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The Correctional Novagram

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THE CONCEPT of role theory has always been of fascinating concern to the behavioral scientist. However, theories in this field are relatively new and studies pertaining to role function are sadly lacking. This is especially true in the field of corrections. In past years, the effectiveness of correctional programs have been subject to severe criticism and intensive questioning. Arguments are presented for each new program that is developed and its effectiveness becomes a major area of study. Rarely, however, is the role of the personnel involved ever spelled out and it is in this area that the real success or failure of any program lies.

The need to be clear and definitive about specific roles is obvious. Human behavior results in a large measure from social perceptions and the behavior of others. In addition, our perceived vocation shapes our self-concept and the concepts of others more than any other factor. Because of this, the enormous importance of role identification for probation and parole officers assumes new significance. This role identification is based on the basic philosophy of the correctional field, but the system has not always agreed on any particular philosophy. Because of this, clear rules can and have not been developed to date. The absence of a formal system and clear cut goals is further responsible for role conflict and role ambiguity for correctional workers. This problem, coupled with the difference between the training of people in the field and the specific demands made upon them in their work further contributes to the deterioration in the area of role development.

To put it another way, one of the great inherent needs of any workable organization is the dependability of the role performance by the individual. In the interdependent process of organizational production, each member must do his part and contribute to the total picture of the organizational goals. But, has the correctional worker's role ever really been defined? Ask a probation or parole officer how he views his job and you will get as many different answers as the different officers involved. Labels such as, "employment counselor," "amateur psychologist," "legal inter-

preter," "rehabilitator," and many others will appear in the literature. Over the past years, articles and studies have been conducted to illustrate the many concepts.

In seeking to meet the challenge of his job and perceived role, the modern probation and parole officer finds himself caught up in a peculiar double bind. On one hand, he must satisfy the rules of the court, the law enforcement agencies, the legal profession, the community, and the standards of the particular agency. On the other hand, the needs of the offender, that is the psychological, physical, social, developmental, and rehabilitative needs must be recognized and met. The two-sided facet of this correctional process results from evolutionary changes in both the concept and scope of the correctional field. Effective attempts are always being made to discover humane and realistic treatment of offenders.

The correctional Novagram is designed to incorporate and illustrate all of the aforementioned data and provide some direction in the classification and application of role definition. It is based on the concepts developed in the field of corrections and modified to meet the needs of practicing probation and parole officers. The Novagram characterizes the two major functions of probation and parole supervision as working in different directions but struggling to utilize the best of each by consolidating their optimum success. The first function is called the Bureaucratic Function since its focus is on the philosophy and regulations of the established bureaucracies that is the court, the law enforcement agencies, the legal profession, the community, and the particular probation or parole agencies. Each officer must satisfy the requirements of these established levels if he is to function. On the other side is the Helping Relationship Function whose emphasis is the offender himself. Diagnosis of the individual being processed, understanding of his situation, a treatment program, examination of services available, counseling, meditation, and interpretation of rules are only a few of the items to be considered for the offender.

