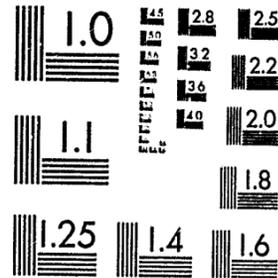


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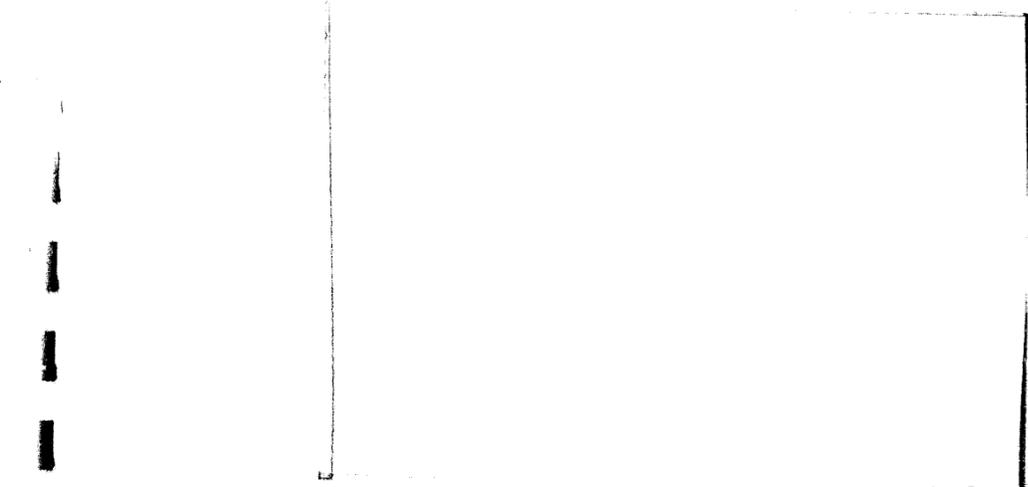
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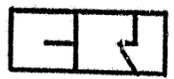
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PROBATION WORK IN SMALL AGENCIES
A NATIONAL STUDY OF TRAINING PROVISIONS AND NEEDS

by

DOUG THOMSON

and

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AUGUST, 1980

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ACQUISITIONS

FOREWORD

In 1977, the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) included in its Annual Program Plan a solicitation to study small probation agencies dealing with adult offenders and to provide guidance for staff training. The grant award was eventually made to the Office for Law-Related Research, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. This report presents findings and recommendations of the Staff Training for Small Probation Agencies (STSPA) project.

Chapter 1 provides a conceptual context for the report and reveals some of our basic assumptions and opinions. Chapter 2 explicates study design in terms of questionnaire design, population enumeration, sampling, and response rates for the surveys, and interview guide topics, site election, and procedures followed in the field visits. Chapter 3 provides a review of the literature on small probation agency research and related topics.

The next five chapters concentrate on findings of STSPA research. Chapter 4 provides a basic overview of the diversity of small agencies focusing on functions, constraints, centralization of administration, organizational dispersion, and urban/rural distributions. Chapter 5 introduces the principal actors, highlighting findings from the survey of probation officers and the field visits to convey a sense of who these men and women are. The following two chapters concentrate on basic questions underlying the study: what kind of training is being provided to small probation agencies, what do probation officers think of it, and what else should be done? Chapter 6 documents existing entry-level and in-service training programs, additional training

Final report on Grant AN-9 from the National Institute of Corrections. Points of view or opinions stated in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the National Institute of Corrections or the U.S. Department of Justice.

desired by officers in charge, and obstacles encountered in procuring desired training. Chapter 7 contains ratings by probation officers of training subjects experienced and their suggestions for an ideal curriculum for experienced probation officers. Chapter 8 considers two issues of importance for the type of training probation officers should receive: how they have been prepared for this job and what they do.

The final two chapters suggest courses of action. Chapter 9 concentrates on recommendations regarding training for small probation agencies. Chapter 10 takes a wider perspective and suggests some directions for policy development for probation in general. The appendices contain a review of the literature on training approaches, copies of survey questionnaires, and an interview guide for the field visits.

Literally thousands of probation officers across the nation have contributed to this study by responding to our questionnaires and telling us something about themselves, the work they do, and their opinions. We are indebted to them and take this opportunity to express our gratitude. A "select few" made even greater contributions by hosting us for the field visits. This generally involved at least devoting a few hours to interviews with and observations by a stranger. We appreciate the hospitality, cooperation, and openness with which we were met.

Advisers to the STSPA project were deluged with paper at irregular intervals, yet maintained enough good humor and good sense to provide us with helpful suggestions. The names of project advisers are listed on a subsequent page. Particularly deserving of mention, however, are Jay

Newberger, John Ackermann, and Robert Weber for their thoughtful comments throughout the course of the project. David Griffin devoted a working day plus several hours of driving to participate in a conference for probation officers from small Federal offices. Others, such as Richard Ely, Miriam Seltzer, and Patrick McAnany, were kind enough to provide us with materials about their work in related areas. Our NIC monitor, Marian Hyler, demonstrated laudable patience in awaiting the production of this document, and was a continuing source of useful information about recent and current developments in the field.

A host of individuals at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle aided this project. Our colleagues at the Survey Research Laboratory worked closely with us on the survey phases under the management of Ron Czaja and Andy Montgomery. Elfriede Wedam is particularly deserving of mention for her and her staff's efforts in difficult coding tasks and for good-naturedly enduring the project director's fascination with elaborate coding schemes.

Larry J. Cohen played a major role in the inception of this project. We appreciate both this and his continued administrative and substantive guidance in his role as Director of the Office for Law-Related Research.

Research associates Rochelle Diogenes and Robert Dolmetsch both competently did the work assigned and contributed more than their measure of good cheer. The review of the literature on training approaches presented in Appendix A was done by Ms. Diogenes. Mark Tezak assisted with the field visits while a student intern with the Texas Adult Proba-

tion Commission and also contributed a descriptive analysis of the organization of probation in that state. Although a number of individuals provided secretarial and clerical services, the bulk of the work fell to project secretaries Andrew Schwarz and Nancy Zitkovich who ably discharged their duties.

Finally, we are grateful to those individuals and organizations outside of the University who facilitated our work. Prominent among these are the American Probation and Parole Association, the American Correctional Association, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the National Judicial College, and the Administrative Office of the United States Courts for endorsing the project, and Richard Crow and Richard Dembo for generously sharing materials from their earlier research on probation/parole work. Also, notable contributions were made by David A. Schaitberger of the Governments Division, Bureau of the Census in assisting us in gaining access to information from the 1976 LEAA/Bureau of Census national probation and parole survey for our sample selections, mailings, and secondary data analysis. Essential contributions to the origins of this project were made by John Wallace, who directed NIC when the study idea germinated, and Susan Whitaker, who nourished it in her former roles as branch chief and our first monitor.

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Chapter 1 -- Toward a Philosophy of Probation

Is probation control or help? The law has generally tried to incorporate both philosophies, the judiciary tends to stress either depending upon the judge's characteristics, and probation services have generally tended toward the assistance role while being perceived by the offender as fulfilling a control function. (Friday, 1978).

In this quote, Paul Friday has aptly captured one aspect of the dilemma facing probation as it is differentially perceived by some of its significant audiences. This report presents findings of a national study of small probation agencies for adult offenders, the study focusing on the training experiences, inclinations, and needs of probation officers. In this opening chapter, however, we wish to step back, take a wider perspective on probation, communicate to the reader a sense of our premises and values which have informed and shaped the research process and this product, and to make some suggestions about how probation might be located conceptually in the contemporary changing landscape of criminal justice and public policy controversies.

To do this, we use as an organizing framework, three current issues guiding the emerging national debate about responses to crime. In the order in which they will be discussed, these issues are:

- 1) Rural Empowerment
- 2) The Beyond Probation Controversy
- 3) The Justice Model

We take the last of these issues as an opportunity to introduce the current study by referencing some of its conclusions, thus foreshadowing the more expansive supplement (The Probation Mission Project) to the original project.

Rural Empowerment

As concerns about crime increased in the late 1960's and 1970's, governmental efforts were directed at increasing the capacity of criminal justice agencies to control crime and ensure justice. These efforts included not only the provision of increased technological capabilities, but also the development of performance standards and of training and other staff development mechanisms to improve performance. Notable symbols of these efforts were the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) created by the Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1968, the National Institute of Corrections created by the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1975, the reports of national study commissions such as the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967), the National Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973), the American Bar Association Project on Standards for Criminal Justice (1970), the American Correctional Association Commission on Accreditation for Corrections (1977), and the proliferation of Criminal Justice courses and programs in colleges and universities (Bennett and Marshal, 1979).

A hallmark of the nation's deep concern with crime and its control was the emphasis on urban problems. The dominant imagery was of crime

in the cities, a working partner of poverty, unemployment, deteriorating core areas, deficient schools, splintered families, and racism, disproportionately afflicting minority communities. Government funding flowed to agencies in urban areas. The recommendations of the study commissions and the standards they promulgated were oriented toward larger agencies in urban areas. There were spillover effects -- and benefits -- for suburbs as well as cities. The problems were big; the front-line agencies were big; the proposed remedies were designed with the big agencies in mind.

All of this led to a perception by some that small agencies and rural areas were being neglected. This notion has received support from recent findings that the rural crime rate is increasing faster than the urban crime rate (Guillory, 1975; cf. also, Erwin, 1974). Organized expression of the interests of rural areas -- and by implication, of small agencies -- has come from the National Symposium on Rural Justice (University of Tennessee-Knoxville, 1979) and the associated journal, Human Services in the Rural Environment, Rural America, Inc. (Reed, 1975), and the National Center for State Courts (Stott, Fetter, and Crites, 1977) among others.

Probation is one of the areas in which there was this initial definition of the situation in urban and large-agency terms, a subsequent perception of neglect of rural areas and small agency needs, and finally a corrective response. Part of the corrective response was initiated by the NIC in 1977 when it called for proposals to study mid-sized and small probation agencies for adult offenders so that

training commensurate with the needs, capabilities, and job demands of officers in these types of setting could be planned. This report represents what has been learned to date about the small agencies.

As the reader will see in the following chapters, in many instances we have found little or no difference between small probation agencies and their officers in rural areas and those in urban areas. We suspect, however, that this is in some measure a function of the conscious exclusion of larger agencies from the study. In any event, the information in this report should substantially augment the knowledge base on rural probation. And there is little reason to expect the efforts of rural interests to effect public policy and combat negative stereotypes to flag. In fact, in an era expected to be characterized by a significant diminishing of financial and other resources for probation (Fitzharris, 1979), there is good reason to suspect that rural and small agency experience in pioneering program models capitalizing on existing local resources and interorganizational cooperation may be a source of encouragement and instruction to urban and large agencies.

Beyond Probation or Through Probation?

One of the more provocative and controversial pieces of research concerning probation in the past few years is the evaluation of the Unified Delinquency Intervention Services (UDIS) project in Illinois, UDIS: Deinstitutionalizing the Chronic Juvenile Offender (Murray, Thomson, and Israel, 1978), and its sequel cohort study, Beyond Probation: Juvenile Corrections and the Chronic Delinquent (Murray and Cox,

1979). Two major findings of these studies were unexpected. First, Murray and his associates found that graduates of UDIS, the community-based alternative to incarceration, which had much greater access to a diverse menu of resources than did the probation department and was intended explicitly for youths who would otherwise be committed to the Department of Corrections, experienced reductions in recidivism on the order of 60-70%. This "suppression effect" seemed contrary to what many correctional policy-makers and researchers believed was true based on prior research and suppositions. While such a startling finding perhaps could have been accommodated by itself, there was a second shoe, the dropping of which shocked the field; graduates of the institutional program experienced a suppression effect of equivalent magnitude. This abundance of apparent success was both puzzling and embarrassing, given a history of movement toward community corrections and deinstitutionalization and recent major policy decisions to systematically reduce juvenile institutionalization. It is not necessary for our purposes in this report to review the criticisms which have been made of the Murray et al. reports, the refutations offered, the history of this often technical, often polemical controversy, or to offer all of the additional critiques which could be made. Beyond Probation is pertinent to the current report, however, because of concerns which have arisen about its implications for policy formulation regarding probation. While we think that Beyond Probation is a formidable book, technically accomplished in the areas on which it focused, we believe that it falls far short of offering the final word on what national policy

should be concerning probation. Thus, there are at least four points which should be considered when assessing the implications of Beyond Probation for policy. First, it should be remembered that these studies were quite specific in their focus, and that this specificity was manifested in several ways. UDIS was a program for juvenile offenders, and only for those youths whose official juvenile justice records identified them as chronic offenders. One cannot assume that whatever the implications of the study might be for chronic juvenile offenders can be transferred to other youthful offenders or to adult offenders. Furthermore, this was a study of one project in one location; probation practices in this location may be different from those elsewhere. Finally, the utility of the findings for public policy deliberations must be considered in terms of the concentration of the studies on one type of outcome measure, lifetime police arrest incidents.

Second, and related to the preceding point, the studies contribute little to a better empirical understanding of the personal costs of incarceration vs. the personal costs of other interventions. While it is true that the Beyond Probation effort involved a literature review revealing a dearth of personal costs incidence data comparable to the recidivism measures preferred by the authors, the very constrictedness of the search parameters contributed to null findings.

Third, Murray and his associates interpret the UDIS suppression effect as evidence for deterrence. One could argue, however, that it supports a rehabilitation explanation. This assumes that (1) youth in UDIS received considerably more intensive services (i.e.,

rehabilitation-oriented efforts) than they did under probation and (2) UDIS was perceived by them as a rehabilitative endeavor. Both points are supported by findings from the interviews with the youths. The problem, of course, is that the evidence of rehabilitative intermediate effects was not found, leading Murray et al. to their "you can't do that anymore" special deterrence interpretation. That is, the indicators of educational, vocational, and psychological progress did not account for the suppression effect, hence the tentative conclusion that behavioral change relative to the law was a result of getting the youths' attention rather than due rehabilitative impact. Perhaps they missed something, however. Perhaps the intermediate measurements were too crude. (See Seiter, 1978, for an example of a more refined community adjustment scale.) Perhaps the intermediate effect was unmeasured, e.g., increased respect for the law, for the rights of others, or some other shift in value orientation. If so, a rehabilitation explanation is quite consistent with a policy implication that probation services should be intensified to a UDIS-like level, at least with regard to this population of juveniles.

Fourth, "energetic correctional intervention" of the UDIS variety might more usefully be construed as a supplement to probation. Thus, in this sense, it might be considered a model for probation itself, perhaps even within a justice model formulation. Another possible alternative interpretation involves a return to one of the original reasons for UDIS: providing both services otherwise unavailable for poor youths, and with these services as rationalization, "cooling out" (Goffman,

1951) the system in a way analagous to what wealthier parents can and often do provide through private means for their children.

This is all to reiterate our observation that the Beyond Probation studies, despite the title, neither sound a death knell for probation nor tell us what interventions beyond probation should be. We hasten to add, however, that these studies should be used to inform professional, and eventually public, discussion of these issues, that they might even be used to challenge the field of probation to present alternative evidence or plausible alternative explanations, and that Murray, under spectacularly adverse circumstances, has done an excellent job of parrying many of the criticisms leveled at the studies. Nevertheless, there remains the important technical critique of Michael Maltz (1980) that the suppression effect may actually to some unknown extent be a "selection artifact," the lack of theoretical grounding of the UDIS evaluation and subsequent research (Empey, 1979), and some of the contextual and policy critiques we have suggested herein.

Moreover, we share with Charles Murray an important policy approach he has suggested. This important point of agreement is that official responses to delinquency (we would add crime as well) should be rationally and predictably applied. This means that continued delicts would be met with gradually escalating sanctions and that this pattern would be followed consistently so that eventually there would be shared and accurate expectations of the consequences of discovered delinquent or criminal behavior. Such a formulation devolves logically from a justice model approach. It is a policy also suggested by Hamparian et

al. (1979) who found that the responses of the juvenile justice system to discovered delinquency are extremely bifurcated, lenient at the early stages, severe at the latter stages, but with little warning of the extreme ungraduated escalation producing this pattern. Such a pattern of official response is not only problematic from a deterrence perspective but may also contribute to perceptions by offenders that decision-making by the police, probation officers, and the courts is capricious and hence provide a rationalization, a technique of neutralization (Matza, 1964), for subsequent delinquent criminal behavior in terms of unfairness or injustice perpetuated by justice agencies.

It should also be noted that the latest research report (Murray, 1980) from the Beyond Probation data base seems to soften somewhat the earlier interpretations of probation impact. In this latest document, Murray finds that court sanctions, i.e., supervision or probation, do seem to contribute to increasing the period of time until the next arrest. However, further analysis by Murray and his interpretation of the findings suggest that court sanctions have this positive effect as a result of their symbolic impact rather than due to their content. That is, it is the existential fact of a formal sanctioning response, in the form of a "ceremony of degradation" perhaps (Garfinkel, 1956), which produces the decreasing velocity of recidivism rather than anything the probation officer does during the period of supervision subsequent to sentencing. This is a provocative idea fraught with major implications for the proposed enhancement of probation. If Murray's interpretation is correct, one might conclude that any enhancement efforts should be

directed toward the ceremonial aspects of probation sentencing, perhaps to include the presentence investigation process, rather than toward upgrading the content of probation training, other staff development efforts, the strengthening of professional associations and educational programs, or other means of bolstering the occupation. Contrariwise, one could argue that these latter efforts themselves contribute to the ceremonial significance of the sanctioning event by making probation as process appear to have some behavioral content rather than being the popularly perceived "slap on the wrist." As we said, it's a provocative notion.

The Justice Model and Probation

The justice model constitutes an assault on professionalization of criminal justice occupations. Conventional formal criteria of professions, following the model of the free professions such as medicine and law, include autonomy of the professional, a special body of transmittable knowledge, and a service ideal. The justice model calls all three criteria into question, as applied to criminal justice occupations such as probation work, for both empirical and normative reasons.

Central to the justice model is an emphasis on legal and administrative regulation of the processing of offenders and alleged offenders. Such regulation means control of the behavior of officials, the restriction of the range of discretion they are permitted to exercise, and hence a diminution of their autonomy. This is an intentional and posi-

tively valued constraint on autonomy going beyond the much-noted organizational phenomenon of limitations on the discretion of professionals working in bureaucracies.

The justice model, especially as advanced by Fogel (1976), is premised on the notion that correctional efforts at rehabilitation, particularly in institutions but by implication at least in field services as well, have failed miserably. A corollary of this premise is that the knowledge base supporting the rehabilitative ideal, and such segments of criminal justice occupations as subscribe to it, is inadequate to the tasks it sets. Hence, the justice model posits another set of tasks. These tasks call for a commitment to the rule of law rather than to an amorphous ideal of service.

Given these implications of the justice model, and given our advocacy of it, what would we have probation as an occupation be? First, we think that previous professionalization efforts in probation have been misguided, pursuing an ideal of profession inappropriate for probation work even outside of a justice model context. Second, we suggest that professionalization efforts proceed but with the emphasis on a less ambitious operational conception of profession in which the missions of probation are more clearly articulated, the roles of probation officers more sharply defined, and the organizational and environmental contexts constraining probation work directly addressed. Third, we believe that to a more modest degree, autonomy, a special body of knowledge, and a service ideal should be characteristic of probation work in a justice model context, should be recognized in this light, and should be elab-

orated as bases for policy formulation, education, training, and staff development.

As an early step toward such redefinition of probation as a justice occupation, we propose in Table 1-1 a prioritization and elaboration of the missions of probation. But we must not become enraptured with the justice model for application in small probation agencies. For as we demonstrate in this volume, probation officers in these settings sometimes seem to operate outside of narrow definitions of their role and become in effect the "town counselor." We are not prepared to say that the conventional version of the justice model, appropriate to large agencies in urban areas in which prospects for the division of labor between administration of legal sanction and delivery of human services are brighter, should be superimposed on small agencies in rural areas. As we redefine what probation and other alternatives should be within a justice model context, one of the important tasks will be to specify how the role of the probation officer should vary in terms of community context. In this report, we attempt to provide some direction in this area as it relates to probation officers working within one particular type of environment -- the small agency.

Return to Augustus

In general, our position is that the most appropriate role for the probation officer has moved beyond that of enforcement orientation and of treatment orientation to a role of compliance orientation. The probation officer thus is neither a cop nor a counselor; he/she is an

Table 1-1 -- A Compliance Model for Probation Enhancement

<u>End</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Enabling Mechanism</u>	<u>Agent</u>	<u>Priority</u>	<u>Temporal Orientation</u>	<u>Philosophy</u>
Proportionality	Predictable official response	Probation sentence varying in obstrusiveness keyed to instant conviction	Judge/Probation officer through pre-sentence investigation determining degree of harm done	1	Past	Retribution
Deterrence	Calibrated responses	Court-ordered conditions of probation	Probation officer as officer of the court	1	Present	Punishment
Public Safety	Surveillance	Court-ordered supervisory observation and probationer reporting	Probation officer/Police	2	Present	Social Defense
Wholeness	Restitution, Community Service Orders	Court-ordered conditions of probation	Probation officer as officer of the court	3	Future	Retribution/Rehabilitation
	Advocacy Service Treatment	Probationer inclination amidst available/accessible resources and opportunities	Probationer; PO brokering and monitoring as officer of court; Advocates and advocacy organizations; Service vendors	3	Future	Retribution/-Rehabilitation Retribution/-Rehabilitation Rehabilitation

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officer of the court. As such, he/she is responsible for monitoring compliance with the demands of justice, but at the same time is permitted, even encouraged, to aid the probationer in ways in which the probationer would like to be aided and in which the officer is competent to provide aid. In effect, the probation officer is the representative of the court in ensuring that the sentence of probation is carried out, and at a more abstract level, that justice is served.

Does this mean then that the probation agency must be administered by the judiciary? No. Just as attorneys are officers of the court but are employed by private firms or public agencies, so probation officers can function as officers of the court while employed by an executive agency -- or by a private concern for that matter. However, there are some advantages to probation administration by the judiciary which should be noted since they are either particularly amenable to the justice model or do not seem to have been much mentioned in earlier discussions of this issue. In fact, it can be argued that a probation system administered by the judiciary but at the state rather than local level, combines optimally the advantages of each model. Substantive arguments for judicial administration of probation -- at the state level -- are as follows:

- 1) since probation is a sentencing resource, and given justice model directives would be increasingly considered a summary sentence, it makes sense to maintain it under the control of the sentencing authority; that is, judicial administration of probation follows the principle of maintaining functions within the appropriate branch of government;
- 2) given that the courts of any given state are organized, as least in part, on a local basis,

i.e., into district, circuit, or county courts, it can be argued that local judges have closer ties to communities than do state corrections officials, and therefore are the appropriate administrators for this community-based sentence;

- 3) in a state-wide judicial system of probation, lower level judges may be more responsive to the chief judge than they would be to any "civilian" administering an executive branch probation department, i.e., there is an excellent chain of command extant; properly established and maintained, this suggests that probation officers can have some powerful clout vis a vis their local judges, being protected and advocated for by the chief judge and his/her staff, and thus being more efficacious and having greater potential professional autonomy rather than running the risk of being a personal bailiff or chauffeur for the local judge or a constrained lower-level bureaucrat in an executive agency;
- 4) it is much better for probation to be administered by those trained in the law rather than in social work or public administration since this might help bolster the lawfulness orientation of the system;
- 5) related to the preceding point is the symbolic value of locating probation officers in the state's judicial branch of government and making explicit their role as officers of the court.

Statewide judicially-administered systems of probation currently exist in Nebraska and South Dakota. Other states, such as Illinois, provide subsidies to local probation departments through the state judicial office. Either of these models, or other variations of judicial administration of probation from the state level, might profitably be considered when any state begins deliberating the reorganization of probation.

Our suggestion that the probation officer should primarily be an officer of the court is both a move beyond recent conceptions of the

probation officer's role and a return to some original prescriptions. What we are suggesting actually entails a return to much of what John Augustus did in originating probation services in the middle of the 19th century. While historical, organizational, occupational, and ideological developments will have an obviously large impact on this translation, the seminal notion of probation as an occupation in itself is central. Moreover, and at least as important, the idea of probation as a sentence in itself remains. Thus, while we stress the sanction aspect of probation, it should not be forgotten that it also can be an opportunity if the offender is so inclined and if the probation officer is so trained.

In this sense, the probation officer may be a rehabilitative agent operating within the parameters of a justice model. This does not eliminate or resolve the tensions between control and assistance requirements. Hopefully, however, in the light of the law, and with the imagery of the probation officer as a special officer of the court charged with ensuring compliance by all parties with the conditions of the sentence, and of the offender as a person with volition, required only to serve an explicit sentence recorded by the court and to refrain from further unlawful behavior, expectations of both probation officer and probationer will be clearer and perhaps more realistic.

Our position should be made more clear by consideration of differences among enforcement, treatment, and compliance in terms of some of the contingencies actually operating in probation work. In this report, we examine such differences in regard to both agency policies (Chapter

4) and probation officers' role orientations and behavior (Chapter 8), as well as in regard to training orientations (Chapter 7).

To suggest, as we do, that probation should be a punitive sentence in actuality as well as in name and that the probation officer should be principally concerned with compliance is to fly in the face not only of public perceptions of probation as leniency, as "a slap on the wrist" but of the ideology, and even interests, of many professionals. Both the seriousness of this problem and the reasonableness of the suggested alternative conception have been succinctly stated by our colleague Patrick McAnany (1976: 81):

The major problem for probation is that for so long it has been viewed from the perspective of mercy-rehabilitation only. The reason a judge placed people on probation, according to the official rhetoric, was to rehabilitate them. If probation now becomes a full sentencing alternative in which justice as well as rehabilitation are conjoined, then we have to see things differently. This is not the time or place to elaborate a full philosophy of probation, but several points may contribute to this future task. For one thing, probation has the primary goal of protection of the public. While this was often explained in terms of rehabilitation of the individual, in practical terms it was enforced as a surveillance/revocation practice which looked carefully at new criminal activity. For another, probation may have been regarded as a break for the offender -- as indeed it was, viewed against the rigors of prison -- but in reality conditional release could be coercive in the extreme. Intensive supervision might mean anything from daily reporting to submitting to body searches at any hour. Probation is itself punitive. How the conflicting goals of rehabilitation, deterrence, retribution, and incapacitation can be reconciled in theory or practice remains a major problem for criminal justice generally. Probation has been able to sidestep this knotty problem by insisting it was an act of mercy not subject to due process scrutiny. But that day is over. Probation now has to work through an understanding of itself as a jurisdiction of justice.

Movement to such an understanding is timely for reasons larger than the strengthening of the probation occupation. That is, defining probation as an alternative to incarceration and as a sanction puts a tremendous burden on probation to exercise more of a surveillance capability. While probation as mercy is consistent with skimming and counseling and rehabilitation emphasis, skills, and role, probation as presumption and as sentence of choice requires an emphasis on surveillance and supervision. Because of this, the small, rural probation agency may be an ideal place to start -- provided of course that due process is included in the package.

