him. It may also be that although the client has completed, let us say high school, his or her academic abilities are comparable to those of a seventh or eighth grade student. Most communities have educational services which offer course work and preparation for the General Equivalency Degree and Adult Basic Education courses. These services are frequently offered during the evening hours and are available to CRTC clients. They are easily located by contacting the local Board of Education which sponsors most of these programs.

As the staff oversee the client's progress along the agreed upon program, it may become apparent that goal progress is being inhibited by the client's inability to handle alcohol or by a drug habit. The extent of the problem could be anything from an occasional problem to an addiction. At times, these problems can be handled by the staff and at times, the client may require specialized treatment. Therefore, CRTC's need to establish a working relationship with the community agencies which provide for both drug and alcohol detoxification and for drug and alcohol counseling.

It also occurs that clients may be faltering on goal progress and no alcohol or drug problem exist. The plan is reasonable and yet the client is not progressing. Further inquiry may determine that the client's interpersonal style is abrasive, passive or overly aggressive. The observed behavior may be either a learned habit or a response to environmental pressures such as family troubles, a girlfriend, or an unexpected pregnancy. Depending upon the staff's level of expertise and time available to deal with such interpersonal behaviors, the CRTC may wish to deal with these behaviors internally or to utilize other existing community resources. Even with a highly trained and competent staff, some clients present interpersonal behaviors of such severity that referral is necessary. In order to make the appropriate referrals, CRTC staff need to establish a working relationship with the community agencies which provide Psychiatric

and Psychological services, family counseling services, individual and group counseling services and agencies such as Planned Parenthood. Essentially, CRTC's need to utilize both the services of Mental Health agencies, at times on an in-patient basis, as well as an out-patient basis, and the services of Family Counseling agencies for the purpose of planning families and remediating existing family problems.

Finally, CRTC staff must establish a close working relationship with the various sources which refer clients to the CRTC. Typically, this means that the staff must work closely with the Probation and Parole Office and any other correctional agencies which refer clients. It is especially important for these referral sources to have a thorough knowledge of each client's plan and a sense of how each client is progressing on their plan. Nothing is more distressing to a referral source than to have things go wrong with clients when they are under the impression everything was running smoothly. CRTC's have their own special needs in supervising a group of clients and these needs may change quickly in the event of a theft from the CRTC or the event of a group of particularly recalcitrant clients. Referral agencies must be aware of the CRTC's method of operation, they must be sensitive and supportive of changing needs when they arise and they must be familiar with the progress each of their clients is making.

Along these same lines, it is equally important for the CRTC staff to have close and frequent contact with the community agencies utilized by the clientele. For all of the community agencies utilized, especially the agencies which refer clients to the CRTC, a liaison should be established. The act of knowing and referring a client to a specific community agency does not guarantee his or her presence at that agency. Furthermore, referring a client is initiating the relationship between the client and the community agency or employment site. Restating the CRTC purpose of supervision requires the staff to have ongoing knowledge as to the client's progress with that agency or employer so that problems do not go unattended.

The necessity for liaison is demonstrated in a study conducted by Uslan (1972). He assigned juvenile parolees to one of four groups. The first group received social reinforcement counseling both by the project staff and on-the-job. The second group received social reinforcement only by on-the-job counselors while the third group received the counseling only by project counselors. Finally, a control group did not receive the social reinforcement counseling by either project staff or on-the-job counselors. During the 24 month period of this study, it was found that all three experimental groups worked more months of the total months available for work than did the control group. Furthermore, employment was significantly better for the group that received social reinforcement by both on-the-job counselors and project counselors than for the group which received social reinforcement by project counselors alone. The group that received the social reinforcement by on-the-job counselors did equally as well as the group which received social reinforcement from both available sources. Ideally, this study indicates that having trained

counselors as on-the-job supervisors with or without the support of project counseling is the best means of assuring progress and stability in employment. It also indicates that a counseling strategy which proved effective in inducing these parolees to maintain their employment was social reinforcement.