If we were to illustrate this concept graphically

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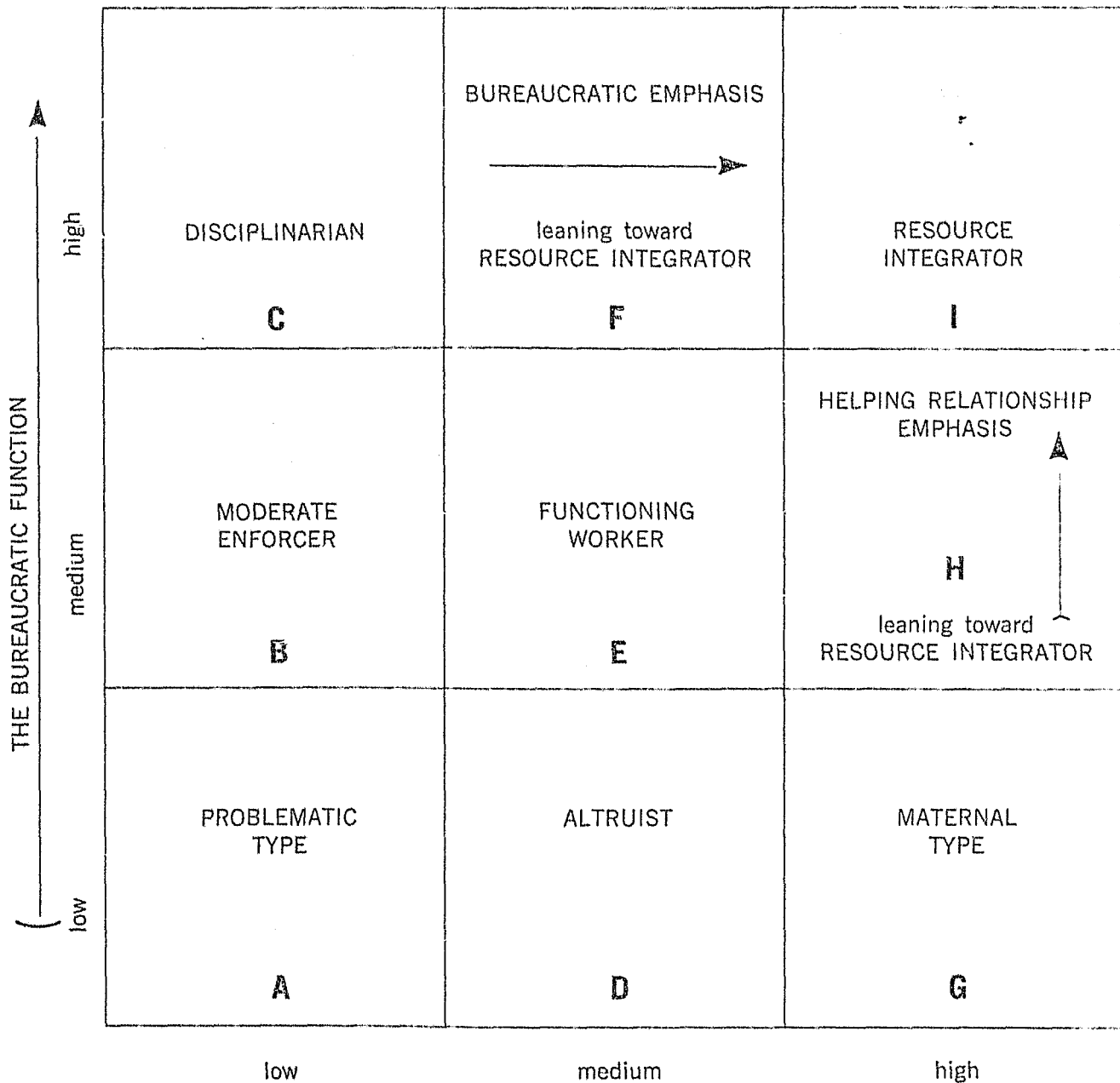


FIGURE 1

(see figure 1) one would see the, *Helping Relationship* function as moving horizontally on a graph with a low, medium, high stress continuum. Simultaneously the *Bureaucratic* function would be pictured as moving vertically with the same low, medium and high stress continuum.

The degree of commitment and the amount of stress on each or either of the two functions creates the following roles: the Problematic Type, Moderate Enforcer, Disciplinarian, Maternal, Altruist, Resource Integrator, Functioning Worker, Bureaucratic Emphasis toward Resource Integra-

tor, and Helping Relationship Emphasis toward Resource Integrator. A brief explanation of each type follows. (Refer to figure 1.)

(A) Problematic Type—Low emphasis on both Bureaucratic and Helping Relationship functions

The lower, left location refers to probation or parole officers who manifest minimal concern for both functions. No conscious or systematic strategy is followed because there is some ambiguity of role functions. The Problematic type is typical of the extremes of correctional personnel. At one end is the new officer who has not yet perceived the total picture of the field and its particular commitments. On the other end is the "old timer" who finds security in "noncommittal." The Problematic type is, in most cases, a temporary state. If the new worker does not become passive or threatened and, likewise, if the older worker can be given recognition, attention, and direction, movement in either or both directions of the two functions will result.

(B) Moderate Enforcer—Medium emphasis on Bureaucratic function, low emphasis on Helping Relationship function

This type is moving in the direction of Bureaucratic stress, but still is low on the Helping Relationship emphasis. He sees his task as more surveillance than assistance and his allegiance leans to the agency rather than the offender. This model is based more on establishment regulations rather than individual needs. The offender's conduct is expected to be more generally conforming and law abiding before any examination of personal need is made.

(C) Disciplinarian—High emphasis on Bureaucratic function, low emphasis on Helping Relationship function

The upper left-hand corner represents a maximal concern for Bureaucratic rules and regulations and a minimal concern for the offender, as such. The individual is only incidental to the law, control, and obedience of the rules. The frame of reference is based on the assumption that satisfactory completion of all rules results in success. It is not suggested that this type has no interest in the offender, but rather that this interest becomes manifested only when there is control and regulations are met. This role is formal, official, and objective. It is based on behavior change and

through this behavior change comes satisfactory discharge. Conformity is synonymous with rehabilitation.

(D) Altruist—Low emphasis on the Bureaucratic function, medium emphasis on the Helping Relationship function

Here is a type that is slightly more committed than the Problematic Type but moving in the direction of the Maternal Type. His main direction is on the Helping Relationship function with the needs of the offender as his main thrust. He is not concerned with the agency, court, or legal prescription as much as the individual needs of his charges. This isolated concern will eventually lead to a "social work" operation with minimal concern for control of the offender. This model is based on addressing personal needs before any conformity is expected on the part of the offender.