To whatever extent it is true that public sentiments are shifting in the direction of a more punitive orientation toward public policy responses to crime, probation as punishment should be much more acceptable than probation as rehabilitation. Such acceptance will require that the shift be so perceived by the public. Even if this significant change in consciousness occurs, images of probation will remain in some measure a function of situational perspective. To the victim, it may appear as lenience, to the offender as punishment. The reader may want to remember while reviewing this report that its authors conceive of probation as an exercise in both justice and lenience but with priority accorded decidedly to the former. ~

A link among this discussion of probation in a justice model framework, the original subject matter of this project -- training, and the eventual recommendations of this report for the structural bolstering of probation is provided in the following comments by the Honorable George H. Ravelle (1973: 259, 260):

... (P)robation is a good bit more than the matter of grace or leniency which characterizes the philosophy of the general public and of many judges and legislatures on the subject. Probation is an affirmative correctional tool, a tool which is used not because it is of maximum benefit to the defendant (though, of course, this is an important side product), but because it is of maximum benefit to the society which is sought to be served by the sentencing of criminals. The automatic response of many in the criminal justice system that imprisonment is the best sentence for crime unless particular reasons exist for 'mitigating' the sentence is not a sound starting point in the framing of criminal sanctions. The premise of this report is that quite the opposite ought to be the case -- that the automatic response in a sentencing situation ought to be probation, unless particular aggravating factors emerge in the case at hand. At least if such aggravating factors cannot be advanced as the basis for a more repressive sentence, probation offers more hope than a sentence to prison that the defendant will not become part of the depressing cycle which makes the gates of our prison resemble a revolving door rather than a barrier to crime.

It must of course also be realized that this thesis cannot be practiced in a vacuum. Too often a sentencing judge is faced with the Hobson's choice of a sentence to an overcrowded prison that is almost a guarantee that the defendant will emerge a more dangerous man than when he entered or a sentence to an essentially unsupervised probation that is little more than a release of the defendant without sanction, as well as without incentive to avoid the commission of a new offense. Such a state of affairs represents a failure of the legislative process of the highest order. The criminal justice system has failed in this country for this reason more than any other; not enough attention has been paid to providing adequate correctional choices to those who must operate the system. The thesis of these standards is that an adequate correctional system will place great reliance on appropriately funded and manned probation services. Within such a context, probation can lead to significant improvement in the preventive effects of the criminal law, at much less of a financial burden than the more typical prison sentence. This much has been proven in those jurisdictions where it has had a chance to work. One should not treat lightly an approach to crime control that offers the hope of better results at less cost. This, in a sentence, is the hope of probation.

Developing a Profession or Pursuing Justice?: a Question of Mission

We can highlight the nexus between our study of small probation agencies and our speculations about the need for formulating more thoughtfully the mission of probation by considering an analogy. A medical doctor who practices in a small town or sparse rural expanse becomes certified, is held responsible and carries a public expectation of being able to diagnose and treat health problems (like his urban counterpart). While the former may suffer from a lack of timely resources (laboratories, the newer and perhaps costly medical technologies, and access to specialities), he/she is still recognized as a member of a profession who can call the entire medical establishment into play on behalf of a patient. The doctor receives a statewide (and even interstate) certification which is universally accepted. Perhaps even more significant is the deep cultural acceptance he/she is accorded.

Using the exemplar of a probation agency wherein the officers are under a single authority, hired, trained, certified and supervised by those possessing the best recognized credentials (this paradigm would probably be the Federal system), there is no publicly shared (or even known) belief or confidence that such a probation officer can do better than one who operates outside of such an authority. Within the probation work world there may be aspirations about certification but the probation officer him/herself is not accorded any different status by the public which hinges upon training or internal probation definitions

of their situation. A medical doctor or lawyer requires no host agency for the authority or confidence the public accords. The probation officer is homeless without a host. The probation officer may deal with the public within discrete frames because his/her authority is a reflected one. Probation is a reflection of the authority of the court. A probationer sees the probation officer through a judicial prism. To the extent that the rest of the public has any awareness of probation, it too probably does not recognize probation as a free standing professional venture. Other kindred professions do not view probation as a primary practice type of agency. For example, social work literature refers to probation as a "secondary" practice agency. In other words, the probation department is not conceptualized as a primarily social work oriented setting for its practice. A probation department like a hospital may have a social work component to assist in the agency's primary task (law enforcement or medical care) but these agencies are not like a family and children's service which is an intended primary social work service requiring no host for delivery of social work service. For a time (and even today) some social worker probation administrators have, as a result of their ascendancy to power, defined their agency as a primary social work service agency. Following such a definition, an agency organizes and structures itself much like a family and children's service and by fiat transforms itself into a primary agency. The tenure of such a structural and professional identification is a function of the incumbency of the administrator with such an orientation. (There are numerous examples where the top administrator

him/herself might be far removed from a social work orientation but has become convinced that it is a plausible work method for implementing the basic (non-social work) mission of the probation agency.) Further, there has always been an uneasy strain between the ideal social work agency which views its clientele as voluntary and the authoritative (frequently inaccurately described as authoritarian) law enforcement agency which produces a reluctant clientele at best.

Writing about the effectiveness of correctional programs, Hood and Sparks coined the phrase "the interchangeability of penal methods." In the present discussion about probation agency structure and organization, one might characterize the present state of the art as one suffering from the interchangeability of probation practice and focus. Indeed our data demonstrate a typology of foci which leads to different practices. In another context variety might enrich. In probation practice in the U.S., variety is the product of not so much a lack of focus (this might quickly self correct) as it is a problem of weakness because it relies for its direction upon another source of power -- the court (even when it is structurally discrete from it).

In the absence of a common direction, several missions for probation have arisen but they depend upon ephemeral factors like the charisma of changing leadership. Because probation practice is interchangeable among jurisdictions, and because the imageries of a superordinate goal hence a probation mission is weak, it seems as if an accommodation has ponderously settled over the field. The accommodation seeks operationalistic answers for deeper unanswered moral dilemmas.

Unable to define what probation should be, a literature has grown on how we can do it better (classification, caseload management, intensive supervision, group supervision, community resource management, etc.).

Some "professionally" oriented probation leaders seem to hold tenaciously to the rehabilitative mission and presently structured practice (testing, supervision, psychiatric consultation, report writing, ultimately leading to a diagnosis and treatment plan for their clients). The administrator oriented toward a law enforcement model may believe the social work accouterments to be superfluous to his/her mission which is seen as enforcing the letter-of-the-court-order. In both cases of this acutely drawn polarity, the focus is the probationer (although the authority for engaging the probationer is court-derived). In both cases the probation officer armed with reflected power tries to understand his relationship with a reluctant client. We suggest that herein lies a major dilemma. The field of probation vision has been myopically drawn by both the court order and the client focus. While both will necessarily remain deeply (even centrally) implicated, the imagery of probation service should be greatly expanded.

If the probation mission was conceptualized as the pursuit of justice rather than the treatment or surveillance of clientele, new opportunities for understanding, engagement, and service might arise. While we are not sure why probation has until recently been locked within these parameters, we do propose a reconceptualization, based upon theories of justice (Fogel) and equity (Carter) which will simultaneously collapse the treatment-surveillance parameter while it

builds into the mission a concern for society generally and the victim, for example, specifically. This can be accomplished by pursuing justice-as-fairness in administering probation and pursuing justice-as-equity in delivery of probation services.

The pursuit of justice as a mission for probation does not mean the aimless search for balance between opposing priorities. The pursuit in the pursuit of justice mission is never, in our thinking, completed. Rather the word pursuit is here intended to mean an occupation as Webster defines the word.¹

Concentrating on the offender has been at the cost of negligence (along a continuum from benign to malignant) to the victim and of polarizing the law enforcement-treatment debate. When the definition of the situation is that the offender either needs treatment or the offender needs close watching, both focus our attention too narrowly upon the offender. It is not surprising that we came to this belief system since the law seeks a violator, the prosecutor frames his case against the violator, and the court convicts an offender. The criminal justice system transforms violators into probationers, convicts, and parolees. The components of criminal justice systems are charged to work differentially with each. We derive work titles based upon the transformations we have made. What is the probation officer without a group of defendants made into his probationer caseload? The same holds true for prison and parole officials. Our criminal justice universe has depended upon the offender. Our mission is a function of their centrality in the criminal justice galaxy.

The pursuit of justice concept suggests a new approach to this universe, namely the inclusion of the public, and quite specifically the offender's victim. Taken to this point the reader may already sense the intellectually liberating effect this might have on the treatment-surveillance debate and the heuristic effect it promises for new operational models of practice.

In effect, the "sham battle" (a term borrowed from Harold Laski) ends as the focus of probation practice moves from the polarity of probation as treatment vs. surveillance to probation as the pursuit of justice. The superordinate goal of justice (fairness) also transforms the current debate which seeks technical sophistication for an occupation which has not yet settled on a manageable mission. The development of "Risk Analysis," "Client Management Classification," and "Relationship of Need Scores to Supervision Time"² are administrative answers to as yet unexplicated questions. Thus technology serves to paper over the debate which this work seeks to illuminate. It is our conviction that technological sophistication may in the long run be necessary to the fulfillment of the probation mission. But what is the probation mission? Absent a clear response to the latter the technology reduces to mindless operationalism.

We are not sure why the field of probation practice has become fixated upon the offender-as-client.³ We believe that client focus has both narrowly limited our vision and reduced practice options which now closely parallel the medical-rehabilitation model on the one hand or a law enforcement-surveillance model on the other hand. Presumably, and

like government itself, the entity called the criminal justice system or at least its commonly recognized components were not intended as service agencies for the non-law abiding but as protective agencies for the community at large. Using such a perspective, the client (as customer, or the person on whose behalf the service agency is acting) should perhaps, in a system of justice, be the offended. It has to date been the circuitous logic of rehabilitation that the law abiding are best served by providing a sort of clinical treatment to the offender thus preventing him/her from committing future crimes. We have thus, in a criminal justice context, gone about our task to make the offender "whole" -- yet it was the victim or the public that in some way was wronged, and from our justice-as-fairness perspective, in need of restoration. Without excluding the offender (he/she too is, and will almost always remain, a member of the "community at large"), simple justice urges us to redirect our energies to correct the imbalance which occurred as a result of the offender's choice of action -- the crime. The reader should disabuse him/herself of the idea that this would require of the probation officer a simplistic punitive approach toward the probationer. A justice perspective complexifies the situation. We need the offender to restore, to retribute and perhaps to reconcile --but he/she is no longer the passive client⁴ available for group counseling, risk testing, classification, or the subject interview technology ultimately aimed at diagnosis, prognosis, and a treatment plan. And in this sense, perhaps there should be no clients for probation, but rather a community of interests defined by the conflict at hand.

When the rehabilitation-oriented probation officer is too closely identified with his/her client, we may find ludicrous situations arising. A poor, unemployed, uneducated, minority probationer becomes portrayed as having extraordinary needs which have to be met before he can really be competitive in a society which has ignored him. A good number of offenders may fit this sweeping portrayal. But what of the victim who is also poor, uneducated, a minority and perhaps more vulnerable as a result of being aged, weaker, or simply coerced unexpectedly? Unfortunately, our system of justice triggers a lopsided probation response toward the creation and management of offender caseloads. The offender may ultimately have need for rehabilitation services, even psychotherapy, but it is getting increasingly less reasonable to expect for the police and public to understand the purpose of capturing criminals as getting them "treated." Many victim services programs have in recent years begun to provide stop-gap services for victims but we have only dealt with a piece of the tip of the iceberg.

There is a political argument for identifying probation as a "victim first" agency which, at the risk of being accused of opportunism at worst, or at the risk of having the idea of justice-as-fairness usurped by the punitive proponents at best, we shall pursue. The front-end agencies of criminal justice (ordinally: the police, prosecutors, and courts) enjoy the greatest public confidence and resources. We believe it is because they are engaged in chasing, prosecuting, and sentencing prisoners. They represent the clear line of social defense. The deeper the defendant-probationer-convict-parolee penetrates the system of

criminal justice, the more onerous becomes the stigma and correspondingly the greater the loss of public confidence and resources for dealing with the offender. Yet probation is a proximate front end agency. Why the lack of confidence and resources? We believe that the public perceives of probation as an agency in service of criminals (like a prison) and other front-end components as agents of public safety.

In an attempt to frame the debate concerning the mission of probation, we ask if a shift of emphasis from managing clients to public safety (concerned with the victim, communities at risk, and reform groups) would not create a much greater degree of public confidence (and resources), particularly in urban settings? Our data suggest that smaller probation agencies, despite the problems they suffer in terms of professional efficacy, i.e., deficiencies in prestige, autonomy, and influence, appear to already be alert to a broader mission for probation with a conception of clientele not limited to probationers. In the following chapters, we describe the piece of the probation puzzle these small agencies comprise. For reasons outlined in this chapter, supplemented by findings alluded to in subsequent chapters, we have suggested that attention be devoted to clarifying the mission of probation. This effort is currently being pursued in a supplement to the original Staff Training for Small Probation Agencies project -- The Probation Mission Project, also funded by NIC.

NOTES

1. "an activity that one pursues or engages in seriously and continually...as a vocation or profession...a way of life: occupation..." Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1971.
2. See "The Crisis of Reform" by David Brion Davis in the New York Review of Books, June 26, 1980, fn p. 17.
3. Rothman's Conscience and Convenience (1980) develops the historical antecedents for our current dilemma.
4. Webster's Third International Edition defines client as dependent.

Review of the Literature

In reviewing the literature, we were guided by five objectives:

- 1) to consolidate existing knowledge about small probation agencies dealing with adult offenders;
- 2) to generate hypotheses about differences between these agencies and their larger counterparts, particularly regarding training needs and resources;
- 3) to suggest ideas for exploration in the survey and field visit phases of the research;
- 4) to identify items and scales to document these phenomena and others targeted earlier for inclusion in the data gathering;
- 5) to describe and analyze training principles and approaches to be considered in constructing and field testing an exemplary training program.

The following chapter contains information pertaining to the first four objectives. Since, for reasons presented later, we decided not to proceed with the exemplary training program mentioned in the fifth objective, the material developed relative to it is presented in an appendix to the report.

Our primary focus in beginning the literature review was on articles dealing specifically with the small probation agency, especially those comparing it with larger agencies. Such articles are scarce. When one demands also that the agencies studied deal with adult offenders and that the methodology employed in the study be respectable, the number of candidate articles dwindle to near zero. This situation resulted in expansiveness in two senses. First, we included articles regarding small agencies, even when they dealt only with juveniles or when the research design, or execution of it, was weak. Second, we

Chapter 2 -- Study Design and Execution

From the beginning, the emphasis of this project has been on research, albeit research intended to have some practical consequences. There were two main objectives in the pursuit of the research program: (1) to develop a general knowledge base about small probation agencies, and (2) to gather and focus information on the training needs, requirements, predilections, and imperatives of probation officers in these agencies. There were four major phases to the research designed to meet these objectives:

- review of the literature
- survey of administrators of small agencies
- survey of probation officers in small agencies
- field visits to small agencies

Each of these phases is discussed in the remainder of this chapter. In addition, the following chapter summarizes what we found in our search of the literature. The remaining chapters of the report draw heavily on our findings from the surveys with supplementation from our field visit observations. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 relate primarily to the first objective of increasing the knowledge base about small probation agencies, while Chapters 6, 7, and 8 bear on the second objective of presenting indicators of training received and desired. Chapters 9 and 10 draw the objectives together in suggesting conclusions and recommendations relating to training initiatives and to policy formulation.

sought out articles tangentially related to our subject of inquiry with the result that we ranged rather far afield into probation issues of quite general concern.

Our methodology for the search involved inspecting printouts from computerized searches by the National Criminal Justice Reference Service and the library of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle as well as our own collections. We also reviewed journals such as Federal Probation and Crime and Delinquency and looked for pertinent references in Sociological Abstracts. In addition, through a snowballing process we requested and received documents from various libraries and governmental agencies as well as computer printouts from the United States Bureau of the Census and the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) based on the LEAA/Bureau of the Census 1976 Survey of State and Local Probation and Parole Systems. Advisers and colleagues have also helpfully suggested additions to the review. While the material thus reviewed and summarized in this report is not comprehensive, it presents a rather accurate picture of what is known -- and accessible -- about small probation agencies. Readers are invited to advise us of any grievous omissions or errors in our representations in Chapter 3 or Appendix A.

Survey of Administrators of Small Agencies

In the early days of the research project, we grappled with three significant problems which had to be resolved before conducting the national survey of small probation agencies. These problems may be considered ones of population definition and enumeration, survey strat-

egy, and instrument design. Each of these problems was foreshadowed in the grant proposal, but the magnitude of each increased along with our knowledge once the project was underway.

The first problem was fundamental: how should we define small probation agencies, and how do we obtain a complete list of them? Part of the answer was given by the terms of the grant from NIC; these were to be agencies dealing with adult offenders and staffed by six or fewer probation officers. This was helpful but begged a critical question: what is an agency? Actually this question became most acute after we considered available enumeration resources. In our proposal we had relied on data purportedly taken from the Probation and Parole Directory (1976), published by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, and suggested that there were 547 small probation agencies (521 local and 26 Federal) throughout the nation. After project initiation, our own review of the Directory identified 724 small probation agencies (684 state and local and 39 Federal). We also noted that 11 states gave total figures for an entire state-wide department without indicating any distribution by regional or decentralized offices. Other inquiries suggested that inaccuracies and datedness made this document of questionable use to us.

About this time we discovered the survey of State and Local Probation and Parole Systems. This survey provided a fairly timely -- it was taken on or about September 1, 1976 -- and apparently complete listing. It also made us acutely aware of the agency definition problem since the Bureau of the Census, following LEAA procedures, used a geographic-specific operational definition of agency. That is, agency

was taken to be any physical unit to which probation officers (or parole agents) were normally assigned. Thus, it did not differentiate between branch and main offices, but counted each as an agency.

This definition diverged from common usage of the term "agency." The image evoked by the neglected small agency was of an isolated office autonomous from the administration and resources of a parent agency. Including a branch office located in the same city as its large main office and only a few minutes drive from it did not seem appropriate to the purposes of the study. However, there were powerful arguments for including branch offices and using the LEAA/ census geographic-specific definition of agency:

- 1) since the study was intended to develop knowledge about an ignored and little-known field, it seemed counterproductive to risk excluding an entire segment of that field;
- 2) official definitions of branch office status may poorly reflect actual operational realities and the perceptions of participants;
- 3) all branch offices retain some degree of administrative autonomy even if this means little more than the housing of active files in them, i.e., while policy may be made at the central office, it is implemented at the branch office¹;
- 4) the training experiences of officers in decentralized offices within statewide systems may be instructive for the development of training initiatives for those in the more conventionally defined small agencies;
- 5) the most current and complete listing of probation agencies by size used the geographic-specific definition of agency;
- 6) our analysis of this listing of small agencies indicates that branch offices are only inconsistently and idiosyncratically identified as such.

Therefore, for both substantive and operational reasons, we used the LEAA geographic-specific definition of agency and the listing of small agencies provided by the Bureau of the Census to enumerate the population of small agencies at the state and local levels. This yielded 1261 agencies for adult offenders staffed by six or fewer probation officers, including counselors, supervisors, and administrators. To fill an apparent gap between the purview of the study and that of the mid-sized agency study being conducted by the University of Minnesota, we also agreed to include agencies with 7, 8, or 9 probation officers, thus adding 157 agencies to the state and local population. To identify small probation agencies at the Federal level, we used the May, 1978 Directory of United States Probation Officers. Again using a geographic-specific definition of agency, i.e., counting branches of offices as agencies, we identified 257 agencies with one through nine probation officers; 60 of these Federal agencies were central offices. Thus, our universe of small probation agencies for adult offenders was comprised of 1675 state, local, and Federal agencies nationwide. In this way, the perceived universe of small agencies more than tripled from the estimate in the grant proposal.

Survey Strategy

Having decided what was to be surveyed, we turned to the question of how to survey it. As project staff worked with our sub-contractors from the UICC Survey Research Laboratory (SRL) in designing survey strategy, it quickly became apparent that we were seeking two kinds of information -- data describing agencies and data describing officers --

and that it would be very difficult to obtain both types of information in one survey as originally outlined in the proposal. We decided instead to conduct two surveys, one of the officers in charge to provide information about the agencies as well as the names of the officers, and one of the officers (including the officers in charge) to obtain information about their background, work, and opinions.

The next issue to be resolved concerned sampling. Since original cost estimates in the proposal had been predicated on a population of 547 agencies and one survey, we could not afford to conduct a survey of all 1680 agencies eventually identified and another survey of all officers. We decided, however, that we could afford to take a very healthy sample -- 50% -- of the agencies, survey them, and then survey all officers in the responding agencies. Actually we took a stratified sample, drawing independent 50% probability samples of the state, local, and Federal agencies, and including all municipal and township agencies since there were only 32 so identified in the Census Bureau listing. This proved to be neither a very useful nor very consequential differentiation given the unusual assignment of agencies to levels of government in the 1976 survey² and the small number of municipal and township level agencies. The total sample of agencies identified in this manner consisted of 849 agencies. Modifications of this original sample based on new information are discussed in a following sub-section.

Instrument Design

The questionnaire for the Survey of Agencies (SA) underwent several drafts in the early months of the project. The final product of these

efforts is displayed in Appendix B. The instrument had to serve two purposes: (1) provide data describing the basic structure, organizational environment, operations, and training experiences of the agencies and (2) facilitate entree for the survey of probation officers (SPO) by alerting the officers in charge to the study and obtaining the names of the probation officers. The second purpose was easily served by asking the officers in charge to provide the names on the last page and reiterating our pledge of confidentiality. Determining how best to serve the first purpose involved consultations with project advisers, our SRL colleagues, and the literature, pre-testing of one of the later versions of the questionnaire, and telephone follow-up interviews with some of the officers in charge included in the pre-test.

Two principles were followed in determining the content of the SA questionnaire. First, we wanted to be able to characterize small agencies in ways useful for comparing them with large agencies and for guiding decisions about training for them. The second principle acted as a limit on the first: we had to refrain from burdening the questionnaire with desirable items which respondents would be frequently unable to answer, e.g., budgetary information, or with so many items that questionnaire completion would be an onerous task and response rates low. Based on our consultations and the pre-test findings, the final version of the questionnaire as exhibited in Appendix B seemed to provide a favorable trade-off between these two sets of criteria.

Survey of Probation Officers in Small Agencies

The process of developing the SPO questionnaire closely paralleled that of the SA questionnaire. Items were selected based on the literature, suggestions of project advisers and SRL consultants, and the findings of the pre-test. Although the experience of developing the questionnaire for the first survey eased development of the second instrument -- even though these processes were going on at nearly the same time -- the importance of the data from the SPO for identifying what probation officers do, what they think about their work, and by implication what training is most appropriate for them, made the design of this questionnaire even more critical. The result of these efforts is displayed in Appendix C. Although this instrument is 12 pages long, including the cover letter, several pertinent items were eliminated in the development process to prevent the questionnaire from becoming unmanageable. Thus, the final version contains fewer opinion items, questions about the officer's background, and hypothetical case situations than were included in earlier versions.

Sample selection for the SPO was contingent on responses to the SA. All probation officers listed by officers in charge submitting usable SA responses were surveyed. Although the fact that the probability sample was based on agencies can cause problems in generalizing the findings from the probation officer survey, the high sampling rate plus the high response rates from both agencies and officers help attenuate this problem. The mailing list for the SPO consisted of 1638 officers.

Conducting the Surveys

Following sample selection and design of the questionnaires, there remained three major tasks: collecting the data, reducing them, and analyzing them. Data collection involved three waves of mailings for the SA and four waves for the SPO. The SA data collection effort also consisted of follow-up telephone calls to a sub-sample of non-respondents while the fourth mailing to SPO non-respondents promised the purchase of liquid refreshment by Dave Fogel (at his own expense) if they returned a completed questionnaire and located him someday at a meeting. Details about population and sample sizes and attrition and response rates are presented in Table 2-1.

Data reduction consisted of editing the returned questionnaires, coding the data, keypunching them, storing them in raw form in computer-usable form, and constructing Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) computer files for subsequent processing and analysis. In both data collection and data reduction, SRL staff and project staff worked together. Editing consisted of reviewing the questionnaires for internal consistency of items as well as ascertaining that the respondent satisfied project population eligibility criteria. This latter concern particularly applied to the SA where agencies were excluded from the data base when we found that they did not satisfy the size (from 1 through 9 probation officers) or function (deal with adult offenders) requirements.

Coding was a particularly crucial stage in the study due to the substantive importance of items which solicited open-ended responses. Rather than constrain the respondents and burden the questionnaire by

Table 2-1 -- Population and Sample Sizes
Attrition, and Response Rates for Survey of Agencies
and Survey of Probation Officers (SPO)

	(A) <u>Population</u>	(B) <u>Sample</u>	(C) <u>Attrition</u>	(D) <u>Responses</u>	(E) Useable Responses Rates (D/B-C)	(F) Cooperative Response Rate ((D+C)/B)
SA	1675	849	65 ¹	551	70%	73%
SPO	4617 ²	1638	29 ³	1105	67%	69%

¹51 agencies were disqualified for not meeting size requirements (1-9 probation officers in agency) and 14 for not meeting function requirements (deal with adult offenders via presentence investigation or probation supervision).

²Estimated based on SA sampling and useble response rates.

³Generally, retired, deceased, or otherwise unavailable.

listing fixed-alternative responses to SA items regarding administrative jurisdiction and training subjects and SPO items regarding skills required of probation officers, the most important items in the presentence investigation report, and training subjects, we asked respondents to write the appropriate response. This of course produced much diversity of responses and many shades of meaning. To make sense of these data while preserving their richness, project staff and SRL staff, developed and applied elaborate coding schemes to each of these items. The nature and content of these various coding formats are presented at the appropriate points in the chapters which follow. Thus, the training subjects format is presented in Chapters 6 and 7 in considering the training experiences and requirements of small agencies and their officers.

The final stages of data reduction -- keypunching and construction of raw data files and SPSS files -- are technical ones which need not concern us here. Analysis of the survey data proceeded from inspection of frequency distributions to the preparation and study of crosstabulations and breakdowns of two or more variables. Rarely do we in this report use any more sophisticated analytic techniques. Although we do occasionally use the data to test some of the few scattered hypotheses proposed in or suggested by the work of others, our primary concerns are on program development and policy formulation. We think that two useful ways of contributing to these efforts are to describe the agencies and officers studied and to generate a theory grounded in the data and explaining probation work in small agencies.³

Field Visits to Small Agencies

The field visits were designed to add texture to the data gathered through the mail surveys. Whereas the surveys permitted the collection of data on a broad cross-section of small probation agencies, the visits were intended to develop more in-depth information about a small sample of them. As such, the visits were conducted as unstructured interviews and as observation opportunities. The focus was on how these agencies function, what constraints bear on them and what opportunities are afforded to them, how the probation officers staffing them view their work, what they do, what directions they think that the field should be taking, what training they have experienced, and what they want from training. That is, we wanted to understand this type of organization by getting close to what probation officers do and feel -- at least as close as a half-day or a one day visit from a stranger would permit. By getting close to the situation, we hoped to discern how probation officers structure their realities, and in particular what meanings they attach to the concept of training and to training experiences.