Practically, there are few, if any, CRTC's with sufficient inroads into major employers that would enable them to train on-the-job counselors. Therefore, CRTC staff have to function as both project counselors and on-the-job counselors. The one requirement for having the staff function as on-the-job counselors is to have thorough knowledge of the client's progress on the job. The most efficient and tolerable, from the community agency's point of view, procedure is to establish a liaison with each agency utilized. In this manner, CRTC staff can receive feedback about clients from one person at each agency and would not have to contact a different person for each client utilizing a specific resource. Establishing a liaison also aids in acquainting the community resource with the CRTC. Through frequent contact with one person, the community resource, through the liaison, begins to understand the operations and needs of the CRTC and a closer working relationship is possible. Finally, CRTC staff become familiar with the specific needs and programs offered by various community resources and are better able to make judicious referrals.

In concluding this section on the utilization of community resources, it is always important for CRTC's to continually evaluate the quality of service provided. The purpose is to find adequate service delivery so that the diverse needs of clients can be filled. As previously stated, the emphasis is upon the community and establishing within each client a sense of identity as a community member. However, the priority is filling client needs adequately. Therefore, CRTC's may be forced, due to inadequate service or a complete lack of available service, to provide some of the needed services through the CRTC. It may occur that adequate psychiatric or psychological service is not available in the community. The existing services may be unable to handle CRTC clients with little more than monthly visits and minor tranquilizers. Or, employment placement services may be overloaded and insensitive to the needs of the CRTC clients. In these cases when adequate service is not available, the burden of service delivery falls upon the CRTC. Of course, when funds are not available for these services, they cannot be provided. However, when funds are available, these services can be provided either through hiring a specifically trained individual or by contracting with the person. Both direct hiring and contracting are currently being used in CRTC's and there is no data to suggest one method is better than the other for the client.

Treatment Programs

As previously mentioned, CRTC staff need some type of systematic knowledge of how learning takes place so that programs can be negotiated according to some organized set of rules. Throughout the literature today, there exists a number of theories which can be operationalized to provide a

procedure for negotiating and supervising programs. These theories make assumptions about how people learn and based upon these assumptions, describe various operating principles and techniques that can be used to facilitate learning. A. Burton (1974) lists twelve such theories of personality and still leaves out many approaches that are currently being used today. The more formalized approaches range from the Psychoanalytic Theory of Sigmund Freud, through Sullivan's Interpersonal Theory to the Integrated and Eclectic Theory of Gordon Allport. Within corrections, the personality theories most frequently used to operate programs are the Behavioral theories, Reality Therapy and Transactional Analysis. CRTC's serving the drug-dependent client frequently utilize the Therapeutic Community approach, while CRTC's serving the alcohol-dependent client often turn to Alcoholics Anonymous. Other approaches becoming increasingly utilized within a correctional population are Primal Scream, Kundalini Yoga and the more formalized approach of Albert Ellis - Rational-Emotive Psychotherapy.

In considering the adoption of a system of interpersonal learning (theory of personality) CRTC's might benefit from considering prospective systems along a number of therapeutic issues before adopting a particular system. These issues set a frame of references for dealing with clients and tell us what any particular system considers the nature of man to be and how counseling or therapy takes place. It is extremely important to understand a particular theory before adopting it as a method of programming and supervising. For example, adopting a psychoanalytic framework assumes that each client is basically an irrational being controlled by impulses he or she is not aware of. Only an expert can treat the person by setting up a noninteractive process where failure to progress is the client's problem and where the focus of events is upon past attitudes. CRTC's are neither in the position of providing the experts needed to conduct this type of process nor can they afford to remove all of the responsibility for behavior change from the client by assuming that clients are irrational.