(E) Functioning Worker—Medium emphasis on both the Helping Relationship and Bureaucratic functions

The middle module is characterized by a "middle of the road" concern for both the bureaucratic policies and the needs of the offender. Both functions are seen as necessary but full commitment is not given to either or both. This officer is functioning in each direction and is doing his job but is not ready for a positive thrust into either of the functions. The Functioning Worker establishes a working relationship with the offender but only to a point. He also is aware of the rules and policies of the bureaucratic structure, but does not fully understand them. This type is characterized as the "nice guy" or "regular Joe." He can move in either direction, contingent upon his length of service with an organization, promotion possibilities, and philosophy of the needs and desires of the offender.

(F) Bureaucratic Emphasis Type leaning toward Resource Integrator—Medium emphasis on the Helping Relationship function, high emphasis on the Bureaucratic function

This model is similar to Model H in philosophy, but with a slight emphasis on one function in favor of the other. The relationship of officer to offender is one of working together to follow the rules and regulations, but the offender must depend on the officer for interpretation of the rules. This is slightly different from Model H (Helping

Relationship Emphasis leaning to Resource Integrator) in that the Model H type desires to work with the offender regarding rules and regulations but the offender's needs and desires come first. Both Model F and H, however, more closely approach the Resource Integrator type and need only a slight shift or stress in their philosophy to move toward the Resource Integrator.

(G) Maternal Type—High emphasis on the Helping Relationship function, low emphasis on the Bureaucratic function

The lower right-hand corner represents a maximal concern for the offender and a minimal concern for bureaucratic rules and regulations (the opposite of the Disciplinarian). The frame of reference is one of a warm, supportive, nonjudgmental relationship with the offender. This probation or parole officer is characterized by a concern for "rehabilitation" and the "well-being" of his charge, but with small concern for controlling him. This type of officer emerges primarily as a "momism type" who closely watches and supervises all of the actions of the offender. The Maternal type, however, lends itself to manipulation and could easily be "conned" by the offender. There is a great deal of contact with the offender and interviews tend to move in the direction of discussions and/or solutions of personal problems of the offender. A "psychotherapeutic approach" is used and attempts are made to foster self-understanding on the part of the offender. This model type often views its motives as the most beneficial without regard for the Bureaucratic function which they see as hampering the offender's progress.

(H) Helping Relationship Emphasis Type leaning toward Resource Integrator—Medium emphasis on the Bureaucratic function, high emphasis on the Helping Relationship function

This model is similar to Model F in philosophy but with a slight emphasis on one function in favor of the other. This model is characterized by a working relationship between officer and offender in close harmony (as in Model F), but with the stress leaning slightly toward the offender's needs. Both Models H and F are approaching the Resource Integrator type. A more comprehensive discussion can be found in Bureaucratic Emphasis type. (See Model F)

(I) Resource Integrator—High emphasis on both the Helping Relationship and Bureaucratic functions

The upper right hand corner represents a maximal concern for both the offender and the established bureaucratic structures. A stress on the conditions of probation or parole is tempered with a firm, but understanding, concern for the offender. Here is the best of both worlds and is a true integration of all the concerns of the correctional process. Goals are of the utmost importance and the offender is guided in such a way as to help himself within the limits of the conditions set down for him. The Resource Integrator pursues all avenues for the benefit of the offender and what this officer cannot do himself, he will make the necessary referrals for the best service for the offender. He knows all the community resources available to solve a common problem. By assessing the individual needs of the offender and examining the realistic conditions of the probation or parole orders, he will combine both, and determine the best and most feasible plan of action. In this module, the offender has an officer who is his advocate as well as a mediator, interpreter, and counselor. Policies are spelled out and the regulations on the offender are few in number, but crystal clear.

While the nine correctional types have been described separately, it is not to be understood that these types exist totally independent of each other at all times. In the real world of probation and parole, people change and their values, commitment, and perceptions change as well. Also, the philosophy of a particular agency will fluctuate at times. All these factors contribute to the changing role of the correctional officer.

The need to be clear about the particular role of the probation and parole officer is obvious. We cannot tell how one role is better than the other unless we are clear about the alternatives. The only way to achieve this is to search out the alternative roles, define them, clarify them, refine them, and apply them. By doing this, it will become clear as to which role we are adopting. In other words, we must find what role is indicative of our particular correctional philosophy and fit it in perspective within that system, always examining it as to how it is related to the particular workings of the probation and parole system. Having done this, we must then study how consistently we follow this particular role and compare it to the other existing alternatives.

Through adequate reflections of the desired role of the correctional officer and a better understanding of the various existing operating types, it may be possible to provide society with relevant and

significant results, service the offender and his needs in a satisfactory manner, and provide the agencies with a meaningful and operative direction.