The principal means of gathering information during the field visits was interviewing of probation personnel. In addition to gaining some understanding of the agencies, persons working in and with them, and the communities in which they are located, we also had a great interest in learning more about their training experiences and their imageries of training. Other desirable topics for coverage included relationships with other organizations and probation officer activities and opinions. Of somewhat lesser priority was information pertaining to the characteristics of small agencies; of lesser priority still were

assessments and consequences of the research process. A more complete listing of sub-topics ideally to be covered in field visit interviews is presented in the interview guide contained in Appendix D. It should be emphasized that this list constitutes an ideal designed to sensitize the researcher rather than a set of tasks to be accomplished during each field visit. The guiding objective of the field work research was to gain a better in situ understanding of small probation agencies, in the process giving probation officers a chance to talk about their work, their aspirations, and the challenges they confront.

Broadly construed, 35 field visits were conducted during the course of the project. These included attendance at five conferences (the 1978 American Bar Association Conference on National Standards for Drinking-Driving, the 1978 Annual Meeting of the Illinois Probation and Court Services Association, a 1979 meeting of Federal probation officers from small agencies in Wisconsin and Northern Illinois, the 1979 national symposium on rural justice, and the 1979 Annual Meeting of the American Probation and Parole Association) and three consultations at state probation administrative offices in Illinois and Texas. The remaining 27 visits involved trips to small agencies at the local, state, and federal levels in 14 states. Site selection criteria included the maximization of diversity, concentration on important types, e.g., as defined by locus of administration and rural/urban location, and consideration of propinquity and convenience factors. The degree to which the first two criteria were satisfied is suggested in Table 2-2 in which the 27 small agencies visited are classified according to locus of administration and rural/urban location.

The field visits were approached as focused interviews to be augmented wherever possible by seizing opportunities for observation and collection of archival materials. Conventional procedures and protocols for this type of interviewing applied. They include:

- allowing the interviewee time to express himself/herself
- probing for more information about a topic
- eliciting critical incidents (cf. Flanagan, 1954)
- letting the interview develop naturally using the interview guide mainly as a checklist to insure that subjects are covered rather than to order the conversation.

A variety of methods were used to record what was learned during the interviews. In each visit notes were taken during the time on site. These notes varied in detail, in some cases being limited essentially to keywords, in other cases being more detailed. Especially in the former case, attempts were made to write or dictate more complete field visit notes later. For some of the earlier visits, there were on-site handwritten notes, typed transcripts of field visit notes ordered chronologically, and typed field visit reports ordered by topics in the interview guide (Appendix D). Subsequent procedures became less labor-intensive. In 17 of the 27 visits, at least portions of the interview were tape recorded. These materials were generally transcribed by UICC typists. Time on site varied from lows of about one hour to a high of ten hours. Mean time on site was about four hours with the median value being about three hours.

In using the field visit materials in preparing this report, analytic procedures have followed the intended purpose of this data base

Table 2-2 -- Distribution of Small Agencies Visited as Part of STSPA Field Work by Locus of Administration and Urban/Rural Location

<u>Locus of Administration</u>	<u>Urban/Rural</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	
Federal Administration	1	0	1
State Administration	0	2	2
State Funding (Majority)/Local Administration	3	3	6
State Funding (Minority)/Local Administration	0	5	5
State Services/Local Administration	1	6	7
Local Administration	2	4	6
TOTAL	7	20	27

to supplement our knowledge and deepen our understanding of small probation agencies. Analysis has thus tended more toward the informal and insight-stimulating rather than the formal and verificatory.

NOTES

1. Cf. McCleary (1978) on this point for informative illustrations of how this can hold in important ways even when the branch offices are located in the same city as their parent office.
2. That is, "agencies serving more than one county are assigned to State level of government." (U.S. Department of Justice, 1978: 20).
3. Cf. Glaser and Strauss (1967) for a cogent argument about the merits of this approach.

Chapter 3 -- Previous Knowledge Base

This project was inspired by assumptions that small probation agencies differ in important ways, e.g., regarding administration, office management, service delivery, training resources, and opportunities, from their larger counterparts and that such differences require a special kind of training program. Further, it was advanced that research and the development of national standards regarding probation had overlooked the small probation agency and its particular problems and needs. Although the review of the literature does not provide the definitive answer about differences in probation agencies of varying size, it does suggest some differences of interest and, most emphatically, it does substantiate that this has been an area bypassed by research and policy analysis. Most importantly, the literature review highlights areas in which research should be pursued and ways in which this might be done.

A. The Small Agency

Scope

One of the most glaring deficiencies in the literature -- and one which this project is not designed to remedy -- is the absence of systematic comparisons of probation agencies of varying sizes. Indeed, there is an absence of systematic comparisons of probation agencies along any dimension. That is, we lack a typology of probation agencies.

The impact of this deficiency is softened somewhat by the availability of data from the 1976 LEAA/Bureau of Census census of state and local probation and parole agencies. From this source we can at least get an idea of how many probation agencies of various types exist.

The 1976 survey (Department of Justice, 1978) classifies probation and parole agencies in terms of function (adult probation, adult parole, juvenile probation, juvenile parole, and combinations) and numbers of employees. The 3,803 probation and parole agencies (excluding 65 which are authorities which grant parole only) in existence on September 1, 1976 are classified in Table 3-1 in terms of number of employees and type of function. It should be noted that size of agency is defined in terms of number of employees, which includes clerical as well as probation staff. Also, the definition of agency used by LEAA and the Bureau of the Census for this survey is geographic-specific; an agency is an office in which probation/ parole officers are regularly stationed. This is the definition of agency which is used in this project as well.

The reader will observe that the great majority of state and local probation and parole agencies are small, having less than ten employees each. Only 2% of the agencies in the nation have 100 or more employees. Yet these 79 agencies often seem to be the prototype for discussions about and recommendations for probation agencies in the United States. While the prevalence of small agencies is overstated somewhat by the definition of agency which is used, their predominance is nonetheless impressive.

Since this project is concerned with small agencies which deal with adult probationers, we focus in Table 3-2 on this sub-set, 38% of all

Table 3-1 - State and Local Probation and Parole Agencies
By Size (Number of Employees) and Function

Function	Number of Employees			Total ¹	Mean	Median
	1-9	10-99	100+			
Adult Probation Only	244	89	7	340	13	4
Juvenile Probation Only	602	192	14	808	13	4.5
Adult Parole Only	77	36	4	121	18	7
Juvenile Parole Only	158	40	2	359	7	6
Adult and Juvenile Probation	360	163	23	546	26	5
Adult and Juvenile Parole	2	13	-	20	36	20
Adult Probation and Parole	492	189	8	702	13	6
Juvenile Probation and Parole	348	89	6	564	10	4
Adult and Juvenile Probation and Parole	251	77	15	343	18	4
Total	2534	888	79	3803	15	7
Percentage	72%	25%	2%	100%		

¹"Detail will not add to total because data were not obtainable for regional or district offices that are considered to be separate agencies for the purposes of this report..." (U.S. Department of Justice, 1978: 49).

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, 1978: 45

state and local probation and parole agencies, 43% of all probation agencies. For adult probation agencies, as with probation and parole agencies in general, the great majority are small. It is also clear from Table 3-2 that relatively few small agencies responsible for adult probationers serve this one function only (18%). The others also have responsibility for juvenile probation (27%), adult parole (37%), or adult parole and juvenile probation and parole (19%). The picture which is beginning to emerge of the small probation agency is that of an organization with multiple legal responsibilities. The tendency of these agencies to include adult parole or juvenile probation or juvenile parole functions in addition to adult probation raises questions which are addressed by the present study. What proportion of the workload of these agencies is accounted for by adult probation responsibilities? Do multiple functions lead to specialization in those agencies with more than one officer? Are the training requirements of small probation (adult) agencies materially altered when they are also responsible for other functions? Answers to such questions through our surveys are presented in subsequent chapters of this report.

Small and Rural Agencies -- Special Needs and Potentials

Sociological research on organizations has considered size, in terms of number of members or staff, as one variable affecting functioning and outcomes. Consistent with the findings of such studies, this project is based on the expectation that small probation agencies will differ in important ways from their larger counterparts, and that these differences will have important consequences for the types of training required for small agencies. This is not a novel idea. John Wallace

Table 3-2 - State and Local Agencies With Adult Probation Functions
By Size (Number of Employees) and Function

Function	Number of Employees			Total ¹
	1-9	10-99	100+	
Adult Probation Only	244	89	7	340
Adult and Juvenile Probation	360	163	23	546
Adult Probation and Parole	492	189	8	702
Adult and Juvenile Probation and Parole	251	77	15	343
Total	1347	518	53	1931
Percentage	70%	27%	3%	

¹Detail will not add to total because data were not obtainable for regional or district offices that are considered to be separate agencies for the purposes of this report... (U.W. Department of Justice, 1978: 49)

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, 1978: 45

(1974: 957, 958) anticipated some of the problems which would result for probation agencies as they increased in size:

When probation agencies were small, they had characteristics common to small organizations. Communication was likely to be face to face. Policies, procedures and practices were passed on informally. The values of the administrator were known to all staff and probably acceptable to them. Growth brings changes and sometimes people or organizations are not prepared for growth. As the size of the work group increases, communications become more complex and communication channels are more difficult to manage and keep open. Policies, practices, and procedures become formalized by setting down in writing to insure consistency and continuity. The top administrator is further removed from staff, and speculation exists about values and priorities. In essence, as probation agencies become large, they tend to adopt the characteristics of a bureaucracy.

Wallace's emphasis here is on the problems of larger agencies. The small agency is presented as an ideal in which communication channels are open and expectations are clear. On the other hand, Wallace later notes (1974:958) that growth is also associated with professionalism, and thus with increased knowledge, skills and expectations.

Others have identified or intimated the apparent advantages associated with small offices. Sigurdson et al.'s (1973) application of McGregor's theory of human behavior to the administration of probation services suggests that small offices are particularly amenable to satisfying some of the criteria of probation organizations restructured in these terms. The small office obviously provides an opportunity for an independent work team to operate and serve a particular community. In addition, this setting has the potential for organizational self-

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control, i.e., the agency deciding what are its goals and accepting responsibility for them.

The literature suggests then that small offices offer potential advantages, presumably both in work satisfaction for officers and quality of services for probationers because their size is more manageable, facilitating communication. While the informality and community-linkages implied in this small office model suggest rural or small town locales (Tate, 1971), there is also anecdotal evidence that urban neighborhoods are also amenable to the benefits of small offices (Smith and Altheimer, 1970; Breer, 1972; Meitz, 1978). In fact, the movement toward decentralization of probation services in urban areas is based on assumptions similar to those of the small office model (e.g., Rivera and King, 1974).

However, small agencies, particularly those located in rural areas, also have their liabilities which must be considered in planning training programs. Rinehart and Richardson (1965: 16) suggest that there is a serious cultural discontinuity between rural corrections agency staff and the communities and individuals they serve:

...(S)taff to be trained are likely to come from urban backgrounds, have urban education and are not apt to be from the particular rural setting in which the correctional agency is located.

In such a situation, it presumably would be important that training not exacerbate these differences and create greater distance between staff and community. This suggests that the conventional emphasis on professionalism in probation may be misplaced in this context and can lead to dysfunctional results for rural probation officers (Weber, 1979).

Rinehart and Richardson (1965: 7-17) suggest four other characteristics of rural correctional agencies and workers which should be taken into consideration when designing training programs.

These characteristics are:

- small office size
- visibility of staff heterogeneity
- lack of previous training programs
- parochialism

The authors consider small office size to be important because it implies less specialization and departmentalization than in larger offices. A survey of Federal chief probation officers (Czajkowski, 1969) substantiated this point. In small offices, there was virtually no specialization of investigation and supervision functions while departmentalization occurred most frequently in large offices.

Rinehart and Richardson suggest further that the small number of staff also facilitates visibility of staff to one another. Hence, differences in education, background and skills are more apparent and the prospects for conflict are greater. The authors further suggest that the presumed lack of previous training programs will result in rural offices feeling more threatened by new training programs. It is also their opinion that training efforts should be responsive to the realities of rural social systems -- to their power relationships and to what Rinehart and Richardson perceive as their cliquishness and emphasis on self-reliance.

While there appears to be little systematic evidence to support the speculations reported thus far, research has been conducted suggesting

differences between large and small probation offices which are consequential for training. One such study (Cohn, Viano, and Wildeman, 1972) reports a substantial difference in perceptions of problems facing probation. Respondents (330) from 96 probation agencies rank ordered twenty problems from most to least important. Two-thirds of the respondents were in managerial positions.

As shown in Table 3-3, although there generally is a high degree of congruence among the problem rankings by probation administrators and officers from small, medium and large agencies, there are exceptions. Most notable is the discrepancy in the rankings of community-based resources. While this is rated as the second most important problem facing probation by those from small agencies (1 to 10 officers), it barely makes it into the top 10 problems identified by those from medium (11 to 110 officers) and large (111 or more officers) agencies. This finding is consistent with earlier expectations and supportive of the contention that the probation officer as broker of services model may be inappropriate for small agencies.

The other difference concerns financial inadequacies. While not considered a trivial problem in small agencies (ranked 7th of 20 problem categories available), financial inadequacies is much more important in the medium and large agencies (ranked 3rd in each). This suggests that the potential for training having an impact in small agencies may be facilitated by the relative weakness of this structural obstacle. Alternatively, it may mean that there is not a great push in these agencies for training and other amenities which could strain budgets.

Table 3-3 - Rank Ordering of Ten Most Important Problems Facing Probation By Size of Agencies in Which Respondents Work

Problems	Rank by Agency Size			Overall
	Small (1-10)	Medium (11-110)	Large (111+)	
Recruit and maintain manpower	1	1	1	1
Community relations and support	3	2	2	2
In-service training	5	4	4	3
General financial inadequacies	7	3	3	4
Salaries	4	5	-	5
Research	8	8	5	6
Excessive caseloads	6	6	9	7
Community-based resources	2	10	8	8
Relations with the judiciary	9	9	7	9
Professionalization	-	7	10	10

Source: Cohn, Viano, and Wildeman (1972)

Other studies have focused on differences in officer behavior and attributes associated with size of agency or with rural-urban location of agency. Reed and King (1966) found in a decision-making study in North Carolina that officers whose place of longest residence was rural were less in favor of unofficial action regarding revocation cases than were officers whose place of longest residence was urban. The opposition was even more marked from those rural officers who had high conservative values scores. Moreover, rural conservative officers tended to give 'officer-oriented' reasons for their decisions whereas urban liberal officers tended to give 'probationer-oriented' reasons. The article does not differentiate officers in terms of size or location of office, as opposed to officer's place of longest residence. Consequently, it is impossible to identify any interactions that might exist between place of longest residence and place of current probation work. If we assume that there is a high degree of correspondence between these two variables, then the findings can be readily interpreted in terms of urban-rural office location. However, if we believe Rinehart and Richardson's (1965: 16) contention that rural correctional staff tend to come from urban areas, then the interpretation of Reed and King's (1966) findings in terms of location of office becomes quite ambiguous. Regardless of where officers in small probation agencies come from, their orientation toward unofficial action in the disposition of revocation cases should help determine the kind of training which is offered to them.

A more recent study (Hagan, 1977) also focuses on differences between rural and urban probation officers. Based on questionnaires

completed by 507 probation officers in Alberta Province, Canada, Hagan (1977: 609) concludes that the rural officers recommend more severe dispositions for minority group offenders than do urban officers. The difference is not accounted for by legal variables, i.e., prior record, seriousness of offense, or number of charges. The study also documents differences in the organizational environments of rural and urban officers. In the rural setting, probation offices are small, there are few chief probation officers, most (66%) judges do not have law degrees, and officers frequently have police backgrounds. This contrasts with large, hierarchical urban offices, most (82%) of whose judges have law degrees, and many of whose officers are trained social workers. These findings tend to substantiate some of the speculations which prompted this project.

That rural officers have less of an affinity with social work is also documented by an earlier study of 70 juvenile probation officers in Minnesota (Gross, 1966). In this instance, the measures employed were possession of an MSW degree and types of journals read. Twelve (34%) of the 35 urban probation officers had MSW degrees while none of the 35 probation officers had such a degree. In fact, only 2 of the rural officers had a master's degree in any field, and 6 were not college graduates. In contrast, only one of the urban officers had not graduated from college and 14, including the dozen with MSW's, had master's degrees.

More to the point of identification with social work as contrasted with identification with probation are the findings of Gross regarding journals read by probation officers. As shown in Table 3-4, rural

Table 3-4 - Journal Reading of Minnesota Juvenile Probation Officers
By Urban-Rural Location

Journals	Percentage of Probation Officers Who Read Journal - By Location	
	Urban(f=34)	Rural(f=35)
<u>Probation-Related:</u>		
Federal Probation	76%	89%
Crime and Delinquency	21%	34%
Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science	9%	14%
American Journal of Correction	9%	9%
Bench and Bar	3%	0
<u>Social Work-Related:</u>		
Social Work	56%	31%
Social Casework	47%	29%
Children	15%	14%
American Journal of Psychotherapy	3%	0
Marriage and Family Living	3%	0
Minnesota Welfare	3%	0
Social Service Review	3%	0
Sociological Quarterly	3%	0

Source: Adapted from Gross (1966)

officers are more inclined than their urban counterparts to read probation-related journals while the reverse is true regarding the reading of social work-related journals. The most frequently read probation-related journals (Federal Probation and Crime and Delinquency) are read more often by the rural officers while the most frequently read social work-related journals (Social Work and Social Casework) are read more often by urban officers. The differences are summarized more clearly in Table 3-5. The reader will observe that rural officers read more probation journals on the average than they do social work journals with the reverse being true of urban officers.

Gross's findings regarding urban-rural differentials in education of probation officers is particularly interesting in view of Linden's (1973) survey of 60 U.S. probation officers. His major conclusion is:

Amount of higher education proved to be the sole predictor that was statistically significant. The more education, the more professional frustration with regard to 'community sanction.' (Linden, 1973: 22)

Drawing on the findings of both Gross and Linden we can hypothesize that probation workers in rural offices and by implication, those in small offices, will tend to experience less frustration concerning community expectations of probation and the justice system. Again, we find evidence which warns that the training should be developed in such a way that it does not lead to dysfunctions rather than improvements in probation work. While this should be a consideration in the design of any probation training program, it is particularly pertinent when the focus is on small offices in light of what appears to be a more cohesive relationship between probation officers and community.

Table 3-5 - Average Number of Probation and Social Work Journals
Read by Minnesota Juvenile Probation Officers
By Urban - Rural Location

Journals	Average Number of Journals Read By:	
	Urban Probation Officers(f=34)	Rural Probation Officers(f=35)
Probation-Related	1.18 (47.2%)	1.46 (66.4%)
Social Work-Related	1.32 (52.8%)	0.74 (33.6%)
Total	2.50 (100%)	2.20 (100%)

Source: Computed based on Gross (1966)

Regarding cohesiveness in probation work, Esselstyn (1966) found in an informal survey of 31 correctional workers in California that many were in contact with each other outside of work and acknowledged the influence of such contact. In particular, these off-hours interactions are used to exchange news about the department and affect morale, job satisfaction and sense of belonging. While one might speculate that this mechanism of organizational or work group commitment and social cohesion is even stronger in rural settings, an important exception will probably be the very small office. In the one-person office, of course, a social system cannot be developed with non-existent co-workers and the problem becomes one of isolation (Holt, 1979). Less extreme examples of the effects of a lack of a critical mass of co-workers may be observed in other offices with only a few probation workers. For example, in an office with three or four officers, particularly if it is an independent office not subordinate to a central department, there may be little office news to be exchanged which is not already common knowledge. However, in the larger small office, or in small offices which are branches of a central department, the social system characteristics of probation work may actually be enhanced by the combination of office size, rural setting, and information resources. At least speculatively then, it is clear that small probation offices are not necessarily homogeneous with respect to their operations, characteristics and training requirements.

The question remains of what probation officers in small agencies do and how this differs, if at all, from what probation officers in larger agencies do. One of the implicit propositions of this project is

that by virtue of assumptions about the location of small agencies, their place in the local social structure, their relative organizational simplicity, and the backgrounds of their officers, small agencies will present a different set of role requirements for probation officers from those presented by larger agencies. Hence, small agency probation work will be somewhat different from large agency probation work at least in the allocation of time to tasks if not in the tasks themselves.

This proposition has already been tested in a limited fashion (Wahl and Glaser, 1963). Although the study is dated, confined to the Federal level, and involved only 31 probation officers logging their activities for a 14 work day period, the findings are of interest for this early stage of exploration. The researchers found no significant variations by office size in time allocation in regard to time spent according to type of case (presentence, probation, parole) type of work (e.g., counseling, administrative, report writing), type of action (e.g., personal interview, paper work, travel), or type of contact (e.g., case, judge, relative). However, as shown in Table 3-6, there was a difference between officers from large offices and from small offices in time spent according to place of work. While officers from offices of both sizes spend little time in court and most of their time in the office, the size of this majority of the work day (or in this case, the work fortnight) is greater for the officers from the small offices. The researchers suggest that the officers from larger agencies are able to spend more time in the field because there are more administrators to relieve them of office tasks. Other ex post facto explanations could also be offered. As with much of what has been reported concerning the small

Table 3-6 - Percentage of Time Spent in Places of Work By 31 Federal Probation Officers During a 14 Work Day Period By Size of Office

<u>Place of Work</u>	<u>Size of Office</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Large</u>	<u>Small</u>	
Office	54.9%	62.5%	57.5%
Field	41.9%	34.3%	39.3%
Court	3.2%	3.2%	3.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Adapted from Wahl and Glaser (1963)

office, the major conclusion to be drawn from this study is that there is a need for considerably more research if the small probation agency is to be adequately described and its differences from larger agencies highlighted.

B. Contemporary Issues in Probation as They Relate to the Small Agency Setting.

Apart from the literature which focuses explicitly on the small or rural probation agency, there is a more voluminous body of information about more general issues in probation. In this section we briefly review some of these issues, particularly as they intersect with expectations about our subject of interest. Thus, we describe some previous training efforts, discuss role conflict in probation work, review skill requirements and training needs, and present some problems in organization and administration.

Previous Efforts in Providing Training for Small Probation Agencies

Despite a dearth of research evidence on the operations and training requirements of small probation agencies, several states have attempted to accommodate what are believed to be the special training needs of these agencies. These efforts have produced several training models which can be referenced by their state of origin. In this section, we consider the Texas, South Dakota, and New York models as they apply to small agencies.

The Texas Probation Training Project raised the issue of the need to consider the requirements of both urban and rural offices in develop-

ing a statewide probation training system (Bertinot and Taylor, 1974). The situation of the small probation agency was an explicit and priority concern of the developers of the program since most of Texas's 254 counties were served by departments with four or fewer officers. The authors recognized that probation officers in small departments are required to do everything but often lack education and training and are poorly compensated for their work. A complicating factor which the developers of the Texas Probation Training Project faced was that they were charged with designing a training system which would be responsive both to the basic needs of the small departments and to the perhaps more organizationally complex and specialized needs of the larger urban departments. This is not a trivial issue, particularly for any state with an urban/rural, large/small department mix contemplating a centralized training system.

The process by which Bertinot and Taylor developed the Texas system is described in an appendix to this report (Approaches to Training and Designing a Training Institute). For now it is sufficient to note the characteristics of the "Texas Plan" (Bertinot and Taylor, 1974: 31):

- 1) local planning -- no area of the state imposing its training program on another
- 2) local resource presentations -- minimal involvement of outside experts in first year
- 3) team building and maximum participation -- to bring officers of a region closer together in solving common problems and sharing resources
- 4) commitment and involvement of adult and juvenile court judges
- 5) use of professional group facilitators
- 6) joint workshops for adult and juvenile and urban and rural officers -- but separate programs within the workshop

- 7) carefully planned learning design which blends context and process and moves from the general to the specific, inclusion to trust, and concept to practical application.

South Dakota has encountered a somewhat different situation in that all of the probation offices in the state are small and the state is overwhelmingly rural with no city larger than 75,000 population according to the 1970 Census. Consequently, the Unified Judicial System has been able to develop a system which can be homogeneously oriented to the needs of small offices. Since all officers are located in small offices, there is no danger of their concerns being subordinated to those of large offices.

To deal with the problem of coverage when training institutes are in session, the South Dakota Model calls for four training sessions each year. Because the state has a unified centrally-administered probation system, it is able to require all probation officers to attend these training sessions and to schedule one-quarter of the court services officers for each session thus permitting coverage by the remaining officers (South Dakota Unified Judicial System, 1976).

The model requires 40 hours of in-service training each year for experienced officers in addition to an 80 hour entry level program. Thus the in-service sessions each last one week (one each in September, December, April, and June). The program schedule for FY 79 is presented below:

Day One

Welcome
 Chief Justice Roger L. Wollman
 Objective Setting
 Understanding the Offender and Differentials in Behavior
 Looking at Law
 Summary and Evaluation

Day Two

Perspectives of and Writing the Pre-sentence Report
 The Art of Interviewing
 Assessing Potential for Violence
 Developing the Recommendation
 Summary and Evaluation

Day Three

Symbolic, Verbal, Nonverbal and Cross-Cultural Communication
 Working with the Offender
 Contracting
 Counseling Principles
 Crisis Intervention
 Decision-Making
 Quantified Techniques and Applications
 Wrap-up and Evaluation

Day Four

Social Services and the Courts
 The Family and the Individual in Alternative Care
 Developing Community Resources
 Inter-agency collaboration
 Summary and Evaluation
 Evening Session

Day Five

Solving Probation Problems in Meetings
 Planning for Problem Solving
 Individual Problem Solving
 Action Plans
 Future Directions
 Final Assessment
 Presentation of Certificates
 Chief Justice Roger L. Wollman

Of more importance, however, regarding training for small agencies is the philosophy underlying the training program. As expressed by South Dakota's Director of Court Services (Newberger, 1979), this philosophy is sensitive to the requirements of criminal justice in rural America and seeks to address four problems intrinsic to administering and delivering rural correctional services.

The first problem, encompassing the others, and anticipated in the rationale for the present NIC project, is the imposition of urban approaches despite the divergent problems of urban and rural areas. Newberger (1979: 3-5), describes the situation as follows:

Lacking its own data base, standards and program models, rural America often gets saddled with urban solutions for its rural problems. For example, it is difficult, if not impossible, to transport many of the urban designed community-based program services to rural areas...

...(S)udies have identified basic differences and problems regarding the delivery of criminal justice services to rural areas. The National Center of State Courts has identified the effects of time, space and distance on delivering legal services to large sparsely populated areas and the effects of the lack of trained personnel, separation from colleagues and personal and professional isolation...

The Rural Crime and Justice Institute ...identified rural criminal justice problems relating to communication systems, local control versus the impact of state and federal financing, system personalization, lack of workable standards...