The most important issue to consider in evaluating any system of interpersonal learning is the implied conception of the nature of man. Is man an irrational animal governed completely by past experiences and not responsible for his current behavior? Or, is man a rational animal capable of self-directed and responsible behavior? What role does society play in interpersonal learning? Is man basically an impulsive, egocentric child wanting to fulfill every whim immediately and society acts only to frustrate man's basic nature? Or is society a rationally planned endeavor which must also take some responsibility for those people who do not fit into its customary patterns. Systems which do not consider either man or society as rational and responsible do not seem appropriate in community corrections where the emphasis is upon the client's responsibility toward the community and the community's responsibility toward the client.

The other therapeutic issues relevant to CRTC programming deal directly with the nature of the learning process. First, who is responsible for the client's behavior; the client or the staff? Does the process of learning new skills involve interaction between the client and staff, or does the

client merely accept the staff's view? Is the staff an authority or an equal? Does learning take place through a structured or ambiguous exchange where the focus is upon past, present or future feelings, behavior, attitudes or self-concept? Is learning a gradual, incremental process or is it an integrative, sudden occurrence. In order to fit with community corrections, interpersonal learning systems ought to hold the client responsible for his own behavior. Furthermore, the process of programming and supervising should be construed as an interactive process where the client and staff are considered equal. Progress along the program is usually structured where the focus is upon present behavior. Finally, learning or completing the program is thought of as gradual, incremental process. These are the characteristics of personality theories and interpersonal learning that fit with the spirit of community corrections. They are not necessarily correct or the most efficient.

The Therapeutic Community

An approach that has been used extensively in the programming and supervision of drug-dependent clients is the Therapeutic Community. The term was first coined by Thomas F. Main and was given considerable impetus both in theory and implementation by Maxwell Jones (1963). Dr. Jones believes the therapeutic community is distinctly different from other treatment centers in its utilization of both staff and clients to further treatment. Clients, in collaboration with staff, become very active participants in the programming of other clients. The stress on client participation has led to the increasing use of clients governing or supervising themselves. Within CRTCs serving the drug-dependent person, therapeutic communities, a strong emphasis is placed upon the elements of self-government and confrontation. The approach assumes that man is a rational, self-directed animal whose growth or learning of interpersonal skills has been thwarted by drug usage and the learning of skills and defenses necessary to maintain drug addiction. The responsibility for behavior is both the client's and the community. Therapeutic communities are acutely aware of the mutual relationship which exists between the individual and society. Man does not act in a vacuum, in the absence of feedback from others. Therefore, both the man and the community share in the responsibility for the man's behavior. The learning of new skills and the unlearning of old defenses is an interactive process which involves all the members of the community. Learning is a structured, gradual process where the focus is upon present behavior. The formal vehicle utilized to facilitate learning is customarily the encounter group.

The procedure of admission into a therapeutic community varies from giving the clients no authority to accept or reject potential clients to complete authority for admissions. A frequently utilized compromise is to have the staff make the admission decision and allow the clients to test the new client's motivation for change by placing the new client into a situation where he or she is heavily confronted by other clients. Once the client is accepted into the program, clients activity participate in the management of necessary house tasks (cleaning, cooking, etc.) and

in developing programs for new clients. After the new client becomes known, the client and staff, typically in a group, develop a program for the new client. Often, staff act solely as consultants and evaluators monitoring the progress the community is making without exerting a direct influence. Supervision is also delegated to the clients who are given the responsibility of overseeing each other's progress along their programs. Each client is thereby held accountable to the remaining clients.