News of the Future

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN CORRECTIONS

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EVENTUALLY the American people must decide how much incarceration the country can afford and for whom it should be reserved. Criminal justice professionals are at least vaguely aware of the levitation of correctional costs to ever-increasing heights of absurdity, but it is uncertain that taxpayers are well informed about the incongruities of prison budgets. Citizens who cannot conceive of themselves as owners of \$50,000 houses mutely pay for \$50,000 cells for maximum security prisoners. Even though the cost of keeping an offender in such a cell may exceed the taxpayer's adjusted gross income, this disparity does not arouse vigorous protest.

Nevertheless, tax-collectors think there will be a day of reckoning, when changes must be made in the traditional structure and components of federal and state budgets. Zero-based budgeting and sunset laws have not become popular concepts without good reason. The question as to whether government is doing the right things with its revenues must soon bear heavily on criminal justice planners. This sense of unease came earlier in California than elsewhere in the Nation. By 1965 the State had built eight new prisons and a like number of new youth facilities since World War II. The end was nowhere in sight. If existing sentencing policies continued, the State would have to build a new prison every 2 or 3 years. That was impractical and there had to be an alternative.

The innovation was the Probation Subsidy Act of 1965, which authorized subsidies to counties that reduced commitments to state institutions. The reductions were measured by a formula which need not detain us here. The program has survived, in spite of attacks by libertarians who think that it unnecessarily and deceptively extends the span of social control,¹ and in the face of opposition from

the law enforcement community, led by the voluble Chief Edward Davis of the Los Angeles police, who takes the view that by increasing leniency to offenders, the Probation Subsidy has increased crime.

Controversy about the consequences of this program has been heightened by conflicting interpretation of inadequate data. The California Youth Authority, which administers the program, is understandably satisfied with its results.² Dr. Paul Lerman, who worries about the increasing power of the State over its citizens, believes that he has shown the Youth Authority's calculations to be wrong. The California State Department of Finance was also sceptical about the assumptions on which the Youth Authority based its euphoric evaluation, but was unable to refute them.³ The more one knew about the program, its data and their interpretation, the more confused one would be concerning its value and consequences.

Now we have a six-volume evaluation from the Center on Administration of Criminal Justice of the University of California at Davis.⁴ It settles those debates that can be settled, and identifies those which must forever remain in a limbo of uncertainty. I shall come to the findings which seem to be of most significance to the correctional administrator and researcher, but before I do, the general structure of the research should be outlined.

Briefly, there were five areas of investigation:

(1) *The extent to which the program has actually achieved a reduction in local commitments to state agencies.* (The Youth Authority reports a reduction in youth commitments in the order of 35,795 between 1966 and 1975. The study is more conservative with an estimate of commitment reduction of a maximum of 16,000 cases between 1966 and 1972.)

(2) *The changes brought about by the program in county probation departments.* (The general conclusion is that innovation languished and that the "special supervision" units which were intended to justify the substitution of probation for prison commitment tended to become nominal and unspecialized.)

(3) *The economic impact of the program on the counties and the State.* (Conclusion: The State saved over \$63,000,000 in the first six program years, but the counties lost, in unreimbursed local costs, \$18,000,000, for a net to the taxpayers of about \$45,000,000. This figure does not take into account the savings incurred by correctional facilities which were not built during that period.)

(4) *The changes brought about in the State correctional agencies.* (These were considerable, and will be discussed here in more detail presently.)

¹ Paul Lerman, *Community Treatment and Social Control*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975.

² California Youth Authority, *California's Probation Subsidy Program: A Progress Report to the Legislature*, Report No. 3, Sacramento: The California Youth Authority, June 1976. See also Robert L. Smith, *A Quiet Revolution*. Washington: U.S. HEW Publication No. 72-26011, 1972.

³ California Department of Finance, *Report on State Aid for Probation Services*. Sacramento: Department of Finance, 1970.

⁴ Center on Administration of Criminal Justice, University of California at Davis: *An Evaluation of the California Probation Subsidy Program*. Davis: Center on Administration of Justice, 1977. The report consists of six volumes as follows:

Volume I: Travis Hirschi and David Rudisill, *Commitment Reduction and Probation Subsidy: A Summary of Available Data*.

Volume II: Edwin M. Lemert and Forrest Dill, *Offenders in the Community: The Operation of Probation Subsidy in the Counties*.

Volume III: Janice Holve, *An Evaluation of the Effects on State and Local Costs of the California Probation Subsidy Program*.

Volume IV: Janice Holve and Sheila Smith, *Impact of the California Probation Subsidy Program on the State Correctional System*.

Volume V: Floyd Feeney and Travis Hirschi, *Impact of Commitment Reduction on the Recidivism of Offenders*.

Volume VI: A Summary.

END