Because a general lack of information exists regarding the unique service delivery problems encountered by rural correctional systems, we are dependent upon the city-oriented program models, approaches, and standards.

This general problem is manifested in at least three ways (Newberger, 1979: 5-7). First, there is the need for different criteria by which rural programs should be evaluated. Largely because of the distance and communication constraints involved, cost-effectiveness ratios based on urban experience may produce biased results when applied to rural agencies. Second, there is the problem of recruiting and supporting probation officers in small, often isolated offices. This constraint not only hampers the effectiveness of probation services but also can lead to more fundamental problems such as low morale and high turnover. Third, there is the related problem of providing for the professional development of probation officers in small departments. Despite the ambitiousness of the South Dakota Model and the or-

ganizational advantages of a unified state system, the constraints associated with distance and size are strong enough that the Director of Court Services (Newberger, 1979: 7), finds that:

...(N)or do we provide an adequate level of training commensurate with our workload functions... (I)t is quite difficult, perhaps it is impossible, to provide the staff of small probation departments with an adequate level of professional development resources.

That training can have different meanings and consequences for small departments has also been recognized by the state of New York (New York State Division of Probation (NYSDP), 1978). But while New York also has a centralized training program, it is different from the South Dakota model. In addition to being considerably older, beginning under the Bureau of Staff Development in 1955, the New York training program is conducted in both central and regional sessions. The state itself is of course much more heterogeneous than South Dakota, thus having a smaller proportion of rural areas and small probation agencies.

A recent evaluation by the Intensive Evaluation Unit of the Division of Probation studied how departmental size, stratification, and centralization affect training in furthering compliance with probation standards. One of the most pertinent findings is that probation officers in small departments have more discretion regarding operations than do their colleagues in larger offices (NYSDP, 1978: 45-47, 154). Related to this is the finding of a positive relationship between discretion and perceived effectiveness of training (NYSDP, 1978: 48,154). If these two findings are generalizable to small agencies

throughout the country, then they represent a receptive market for training.

In anticipation of the potential application of our findings in the development of state training models, we turn to findings about the utility of alternative training structures (NYSDP, 1978: 158-164). The evaluators found that both regional and centralized training are necessary but that the former is best suited for job-specific concerns, the latter for theoretical concerns. Other advantages of the regional approach are the likelihood of greater congruence with mandates and greater facility in addressing local issues. The centralized approach promises to be more cost effective and more amenable to standardization. A related finding is that training should be addressed to staff at all levels from all types of departments. However, the authors note that larger departments have a greater need for the training of administrators.

The training approach advocated for New York then appears different from that envisioned in the Texas model, and quite different from the one operating in South Dakota. While there are probably other training models which explicitly take the small probation agency into account, it is reasonable to speculate on the basis of skeletal information about these three, that special accommodation of this type of agency varies directly with the ruralness of the state and the ratio of small to large agencies. In any event, the examples of these three states suggest that the interest in augmenting and targeting training for the small agency is not misguided.

Control, Assistance, and Role Strain in Probation Work

Much of the research which has been done on probation work has considered the problem of competing work demands on officers. Generally these demands have been conceptualized in terms of tensions between what the probation officer is expected to do as an agent of the legal system versus what he/she is expected to do as a human services worker. The shorthand terminology for these dimensions is control and assistance respectively.

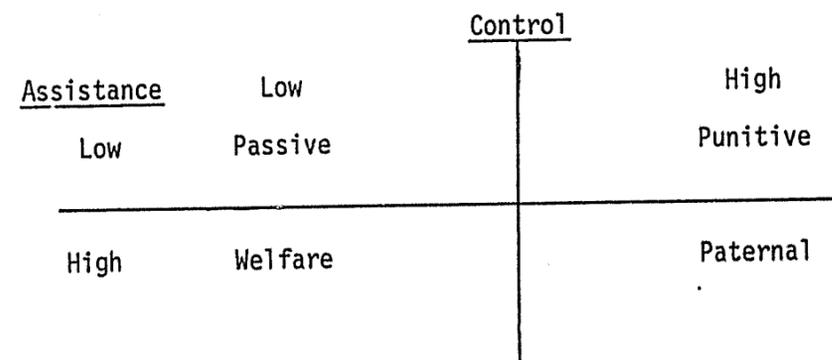
Following provocative work by others on the control/assistance problem in probation work (notably Ohlin, Piven and Pappenfort, 1956), Pownall (1963) and Glaser (1964) observed that when each dimension is dichotomized and then related to the other dimension, a four-fold ideal typology of probation officer orientations is produced. The typology is shown on the next page in Figure 3-1. Research informed by this typology has been pursued by Pownall (1963), Dembo (1972), and Crow (1974).

Pownall presents as one of his findings the distribution of probation officer types by size of office. Although the methodology is flawed by a questionable dichotomization of the assistance scale, this particular table is noteworthy because it explicitly takes office size into account. The study was limited to federal probation officers but succeeded in getting usable responses from virtually the entire population. Officers were scored on control and assistance scales according to their responses to case situation items. Each scale was dichotomized and cross-hatched with the other to produce the typology. Crosstabulation of this typology with size of office is shown in Table 3-7 on page 74.

CONTINUED

1 OF 4

Figure 3-1 - Ideal Types of Probation Officer Role Orientations
Along Control and Assistance Dimensions



Source: Pownall, 1963

Table 3-7 - Size of Office By Types of Federal Probation Officers

Size of Office	Probation Officer Type				Total
	Low Control		High Control		
	Low Assistance Passive	High Assistance Welfare	Low Assistance Punitive	High Assistance Paternal	
1-2 Person	6 (4%)	54 (39%)	10 (7%)	69 (50%)	139
3-6 Person	13 (7%)	63 (34%)	22 (12%)	90 (48%)	188
7-10 Person	7 (18%)	14 (37%)	5 (13%)	12 (32%)	38
Over 10 Persons	13 (11%)	63 (52%)	9 (7%)	36 (30%)	121
Number of Cases (100%)	39 (8%)	194 (40%)	46 (9%)	207 (43%)	486

Source: Adapated from Pownall, 1963: 62

The clearest finding to emerge from this table is that the proportion of paternal officers (high control, high assistance) decreases as office size increases. We note also a somewhat less consistent tendency for the proportion of welfare officers (low control, high assistance) to increase as office size increases. Whether these differences are due primarily to selection/recruitment processes or to socialization, to officer background or to office/community requirements cannot be discerned from the dissertation. Nor is it clear whether treating office size, control dimension and assistance dimension as interval rather than ordinal or dichotomous measures, or dichotomizing the assistance dimension nearer the median, would materially change the findings.

For his study of New York State parole officers, Dembo (1970) modified some of the items developed by Pownall and also developed punishment/reintegrative orientation scores based on "job activities and decision-actions" documented in agency records (Dembo, 1972: 200). These roughly parallel the control/assistance dimension but are treated as one continuous rather than as two independent dimensions. The finding which most closely relates to our interests is that those whose place of longest residence is urban tend to have higher reintegrative scores than those whose place of longest residence is rural (Dembo, 1972: 204, 213, 214). However as in the similar finding by Reed and King (1966), this study does not indicate how this finding is related to office size or location.

This question is approached directly by Crow (1974) who also modified Pownall's control and assistance items. Crow hypothesized that

probation officers serving a rural area will score higher on the control scale and lower on the assistance scale than probation officers serving an urban area. Neither hypothesis was supported by data collected from 98 Colorado probation officers. The failure to find a statistically discernible difference, however, appears to be a function of small sample size (98), the small number of rural officers within the sample (25), and the dichotomization of a scale which is at least ordinal, and could perhaps be treated statistically as an interval scale. If such methodological obstacles were overcome, the pattern of responses suggests that rural officers would be shown to be higher on both control and assistance scales than their urban colleagues. In other words, there exists the possibility of some tentative support for earlier findings (Pownall, 1963: 62) about the prevalence of paternal officers in small offices.

The discussion of role conflict and role strain in probation work has not been limited to formulations growing out of the control/assistance, four-fold typology idea. Others have found that probation officers perform tasks at variance with their ideal job conception (Brennan and Khinduka, 1970), probation officers oriented toward social casework attach less importance to objective data in the pre-hearing report (Gross, 1967), and that apart from community resource referral, advising probationers, and providing consultation to the court, there is a lack of consensus among probation officers about their appropriate functions resulting in ambiguous role definition (Van Laningham, Taber, and Dimants, 1966). While such findings are hardly startling and the methodologies of the studies are generally con-

strained, they are typical of what the literature has to offer. If nothing else, they affirm that there is a great deal of ambiguity about the role of the probation officer and a considerable amount of tension associated with the competing philosophical demands of the position. Any program development initiative for training must take account of this situation. This study should shed light on the extent of such role strain, and how it affects job performance and training requirements in smaller organizations.

Skill Requirements and Training Needs

As indicated in the preceding section, there is dissensus regarding what probation officers should do. From this we might expect that there will also be some disagreement about what skills they should have and in what areas they should receive training. One of the principal aims of this project is to describe the range of skill expectations and training wants and their pockets of concentration among smaller agencies. This section briefly outlines some of what has previously been determined about these subjects.

Of special note because of its timeliness, qualitative methodology, and enthusiastic and provocative narrative, is the "probation as a workplace" study of Sullivan, Elwin, and Dexter (1977). The research team analyzed the job of New York State probation officers by means of interviews, direct observation, questionnaires to officers and probationers, and participant logs. Their major conclusion bears repeating as an example of the perspective on the consequences of competing demands on probation work (Sullivan et al., 1977: 111):

The hierarchical structure and control system of the organizations, the paperwork requirements and

close supervisory structure, all seem to support a more streamlined or bureaucratic individual who does the probation tasks as listed in the core activities index, without anything more. Once any orientation that suggests compassion enters into the picture, in any form, difficulties seem to arise for the organization as well as the officer with such an orientation.

On their way to this conclusion, the authors developed the Core Activities Index (Sullivan et al., 1977: 41-48) mentioned. The index contains six major areas:

Conducts investigation

Develops, modifies and carries out a service plan for supervising client sentenced to probation

Investigates possible violations and takes appropriate action

Assesses problems and needs of client, arrives at plan of action and institutes the proper adjustment procedures

Diverts adult cases from the court process

Acts as a liaison between the probation department and the court

Each area was sub-divided into from 6 to 35 more detailed tasks such as interviews, telephone calls, correspondence, field visits, court appearances, familiarization with court reports, and writing reports/forms.

Sullivan et al. are well aware that a catalog of such activities does not in itself capture the essence of probation work. They recognize the probation officer as the 'critical mass' in probation effectiveness and as the embodiment of the organization to the client. Moreover, they recognize the complexity -- and identity problems -- of

probation work as an "eclectic collectivity of (partial) professions" (Sullivan et al., 1977: 103), as an "N+1 profession."

It is this notion of 'something more' which defines the parameters of what training should do. It is here that these researchers locate the nature of the relationship between the officer and the probationer (Sullivan et al., 1977: 107):

Probationers know from the start that they are part of a control system, a system that does modify and determine to some extent the course of their personal lives. It's how the probation officer decides to negotiate with the probationer, how he decides to come across that establishes the nature of 'the closeness' and the quality -- the 'something more' of the job.

Observations by Sullivan et al., about the impact of bureaucratization on probation work echoes what others have noted, sometimes regarding parole work. McCleary in particular (1975, 1977, 1978a, 1978b) has reported on the importance of the parole officer protecting the agency from adverse publicity and him/herself from the agency's wrath for failure to normalize deviance in accord with organizational constraints. Consequently the parole officer has to negotiate these work realities in a way satisfactory to both self and agency. Such skills of "working the bureaucracy" are probably rarely covered in training institutes. Their importance in small, frequently rural probation agencies is unknown.

There is also a scattered literature on probation training needs. One study found that juvenile probation officers in Canada, all of whom reported having received training, preferred in-service training to

workshops or college courses (Csapo and Clarke, 1976). As shown in Table 3-8, this was true in terms of both frequency of selection and compared to prior experience.

Others have attempted to identify constraints on training and factors which produce successful programs. This literature is reviewed in some detail in an appendix (Approaches to Training and Designing a Training Institute). For now, we cite the findings of two studies. Gilman (1966) noted that the emergence of rehabilitation as a principal objective in corrections created a rationale for training. Nevertheless, there continued to be a lack of training programs due to: lack of trained trainers, case overload, lack of time, and the failure or inability to allocate money. While one might think that such problems might be alleviated by capitalizing on existing educational opportunities. The second study (Senna, 1976: 73) observes that only 20 of 59 responding probation agencies reported that they supported graduate study for probation officers through stipends or time off.

Organization and Administration of Probation

We would be remiss to close our review of issues which might be consequential for small probation agencies without alluding to the organization and administration of probation. What can be accomplished in training and the structure of the the training enterprise will be contingent to some extent on the structure within which it is embedded. While we do not wish to jump, at this point, into the controversies about how probation systems should be organized, we will outline some of the major points of contention.

Table 3-8 - Training Format Experiences and Preferences of 255
Canadian Juvenile Probation Officers

<u>Training Format</u>	<u>Relationship to Training Formats</u>	
	<u>Have Experienced</u>	<u>Would Like</u>
In-Service	72.2%	75.4%
Workshops	26.7%	11.1%
College Course	34.3%	9.7%
Unspecified	12.0%	7.6%

Source: Adapted from Csapo and Clarke, 1976: 295, 296

The traditional organizational home for probation systems has been under the judiciary. The traditional alternative to this, supported with increasing force in recent years, is placement within an executive department. While there is a clear historical pattern of movement in this direction, i.e., from the judiciary to the executive, existing organizational arrangements also derive from idiosyncratic circumstances which can create rather unusual and complicated interorganizational circumstances. This is particularly true when the level of government, as well as the branch of government, is considered. Probation systems can be located in a variety of state departments, as well as local units of government ranging from townships and municipalities to counties. The permutations were complex from the origins of probation (Killinger, Kerper, Cromwell, 1976: 98):

Administration of probation services in the United States is characterized by differences both in philosophy and procedures. In many cases, the differences have arisen more by historical accident than otherwise. For example, of the states which passed early probation legislation, Massachusetts (in 1898) gave the power to appoint the probation officer to the Mayor of the City of Boston, subject to the confirmation by the board of aldermen, placed the officer under the general control of the chief of police of the City, but paid him from the county treasury. Vermont, in the same year, adopted a county plan of organization. The county judge in each county had the power of appointment, the officer to serve all of the courts in his county. Rhode Island, the following year (1899) adopted a state-wide and state-controlled probation system.

The organization of probation throughout the nation remains complex and variegated today. While the basic dimensions of differentiation,

i.e., judiciary vs. executive branches, state vs. local levels, and combinations of probation and parole functions, and of adult and juvenile clientele, appear rather parsimonious, their application, particularly when complicated by complex funding arrangements and differential privileges or requirements for larger jurisdictions within a state, produces a rich array of organizational entities. The National Advisory Commission on Corrections has cited Ohio as exemplifying the confusion and redundancy which can result from this tendency (Killinger et al., 1976: 95):

There (Ohio), juvenile probation is a local function in the judicial branch, but the State aid program is in the executive branch. Adult probation can be either a State or local function. A state agency in the executive branch can provide probation service to local courts, or they may establish their own. Where local probation exists, the control may be shared by both branches in an arrangement under which the county commissioners and judges of the court of common pleas must concur on appointments.

As indicated, there has been increasing support for and movement towards centralized administration of probation. As summarized by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973), the major arguments for and against statewide systems are as follows:

<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>
freedom from local politics and from need for local approval	need to take local conditions and resources into account
greater assurance that goals and objectives are met, more uniformity in pol-	local community residence and supervision

icies and procedures, more efficiency in resources

local agencies have flexibility to experiment

county agencies small, lack resources for training, research, service

state policies and agencies often rejected by local communities

In our research to develop training ideas for small agencies, we have surveyed all major types of probation organizations in the United States. Included in our sample are Federal, state, county, municipal and township agencies. Some are within executive departments, some are administered by judiciaries. Others are administratively responsible to more than one branch of government or to more than one level of government. Training is well-developed in some, non-existent in some, and received elsewhere by others. Likewise, there are comparable variations in how probation officers go about their job, what they believe that job to be, and in what ways they think that it should be affected by training. It is our hope that our analysis will be able to determine how these factors are linked to one another. By identifying such links we should be better able to suggest training initiatives appropriate for particular organizational contexts.

C. Implications for Research and Training

This review of the literature proceeded in conjunction with the survey research phases of the project. Consequently, we were able to use information from the search to guide us in refining the design. We do not claim, of course, that the research design was based explicitly on the literature review. Indeed, given the quality of the literature, it would be difficult to discern clear directions. Also, the research

design was already formulated in a preliminary sense in the proposal and developed in response to discussions among ourselves and with others, and based on our opinions and orientations regarding probation, justice, and training, and our predilections about research.

Nevertheless, we have taken some ideas suggested by the literature and attempted to incorporate them into the research. These borrowings are often reflected in the questionnaires for the the survey of agencies (officers in charge) (SA) and the survey of probation officers (SPO) contained in appendices to this report. Thus, we asked for information about:

- organizational constraints and cross-pressures (e.g., items 5, 9 and 11-14 in SA and items 2, 3, 16 and 17 in SPO),
- activities performed and skills required (e.g., items 1 and 7 in SPO),
- role orientation and occupational commitment (e.g., items 4, 13, 15, 18-23 and 25 in SPO), and
- job satisfaction (e.g., items 28 and 29 in SPO).

Naturally, we also included several items on existing training programs and training needs and expectations (e.g., items 6-10 in SA and items 5 and 6 in SPO).

These areas of interest represent attempts to answer more general, sometimes very basic, questions implied in the project's mandate and design and highlighted by the literature review and other explorations. The paucity of information available about small probation agencies raises the question:

(A) What do we want to know about small agencies?
Framed more specifically in terms of the objectives of the project this question becomes:

(B) On what information should training programs be based?
This in turn leads to two sets of other questions:

(C) What is training?

(D) What should training do?

and

(E) What do probation officers do?

(F) What do they want to do?

(G) What should they do?

It is not our intention to definitively answer these questions in this document. In their general form, they have been debated in probation and training circles for years and will continue to be subjects of discussion. The range of opinions on these questions is suggested in the previous pages of this report. Our attempts to address some should be clear from the content of the questionnaires and the field visit interview topics. Some questions, e.g., (B), (C), (D), and (G), require in-depth and extended value-oriented discussions which can be informed by research data but cannot be answered by them.

Thus the literature review has helped in asking some of the right questions and in establishing a research program which can help address them. Hopefully, it has also contributed to the systematization of the existing knowledge base regarding small probation agencies. The following chapters are intended to expand this base, and to build on it.

Chapter 4 -- Varieties of Small Agencies

If one randomly selects hundreds of any type of social unit, one may expect to find considerable variation among the units on dimensions not part of the unit's defining characteristics. This of course is a desirable situation since comparing diverse phenomena is a principal means of understanding the mechanisms underlying them. This quality of variation is true of our small agencies data set. These organizations are not cut from the same cloth. They vary in the ways they are organized, administered, and managed, in their powers, responsibilities, influences, resources, in caseload size and characteristics, and in the number of probation officers staffing them. In this chapter we consider some of the ways in which small probation agencies can thus be characterized to aid in policy and staff development considerations.

Size

One striking finding is that these small agencies are usually very small; 56% (307) consist of 1 or 2 officers (31% and 25% respectively). Only 9% (50) have 7, 8, or 9 officers. In general, there are fewer agencies with each increase in the number of officers. This nearly monotonic relationship is clearly depicted in Table 4-1 on the next page. This table also shows the number of probation officers for each agency size type. Thus, notice for example that while one person agencies comprise 31% of all small agencies in the responding sample, their officers comprise only 10% of all probation officers in these 551 agencies. This simple multiplicative difference will assume more importance in some analyses in subsequent chapters. It should also be noted that

Table 4-1 -- Distribution of Small Probation Agencies by Number of Probation Officers

<u>Number of Probation Officers Employed</u>	<u>Number of Agencies of this Size (% of Total)</u>	<u>Number of Probation Officers (% of Total)</u>
One	169 (31%)	169 (10%)
Two	138 (25%)	276 (17%)
Three	68 (12%)	204 (12%)
Four	58 (11%)	232 (14%)
Five	36 (7%)	180 (11%)
Six	32 (6%)	192 (12%)
Seven	17 (3%)	119 (7%)
Eight	21 (4%)	168 (10%)
Nine	12 (2%)	108 (7%)
TOTAL	551 (100%)	1648 (100%)
	Mean = 3.0	Mean = 4.5
	Median = 2	Median = 4
	Mode = 1	Mode = 2

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

13% (72) of these agencies employ at least one part-time probation officer, and that these part-time employees compose 5% (89) of the total number of probation officers.

Urban/Rural Location

Although the manifest interest of this project is in the dimension of smallness, it was assumed from the beginning that this would function in large measure as a proxy for ruralness. As mentioned in the foreword to this report, the emphasis in the NIC solicitation rationale on the neglect of small agencies is resonant with the complaint by rural advocates that both the conventional and the peculiar needs of rural justice have been ignored by national policy-makers, a theme informing the National Symposium on Rural Justice in June, 1979 and heralded by the National Rural Center/ American Bar Association (1977) and the National Center for State Courts (1977) among others.

We have defined urban/rural location in terms of the SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area) designation of counties in which the agencies are located. Counties (towns in New England) which are part of an SMSA are considered urban; counties (towns in New England) not part of an SMSA are considered rural. Using this definition, we find that 37% (202) of the responding agencies are urban, 63% (349) are rural. The relatively high proportion of urban agencies, compared to what one might have expected, reflects the expansiveness of our definition of agency as discussed in Chapter 2 on study design. In particular, the expansion of the definition early in the project to include agencies with 7 through 9 officers, the inclusion of Federal agencies, and the use of the LEAA geographic-specific definition of agency which counts

various sub-units of larger departments as agencies inflated the proportion of urban agencies beyond that which would have been obtained had we used a more prototypical definition of small agency.

Hence, we note in Table 4-2 that the relationship between urban/rural location and size of agency is nearly monotonic with 74% (276) of the 1 through 3 officer agencies being rural but only 46% (58) of the 4 through 6 officer agencies and 30% (15) of the 7 through 9 officer agencies. This of course is consistent with expectations deriving from the defining features of population size and density. It should also be noted that the relationship between size and location results in 48% (799) of the probation officers being based in an urban county.

Locus of Administration

In addition to agency size and urban/rural location, locus of administration is a variable suspected of being associated in important ways with the capabilities and shape of probation, resources available to probation officers, and most pertinent to this investigation, training provided and needed. There is a continuing debate in corrections about the relative merits of administering probation at the state or local level, and within the executive or judicial branch of government. In a broader form, this debate has been reflected in controversies regarding the consolidation of state correctional functions (Foster et al., 1977). Although it is clear that the net effect of reorganizational efforts in the last two decades has been in the direction of centralization, there continue to be decentralizing counter-currents including cyclically re-emerging arguments for the advantages of com-

Table 4-2 -- Size of Agency (Number of Probation Officers Employed by Urban/rural Location of Agency)

Number of Probation Officers Employed	Location of Agency		TOTAL
	Urban	Rural	
One	33 (20%)	136 (80%)	169
Two	48 (35%)	90 (65%)	138
Three	18 (26%)	50 (74%)	68
Four	27 (47%)	31 (53%)	58
Five	18 (50%)	18 (50%)	36
Six	23 (72%)	9 (28%)	32
Seven	10 (59%)	7 (41%)	17
Eight	15 (71%)	6 (29%)	21
Nine	10 (83%)	2 (17%)	12
TOTAL	202 (37%)	349 (63%)	551

Chi square¹ = 72.69, d.f. = 8, p < .0001
 Gamma² = -0.45 079

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

¹Chi square is a measure used to assess whether apparent differences within a sample reflect actual differences in the populations from which the sample is drawn or whether they are chance variations resulting from sampling error. In this table, the chi square value of 72.69 with 8 degrees of freedom (d.f.) indicates that the probability (p) is less than 1 in 10,000 that the urban-rural difference in size of agency is due to chance, i.e., the difference is judged statistically discernible.

²Gamma is a measure of association indicating the strength of a statistical relationship. It varies from -1 (perfect inverse relationship) to +1 (perfect direct relationship).

munity control and the proliferation of branch offices, an issue to be examined empirically later in this chapter.

To better assess the actual contextual effects of the locus of administration, we constructed a variable of this type for each agency responding to the Survey of Agencies. This entailed a complex process of referencing several secondary sources and occasionally using information provided in the returned questionnaires. Although the logical possibilities one could attain by successive cross-tabulations of fine-grained indices of administration such as funding, responsibility for operations, staffing, and policy-making are multitudinous, we developed a 13 category classification scheme by considering the joint frequency distributions of the predominant source of funding/policy-making along the Federal-state-local dimension with the locus of operational administration along the executive-judicial dimension. To do justice to the variety of state-aided but locally administered arrangements which have developed in recent years, we provided for three gradations of funding/policy-making intermediate to the state and local. Thus, centralized support denotes majority funding by the state, centralized guidance minority funding from the state, and centralized advice the provision of standards, training, or monitoring by the state without any direct funding. In addition, we subdivided local agencies into those operating at the county or circuit level and those operating at the municipal level. Finally, knowing that the Federal system is administered out of the judicial branch, we did not provide a Federal-executive category. The logical and empirical results of this classification effort are summarized in Table 4-3.

Table 4-3 -- Joint Distributions of Source of Funding/Policy-Making (Level of Government) with Locus of Operational Administration (Branch of Government) with Frequencies for the Values of the Locus of Administration Classification System Produced

Source of Funding/Policy-Making	Locus of Operational Administration		
	Executive	Judicial	TOTAL
Federal	-	90 (16%)	90 (16%)
State (total responsibility)	200 (36%)	21 (4%)	221 (40%)
State (majority funding)/ Centralized Support	0 (0%)	50 (9%)	50 (9%)
Local (majority funding)/ Centralized Guidance	17 (3%)	56 (10%)	73 (13%)
Local (total funding, but some state responsibilities for monitoring or resource provision)/Centralized Advice	0 (0%)	70 (13%)	70 (13%)
County/Circuit	0 (0%)	41 (7%)	41 (7%)
Municipal	0 (0%)	6 (1%)	6 (1%)
TOTAL	217 (39%)	334 (61%)	551 (100%)

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

The reader will note that there are four empty cells and that these are all located in the executive branch locus of operational administration column. Thus, the classification system reduces to only nine empirical categories. Furthermore, we find that small probation agencies directly administered by an executive branch department are generally (92%, 200/217) funded and administered entirely by the state with the residual group receiving minority funding from the state under a centralized guidance arrangement in which operational or direct administration resides with a local government entity. In addition, we note that the judicially-administered small probation agencies are scattered among all seven funding/policy-making options. It is striking to note, however, that of the 244 non-Federal agencies, 72% (176) are located in systems in which administration is shared by the state and the locality rather than in totally state-administered (9%) or the prototypical totally locally-administered (19%) systems. Nevertheless, the modal type (29%, 70/244) of the judicially-administered small agency is funded entirely by local sources and receives only indirect forms of assistance or advice from the state government.