When programs falter or fail, the responsibility for the deficit is placed solely upon the client. The mechanism used to accomplish this is the encounter group which varies in frequency from one night per week to every night. The encounter group incorporates a number of techniques found in Gestalt Therapy, Transactional Analysis, Psychodrama and T-Groups. The intent of the group is to focus upon one person at a time and confront that person's excuses for not behaving responsibly. The goal of the group is to force each other to evaluate themselves honestly and to communicate feelings about oneself and others honestly and directly. Schutz (1973) enumerates the rules of encounter. Those which are especially relevant to the use of encounter in therapeutic communities are as follows:

1. All communication in the group is as open and honest as it's possible to be, and everything that happens outside the group is available to the group on the same basis. If there is lying, evasion, or duplicity, the whole group effort gets clogged up. One objective is to learn how to be more open with everyone, including yourself.
2. Pay close attention to your body. With some practice, you can learn when it's telling you you're lying, either to someone else or to yourself. Use your signals regularly to keep yourself straight.
3. Concentrate on feelings rather than ideas. Ideas are often used to hide feelings. Keep trying to stay in touch with the feeling--the body helps here, too--rather than the rationalized thought that follows it. Thoughts are good mainly to explore a feeling already experienced.
4. Start with the here-and-now as much as possible. This helps staying with feelings and avoids going off into safer areas invested with much less real emotional energy.
5. An announcement is made at the very outset of the group that everyone is responsible for himself and whatever happens to him. "You have your choice if you want to bow to pressure or resist it, go crazy, get physically injured, stay or leave, or whatever, it's up to you." Frequent reminders are helpful until the realization sinks in. Personal responsibility also includes "accidents," unconscious behavior, body attitudes, and many other individual productions.

6. Questions are discouraged in favor of statements that are almost inevitably behind them. Most questions are statements made without the questioner taking the responsibility for the statement. For example, "Are we supposed to be talking about ...?" often means, "I am bored with what the last speaker is saying," or "Your are a rotten leader." The questioner is encouraged to state the latter, and to say it directly to the "boring" person. There are some legitimate questions, but not many. A brief exception is made for the leader at the beginning of the group when he's trying to convey the desired structure of the group. But if he keeps it up too long, he's defending.
7. Word habits reflect the failure of many people to take responsibility for their own feelings and behavior. "Can't" is discouraged, to be replaced by "won't." The statement, "I can't make it to the meeting today," or its variation, "I'm too busy," is almost never true. What is more true is, "I choose to do something else rather than meet with you." The use of "can't" implies a force beyond the control of the actor, whereas in fact he is in complete control of his actions. By using the word "can't" he is not taking responsibility for what he is choosing to do, and he is not acknowledging that he has a hierarchy of values in which the present activity is not on top.
8. The phrase "I don't know" is also discouraged. It usually means "I don't want to think about it any more," or "I don't like what I might find if I pursue it further." (A frequent reason behind "no comment" is press conferences or law courts.) One example is when "I don't know" is given as an answer to a question like, "Why don't you invite your boss to dinner?" Probing often reveals that the respondent does indeed know and that the answer "I don't like him," or "I'm afraid of him," or "I'm afraid he'll turn me down and think less of me," reveals a situation that he can avoid facing by saying "I don't know." Group member are urged to think more and give another answer. "If you did know, what would it be?" or "If you had to give two answers and the first was 'I don't know,' what would the second be?"
9. Avoid general phrases that imply popular support for a personal feeling. Such phrases include, "People always...", "Whenever you are in a situation you...", "We feel...", "It's only human nature to...", "The group feels..." These are all phrases that are saying "I feel" without taking responsibility for the feeling. By saying "people" or "we" the implication is that yours is a common response and certainly not unique to you. There's safety in numbers. Usually you have no idea how "we" or "people" or "the group" feels. All you know is your own feeling. Interviews after big events

are full of these general phrases; e.g., "How did you feel making that last putt, Clyde?" "Well, when you've come a long way in a tournament like this you are bound to feel nervous. It's natural for people to get a little tense." It helps to take personal responsibility by saying "I feel ..." and speak for yourself.