Three caveats should be noted before moving on to a more useful transformation of the locus of administration variable. First, the coding process no doubt involved some errors given the reliance on dated and sometimes conflicting secondary sources and incomplete information. Second, operational administration is defined at the grossest level in terms of who is supposed to tell probation officers in a given agency what to do. Third, the branch of government in which operational administration is lodged is not always the same as the one from which

funding and policy-making emanates. Thus, we note that although most small agencies in Texas, for example, are administered by the judiciary, funding comes directly from the executive branch of state government, a distinction not picked up in our classification scheme since funding/policy-making source is categorized only in terms of level, not of branch, of government.

A more parsimonious classification which deals with some of these difficulties is a trichotomy of Federal-state-local. In this scheme, the identification of the Federal agencies from the classification system presented in Table 4-3 is straightforward, but state agencies are identified as including centralized support agencies (row 3) with centralized guidance and centralized advice agencies (rows 4 and 5) being grouped with county/circuit and municipal agencies in the local category. In Table 4-4, this breakdown is presented in the context of a cross-tabulation with urban/rural location of agency.

This table illustrates the strong urban orientation of small agencies at the Federal level. This, of course, reflects the sizeable geographic stretches these agencies cover and the tendency to locate offices in or near the urban areas in which Federal District Courts operate. At first glance, the slightly stronger tendency of state rather than local small agencies to be located in rural counties is puzzling. We suspect, however, that this reflects a geographic concentration of state-administered systems in the South and West while some of the more urbanized states, e.g., New York, Ohio, Illinois, and California, operate basically local systems of probation. Furthermore, we imagine that the peculiar limitation of this study to small agencies

Table 4-4 -- Locus of Administration by Urban/Rural Location of Agency

<u>Locus of Administration</u>	<u>Location of Agency</u>		TOTAL
	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	
Federal	65 (72%)	25 (28%)	90
State	69 (25%)	202 (75%)	271
Local	68 (36%)	122 (64%)	190
TOTAL	202 (37%)	349 (63%)	551

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

hides some important relationships between locus of administration and urban/rural location for the complete universe of probation agencies.

Independent/Branch Management

Another variable which could plausibly be confounding the administration/location relationship is the structure of agency management. We have alluded at some length to the geographic-specific definition used to spawn our population of small agencies. At this point, we consider explicitly the consequences this has had for inclusion of branch offices within the responding sample.

The extent to which the geographic-based definition led to inclusion of branch offices within our sample was considerable. Of the 443 agencies answering the branch office question, 44% (193) reported that they are branch offices. The questions of decentralization of bureaucracies and of its effects on organizational operations and staff morale have long been of interest to organizational theorists and analysts, as recently demonstrated in a study devoted specifically to an examination of such issues within state educational bureaucracies (Louis and Sieber, 1979). It is clear from our data that decentralization of agency management is a strong characteristic of the operations of adult probation as well. In later chapters, notably Chapters 6 and 8, we will explore some of the implications of this tendency.

For now, however, we simply pause to consider some of the differential distributions of agency management arrangements in our sample. Virtually any student of organizations since DeTocqueville would expect to find that the greater the centralization of a system, the more decentralized will be agency management arrangements. This reflects the

centrifugal tendencies which follow from centralization. Such a student would not be surprised to learn that this indeed is what we have found to be true of small probation agencies, as depicted in Table 4-5. What may be impressive, however, is the magnitude of this relationship. We note that small agencies in the Federal system are predominantly branch offices, while those in state systems are virtually equally split between branch and main offices, and those in locally-administered systems are overwhelmingly main offices. The predominance of branch offices among small agencies at the Federal level reflects the proliferation of such offices in the past two years. It should also be mentioned that the prevalence of branch offices in our small agency sample is to be expected since branch offices are, almost by definition, staffed by only one, two, or a few employees.

Another analysis of the distribution of branch offices by centralization of the system, but using the refined seven-part scheme of source of funding/policy-making presented in Table 4-3, revealed a striking aberration. Although the pattern of centralization of system varying directly with decentralization of agency management arrangements was maintained, the centralized advice group deviated markedly from this otherwise monotonic tendency. Thus, only 6% (3/51) of these agencies are branch offices while 25% (14/55) of the next more centralized (centralized guidance) and 24% (8/34) of the next less centralized (county, circuit) are branch offices. We will have occasion at other points in the analysis to note divergences of the centralized advice group from the prevailing patterns of relationships.

Table 4-5 -- Locus of Administration by Agency Management Arrangement

Locus of Administration	Agency Management Arrangement		TOTAL
	Branch Office	Not a Branch Office	
Federal	58 (70%)	25 (30%)	83
State	110 (51%)	105 (49%)	215
Local	25 (17%)	120 (83%)	145
TOTAL	193 (44%)	250 (56%)	443

Chi-square = 69.29, d.f. = 2, p < .001
Gamma = 0.62791

Missing cases = 108, or 19.6%

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

In exploring the branch office phenomenon further, we did not find a statistically discernible urban/rural difference. However, we did find substantially more ($p < .001$, $\gamma = 0.39564$) executive branch administered agencies to be branch offices (56%) than their counterparts administered by the judicial branch (36%) (and than their state and local counterparts administered by the judicial branch (21%)). This suggests that, at least as far as small agencies are concerned, decentralization of probation operations has been greater in executive than in judicial systems. The branch office phenomenon is reflected in another way in the survey of small probation agencies; some small agencies have branch offices. Thus, 21% (115) of the agencies responding reported that this is true in their situation. While there was some measurement error associated with this question, with non-staffed field or outpost offices on at least one occasion being reported as branch offices, the actual frequency of small agencies managing staffed branch offices appears impressive. Moreover, 59% (67/114) of the managing small agencies reported having two or more branch offices under their jurisdiction, 25% reported three or more, and 11% (13) reported four or more, with 7 branch offices being the maximum reported (2 agencies). It would be a mistake then to assume that the management operations of small agencies are a simple matter, or that there is uniformity in the sample along this dimension.

Workload

If appropriate training is to be encouraged and developed for probation officers in small agencies, the size and type of their workload should be considered. By definition of the scope of this study,

all agencies in the sample must either supervise adult probationers or prepare presentence investigations of adult offenders. The extent to which adult probationers and presentence investigations are represented in the workload of these agencies, however, varies greatly. Thus, 5% (26) of the agencies report supervising 0 to 10 adult probationers while 1% (7) report supervising 1000 to 1400 adult probationers. Likewise, 10% (53) report doing no presentence investigations while 1% (4) report having 100 to 125 assigned to them per month.

Figures 4-1 through 4-4 should give a clearer picture of central tendencies and variations in workloads as distributed among Federal, state, and local small agencies in urban and rural areas.² In Figure 4-1 we note that Federal supervision caseloads are about one-half of state and local supervision caseloads which are statistically equivalent. Moreover, we observe that the homogeneity of the distribution of caseload size at the Federal level is substantial (standard deviation of 9.4), and decreases markedly at the state and then at the local levels. This degree of variability can perhaps best be explained as a statistical artifact reflecting the number of administrative systems operative at each level, i.e., only one Federal system, a larger number of state systems within which the 269 agencies at that analytic level operate, and presumably a still larger number of local systems, almost definitely greater than the 120 local agencies identifying themselves as a main office (Table 4-5).

In the sample as a whole, there was virtually no difference by urban/rural location in average size of supervision caseload (84.1 and 81.9 respectively). This is reflected in the urban/rural breakdowns of

AVERAGE (MEAN) PROBATION OFFICER SUPERVISION CASELOADS

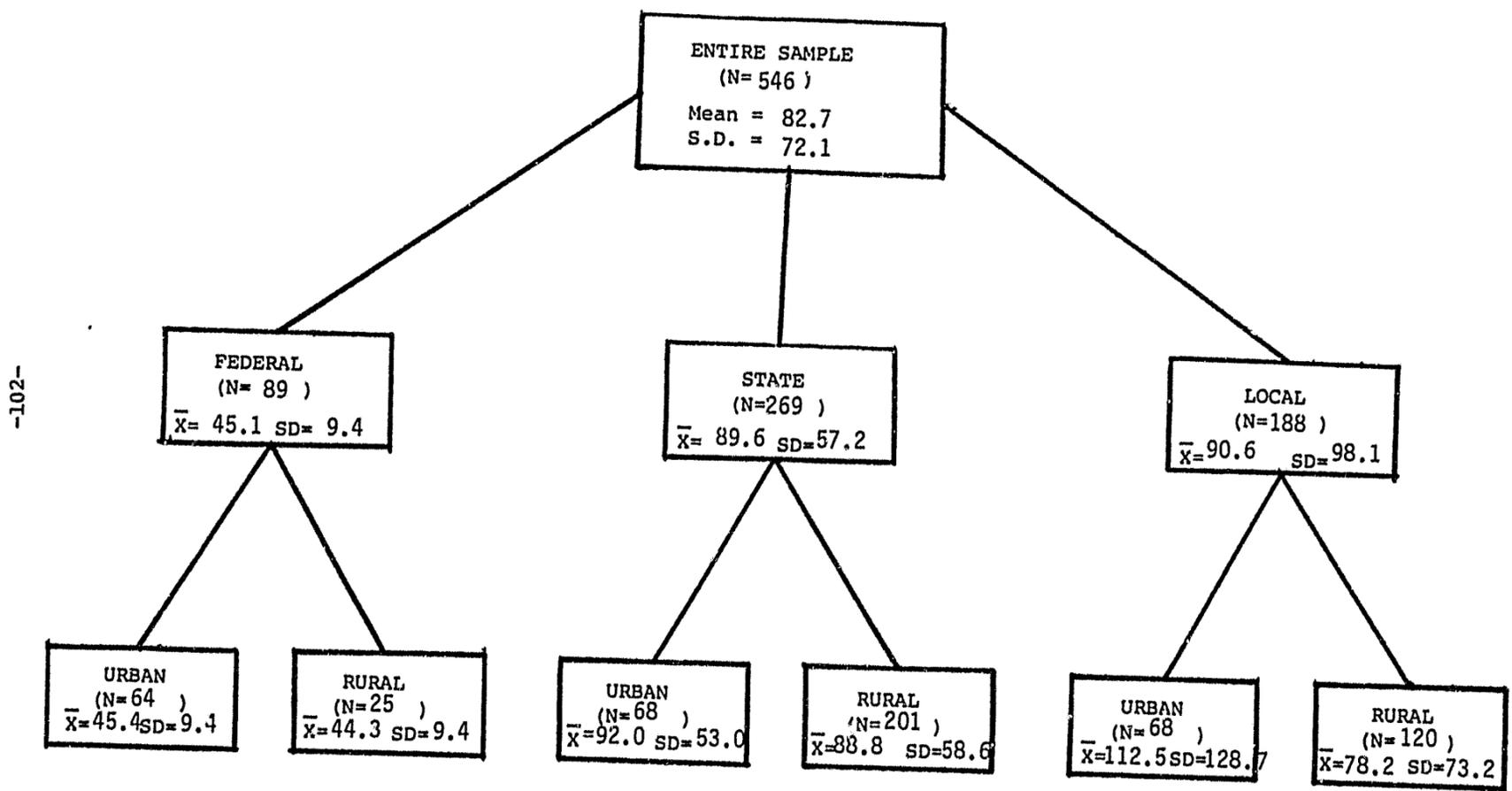


FIGURE 4-1 -- Average Probation Officer Supervision Caseloads for 551 Small Probation Agencies Broken Down by Locus of Administration and Location of Agency

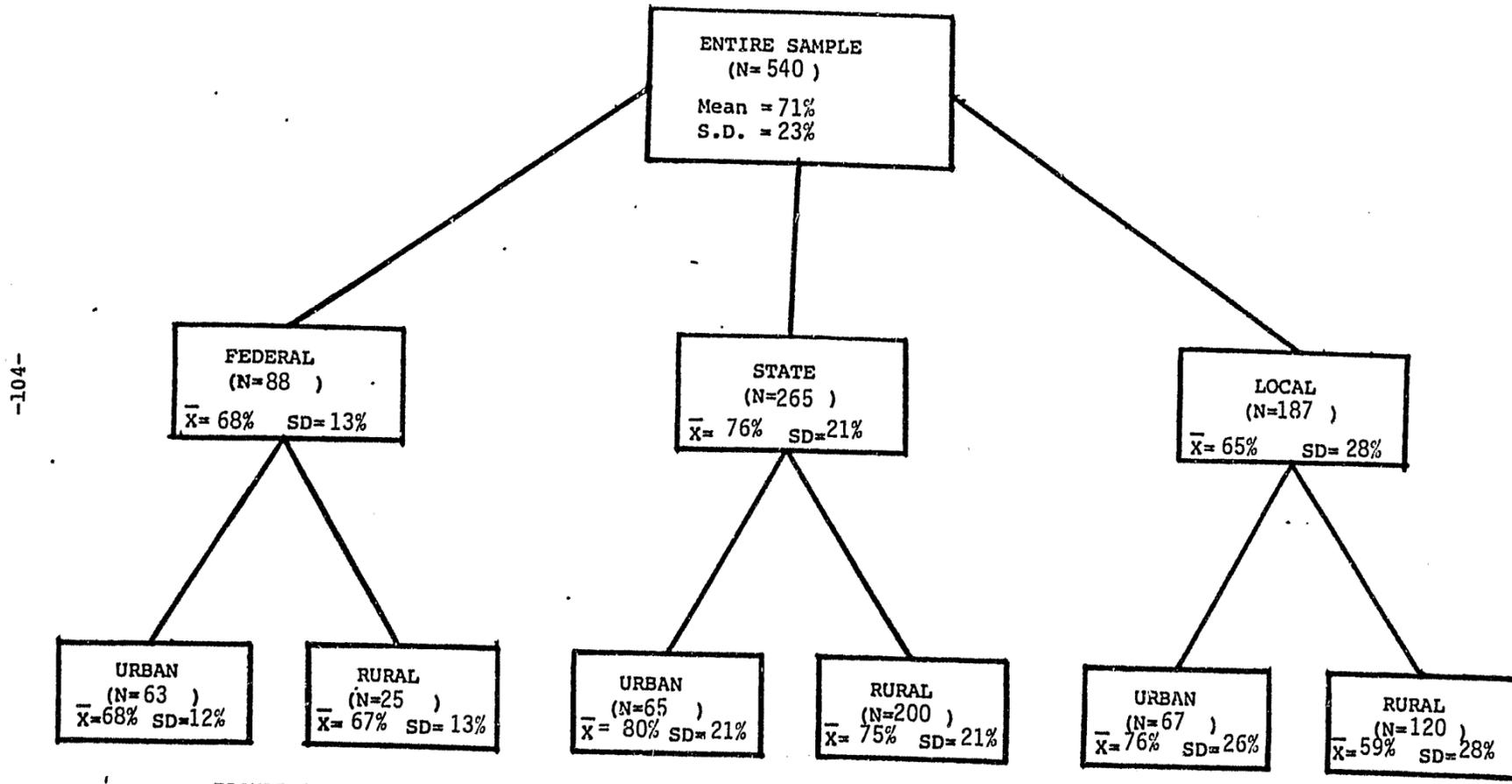
Missing cases = 5, or 0.9%

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

the Federal and state agencies. In the case of the local agencies, however, urban caseloads (112.5) are substantially larger than rural ones (78.2). A more refined analysis shows that this difference is attributable to the most localized of the local agencies with the centralized advice group showing a 108-62 urban/rural difference and the county/circuit group a 174-109 difference. There are no rural equivalents to the urban municipal group (144). For the centralized guidance groups, however, there are no urban/rural differences for agencies subsidized by either a state executive department (47) or a state judicial department (79).

Turning to Figure 4-2, we observe that the average proportions of adult probationers on supervision caseloads are quite consistent across the three types of systems, varying from 65% in local agencies to 76% in state agencies. Note, however, that in the extreme right-hand box in the third tier, we find that only 59% of local rural agency supervision caseloads are adult probationers. This augurs well with the observations made by a number of probation officers in the course of the surveys and field visits about the diversity of their duties. The higher percentages of adult probationers in local urban agencies (76%) and in state agencies (75% in rural and 80% in urban) suggests that geographic concentration or centralization of administration is associated with a greater division of labor among state or city departments and hence greater specialization of supervision functions in probation agencies at that level. These mechanisms do not operate, however, at the Federal level where probation officers are also responsible for supervising adult parolees.

AVERAGE (MEAN) PERCENTAGE OF ADULT PROBATIONERS ON SUPERVISION CASELOADS



-104-

FIGURE 4-2 -- Means and Standard Deviations for Percentage of Adult Probationers on Supervision Caseloads for 540 Small Probation Agencies Broken Down by Locus of Administration and Location of Agency

Missing cases = 11, or 2.0%

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979



The pattern of some of these relationships should be more apparent from Table 4-6. Note, in particular, that centralization is directly related to percentage of juveniles. That local probation officers tend to deal with mixed caseloads in which juveniles are a sizable minority (27%) will be shown later to be an important consideration in how they define their role and how they organize their work. Figure 4-3 shows that for each of the three types of systems, rural agencies have a greater proportion of juvenile clients. Furthermore, local rural agencies stand out once again in their deviation from the sample mean with 35% of the average supervision caseload of such agencies consisting of juveniles.

Finally, in Figure 4-4 we approach the other traditional primary task of probation officers: doing presentence investigations. The average number assigned per month per full-time probation officer equivalent in the agency varies from a low of 2.2 for Federal small agencies to 4.9 for local small agencies. At the state and local level, the outstanding departure from the mean is found among local urban agencies with a high of 6.9. The greatest variation is also found among this group (a standard deviation of 10.6). From field visits we know that local urban agencies are often charged principally with staffing misdemeanor probation and that presentence investigations are sometimes of a different, much briefer, and more quickly accomplished type than the prototype. The term used in at least one agency -- summary investigation -- seems quite appropriately descriptive.

We have considered some of the ecological and organizational characteristics of small probation agencies and ways in which they are

Table 4-6 -- Average (Mean) Supervision Workload Distributions of Small Probation Agencies Dealing with Adult Offenders by Locus of Administration*

Supervision Cases	Locus of Administration			TOTAL
	Federal	State	Local	
Adult Probation	68%	76%	65%	71%
Adult Parole	25%	11%	2%	10%
Other Adult	6%	6%	5%	6%
Juveniles	2%	7%	27%	13%

*Agencies for which information was available for the four categories of supervision cases varies from 540 to 544.

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

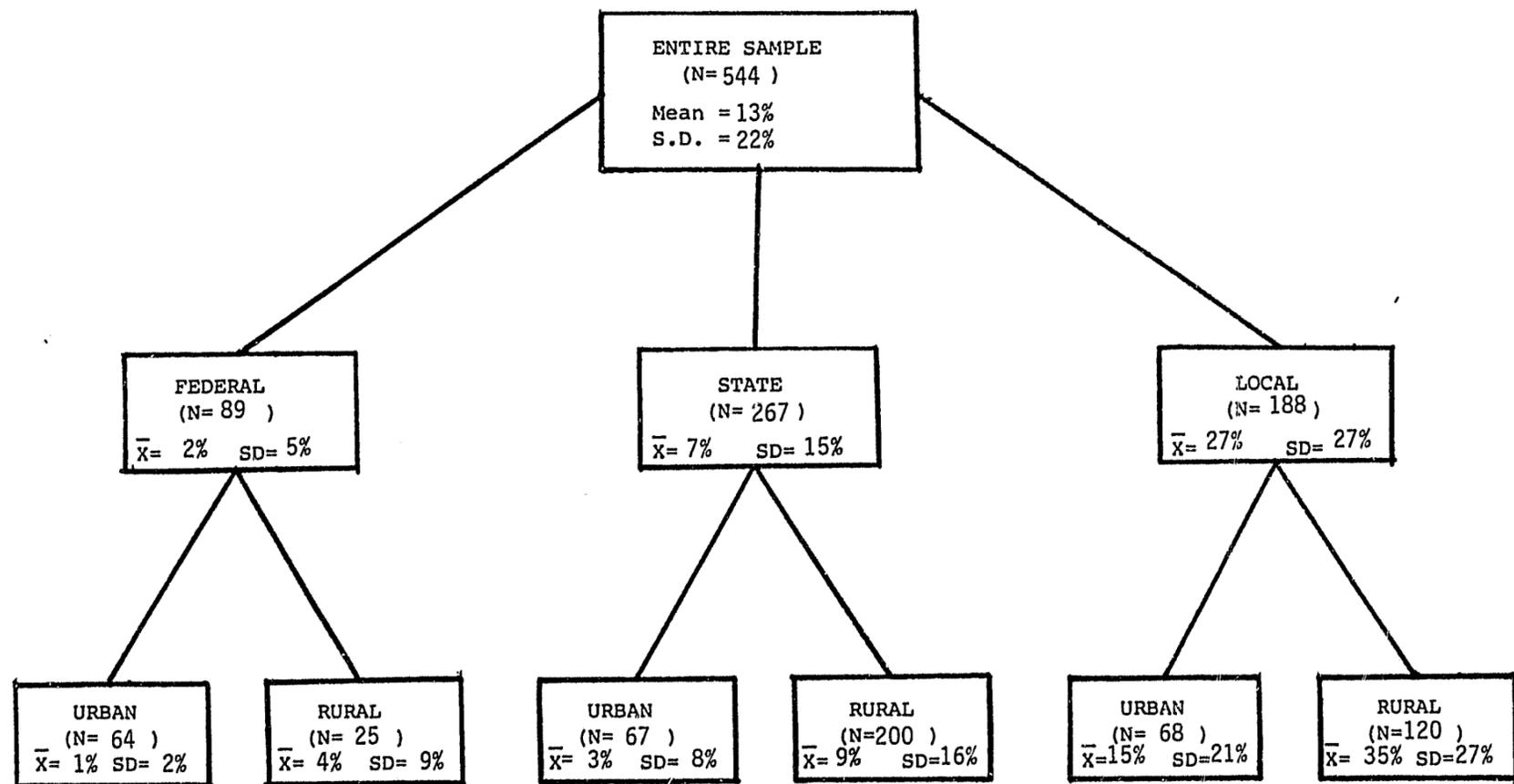
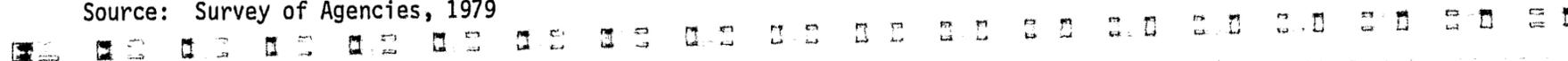


FIGURE 4-3 -- Means and Standard Deviations for Percentage of Juveniles on Supervision Caseloads for 544 Small Probation Agencies Broken Down by Locus of Administration and Location of Agency

Missing cases = 7, or 1.3%

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979



AVERAGE (MEAN) PRESENTENCE INVESTIGATIONS ASSIGNED PER MONTH PER PROBATION OFFICER

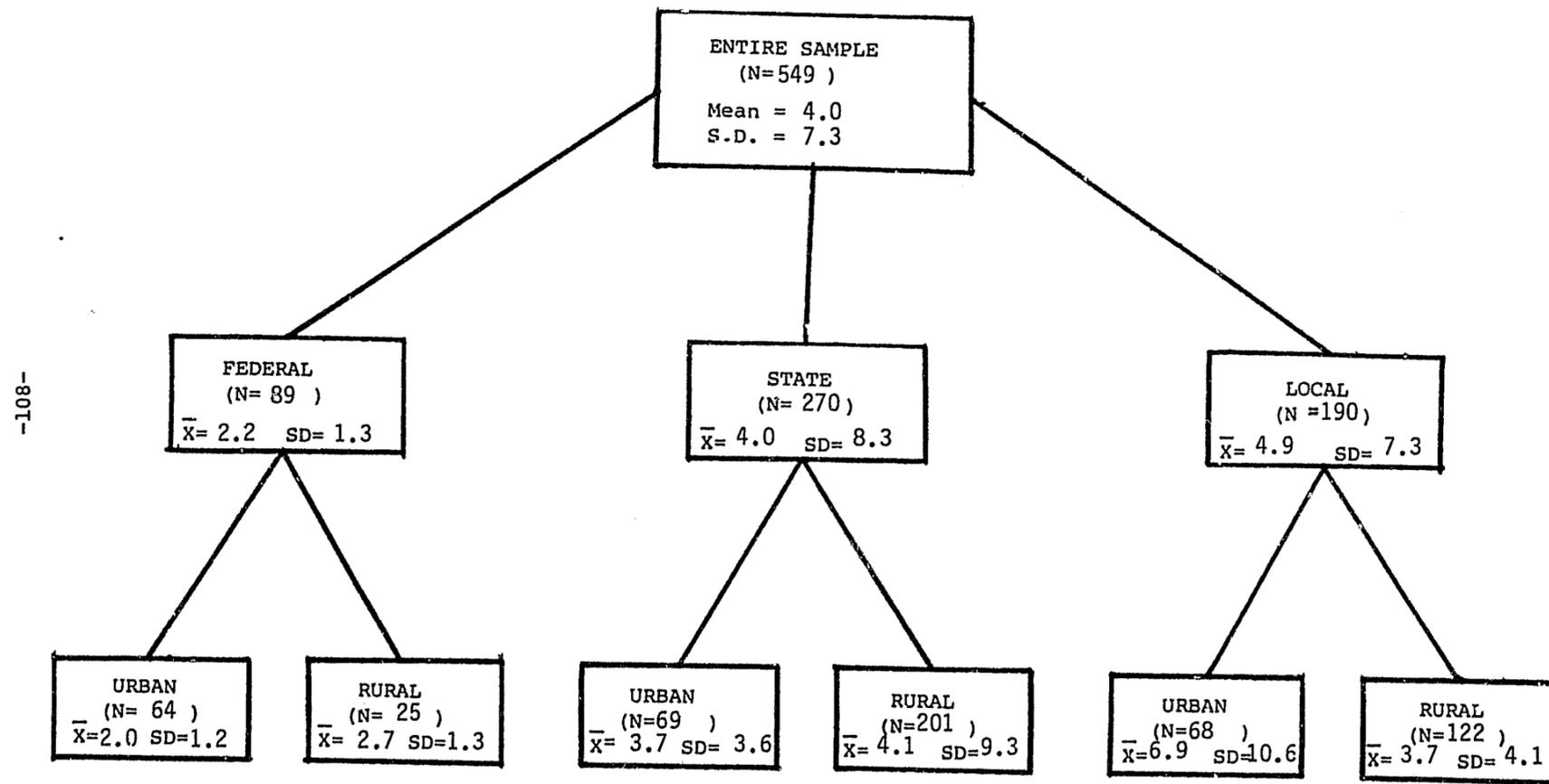
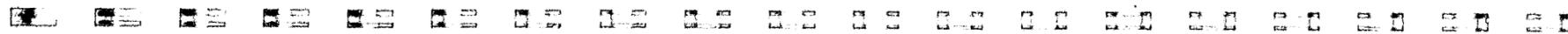


Figure 4-4 -- Means and Standard Deviations for Number of Presentence Investigations Assigned Per Month Per Probation Officer for 549 Small Probation Agencies Broken Down by Locus of Administration and Location of Agency

Missing cases = 2, or 0.4%

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979



associated with workload dimensions. We now turn to some contextual factors which may have more direct effects on probation work. These factors are the dispositional patterns of the courts served by small probation agencies and system/agency policies concerning enforcement powers of probation officers.

Court Dispositional Patterns

A variety of factors may be presumed to affect the dispositions of criminal cases. These factors include governing statutes, the types of cases processed by the court, the availability of dispositional alternatives, visibility of court decisions to public scrutiny, and the interests of community influentials. Such factors help determine the frequency with which probation is the sentence selected. In whatever ways dispositional patterns develop and vary across jurisdictions we can presume that they have an impact on probation work and perceptions of probation and may in turn be affected by probation operations. Thus, other factors being equal, the greater the ratio of convicted offenders incarcerated to those put on probation, the easier may be the probation officer's job, but presumably also he or she will probably not be receiving a reinforcing message from the judge about his or her level of confidence in the probation option available to the court. Looking at the relationship from another direction, the greater the confidence of the judge in the probation officer's work, and the greater the latitude enjoyed by the probation officer in making presentence investigation recommendations, and the more closely the probation officer is tuned in to the judge's philosophy, the greater is the potential impact of the probation officer on the court's dispositional patterns.

Based on estimates supplied by officers in charge of small probation agencies in completing the Survey of Agencies (SA) questionnaires, we find that the average percentage of convicted adult offenders placed on probation is 60% while the average percentage sent to prison is 22%. (These averages are per agency for the court(s) served as estimated by the officer in charge.) There obviously is a substantial residual group (18%) who are neither placed on probation nor sent to prison.

At the conclusion of any sizable research effort, the investigator generally has accumulated a set of regrets about decisions he or she has made along the way, a series of "if I had it to do again" reflections. In our case, one of the most important errors was the phrasing of the question about non-probation dispositions. Specifically, we asked, "Approximately what percentage of the adults convicted by the court(s) which this office serves are sent to prison?". The problem of course is that many small agencies deal exclusively or primarily with misdemeanants who in some jurisdictions are incarcerated in jails rather than in prisons. Similarly, short incarcerative sentences even for felons are served in jails in some jurisdictions. Since we had earlier eliminated the distinction between felony and misdemeanor probation cases from the survey questionnaires to make them somewhat less onerous, we lack an effective means of resolving this problem at this time. Consequently, we know neither how many agencies interpreted prison broadly and thus provided the type of information we actually sought, i.e., percentage incarcerated, nor how the residual category is apportioned among such disparate sentences as jail incarceration, fines, or unsupervised conditional release.

For these reasons, the findings on dispositional patterns should be interpreted with a great deal of caution. To aid in achieving a cautious interpretation, we present these findings in terms of the seven part categorization of locus of administration with the expectation that greater confidence can probably be placed in the findings for the agencies part of more centralized systems because (1) we presume that these systems tend to deal less with cases in which a jail sentence is a frequent possibility, (2) they presumably have more accurate records of court actions more readily available to them, and (3) the residual categories are smaller. With these several qualifications in mind, we present in Table 4-7 the means and standard deviations for estimated percentages of convicted adult offenders placed on probation, sentenced to prison, and disposed in other ways, and the ratios of probation to prison dispositions.

The inverse relationships of the ratio of probation to prison dispositions to centralization of the system is of immediate interest. We note that with the exception of the municipal agencies group, which consists of only 6 agencies and almost certainly is heavily oriented toward misdemeanor probation, the probation to prison ratio rises steadily from the most (Federal) to the least (county/ circuit) centralized system type except for the centralized advice group which once again deviates markedly from the prevailing pattern. This too may reflect the inclusion of municipal agencies within this group because of non-monetary ties with state government. Given the measurement problem we have just noted, however, it is difficult to interpret this finding. We note that the residual category also increases nearly monotonically;

Table 4-7 -- Means and Standard Deviations for Estimated Percentages of Convicted Adult Offenders Placed on Probation, Sentenced to Prison, and Disposed in Other Ways by the Court(s) Served, and Ratio of Probation to Prison Dispositions by Locus of Administration (7 fold) for Small Probation Agencies

Locus of Administration	Type of Disposition			Ratio of Probation to Prison Dispositions
	Probation Mean SD	Prison Mean SD	Other Mean	
Federal (# of agencies)	62% 18% (84)	35% 19% (85)	3%	1.8
State (# of agencies)	68% 22% (196)	22% 19% (200)	10%	3.0
Centralized Support (#)	67% 22% (45)	20% 19% (46)	13%	3.4
Centralized Guidance (#)	55% 30% (62)	12% 12% (63)	33%	4.5
Centralized Advice (#)	44% 30% (60)	24% 23% (58)	32%	1.9
County/Circuit (# of agencies)	50% 33% (34)	10% 12% (34)	40%	5.2
Municipal (# of agencies)	25% 28% (6)	12% 9% (5)	63%	2.0
TOTAL (# of agencies)	60% 26% (487)	22% 20% (491)	18%	2.7

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

thus, all of the local ratios might be reduced to or beyond that of the Federal system by apportioning jail sentences submerged in the "other" category to a new ratio of probation to incarceration dispositions.

It is more profitable, therefore, to simply examine the probation percentage figures. They have meaning for the first three groups where we note that both agencies part of completely state-administered systems and those part of systems receiving a majority of their funding from the state have slightly higher percentages of convicted adult offenders placed on probation than does the Federal system. We hasten to add the important qualifications that these findings apply only to small agencies and are based on estimates provided by officers in charge rather than on the official records of the systems being discussed. As some of the respondents noted -- with more than a touch of irony -- small agencies often lack sophisticated information retrieval systems. Nevertheless, and given differences in Federal and state laws enabling jurisdictions for the respective probation systems, this may be a prime area for further research. This is particularly so since there seems to be something of a tradition of expecting the Federal system to lead the way in probation developments nationally.

Policies Concerning Enforcement Powers

Court dispositional patterns reflect something of the constraints placed on probation officers in the performance of their work. The constraint in this instance concerns the identity of those whom the probation officer must supervise. Other important external constraints concern what the probation officer is permitted to do in the course of his/her work. Prominent among such constraints or enablements are

statutory and departmental policies concerning power to arrest and the use of firearms. These are of interest not only in themselves but in terms of what they imply about role expectations and about training.

Without determining whether the source of any limitation was imposed by statutory or a matter of departmental policy, we asked officers in charge whether their probation officers had arrest powers and whether they had authority to carry firearms. For the entire sample, we found that in 80% (427) of the reporting agencies probation officers have arrest powers and in 42% (223) they are authorized to carry firearms. There are no statistically discernible differences between urban and rural small agencies with respect to either variable. There are locus of administration differences, however, with state probation officers (89%) more likely than either Federal (84%) or local probation officers (66%) to have arrest powers, and also more likely (47%) to be authorized to carry firearms than either Federal (33%) or local (37%) probation officers. The pattern is more explicitly displayed in Table 4-8 in which we observe a strictly monotonic relationship at the state and local levels with arrest powers increasing with centralization. Although it is tempting to try to explain these differences in terms of caseload composition variations, notably in regard to parolees and juveniles, Table 4-9 shows that such an explanation is not supported in respect to firearms policy. Here the monotonic pattern breaks down.

The large discrepancy (38 percentage points) between the prevalence of arrest powers and the prevalence of firearms authorization has raised a question concerning the efficacy or judiciousness of arrest powers in the absence of authority to carry a firearm (Thorkildson, Bollensen, and

Table 4-8 -- Locus of Administration by Arrest Powers Policy for 546 Small Probation Agencies

Locus of Administration	Arrest Powers for Probation Officers		
	Yes	No	TOTAL
Federal	75 (84%)	14 (16%)	89
State	203 (92%)	18 (8%)	221
Centralized Support	37 (74%)	13 (26%)	50
Centralized Guidance	51 (70%)	22 (30%)	73
Centralized Advice	46 (69%)	21 (31%)	67
County/Circuit	22 (55%)	18 (45%)	40
Municipal	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	6
TOTAL	437 (80%)	109 (20%)	546

Chi-square = 50.70, d.f. = 6, p < .001
Gamma = 0.41649

Missing cases = 5, or 1%

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

Table 4-9 -- Locus of Administration by Firearms Carrying Authorization Policy for 536 Small Probation Agencies

Locus of Administration	Firearms Carrying Authorization Policy for Probation Officers		
	Yes	No	TOTAL
Federal	29 (33%)	58 (67%)	87
State	102 (47%)	113 (53%)	215
Centralized Support	23 (47%)	26 (53%)	49
Centralized Guidance	16 (23%)	53 (77%)	69
Centralized Advice	32 (46%)	38 (54%)	70
County/Circuit	20 (50%)	20 (50%)	40
Municipal	1 (17%)	5 (83%)	6
TOTAL	223 (42%)	313 (58%)	536

Chi-square = 18.85, d.f. = 6, p < .005

Missing cases = 15, or 3%

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

Bowie, 1979). To begin to get at this and other questions concerning the relationship between these two types of enforcement power, we present Table 4-10. Not only is there a statistically discernible relationship between arrest powers and firearms authorization, but the gamma measure (0.79282) indicates a very strong association. We note, however, that a slight majority of those agencies in which probation officers are afforded arrest powers do not authorize the carrying of firearms. Also, there is even a small number of agencies, 2% (11) of the total, in which permissions and prohibitions are exactly reversed. These contextual constraints and enablements will be of interest to us later when we consider their possible effects on probation officer behavior, attitudes, role conceptions, and training preferences. For now, however, we merely suggest that this four-fold table implies a simple taxonomy of agency orientation with regard to the appropriate focus of probation. Hence, the provision of both arrest powers and firearms authorization (cell A - 210 agencies, 39%) suggests an enforcement orientation while the denial of both (cell D - 97 agencies, 18%) suggests a treatment orientation, at least broadly construed. The off-diagonals represent conditions of apparent dissonance and will be of interest especially with regard to job satisfaction items to be discussed in Chapter 8. The modal category of permission to arrest but denial to carry a firearm (cell B - 214 agencies, 40%), we designate as representing a compliance orientation in which the probation officer is expected to be able to exercise the former power when needed -- presumably infrequently -- by recourse to resources other than a weapon. The rare situation in which arrest powers are denied but carrying a firearm

Table 4-10 -- Intersections of Arrest Powers and Firearms Authorization Policies for 532 Small Probation Agencies

<u>Arrest Powers</u>	<u>Firearms Authorization</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Yes	210 (39%) (Enforcement)	214 (40%) (Compliance)	424 (80%)
No	11 (2%) (Defense)	97 (18%) (Treatment)	108 (20%)

Chi-square = 53.26, d.f. = 1, p < .001
Gamma = 0.79282

Missing cases = 19, or 3%

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

is permitted (cell C - 11 agencies, 2%), we suggest represents a defense orientation.

Finally, we expect that there will be executive/judicial branch differences in the congruence of enforcement powers policies at the state and local levels. As demonstrated in Table 4-11, discrepancies between arrest and firearms authorizations are greater among state and local agencies administered out of executive departments than among those administered out of judicial departments. Presumably then there will be greater congruence of enforcement policies among the latter, greater dissonance among the former. From Table 4-12, we observe that this indeed is the case with 45% of the state and local executive small agencies having dissonant enforcement policies (compliance orientation (44%) or the nearly negligible defense orientation (1%)) compared to 35% of the state and local judicial small agencies (compliance-32%/defense-3%). From the third layer of the table, however, we observe that dissonance in enforcement policy is greatest (55%) among Federal small probation agencies which, of course, are funded and administered out of the judicial branch of government. We note further from this table that, in terms of enforcement policies at least, the treatment orientation is greatest among state and local judicial agencies, enforcement the greatest among state and local executive agencies, and compliance the greatest among Federal (judicial) agencies. The variety of policies among Federal small agencies reminds us that centralization should not be confused with uniformity.

Table 4-11 -- Intersections of Arrest Powers and Firearms Authorization Policies by Source of Funding for 532 Small Probation Agencies

Arrest Powers	Firearms Authorization			Source of Funding
	Yes	No	TOTAL	
Yes	91 (43%) (Enforcement)	93 (44%) (Compliance)	184 (88%)	
No	2 (1%) (Defense)	24 (11%) (Treatment)	26 (12%)	State and Local Executive
TOTAL	93 (44%)	117 (56%)	210 (100%)	
Yes	92 (39%) (Enforcement)	75 (32%) (Compliance)	167 (71%)	
No	7 (3%) (Defense)	61 (26%) (Treatment)	68 (29%)	State and Local Judicial
TOTAL	99 (42%)	136 (58%)	235 (100%)	
Yes	27 (31%) (Enforcement)	46 (53%) (Compliance)	73 (84%)	
No	2 (2%) (Defense)	12 (14%) (Treatment)	14 (16%)	Federal Judicial
TOTAL	29 (33%)	58 (67%)	87 (100%)	

Missing cases = 19, or 3.4%

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

Professional Efficacy: The Small Probation Agency as Stepchild

Thus far, we have considered varieties of small probation agencies as reflected in the survey of such agencies. Survey data have provided us with a broad understanding of some of the structural characteristics of these organizations. Now we consider variations in the dynamics of these agencies as revealed in our field visits. Although the field visit interviews and observations lend themselves to a number of dimensions along which small probation agencies could be classified, we select as a core theoretical category (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) for discussion at this time, professional efficacy. This is appropriate in terms of both the frequency with which this category is indicated in the field visit materials and its importance in explaining the current condition of probation in this country and in suggesting corrective actions.

Training -- the originating focus of this study -- is of interest as a resource contributing to professional development and through it to improvements in the administration of justice. Clearly, however, training provided to probation officers is not enough in itself for the fostering of professional development. There must also be supportive organizational and community contexts. It is important therefore to consider the professional efficacy of small probation agencies in terms of the prestige accorded them in their localities, the autonomy they enjoy, and the influence they exercise.

Problems with regard to professional efficacy was a recurrent theme in the field visits. These problems were manifested in three analytically distinct forms: anomie, embattlement, and complacency or

resignation. In addition, we identified three sub-types of embattlement. Although strains of more than one type of professional efficacy problem could perhaps be identified in some agencies, in the descriptive analysis which follows, we present agencies in terms of the type of sub-type they most clearly represent. Thus, these empirical manifestations are treated as approximations to theoretical ideal types.

Anomie describes the state of affairs in those probation agencies, perhaps particularly noticeable in one or two person offices, in which the probation officer(s) perceives a lack of attention or concern by other important actors in the criminal justice system or in the community. The pervasive feeling is that no one cares what the probation officers does or does not do. The probation officer experiences deficiencies in reinforcement, either positive or negative, for the work performed. Most fundamentally, perhaps, the probation officer thinks not only is his/her work not appreciated, but that his/her professional existence is barely recognized.

While anomie is the lack of norms, an absence of regulations and external expectations or constraints, it does not mean that individuals operating within this context are characterized by anomia, or powerlessness. An anomic one-person probation agency is described below by an officer whose predecessor had worked out of her home and did not have a telephone in the courthouse:

...they put her file cabinet in here and gave me a phone and this is it. I don't know how she ever survived without a telephone or anybody else because the Clerk only has one line and everybody is always in here using this one; I finally told them I was going to start renting or charging. So she really worked at it from her home or wherever, and as far as I come in Monday and Wednesday, I

could come five days a week, I could not come at all, and I don't know who really would care to tell you the truth. I said that if I ever got sick, I wouldn't know who to call to say that I'm not coming, other than I would be responsible if I had appointments to notify them. So there has been no rules or regulations that I have to follow, other than every once in a while the judge keeps coming in, saying, 'When you're employed, you're supposed to sing at weddings.' He comes out with all these things; that's nothing, I have to witness the weddings, I have even acted as the bailiff....

...They need a lot more room, that's what they need because when they have to speak to somebody privately, the attorneys or the state's attorneys or whatever, we have the library or the jury room and this room, and invariably there's always somebody in here that I'm having to throw out or they're throwing me out. Since I was the last one here I go. But they really need more, and as far as the county board and the probation office, I don't think they have any idea what it entails....

..I just kind of figured that the probation office is a stepchild as far as the county is concerned and nobody has ever gone to them or asked for anything or probably even defined the office, so they just ignore it. So I'm working on it, when I'm finished with (the) school (board), I'll start on the county....

...I thought that they should be made aware of this office. Nobody ever comes to visit, nobody knows what anybody does as far as the county board, what we do and what we don't do, and I thought that I would just go down there and tell them one of these days. We don't have mail delivery here; half of my mail comes here, half of it goes to my home. I mean, they could afford a mailbox...

We observe then that this probation officer clearly intends to generate some external expectations. Obviously, she already has her own but she does not consider them alone to be sufficient.

In the embattled agency, the probation officers are very much recognized, but are not appreciated nor perhaps sometimes even respected. Embattlement can take three forms: (1) disputes with local criminal justice agencies and community elites regarding the alleged leniency of probation, (2) perceived depreciation by local government officials of the professional capabilities of probation officers and of the worth and efficacy of their work, and (3) perceived harassment or bungling intervention by a parent agency. The first situation was readily apparent in a five-person agency. After observing a session in which one of the probation officers informally placed an 11 year old boy on supervision with the requirements that he do 25 hours of community service and make \$65 restitution for the store window he had broken, the visitor remarked that he was impressed with the high level of accountability demanded. The probation officer found this ironic since she noted that many people in the town thought that probation was too lenient. She observed that the town is heavily conservative with the orientation being, "put them in juvenile hall." The chief probation officer also reproted that one of the county supervisors had called the probation agency an "unwanted stepchild," and observed that while other departments could get permission to hire someone simply by mentioning it casually to a county supervisor on the street, the chief probation officer has to actually submit a formal request.

The chief probation officer has learned ways of countering these attitudes. One strategy is to hand-deliver restitution payments to victims. He recounted one particularly gratifying incident when he was able to make such a delivery to a merchant in the presence of several

local notables gathered in his establishment. This chief probation officer also takes advantage of public speaking opportunities. His approach is highly visible and aggressive.

It seems perhaps that this kind of siege mentality helps bind the probation officers together, a situation not possible of course in a one person office and improbable in a two person office. Although the agency is embattled vis a vis some community influentials, and apparently among the general populace as well, it enjoys the support of strong allies within the criminal justice system. Thus, after the chief probation officer had mentioned some problems he was experiencing with the board of supervisors to an attorney, he had lunch with one of the supervisors. The supervisor perked up when the attorney commented that he did not like his clients to get probation. To the supervisor's surprise, the attorney explained that the probation officers watched them so closely that they could not spit on the sidewalk, and that the probation officers could even arrest them for violating the conditions of probation even if they did not commit a crime. The supervisor was duly impressed and took the information back to the next supervisor's meeting as if he had done research on the subject.

The chief probation officer described a situation which shows not only the support of another very important actor, but also suggests some inconsistencies in local commitment to the vigorous use of incarceration:

.... My budget does not include care of court wards, placement costs, or foster home budget; that's all in the judge's budget which is neat 'cause he can decide to give us more money... every county ought to do that, and we talked about changing it over to that. I mean, it may look impressive for me to have a two hundred

fifty thousand dollar budget, but I can work with the eighty thousand dollar one a lot better, because if he needs more money all he has to do is order it, and he has to do that every year. We need about thirty thousand a year for placing kids in camps and ranches. The board every year gives him fifteen or sixteen thousand. Every January he orders another fifteen thousand, and they have to give it to him.... I don't know why they play that game.

The embattlement can also come from the other direction; other human services workers are sometimes reticent to recognize the probation officer as one of their own. Thus, a probation officer in an Eastern state observed that the local day treatment center for juveniles "views us as cops", refusing to release information even with a signed consent ('he may not understand that he might be sent to jail as a result of this'), or even to return telephone calls.

The second sub-type of embattled agency is perhaps the most difficult for the individual probation officer to deal with, and the potentially most damaging to the probation officer's professional self-image. It also may be the least prevalent of the three embattled agency sub-types. One clear-cut example of this sub-type is a two-person Midwestern agency in which the chief recounted interactions with the president of the county board in which he told her that he did not consider her work to be very important nor to demand professional skills, and recalled the laidback style of her predecessors as supportive of his contentions. We recognize, of course, that in any halfway complex work situation involving interactions with other organizations and low-level visibility to some important actors, relationships are problematic and negative evaluations by outsiders of insiders' work abound. Nevertheless, for the individual probation agency confronting this problem,

there can be very tangible consequences. Thus, the chief probation officer mentioned above reports working long hours (about 70 a week) at low pay (about \$9000 a year), and faces considerable resistance to hiring new staff. In fact, the second probation officer was originally funded under an LEAA grant and was only retained under general revenue funding when another local judge, from a different court jurisdiction than the one whose budget supports the chief probation officer, agreed to include the new officer's position under his budget. Fortunately for this chief probation officer, the opinion of the late county board president does not seem to be shared by the individuals in the town who have discovered that they can obtain family counseling from the chief probation officer when they run into her in the hardware store, or can track her down in the movie theatre to deal with an emergency.

The third sub-type of embattlement, harassment or interference by a parent agency, is also a frequent occurrence in fields other than probation work. To the extent, however, that probation is construed to be a profession, or that its advocates strive for it to be one, this type of embattlement can be viewed as a threat. In larger scope, it is part of the general problem faced by any professional employed by a formal organization, and confronted with competing demands by the profession and by the bureaucracy. The ramifications can be far-reaching. In a state in which the central probation department either provides training directly or selects which probation officers will receive training from extra-departmental sources, a chief probation officer reports that his agency is passed over because he is on the Department's "shit list" due to his outspokenness. The same chief probation officer also showed the

interviewer a memorandum from headquarters wanting to know what our field visit involved. At the same time, the state department has provided this several-officer agency with only one telephone line. The chief is now attempting to keep a complete log of telephone calls for budget negotiation purposes since the line is frequently busy. He recounted an incident of a sheriff's deputy coming to the office after having been unable to get through by phone for over an hour, and then someone else having to come get him because the phone was still busy.

Perhaps the most serious, and insidious, professional efficacy problem is that of complacency or resignation. This is the negative reflection of the independent/self-sufficient characteristic of small agency probation officers. Complacency appears as satisfaction with the current state of affairs even when that state is seriously flawed. Conspicuous examples of complacency involve those situations in which local jail populations are at or near capacity, in which relationships among criminal justice agencies and service providers trammels confidentiality, and in general, where probation officers are content to accept prevailing definitions of local criminal justice reality by others rather than challenging them when they are an affront to law and justice. Resignation is a variation on this theme, different from complacency in the attitude of the probation officer but equivalent in behavioral consequence. As the flip side of independence and self-sufficiency, complacency also seems to be quite widespread in small probation agencies. Sometimes, of course, it is difficult for the outsider operating without a systematic evaluative framework to differentiate between confidence and complacency.

Two summary observations are in order. The first concerns agency/officer differences; the second concerns the possible sources of professional efficacy problems in small probation agencies.

The reader will perhaps have noticed that some of the case examples focus as much on officer behavior as on agency characteristics. This is a function of the defining features of small probation agencies. In these agencies, particularly of course in the one-person agency, there is often a near-identity between the officer and the agency. This characteristic imposes on the probation officer a heavy responsibility to represent the agency but also affords him/her significant power to affect agency policy. This then is one way in which our interpretation of the problem of professional efficacy and of its implications for actions may require some modification if applied to medium and large agencies.

There remains the question of why small probation agencies experience professional efficacy problems on the types identified. We suspect that they are shaped by three factors which may be found disproportionately in small agency rural settings. First, small agency probation officers tend to be isolated from others of their occupation. Second, we suspect that despite the perceived informality and familiarity of small towns, there is a tendency to take something like the local probation department for granted, to not understand what it does, what it is supposed to do, despite its visibility. Third, there is perhaps substantial front stage (Goffman, 1964) interaction with other criminal justice agencies and local community influentials which together with the probation agency's subjugation to these other actors, contributes to

the policy and programmatic impotence of the probation enterprise. These small agency factors may contribute in special ways to what is perceived as a general problem of professional efficacy in probation nationally, a subject to be discussed further in Chapter 10.

Chapter 5 -- Profiles of Probation Officers in Small Agencies

Few criminal justice occupations have been given as short shrift as probation. One regularly reads accounts of the work of police officers, prosecutors, defense counsel, judges, and correctional administrators. Even parole officers may receive more attention in the literature than do probation officers. Among major criminal justice occupational groups, perhaps only guards are as much ignored -- hence misunderstood -- as probation officers. This chapter together with Chapter 8 is a modest attempt to add to our understanding of the contemporary probation officer. In the present chapter, we consider some of the basic descriptive characteristics of probation officers and present some vignettes sampled from the range of probation officer behavior and modes of work. Three chapters from now -- after considering how probation officers are prepared by training for their work -- we will examine more closely their career patterns, what their work requires of them, and how they perceive their role.

Age

The age of 1098 probation officers reporting their year of birth ranged from 19 (1) to 79 (1). Ages in the sample are fairly normally distributed, although there is a definite skew toward the older ages with a mean of 36, and a standard deviation of 10.8, a median of 33, and a mode of 32 (79 offices). Table 5-1 portrays the age distribution of probation offices in 10 year intervals. Note that 43% of these small agency probation offices are in their 30's, 70% under 40, suggesting a fairly young occupational group.

Table 5-1 -- Age Distribution of Small Agency Probation Officers in 10 Year Intervals (N=1098)

<u>Age Cohort</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Cumulative Percentage</u>
20-29*	303	28%	28%
30-39	468	43%	70%
40-49	161	15%	85%
50-59	119	11%	96%
60-69	38	3%	99%
70-79	9	1%	100%

*Includes one 19 year old

Missing cases = 7, or 0.6%

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

Sex and Race

Probation work in small agencies dealing with adult offenders is primarily the province of white males. Men constitute 82% (903) of the sample; whites 93% (1017). White men represent 76% (832) of the officers responding. Table 5-2 portrays the joint frequency distribution of sex and race.

Experience in Probation Work

The number of years these officers report having spent doing probation work varies from 0 (24 officers) to 30 (2 officers). Consistent with our findings about the relative youth of these individuals, most have been pursuing their chosen occupation for a relatively short period of time. Most -- 54% (591) -- have 5 years or less experience in this field. The largest single category (the mode) is only 2 years, 13% (142). The mean number of years of experience in probation work is 6.8 with a standard deviation of 5.8. Table 5-3 presents more completely the distribution of years of experience. The large number of small agency probation officers who have been employed in this field for relatively short and moderate periods of time augurs well for training, in terms of both need and receptivity.

Current Position in Probation

For the vast majority of small agency officers, probation work is a full-time job. Ninety-seven percent (1070) report being employed full-time in this occupation.