10. Talk directly to the person addressed. Too frequently group members will say, "Frank doesn't seem to be too happy to me," when Frank is sitting right there. The communication is much more direct and meaningful if the subject of the remark is faced and talked to directly rather than being talked about as if he weren't present.
11. Globalisms are discouraged. These are statements so broad that they make any action relevant to them very difficult. Examples are: "I just want to be me," or "I have trouble with interpersonal relations," or "I have a father complex," or "I can't communicate with people," or "I want to be real." The broad statement does not allow for anything specific to follow and, further, it usually hides a much simpler and more workable feeling. For example, "I can't communicate with people" has sometimes meant "I am attracted to that man, but he doesn't seem to respond to me." The latter statement is much more valuable and direct. Another example, "Sometimes people find it hard to adjust to a new frame of reference," may be saying "I don't understand what's going on and I'm afraid you will think I'm stupid, and it's not my fault."
12. No-feeling words are discouraged. Several words sound as if they convey meaning but most of the feeling is hidden. Such words include "interested," "surprised," "curious," "different," "strange," and "funny." For example, if someone says "You sure are different," very little is communicated unless it is stated how he saw you before and how he sees you now.
13. If something is happening that you don't like, you are responsible for doing something about it. If you are bored and you don't want to be, do something so you won't be bored. The same holds for any feeling you don't want to have. It is up to you to change it.
14. If you find yourself bored or with any other negative feeling, try to find out what it is you do that brings out the boring (or irritating, or dominating, or self-pitying, or whatever feeling is bothering you) parts of people. Someone in a group complained about how another person talked too much. Observation showed that whenever the second

person started talking the first just looked blank and totally unresponsive. The result was that the second just kept talking, trying desperately to get some response. Clearly the unresponsive reaction of the listener was eliciting the overtalking he complained of. Searching for your own eliciting behavior is always a valuable exercise.

15. If you are saying something about yourself that you have said before, stop and say something else. The feeling of cold potatoes become increasingly easy to pick up because the feeling behind the account is often hollow and without much energy. It's pretty certain that if this is a recounted tale, for instance, something already told to a psychoanalyst, then it's probably hiding something else of greater importance. The speaker himself can become familiar with whether or not his language has any energy behind it.
16. Whatever you are most afraid of is the thing it is most valuable to do. If it's combatting a strong man, or professing your attraction to a woman, or challenging the leader, or making a fool of yourself before the group, or taking your clothes off, or singing publicly, or whatever, the fact of being afraid is the signal that you feel your self-concept limit has been reached. Going beyond this limit frequently results in a euphoric feeling of expansion and of freedom. The more things that you are able to do or not as you choose, the freer you are. This is a frightening rule and valuable one.
17. As aspects of the group are voluntary, including entering, staying, participating, and leaving, part of taking responsibility involves presence. Other members, including the leaders may pressure you to stay or go, but the ultimate decision rests with you. It is usually unfortunate if someone leaves in the middle because the energy cycle is incomplete. We sometimes put pressure on someone to stay if we feel that withdrawal is their usual defense and a part of them wants to be forced to stay. We urge anyone planning to leave to tell the group directly instead of stealing away. But these are just pressures. The responsibility is still ultimately with the group member.

To summarize, the therapeutic community relies upon the active participation of the clients in establishing individualized programs and in supervising each other's progress along their program. The primary tool of supervision is the encounter group with its emphasis on direct and honest communication and being responsible for one's own behavior.

Token Economy

While the antecedents of the therapeutic community can be found in the European psychiatric hospital following World War II and in the phenomenology of Franz Brentano's Psychologie published in 1874, the recent antecedents of the Token Economy can be easily traced to the 1900 philosophical movement known as logical positivism.

As psychology developed in the United States through the works of John B. Watson and especially B. F. Skinner, a theory of personality which is currently known as Behavior Therapy or Behavior Modification developed. Joseph Wolpe provided the major impetus in applying this theory or system of interpersonal learning to human problems. Ayllon and Azrin (1968) were the first individuals to utilize the established principles of learning to develop a motivational system for State Hospital patients. Token economies entered corrections through the educational system at the Kennedy Youth Center in Morgantown and through the research efforts of Achievement Place.