In addition, the great majority of these officers are employed in a line capacity although here there is still quite a bit of diversity. Thus, 74% (812) identify themselves by the title of probation officer

Table 5-2 -- Joint Distribution of Sex and Race of Small Agency Probation Officers (N=1098)

Racial/Ethnic Background	Sex		TOTAL
	Male	Female	
White	832 (76%)	185 (17%)	1017 (93%)
Black	34 (3%)	8 (1%)	42 (4%)
Spanish-speaking/ Hispanic	18 (2%)	4 (-%)	22 (2%)
American Indian	3 (-%)	1 (-%)	4 (-%)
Asian/Oriental	4 (-%)	1 (-%)	5 (-%)
Other	7 (1%)	1 (-%)	8 (1%)
TOTAL	898 (82%)	200 (18%)	1098 (100%)

Missing cases = 7, or 0.6%.

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

Table 5-3 -- Years of Experience in Probation Work for Small Agency Probation Officers (N=1097)

<u>Years of Experience Doing Probation Work</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Cumulative Percentage</u>
0-1	150	14%	14%
2-3	219	20%	34%
4-5	222	20%	54%
6-7	141	13%	67%
8-9	106	10%	76%
10-14	135	12%	89%
15-19	62	6%	94%
20-30	62	6%	100%

Missing cases - 8, or 0.7%

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

while another 3% (38) were coded as "other." Although this classification includes ten individuals who seem to be primarily in an administrative/management position (e.g., Probation Officer/Agent in Charge, Assistant or Deputy Chief Probation Officer), most seem to be line workers with a title slightly different from probation officer (e.g., Court Services Officer or Caseworker, Senior Probation Officer, Counselor, Social Worker, Parole Officer), or with a specialist title (e.g., DWI Specialist, PO in Charge of Abandonment Restitution Officer, Legal Advisor, PSI Specialist, Director of Volunteer services, Work Furlough/Custody PO, Juvenile Specialist), or with a paraprofessional title (e.g., Supervisor Aide, Secretary/ Investigator, Probation Officer Assistant), or with a title indicating functions not conventionally considered part of probation work (e.g., Bailiff, Assistant Bailiff, Civil Investigator).

The remaining 23% of the sample reported that they hold administrative or managerial positions in their agencies. In the small agency context, however, it should be remembered that administrators are also often involved in line activities. Of the probation Officers holding administrative posts, the greatest number, 135 (12% of the sample), report that their position is chief probation officer. Supervisors accounted for another 8% (92) of the sample, and directors of court services for the remaining 2% (20).

Images of Probation Work

The preceding paragraphs have conveyed in very skeletal form something of whom these probation officers are. In Chapter 8 we will explore their backgrounds, how they go about doing their jobs, and their

opinions about the work. Now we turn to some accounts of small agency probation officer behavior intended to provide both more complete information and a better sense of the real life situations of these individuals. Each of these vignettes concerns one officer of one agency encountered in our field visits across the country. They are presented to provide a sense of the range of probation officer behavior and opinions rather than as a complete typology. (All of the names in this section are fictitious).

The Small Town Streetworker

George is the supervisor of a five person agency in a county of about 50,000 population. He is in his mid-30's and has been doing probation work for 8 years following a series of shop and factory jobs presumably interspersed with his military service and college career. His office is on the second floor of a commercial building facing the town square in which the town's "version of street people" hang out. Many of them apparently have been or are on probation. George appears well-known to them and to other persons encountered on the street.

His orientation to his job is nicely captured in his statement, "These kids are yours for life." Four points are made here: 1) he works primarily with young people (through the early 20's) irrespective of whether they are classified officially as juveniles or adults, 2) probationers grow up in trouble with the law -- but generally not for offenses of great magnitude, 3) they have no other place to go or choose not to leave, and 4) close dependency relationships develop. The situation is reminiscent of the "state-raised kids" identified by John Irwin (1970).

Although about 80% of the caseload consists of adults, most of the day of the field visit was spent with juveniles or with young adults. Many have been involved with the probation department for years. The biggest offense, however, according to George, is "stealing," i.e., burglary and larceny. There is little serious personal violence. Youth from all over the county hang out in this regional city although only about 60-70% of them actually reside there.

The relationships between George and the young probationers are cordial and comfortable, at least "with those you don't have to see" who stop in daily or at least two or three times a week. George reportedly sometimes leans out the window of his office and calls in young people loitering in the town square; sometimes they just drop in of their own accord. He emphasized that this is not merely a personal thing but that the relationship is with the entire office with each probation officer knowing all of the cases. He gave the illustration of a girl coming into the office distraught and not wanting to talk with George about it but going out with the secretary instead. George also sometimes takes kids home when they need a place to stay and occasionally hires them to do some work when they need money.

While not adverse to the exercise of authority, he seems more inclined to choose the less drastic of two alternatives, .g., the House of Corrections instead of state prison. When another state was mentioned, he assessed that state as "crazy," telling the story of one of his interstate compact cases who had been given five years probation for stealing something in the other state, and whose good performance in George's state prompted the probation officer to request an early ter-

mination to which an official in the other state responded that they did not do that sort of thing but it would be alright as long as the probationer did not return.

The indeterminate nature of District Court probation, and in particular the fact that the indeterminacy policy was suggested by the probation agency, suggests something about role orientations. Yet, George informed us that they terminate these probationers after an average of about six to eight months on probation. He admitted that indeterminacy did sometimes pose some supervisory problems in that officers sometimes kept probationers on too long but that this was easily rectified by his monthly case reviews.

George indicated that the actual work week for the full-time probation officer is about 60-70 hours. Going over some of his hours for that week, he mentioned a 14 hour day and "10 hours so far today," a day which began with an early morning drive with a student intern to a large city about 100 miles away to pick up a runaway girl. An hour or so after his return, he took off for the hearing concerning the girl. She was committed to the juvenile correctional department. After the hearing the young court-appointed attorney was careful to clarify that his comments about the probation agency's harassing the girl were not directed at George personally, or apparently even at the agency, but were merely part of the defense the lawyer felt obliged to present. George seemed quite aware of the rules of the game.

After we returned from the hearing, our interview was frequently interrupted by probationers stopping in and by telephone calls. A gentle and smiling 16 year old on probation for burglary dropped in to

discuss his quandry about whether he should stay with his mother or allow his father in a distant state to assume guardianship. George said that he could not tell him what to do but suggested that he talk to a certain friend and George would stop by to talk with him about what he had decided. The hearing was scheduled for the next day.

A quiet and pleasant 17 year old, an accomplice in breaking and entering with the girl who had just been committed for running away, stopped in to find out where her friend was. Finding out, she expressed her concern that the other girl would run. George agreed that the situation had no solution and demonstrated this to the young woman through role playing with the outcome that the girl went to the police station to try to reason with her friend.

A young woman came in and told George that she had made the decision. It was later revealed that the decision was to break up with the man who had been beating her and to live with the young man who joined her in the office, himself a probationer. He proceeded to talk with George about job possibilities. He later observed that this young man was alright, but that he had grown up in an area where there were a "lot of bums."

A girl stopped by and the student intern went out to meet with her. A 24-year-old man stopped by a couple of times to keep George informed about some money the probationer was collecting.

Dropping his visitor off about 6 o'clock, George planned to go meet the 16 year old who had stopped in earlier and then to pick up an older couple, known for their brawling, who had just moved into his neighborhood and asked for a ride. George's town is about 15 miles from his

office and has a population of less than 200. He enjoys the country life, being able to watch deer feeding, and has wood heat. He has logged 30,000 miles in a year without making any trips. He seems to know everyone, spends a lot of hours streetworking, and he and his wife sometimes take kids into their home. He had an old foreign sword in the car which he had bought from one of his probationers. Although it is not worth much, George figured taking it away from the individual might prevent some trouble.

The Presentence Investigation Specialist

Jim, a probation officer in a rural area particularly enjoys his presentence investigation assignments. Although the agency for which he works employs only five probation officers, as part of its layered specialization approach, it accomodates Jim's wishes and assigns most of the presentence investigations to him. Nevertheless, in addition to approximately 7 presentence investigations he is assigned per month, he also carries a supervision caseload of about 75.

Not only does Jim prefer doing presentence investigations to supervising probationers, but the press of court deadlines, and presumably the visibility they imply, contribute to the priority he accords his investigation cases. He knows that "(a)s the PSI's increase, my caseload is going to go to hell." Although he is confident that he "can do an adequate job of supervision," he says that he does not have the time to make field contacts as often as he should, to check that his probationers are reporting as often as they should, or to monitor whether they are keeping up with court-ordered payments. He says that "it's not fair" and seems to feel badly about it.

He perceives the presentence investigation as playing a very important role in the disposition of cases and construes the probation officer investigator's function as a unique one:

... I don't feel I'm in a position to have to rubber stamp or support what I think they're going to do. I feel that the object for the PSI is for somebody on the outside who doesn't have any bones to pick, who doesn't have to have the responsibility for prosecution or for defense. They're not there to build the guy up or put him away. I'm just there to make a subjective judgment. I don't have an ax to grind. Look at the man. I think that's one of the values of the presentence investigation. The judge doesn't know a goddamn thing about the guy when he's accepting the plea. And it's not really fair or reputable either to the community or the judge or to the defendant to pass sentence without knowing some of the stuff that is presented in the presentence investigation. Because you know damn well the District Attorney has a responsibility to prosecute and ... things might be colored. And you know very well what the responsibility for the defense attorney is and you know very well what he's going to present in terms of litigation or his evaluation of his client or why the judge should do this or do that. So I'm the only guy on the bill that doesn't have either responsibility.

This theme of the tensions between the interests of the community and the interests of the defendant is played out as Jim in doing his presentence investigations attempts to balance conflicting information and sentiments and develop an evaluation and a recommendation which make sense to him. Another consideration in this mix of interests is that the state corrections authority "says the utmost priority ... is the safety of the community" and that "(r)ehabilitation of the offender comes out about number three or four...." Of course, Jim notes, probably most cases are straightforward enough that arriving at a recommendation is not that difficult. For the routine case involving a 19 year old charged with second-degree burglary, no serious prior offenses,

and living at home or going to school, the problems of decision-making are not that great and these situations can be readily normalized in the sense of Sudnow's "normal crimes" (1965). However, from his experience over the last few years of doing presentence investigations, Jim seems to have an ample supply of accounts of problematic cases. And he acknowledges that he enjoys these "little more complicated" cases more, that he likes the "heavy cases because that makes you work," and that actually he does not like "mundane cases."

Jim gave an example of one such "heavy case," one in which "you can really kind of build the case either way..." The crime was the rape of a very young girl, allegedly by her father who "copped out to an attempted rape warrant." Jim thinks that one reason the charge was reduced was to spare the girl from having to testify. She is now in group therapy and apparently doing well as she is assured that she was not at fault, that she should not feel guilty for what her father did and for what is happening to him now. In the meanwhile, Jim is attempting to fashion a recommendation which makes sense and salvages as much justice as is possible among the conflicting interests, demands, needs, and fears:

... what do you do? He's considered to be not mentally ill ... or a sexually dangerous person. They don't consider him to be amenable to programs as far as the state hospital is concerned or in need of hospitalization. They don't feel that he would particularly benefit from incarceration in the state correctional institution. They feel that he would adequately perform under probation supervision and should receive outpatient treatment. The wife, and mother of the victim, says, 'hey man, this guy belongs in the joint for as long as you can put him there' with good reason. He raped her daughter. The guy is an emotional basket case. He's not crazy but he's about (as) unstable as a

bowl of jello, in my opinion. Because the last time the shrink saw him was over two months ago and he's been in custody since then. And I think, emotionally, he has deteriorated significantly since that time. So what do we do with the guy?... they recommend that he go back in the home and try to reconcile things with the wife and work on the masculinity bit and you know, the wife wants to de-nut him and put him in the joint.... She doesn't want to reconcile or offer him support. He has no workable and viable program in (this state). He wants to go to (another state) where (relatives can) offer him a place to live, a job, get him psychotherapy and so forth. But what do we do in the meantime. He sure doesn't warrant probation. I don't know.... So I've got to make the (decision) and I take that seriously. And I've got to sit down and work that out. I talked to (the District Attorney) on that for about a half hour this morning. What do you think? These are the reasons I'm really kind of hesitating recommending probation. These are the concerns I have. On the other hand, you know, the guy goes to the joint and he's going to get punked every day because you know what guys with that kind of offense, what happens to them in state prison. How do you reconcile that? You know, what are your priorities? Is it his rehabilitation or the protection of the community? And how do you justify one over the other? Do you write him off or do you just say let's take the chance? Is the chance worth it?

Given these circumstances with the disparate messages they carry, Jim seems to think that putting the man on probation and sending him to the other state might be the most viable option -- except "that presents an immediate problem because it takes about two to two and half months, maybe even three months, to get (the other state) to accept the case through interstate compact." Hence, Jim considers the possibility of recommending keeping the offender in work release under medication and with outpatient therapy until the paperwork for the transfer goes through.

Whatever Jim eventually chooses to recommend, there is always the possibility that it will be rejected by the court. This does not bother

him since he is content to know personally that he has given it his "best shot" and has supported the recommendation with "adequate information." He also notes that he can work with an offender who has been placed on probation despite Jim's recommendation that he be sent to prison.

Sometimes discrepancies can be in the other direction with the probation officer recommending probation but the court sentencing the offender to prison. Jim recently had a case in which this type of discrepancy might well have occurred except for a fortuitous event highlighting in a peculiar way the vagaries possible in small town probation work. Jim was working on another difficult presentence investigation, this one concerning a case of criminally negligent homicide (vehicular) in which several persons had died. Although the expectation was that the offender would be sentenced to prison, Jim had decided to recommend probation until another probation officer reported what he had observed while waiting to cross the street. The defendant had leaned out of a pickup truck passing through an intersection and said to a group of pedestrians, 'Next time, we'll run over you.' Jim recommended incarceration:

And here he was just a few days before he's being sentenced for three counts of criminally negligent homicide. So I created a special incident section in my report and put that section... right before the evaluation recommendation where I thought it would do the most good. I didn't want it up in the front of the report where they would skim over. I wanted it right there next to the recommendation.... If he can't be any more responsible, display any more kind of responsible behavior or attitude than that, under the circumstances, then I don't feel he's an appropriate candidate for probation. The defendant was sentenced to prison for five years on each count.

These two cases highlight the importance of the evaluation section on the presentence investigation report, a section Jim takes very seriously. Whereas evaluations in previous presentence investigation reports in this agency generally ran one or two paragraphs, his are one to one and a half pages of legal size paper. He notes that even this length is constrained by "the established pattern" and that "they are tending to get longer and they will get longer as I feel more comfortable with the judges and as they become more used to me, because I thrash it all (out) in the evaluation."

The process by which Jim conducts his presentence investigations is also more thoroughgoing than he perceives the norm to be. Thus, he notes that he always interviews a person at least twice. He also makes a point of not taking the police report with him to the first interview with an offender but just listens to his/her story. By the second time, however, he has not only read the police report but has talked with the victim and perhaps the police officer and the District Attorney. Then he can confront the offender:

I like to sit there and poke holes in him. He's already laid everything out for me the first time.

As noted, Jim interviews victims as well, asking what they think about what has happened, perhaps explaining to them some of the background of the offenders and how they were selected as victims, and emphasizing that what they say will go into the report and be read by the judge.

The rewards Jim receives from exercising his expertise in presentence investigations extend beyond the intrinsic. He observes that "my PSI's are already getting a reputation around here" and that it is

in the difficult cases "where you earn your money and ... where you build a reputation for yourself."

The Outreach Social Worker

Nestled in the mountains of a rural region is a chief probation officer unusual among our small agency sample for two reasons. First, he has a master's degree in social work, a credential he shares with only 4% of small agency probation officers dealing with adult offenders (Survey of Probation Officers, 1979). Second, he -- and his staff of three -- views probation work as an opportunity, even a mandate, for doing aggressive social work on an outreach basis. In large measure, Fred attributes the agency's outreach approach to the service needs of a sprawling, sparsely settled, and economically depressed county.

Fred is in his mid-30's and was selected as the chief probation officer after a stint as a line officer at another small agency in the state, in which he has lived all of his life. His approach to probation work reflects his educational background, with the heavy emphasis on counseling and outreach. Field offices have been established not only to deal with the problem of physical distances to traverse, but also to be drop-in places for residents without access to other social service agencies. Fred notes that "we're the only mobile agency in the county" and that they do not impose the time-consuming and distracting formal application procedures of the state social services bureaucracy:

That's about a thirteen page application, and all that kind of stuff. So this is a real no-hassle deal, you come in, you say you need some help, we give you some help.

In a sense, this agency is similar in its emphasis to the small town street worker agency described earlier in this chapter. But the operationalization of the philosophy is different in that in the first agency the approach is more one of an informal, matter of fact embracing of the town's "state raised children" in a kind of crash pad fashion, while in the present agency the approach is perhaps more deliberate, more self-conscious, and flows from a professional social work agency model, albeit a rural one and one emphasizing outreach and getting out of the central office. Fred states the underlying philosophy in these terms:

See we kind of do things a little bit differently here in small rural probation departments. It's my feeling ... that you really can't work well with most people in the artificial environments of this office. So I want the people out in the community. So every officer has to be out of the office. You only see one here, as a matter of fact. Everybody else is out on the road. And then we have one that stays here for intake.

This intake function covers not only juveniles but also adults who can be brought before the family court, e.g., for spouse beating, or support. Even the intake function is rotated so that it does not become a means by which probation officers become office-bound:

But the whole concept is to get probation out of the office and into the field. And it's hard. These are really comfortable offices. It's nice here. They can stay here, turn the air conditioning on, have people come in. It's a lot less threatening to have the probationers come into the office than to go out into the community.

Establishing the outreach offices was facilitated by community cooperation with office space donated by city government or a veterans' organization. Fred has also been aided in the implementation of the outreach model by the recent high degree of turnover in the agency and

consequent opportunity to hire new -- and young and counseling-oriented -- probation officers.

One of these new officers spoke about his field office in a "tough area" peopled by stonecutters and woodcutters. The availability of the office -- as a service office available to anyone in the area -- has been advertised in the local newspaper although the recent slowness of business suggests to the probation officer that he should do some more publicizing. He is enthusiastic about family therapy and says that he and the other officers are prepared by college education for this approach to counseling. He described the types of cases the agency has and the way with which they are dealt in terms reflecting the social worker's definition of the situation:

We have all types of different cases. They (range) from people who have been a victim of rape to people who have stolen a 19 cent thing out of a store. Naturally, there is a diversity of incidents.... (We) like to look at the incident and see if it warrants probation or not. A lot of times this 19 cent incident in the store... the kid may not have any supervision at home or may be a problem, and the incident requires probation to help that kid. Once they're put on probation we do anything we can to help them. It just depends on the incident, the case, and the record the individual may have.

The approach the chief probation officer and his staff are pioneering in this agency seems then to be something of a mixture of traditional social work treatment/individualized juvenile court philosophy with the realities of rural life and secondary adjustments (Goffman, 1965) to the bureaucratic burdens imposed by a faraway central authority. Thus, Fred complains of "this damn confidentiality" which runs counter to the informal way he likes to operate with clients and with other agencies. It seems that such formal requirements fit uncomfortably

ably in this town characterized by one new resident as a place in which there is nothing to do but "drink and brawl," and in which a less recent newcomer identifies a tripartite division of the populace into the town people, the university people, and the new people. The agency also benefits from the nature of rural life, e.g., with area professionals and academicians providing training and consultation services free of charge, and with excellent cooperation and problem-sharing with the probation agencies in adjoining counties.

The Probation Officer as Potential Victim

In a small city, two probation officers recounted their fears for their personal safety. They work out of a branch office which is part of a large centrally administered system. In this system, training is designed and offered by the central and regional offices; hence, it is considered inadequate by Frank and Ron since things have changed since the administrators were in the field, i.e., conditions are more dangerous. It is not only a matter of probationers or parolees being dangerous -- although that is one manifestation of the problem with threatening situations arising even in the office -- but also of bystanders, notably teenagers, in the areas probation officers must visit, being brazen. For this reason, the probation officers feel that they need training in safety for themselves. Ron noted, for example, that he would like training in self-defense, search and seizure and firearms. Since they are subject to suit, they also need training in how to be liability free as well as physically safe.

When probation officers have raised their demand for safety training, the central office has responded that such training is provided.

Frank and Ron complain, however, that they have to request it and go through the paperwork; their experience in a branch office has lead to cynicism about the utility of such requests.

They consider a team approach to be desirable. Central to their idea of a team approach is doubleteaming on field visits and field investigations. They say that this would increase accountability in addition to lessening the threat they feel.

In recalling a recent training session concerning parole operations, Frank complained that the most the parole agency would do regarding a technical violaton was to 'strongly reprimand' the parolee. The current operations of the agency irk Frank because he considers them as inhibiting the pursuit of "our major purpose (which) is protection of society." He wants there to be hearings by the parole agency and observes disapprovingly that probation officers cannot arrest parolees. There are also delays in obtaining routine reports, further evidence that, in Frank's words, "the system works for the criminal." He notes, however, that the local judges are terrific, that "they give us what we want."

The concern of these officers about safety and security extends beyond their personal physical well-being. Thus, the failure of the department to provide this agency with a paper shredder, despite its request, is mentioned as a security threat. The need for this device became apparent to Ron when he was going home one night and observed his presentence investigation notes sitting in the wastebasket on the apparently unattended elevator. Since, as a branch office, this agency rents space and uses non-governmental janitorial services, Ron expresses apprehension about the possibility of a leak.

Dissatisfaction with the administration of this region is much reflected in suspicion and distrust, again related to a safety and security theme drawn large. Ron claims that the regional office has assigned a probation officer full-time to keeping tabs on the extent to which probation officers in the region are in compliance with reporting deadlines. As a result of inefficiencies in official records, Ron now keeps two sets of files including a "counterfile" of correspondence sent out.

Second Career Probation Officers

For the most part, the probation officers depicted thus far have been individuals who seem to have made choices fairly early in their working lives about becoming probation officers. While they are typical in this regard, it should be noted that there is a substantial minority of small agency probation officers for whom probation work is a second career. Indeed, one thing that struck us about the field visits was the frequency with which we encountered individuals who apparently entered probation as an afterthought after having spent some years doing other things with their lives. Also, these individuals seemed to be disproportionately concentrated in one-person agencies and in part-time positions.

Thus, there was the former college athletic trainer who had also been his town's recreation director before taking over as probation officer in addition to his principal responsibilities as clerk of the court, the former minister who operated an electronics store full-time and had no other office, another former minister who had chosen a simpler life in a small town as the county's only full-time probation

officer and an attorney who became another county's part-time probation officer because of the unfavorable ratio of attorney's to resident population on the island to which he had retired from his career as a Federal law enforcement agent. Likewise, there were three women who, after raising their children, were recruited as probation officers one as the full-time chief in a two person agency and the other two as their respective counties' only probation officer, one part-time, one full-time. Similarly, there was the man who became a probation officer in his 50's after retirement from the state highway patrol, and the woman who took up probation work at the age of 70 after retiring from the state welfare department.

The frequency with which these second career situations were encountered in field visits caused us to wonder whether this was a feature of small agency probation work nationally, or an accident of sampling. As a partial test, we examine in Table 5-4 the ages at which probation officers in the small agency sample entered probation work. While it is clear that most (63%) of the probation officers entered probation work before the age of 30, substantial proportions entered during their 30's (24%) or after (13%). Possible implications of this dynamic for training, for the professionalization movement, and for attempts to enhance probation nationally should be considered.

Table 5-4 provides then some notion of the extent of the second career phenomenon in small agency probation work. Although 30 is not an advanced age at which to embark on a new career, or even on a first career in some fields, it is a reasonable age of entry to probation work to use as an operational indicator of a second career. If one graduates

Table 5-4 -- Age at Entry to Probation Work for
Small Agency Probation Officers (N=1092)

<u>Age at Entry to Probation Work</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Cumulative Percentage</u>
18-24	314	29%	29%
25-29	373	34%	63%
30-34	181	17%	79%
35-39	84	8%	87%
40-49	93	9%	96%
50-59	37	3%	99%
60-70	10	1%	100%

Missing cases - 13, or 1.2%

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1980

from college at the age of 22, serves in the military for four years, and attends graduate school for a couple of years, entry to probation work as first career would still occur before age 30 unless one took another year or two taking odd jobs, traveling, or doing volunteer work or some other enterprise not representing a career choice. Thus, we seem to be on firm ground in saying that for about 37% of the sample, at a minimum perhaps, probation work represents a second career. In Chapter 8, we examine in more detail the ways in which small agency probation officers have been prepared for their work.

Unity through Diversity?

Even the cursory look at small agency probation officers which this chapter provides will remind the reader that this is not a well-defined field, and when viewed nationwide assumes many shapes and operates under a variety of assumptions and constraints. There is a sense too that regardless of what formal job descriptions might say, probation officers adapt their behavior in terms of organizational and environmental realities and in terms of how they perceive their role.

The implications of this diversity and this flexibility for training will be discussed in Chapter 9, and for how the mission of probation is being defined existentially and for how it may continue to be developed will be discussed in Chapter 10. For the time being, however, we note that despite the embattlement, anomie, and complacency/resignation noted in the preceding chapter, and the varieties of probation officer behavior in this chapter, the small agency by virtue of its size offers great possibilities for change via individual personnel changes.

Chapter 6 -- Focus on Training: Realities and Wishes

In the next three chapters, we consider the implications of three key sets of findings for small probation agency training. The first set of findings, reported in this chapter, concerns existing entry-level and in-service training programs and experiences, additional training desired by officers in charge, and obstacles encountered in procuring desired training. The second set of findings, reported in the next chapter, contains the ratings by probation officers of training subjects experienced and their suggestions for an ideal curriculum for experienced probation officers. The third set of findings, reported in Chapter 8, references capabilities required of probation officers, the demands of probation work, and the orientation of probation officers to their occupation and to how the job should be done.

Previous Realities

Since this project was intended to focus on training, substantial portions of the survey questionnaires and of the field visits were devoted to studying this topic, either directly or indirectly. As one means of determining how much training is being provided for probation officers in small agencies, we asked the officers in charge whether their agencies had training for new probation officers and whether they had training for experienced probation officers in 1977 and in 1978. We also asked how many hours of training probation officers in the agency received on the average from each of these three programs.

Table 6-1 on the next page shows that sizable majorities of these agencies reported having both entry-level and in-service training

Table 6-1 -- Extent and Amount of Training Reported by Officers in Charge
(N=551)

Percentage of Small Probation Offices Reporting Training Programs for:	Mean Number of Hours for Average Officer for Agencies Having Programs:		Number of Hours for Average Officer for All Reporting Agencies:	
	Median	Mean	Median	Mean
New Officers - 64% (355)	60	121	40	78
Experienced Officers in 1977 - 65% (343)	32	35	16	22
Experienced Officers in 1978 - 72% (399)	40	39	24	28

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

programs. (Since the wording of these questions was found to be ambiguous, this may actually underrepresent the number of agencies whose probation officers received training.) The median number of hours of training provided was 60 hours for new probation officers and 32 hours for experienced probation officers in 1977 and 40 hours in 1978 for agencies reporting training. When all agencies are considered, including those reporting no training program of a given type, the median values drop to 40, 16, and 24 hours respectively. The substantially larger mean values for length of entry level programs reflects some very large quantities reported by a small number of agencies. Thus, 51 agencies (18% of those with entry-level training programs, 9% of all agencies) reported that the average new officer received from 180 to 997 hours of training. This suggests an intensive training program for new officers, e.g., in an academy setting, or an extensive on-the-job training experience.