A token economy is an incentive system which can be used mechanically or as a system of interpersonal learning. As an incentive system, it is extremely adaptable and can be used as an incentive to learn any system: Reality Therapy, Transactional Analysis, etc. It is a system of learning and what is learned depends upon the goals of the program.

The token economy became a method of learning in order to more effectively implement the reinforcement principles of learning. It was observed that in teaching clients skills it often occurred that the reinforcement for performing a behavior was not presented until some time elapsed between the behavior and the reinforcement. For the effect of the reinforcer to be maximally effective, the consequence (reinforcer) must be contingent upon the behavior. A mechanism for filling this gap in time between the behavior and the consequence is to use tokens. Tokens become meaningful and rewarding because they function as generalized conditioned reinforcers in much the same way money becomes rewarding. Tokens are given to clients when a desired behavior is performed and these tokens can then be used to acquire desired privileges at a later date. For example, a client may be given 10 poker chips for every hour of work and be allowed to trade in these chips for pass time at a rate of 100 chips per hour. The privileges that are purchased with tokens are known as back-up reinforcers. Braukmann and Fixsen (1974) enumerate the advantages of a token system and the types of token systems.

Kazdin and Bootzin (1972) in their review, delineate the following advantages of a token economy: a) it allows the consequence of any response at any time, b) it bridges the delay between target responses and back-up reinforcers, c) it can maintain performance over extended periods of time when the back-up reinforcers cannot be given out, d) it allows sequences of responses to be reinforced without interruption, e) the reinforcing affects of token are relatively independent of deprivation states and less subject to satiation effects, and f) it allows the use of the same rein-

forcers for subjects with different preferences for back-ups. A token system can be "flexible" or "fixed" (E.L. Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen, and Wolf, 1971). In a fixed economy, a fixed number of tokens are available for specified behaviors each day and an equal number of tokens are required to purchase privileges. In a flexible economy there are many opportunities to earn tokens required to purchase the desired privileges. In a flexible economy, the loss of tokens does not mean the loss of privileges, but rather that additional token-earning behavior is required to purchase the privileges.

Token systems can also be either based solely upon reward, solely upon punishment, or upon both reward and punishment. In purely reward systems, tokens are given for the performance of designated or prosocial behavior. If a behavior is not performed, tokens are merely withheld. In a pure punishment system, clients can only lose tokens by performance of designated or antisocial behaviors. This type of token system, solely punishment, is inappropriate for any program and should never be used. Token systems based upon both reward and punishment provide tokens for approved behavior and remove tokens for disruptive or antisocial behavior. In establishing a token system it is advisable to begin with a pure reward system and only after the CRTC is acutely aware of clients rights, and, if needed, progress to a system which is predominately reward but also includes punishment.

In setting up a token economy, the CRTC must first determine which behavior will be rewarded. These behaviors can be thought of as falling into categories. The first category, and most important, deal with behaviors related to the establishment and maintenance of a constructive day. Behaviors in this category include things such as job hunting and job maintenance, educational activities and drug, alcohol or other community resource utilization. In order of priority a second class of behaviors would deal with interpersonal skills. This class includes the client's response to criticism, initiative, ability to comply with program rules, and communication ability. A third category of behaviors deals with the maintenance tasks necessary for the orderly operation of the CRTC. Behaviors in this category includes keeping the client's room clean, possibly assisting in maintaining the CRTC in a clean condition and attendance at counseling or supervisory meetings with staff. In assigning values for the performance of these behaviors, the amount of tokens given for each behavior, it is extremely important to rate community behaviors highest. A frequent tendency, and criticism of token economies in corrections, is their use to stress institutional needs and control over the learning of skills needed to survive in the community. Motivating clients to secure and maintain a constructive day in the community is more important than having beds made and a spotless CRTC even though funding sources are, at times, more impressed by the appearance of the CRTC.

After behaviors are rank ordered or assigned a specific token value, the CRTC needs to determine a range of back-up reinforcers. These activities are things the clients like to do such as having time in the community for social activities, recreational activities within the CRTC, or the

privilege of having visitors. Once these back-up activities are determined, a token value needs to be placed on them. For example, it may require 10 tokens to have friends visit with the client at the CRTC or 500 tokens for a client to remain in the community overnight. In the search for back-up reinforcers it is essential that clients are guaranteed free and unlimited access to those things which are their constitutional right. Thus, requiring tokens for food, a place to sleep, access to an attorney, etc. are inappropriate and a violation of the client's rights. However, placing a token value on alternative, highly desirable meals or special deserts, or a token value upon certain desired sleeping accommodations is not a violation of the client's rights and an acceptable strategy.

Assuming the CRTC has a priority of behaviors to be performed and a set of back-up reinforcers, the operation of the program assumes primary importance. During the utilization of a token system it becomes extremely easy to resort to a low schedule of staff contact with clients. Staff can easily resort to merely a bookkeeping system where tokens are dispensed and privileges given without much interaction. This method of operation must be guarded against and a direct effort must be made to utilize the token system to increase client-staff interaction and teach the social skills necessary for maintaining a productive community life. In order to accomplish the interaction and teaching functions, the token values assigned various behaviors must involve a range of possible tokens. Thus, attendance at an Adult Basic Education class might be worth from zero to twenty tokens depending upon the client's participation at class. Of course, this type of system requires active liaison work with all community agencies utilized by clients. In addition to a range of tokens given for various behaviors, staff must make every effort to communicate the token value given for each behavior to the client. During this communication process, the staff has the opportunity to offer suggestions to clients on how to improve their rating. A typical situation might follow these lines. A client returns from his skill training class in welding. Through communication with the liaison the staff is aware that the client is taking excessively long breaks. The range of tokens available for skill training is zero to sixty. The client approaches the staff for the tokens given for training. Rather than merely recording or giving the client 60 tokens, the staff member gives the client 50 tokens. The staff member goes on to explain that the client is making good progress and is arriving for training promptly. However, the length of the client's breaks are too long and if the client shortens them to 15 minutes, the client will receive the entire 60 tokens. The staff concludes the discussion by again encouraging the client to continue those behaviors which he or she is performing well.

The utilization of a range of tokens available for each behavior also assists the CRTC director in evaluating his or her staff. The director can look over the record keeping and determine how each of the staff is performing. It is indeed a rare occurrence when all of the clients are performing to the best of their ability. Yet it is possible for a staff member to consistently give all clients the maximum number of tokens available. If this situation is observed by the director he or she can

meet with the staff person and discuss the reasons for these ratings. It could be that a particular staff member is having trouble confronting clients or is easily led to believe everything told by clients.

A final point concerning the operation of a token economy deals with the supportive systems available to the economy. In a CRTC with a purely behavioristic philosophy, the predominant supportive systems are contingency contracting and assertion training. Contingency contracting is an incentive system based on the specification of various consequences that will be provided contingently upon the occurrence of specified target behaviors. These contracts are usually negotiated agreements between the client and staff. Assertion training is a system of interpersonal learning where people are taught how to stand up for their own rights and how not to step on the rights of other people. In CRTC's which are not solely behavioristic, any system such as Transactional Analysis can be used to enhance interpersonal learning.

To keep in line with the spirit of community corrections, token economies need to be highly interactive systems where clients are given some of the responsibility for determining token values assigned behaviors and privileges. Contracts which specify which community behaviors will receive token values should be negotiated between staff and clients. Any token system can easily become a tool for staff to govern clients. Within CRTC's token systems need to involve clients so that plans or programs are negotiated and clients assume some responsibility for supervising their peers and negotiating with staff.

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