To get some idea of what type of training probation officers in small agencies receive, we asked the officers in charge what subjects were covered in the various training programs. The questions provided for open-ended responses. The officers in charge provided a broad array of training subjects covered. We evolved a coding scheme designed to capture the diversity and specificity of the responses while providing a means of using more general subject areas in some analyses. The results are best observed in a thirteen page printout listing the discrete subjects and their codes. For present purposes, Table 6-2 illustrates some of the specific subjects coded within the fourteen general subject areas. The latter emerged from the responses and our understanding of major skill and knowledge areas important for probation work.

Table 6-2 -- General Subject Areas and Examples of Specific Subjects Coded Within Them in Processing the Survey of Officers in Charge (SOC) Questionnaires

<u>General Subject Area</u>	<u>Examples of Specific Subjects Coded Therein</u>
Administrative Policies and Procedures	Legal rights of officers, Departmental concerns, State concerns, Caseload management, probation standards/professionalism/ethics
General Work Skills	Clerical/paperwork, Communication skills, Interviewing, Information processing and systems, management/supervisory techniques, survival techniques/staff development, Interorganizational skills
Court and Legal Skills	Court etiquette and procedure, Investigation (special), Probation revocation, Restitution, Fee collection, Special hearings
Law	Correctional law, New Legislation, Sentencing, Legal research, Paralegal training, Interstate compact, Confidentiality, Constitutional rights of defendants, Decriminalization
Law Enforcement	Police training, Firearms, Safety and security
Community Resources	Programs, Utilization/management, Skills, Diversion
Supervision Methods	Supervision objectives, probation plan, Supervision-related investigation, Relationship to probationer (role of probationer), Relationship to probationer (role of officer), Parole/mandatory release, Supervision in small agency/rural agency problems
Counseling Knowledge and Techniques	Traditional techniques (e.g., diagnosis, crisis intervention, environmental problem solving), Non-traditional techniques (e.g., probation contracting, reality therapy, transactional analysis), Knowledge (e.g., learning disabilities, group dynamics)
Counseling -- Participant Types	Individual, Group, Family/marital, Victims, Mentally ill, Mentally retarded, Young adults
Juvenile	Counseling, Laws, Status Offenders, Investigations, History/court report writing, Rights/advocacy
Drugs and Alcohol	Drug identification, Drug treatment, Alcohol Identification, Alcohol counseling
Pre-sentence Investigation	Investigation, Report writing, Interviews, Classification
General Knowledge -- Orientation	To system, To Department, To job, Visits to institutions
Residual	On the job, training manual, general, other agency

The next three tables indicate the percentage and number of small probation agencies reporting having training in each of the fourteen general subject areas during the three program periods of interest. Table 6-3 shows the pre-eminence of the presentence investigation as a subject to be taught to new probation officers. This is followed in roughly the same degree of frequency by subjects concerning administrative policies and procedures, general work skills, orientation/general knowledge, and supervision methods.

Perhaps the most striking feature of Tables 6-4 and 6-5 are the consistency of the rank ordering of subject areas from 1977 to 1978. The first nine -- counseling knowledge and techniques; general work skills; administrative policies and procedures; law; supervision methods; pre-sentence investigation; law enforcement; court and legal skills; and drugs and alcohol -- vary by no more than one rank during the two years. Also, while each general subject area (except residual) was reported by more agencies for 1978 than for 1977, four were mentioned by more than twice as many officers in charge as 1978 in-service training subject areas. These are: presentence investigation; drugs and alcohol; community resources; and juvenile matters.

The items on training subject areas come from the retrospective accounts of officers in charge whose memory of what training was provided could be expected to be less than perfect. The 1977-1978 increases in reported training are no doubt due in substantial part to attrition in memory and to the recent arrivals of some officers in charge to their present offices. Also, these items provide only the label by which various training experiences are known; they tell us little of the

Table 6-3--Percentage of Small Probation Agencies Reporting Having Training in the Following Subject Areas for New Probation Officers (N=551)

<u>Subject Area</u>	<u>Percentage (Number) of Agencies</u>
Pre-Sentence Investigation	27.8% (153)
Administrative Policies and Procedures	23.8% (131)
General Work Skills	23.4% (129)
Orientation -- General Knowledge	23.2% (128)
Supervision Methods	22.0% (121)
Law	19.4% (107)
Court and Legal Skills	18.9% (104)
Residual	17.1% (94)
Counseling Knowledge and Techniques	16.7% (92)
Community Resources	13.6% (75)
Law Enforcement	9.8% (54)
Drugs and Alcohol	5.3% (29)
Juvenile	3.6% (20)
Counseling -- Participant Types	1.6% (9)

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

Table 6-4 -- Percentage of Small Probation Agencies Reporting Having Training in the Following Subject Areas for Experienced Probation Officers in 1977 (N=551)

<u>Subject Area</u>	<u>Percentage (Number) of Agencies</u>
Counseling Knowledge and Techniques	20.3% (112)
General Work Skills	18.1% (100)
Administrative Policies and Procedures	17.1% (94)
Law	14.0% (77)
Supervision Methods	13.1% (72)
Pre-sentence Investigation	10.3% (57)
Law Enforcement	9.3% (51)
Court and Legal Skills	9.1% (50)
Drugs and Alcohol	7.4% (41)
Orientation -- General Knowledge	6.0% (33)
Residual	5.8% (32)
Community Resources	5.4% (30)
Counseling -- Participant Types	4.2% (23)
Juvenile	3.8% (21)

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

CONTINUED

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Table 6-5 -- Percentage of Small Probation Agencies Reporting Having Training for Experienced Probation Officers in the Following Subject Areas in 1978

(N=551)

<u>Subject Area</u>	<u>Percentage (Number of Agencies)</u>
General Work Skills	28.1% (155)
Counseling Knowledge and Techniques	27.8% (153)
Administrative Policies and Procedures	22.3% (123)
Law	21.9% (121)
Pre-sentence Investigation	21.6% (119)
Supervision Methods	18.7% (103)
Law Enforcement	16.7% (92)
Court and Legal Skills	15.4% (85)
Drugs and Alcohol	15.0% (83)
Community Resources	11.8% (65)
Juvenile	8.7% (48)
Orientation -- General Knowledge	8.7% (48)
Counseling -- Participant Types	5.8% (32)
Residual	5.4% (30)

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

actual content and format of those sessions, how radically different two sessions with the same label can be. To get closer to the realities behind the labels, we will have to rely on data from other sources such as the survey of probation officers and the field visits.

Retrospective Wishes

In addition to what training has recently been provided to small probation agencies, we also want to learn what other training should be provided. This is one of the central questions of this project. One way of considering the question is to ask the men and women who manage these agencies whether they would have liked more training to have been provided in 1978. We did. They would have.

Little over half (52%, 262) of those responding answered that they wish that more training had been provided in 1978. Table 6-6 shows the number expressing a desire for more training in the twelve major subject areas. At first glance, there appears to be considerable congruence between the rank ordering of these subject areas and their rank orderings in 1977 and 1978. This is especially true at the top of the list where counseling knowledge and techniques and general work skills are the subjects in demand. This could mean that agencies other than those which received these types of training in 1977 and 1978 would have liked more training in a specific subject or training in another specific subject under the same general area. For example, an officer in charge might wish that training had been provided in probation contracting as well as in crisis intervention (both coded as counseling subjects) or in writing as well as in management by objectives (both coded as general work skills subjects).

Table 6-6 -- Percentage of Officers in Charge Reporting Desired Additional Training for Staff in 1978 in the Following Subject Areas (N=551)

<u>Subject Area</u>	<u>Percentage (Number) of Agencies</u>
Counselling Knowledge and Techniques	14.9% (82)
General Work Skills	14.2% (78)
Law	9.3% (51)
Drugs and Alcohol	8.7% (48)
Community Resources	8.0% (44)
Administrative Policies and Procedures	7.6% (42)
Court and Legal Skills	5.8% (32)
Law Enforcement	5.6% (31)
Supervision Methods	5.4% (30)
Pre-sentence Investigation	4.7% (26)
Counselling -- Participant Types	3.6% (20)
Juvenile	3.1% (17)

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

Closer inspection of Table 6-6 indicates some substantial differences between the 1977 and 1978 rank orderings. Three are of particular note. Drugs and alcohol and community resources are the fourth and fifth most frequently desired subject areas for additional training. This compares with respective rankings of ninth and tenth in actual frequency of training in 1978. These comparisons enhance the importance of these subject areas as topics for increased emphasis. In contrast, training regarding presentence investigations was the fifth most frequently provided type of training in 1978 but is only the tenth most frequently desired subject area for additional training. This indicator suggests general satisfaction with the level of presentence investigation training currently provided.

What hinders training?

That there is a widespread desire among officers in charge of small agencies for more training is clear from the preceding analysis. The reasons why the training was not forthcoming were elicited by the following question and are presented with their frequencies in Table 6-7:

What were the major obstacles which stood in the way of providing more training in 1978?

Selections by the 551 respondents of the six forced-choice categories provided yielded the distribution presented in Table 6-7.

Probably to the surprise of no one, the lack of time and money were easily the most frequently cited major obstacles to the provision of training. While it is a time-honored custom in most fields of endeavor to decry the paucity of these two resources, one should not too easily dismiss their importance in the case of the small probation agency. There are wide disparities in the funding provided to these organiza-

Table 6-7 -- Percentage (number) of officers in charge (N=551) selecting each of the following as a major obstacle to providing more training in 1978

<u>Suggested obstacle</u>	<u>% (Number) citing obstacle</u>
Lack of money in the budget	50.1% (276)
Lack of time available to probation staff	49.5% (273)
Lack of trainers	24.3% (134)
General lack of knowledge in the probation field about training	13.6% (75)
Other obstacles	12.0% (66)
Staff resistance to training	6.4% (34)

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

tions. While some flourish, many get by on quite modest appropriations -- some of which they must help raise themselves in some cases. At the same time, the caseloads which they manage generally surpass suggested standards and frequently do so by a generous amount. Furthermore, these obstacles are not particularly amenable to amelioration by NIC intervention. Although the money problem can be handled by providing no-cost training institutes and reimbursing probation officers for travel and room and board, this is not a long-term solution. The problem might better be dealt with by acquainting funding bodies with the training needs of these officers as discerned in this project's research, and by developing low-cost training alternatives such as correspondence courses and continuing education credit arrangements with local institutions of higher education.

The time constraint appears even more intractable. If the press of the workload is such that officers actually cannot be freed for training, rather than this being a camouflage for an aversion to training or for a negative assessment of training available, then options for responding to the problem are limited. One approach is to passively wait until increased staffing or declining referrals might allow some of these officers some more time for training. Initial training in case management and time management might also help -- if the time could be found to experience it. The alternative arrangements mentioned earlier, i.e., correspondence courses and continuing education credit programs, might also assist here. Other possibilities for structural accommodations, e.g., instituting a hireback program funded by the state probation/correctional department or by a grant from the state planning

agency (LEAA affiliate), or establishing buddy systems, should also be explored as means of freeing officers in small probation agencies for receiving the training which they would like to have.

The next two most frequently cited obstacles, lack of trainers and a general lack of knowledge in the probation field about training, should be alleviated by the findings of this project. It appears that most agencies do not have problems locating adequate training or availing themselves of the knowledge base about training in probation. This suggests that the problem in regard to these two obstacles may be largely one of visibility which might be resolved by communication about the resources which exist elsewhere.

More than a tenth of the responding officers in charge cited obstacles to training which were not included in the list provided in the questionnaire. These reasons included administrative resistance to training, geographical distances, and the problem of office and caseload coverage in their absence. Staff resistance to training, probably the most sensitive item in the list and hence the one most susceptible to social desirability response effects, was selected by only 6.4% of the officers in charge as an obstacle to training in 1978. This perhaps reflects the fact that there is no probation staff other than the officer in charge in 30.7% (169) of the offices. One might also speculate that the small size of the work unit in general fosters better working relationships by making hierarchial organization less necessary and less salient and encouraging informal, more personalized interactions. Such a situation may especially obtain in the rural and small town environments in which these agencies are presumed to concentrate.

Systematic Differences in Training Provisions

In considering the distribution of training to small probation agencies nationwide, the question naturally arises as to whether the provision of training varies by type of agency. Does a greater proportion of state-administered than of locally-administered probation agencies receive training? Within given types of systems, are rural agencies more deprived than urban ones? Controlling for the locus of administration, does training vary across the regions of the country? As indicated in Tables 6-8 through 6-11, the answers are: yes, no, and a qualified no.

As indicated in Tables 6-8, there are considerable differences between state and local small agencies at all three training points (entry-level, in-service 1977, and in-service 1978) measured. At each of these points (and hence, for the composite measures constructed from them), smaller proportions of local than of state agencies receive training with the percentage differences ranging from 23 (1977 in-service) to 35 (entry-level). While the data indicate aggregate in-service training gains from 1977 to 1978 at the Federal, state, and local levels, the last of these continues to lag behind with 2 out of 5 reporting no in-service training program for 1978 and a majority having no entry-level training.

In attempting to locate reasons for this difference, we find that main office status is an important variable. As shown in Table 6-9, there is no statistically discernible difference among Federal, state, and local small agencies which are branch offices. The correlate of training gaps at the local level is found instead in main offices. Here

Table 6-8 -- Small Agency Training Provisions
by Locus of Administration

Locus of Administration	Entry- level*	In-Service			Either Entry Level o In-Service (1978 or 1977)*
		1978*	1977*	Either*	
Federal (90)	71%	79%	69%	82%	90%
State (271)	78%	82%	73%	87%	94%
Local (190)	43%	57%	50%	62%	68%

*Statistically discernible difference among Federal-State-
Local small agencies at .001 level, using
chi-square test

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

Table 6-9 -- Provision of Any Recent Training by
Locus of Administration by Branch Office Status

Locus of Administration	Agencies with Entry-Level Training or In-Service Training (1977 or 1978) Branch Office Status		Total
	Branch Office* (189)	Main Office** (249)	
Federal (83)	88%	96%	90%
State (214)	94%	93%	93%
Local (141)	91%	62%	67%
Total	85%	73%	78%

*No statistically discernible
difference among Federal-State-Local small probation agencies

**Statistically discernible difference at .001 level,
using chi-square test

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

we find a 31 percentage point difference between state and local agencies with reference to whether any training was reported in 1977 or 1978 or as part of an entry-level program. This finding is supportive of the supposition of a relationship between organizational size and training provisions from whence this project sprang. This support is contingent on our nearly tautological assumption that small local agencies (branch offices) are part of systems larger than those of which small local agencies (main offices) are a part.

State and local differences in training provisions are not explained by urban-rural differences, at least not at the small agency level. This conclusion is derived from the findings presented in Table 6-10; there are no statistically discernible differences in training provisions between urban and rural small agencies at the Federal, state, or local level using the two summary measures.

Finally, we consider regional differences (Table 6-11). Generally, there are no differences within the three major system types in training provisions across the regions of the country. This conclusion must be tempered somewhat for local small agencies, however, due to the cell sizes involved and trends appearing in the data. While the relationships between region and training provisions among local small agencies fail to be statistically discernible, they tend toward significance ($p < .18$ for in-service training alone, $p < .08$ for either in-service or entry-level) given small cell sizes. Furthermore, the percentage differences among regions are striking at the local level particularly when compared with the Federal and state levels. Thus, the largest percentage differences between any two regions are 11 and 18 for

Table 6-10 -- Provision of Any Recent Training by Urban-Rural Location Controlling for Locus of Administration

Locus of Administration	In-Service Training (1977 or 1978) Urban/Rural*		Either Entry-Level or In-Service Training Urban/Rural*	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Federal	86%	72%	89%	92%
State	86%	88%	93%	94%
Local	61%	63%	72%	66%

*No statistically discernible difference at any level, using chi-square test and probability level of .05.

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

Table 6-11 -- Provision of Any Recent Training
by Region Controlling for Locus of Administration

<u>Region</u>	<u>In-Service Training (1977 or 1978)</u>	<u>Either Entry-Level or In-Service Training</u>
A. Federal small agencies*		
Northeast (10)	90%	100%
North Central (21)	81%	90%
South (38)	79%	82%
West (19)	89%	100%
B. State small agencies*		
Northeast (20)	95%	95%
North Central (68)	88%	97%
South (139)	86%	92%
West (42)	88%	93%
C. Local small agencies*		
Northeast (36)	69%	78%
North Central (121)	59%	65%
South (9)	44%	44%
West (19)	79%	84%

*No statistically discernible difference at any level,
using chi-square test probability level of .05

Source: Survey of Agencies, 1979

the Federal agencies, 9 and 5 for state agencies, but 35 and 40 for local agencies. The incipient regional difference among small local agencies is mainly attributable to the lack of entry-level training among such agencies in the South. Although 77% of state small agencies in the South have an entry-level training program, less than 10% of the small number of local small agencies in the South have entry-level training programs. This compares with 41% to 56% of the small local agencies in the other three regions.

Chapter 7 -- Focus on Training: Assessments and Nominations

Although it is important to know what kinds of training are being provided to probation officers and how many are being trained, such knowledge does not indicate what more should be done. It is necessary to know also how the different types of training subjects are being received. Thus probation officers were asked to identify the most and least beneficial subjects and the reasons for those assessments. They were also asked to identify the five subjects they would include in a training program for experienced probation officers. Such findings, presented in this section, comprise a consumer preference inventory for small agency probation training.

We consider first how probation officers in small agencies assess the recent training they have received. In Table 7-1, their responses for most beneficial recent training experience are categorized according to the fourteen general subject areas scheme introduced in the preceding chapter, with a fifteenth category, training modalities, added. Table 7-2 presents the same classification scheme but this time applied to those recent training experiences deemed least beneficial. Higher ranked subject areas in Table 7-1 have been found by more officers to be most beneficial; higher ranked subject areas in Table 7-2 have been found by more officers to be least beneficial. Stated grossly, for a given subject area, it is good to be near the top of the former table, bad to be near the top of the latter table. To provide what may be a

more useful summary measure, and to correct for the problem of lack of standardization discussed below, Table 7-3 presents a ratio of most beneficial to least beneficial mentions for each of the fourteen major subject areas.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the findings, two central weaknesses in this approach should be noted. First, the assessments provide information only about extreme cases, i.e., for each probation officer responding the one training experience which was most or least beneficial. Thus, data are lost to us about the rankings of other subjects encountered by these probation officers in the last couple of years. The focus on extreme cases may be giving us a biased picture of probation officer assessments of training experiences. Second, the general subject areas -- and even the more specific sub-areas given as examples in the tables -- are gross categories, labels linking what may be quite heterogeneous learning situations. Both of these limitations are understandable accompaniments to an attempt to analyze discrete and complex phenomena through national surveys. As such, we consider them to be manageable problems when the purpose of the study is appropriately recognized as providing some indicators about small probation agency training in the aggregate.

Most Beneficial Training Experiences

With fourteen central training subject types -- plus the training modalities category -- provided for coding responses, Table 7-1 displays a considerable degree of scatter in identification of the training topics which probation officers found most beneficial in the past two

Table 7-1 -- Recent Training Subjects Identified as Most Beneficial to Their Work by Probation Officers (N=863*)

Subject Area	% (Number) of Probation Officers Identifying a Subject	Examples of Frequent Sub-Types (Number of Mentions)
Counseling Knowledge and Techniques	19% (167)	Crisis intervention (29), Reality therapy (28), Dealing with difficult human behavior (17), Behavior management (13), Family dynamics (9), Transactional analysis (6)
General Work Skills	15% (131)	Communication skills (48), Management/supervisory techniques (26), Interviewing (25), Survival techniques/staff development (20), Inter-organizational skills (9)
Law	12% (100)	New legislation/court decisions (25), correctional/probation and parole law (18), Sentencing (11)
Drugs and Alcohol Abuse Identification/Treatment	12% (100)	Drugs and alcohol/chemical dependency (50), Alcohol (35), Drugs (15)
Pre-Sentence Investigations	8% (65)	Report writing/preparation (27)
Administrative Policies and Procedures	7% (64)	Caseload management (47)
Supervision Methods	6% (52)	Relationship to Probationer (34)
General Knowledge/Orientation	5% (44)	To duties of probation officer (14)
Law Enforcement	3% (30)	Police training (16), Firearms (6), Self-defense (4)
Court/Legal Skills	3% (28)	Investigation (7), Court etiquette and procedure (4), Probation revocation procedures
Juvenile	3% (25)	Laws (15)
Counseling (Whom)	3% (24)	Family/marital (15), Group (4)
Community Resources	2% (15)	Utilization (4)
Residual	2% (14)	On the job (6), non-specified/informal (15)
Training Modalities	-% (4)	Brainstorming (3)
TOTAL	100% (863)	

*In addition, 15 responded that no subject was most beneficial, 195 did not indicate receiving any training in the preceding two years, and 32 others did not respond to the question.
Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

years or so. Nevertheless, there is some clustering among the first four subject areas which account for most (58%) of the nominations for most beneficial topic. Counseling knowledge and techniques is by far the most popular subject, representing the strong counseling orientation of these probation officers. In fact, when these responses are added to those identifying drug and alcohol treatment and targets of counseling responses, we observe that slightly more than a third (34%) of the responding probation officers cited what could be considered a treatment-oriented subject as their most beneficial recent training experience. The most frequently mentioned treatment-oriented sub-areas are shown in the right-hand column of Table 7-1 and include drug and alcohol treatment, crisis intervention, reality therapy, family/marital dynamics/counseling, dealing with difficult human behavior, and drug-only treatment. We observe in these responses a heterogeneous set of content areas, some of which may be traditional techniques, some of which may be non-traditional, but which support the notion that there is no orthodoxy of treatment technique. Instead there appears to be an occupation laying claim to an eclectic menu of counseling imageries. Whether this represents a multi-faceted and democratic response to a complex and differentiated set of probationer problems, or confusion and lack of knowledge about treatments and about the relationship of mission and treatment, remains to be judged. The former position has conventionally been advanced and there is much to support it. In a time when the appropriate role of the probation officer is being rethought and debated, however, there may be merit in asking some more fundamental questions about training.

General work skills and law follow counseling techniques as the second and third most frequently cited most beneficial type of training received. The general work skills emphasis may be interpreted as reflecting the desire -- and the need -- to upgrade basic skills useful or required in many occupations but particularly important in a semi-profession such as probation work where one is responsible for conveying information among heterogeneous sets of individuals and agencies and reconciling competing interests. Hence, we observe the mentions of communication skills, management/supervisory techniques, interviewing skills, and survival techniques/staff development initiatives including time management and dealing with stress.

General work skills along with administrative policies and procedures and general knowledge/orientation comprise what we call the management-oriented cluster of training subjects. These are relatively non-ideological, non-controversial topics which merely involve getting started on the job and managing the work flow rather than suggesting something about the preferred role of the probation officer. We say "relatively non-ideological" for two reasons: (1) ideology is pervasive as indicated in the recognition that the management-oriented cluster can be considered to betray a managerial ideology, and (2) caseload management, a popular topic which we classified under administrative policies and procedures, is a central component of models advanced by those advocating a brokerage of services or resource management role for probation officers although caseload management also has a less partisan connotation. Regardless of how one construes the ideological affinities of these training topics, subjects within the management-oriented

cluster were selected by over a quarter (27%) of responding probation officers as their most beneficial training experience in the past two and a half years.

The comparatively frequent mention of law training experiences as being most beneficial is particularly gratifying to these authors given our preoccupation with the law and our advocacy that it must be central in a just probation and correctional situation. That thorough legal knowledge and a deep appreciation and respect for the law are minimal requirements to be expected of probation officers is axiomatic. The responses of probation officers to the various training questions indicates that they are further concerned about keeping pace with changes in the law either as enacted by legislatures or determined in court decisions. Their interests tend to focus quite naturally on laws bearing directly on probation, parole, and corrections in general, and on the closely related area of sentencing, a field of law shifting rapidly in recent years.

Other subjects which have traditionally been thought central to the work of the probation officer -- and which have been reaffirmed by the pronouncements of contemporary standard-setting groups -- are mentioned less frequently than the law. These subjects, which may be thought of as sharing a compliance orientation toward probation work, are the presentence investigation, supervision methods, court/legal skills and community resources. While recent training in these subjects either has not been provided or fails to excite most probation officers responding to this question, close to a third (31%) rank one of the compliance-oriented subjects as their most beneficial training experience since 1977.

It may be helpful to compare Table 7-1 with Table 6-6 from the preceding chapter which depicts the training subject general areas officers in charge identified as being offered by their agencies in 1978. This can serve as a check on the reasonable possibility that the rankings of most training subject areas in Table 7-1 reflect the frequency with which such experiences have been offered. Thus, a probation officer who experienced only a training course in crisis intervention will have no option to select any non-counseling technique subject as the most beneficial to him/her. Two caveats are in order. First, the percentage responses per subject area are greater in Table 6-6 than in Table 7-1 because responses in the former were allowed to be multiple while in the latter only one response was permitted; thus, the percentages in Table 6-6 total 229 while in Table 7-1 they total 100. Second, the responses in Table 6-6 are from probation officers in charge in 551 agencies while those in Table 7-1 are from 863 probation officers (including some officers in charge) in approximately 130 of those agencies.

In comparing the two tables, we observe that there is considerable similarity in rank ordering of subject areas ($r_s = .840$, significant at the .01 level). There are only three major divergences, defined as a shift of more than three ranks: drug and alcohol treatment and general knowledge/orientation were ranked higher by probation officers in terms of benefit than they were ranked by officers in charge in terms of availability while the reverse was true of administrative policies and procedures. To get a more standardized idea of the perceived benefit of the various general training subject areas, we move after consideration of subjects considered least beneficial to a presentation of ratios of most to least beneficial mentions.

Beneficiality, Lack of Beneficiality, and Exposure

In considering the least beneficial training experiences of the last 2 1/2 years, we observe in Table 7-2 that once again a small number of general subject areas are disproportionately mentioned. In particular, general work skills, law enforcement, and counseling knowledge and techniques emerge as unpopular offerings being cited by close to half of the responding probation officers (47%). It should be noted incidentally that whereas 95% of probation officers who received training recently identified a most beneficial subject in Table 7-1, only 58% (529/910) of these individuals identified a least beneficial subject in Table 7-2. Three explanations can readily be offered for this situation: (1) the question about least beneficial training subject did not make much sense, (2) some probation officers received recent training in only one subject, and (3) some probation officers considered all training received to be quite beneficial. We have reason to believe that there is validity in each of the explanations although we do not know their relative explanatory strengths.

By comparing Table 7-2 with Table 6-6 (proportion of agencies offering training in given areas) and with Table 7-1 (proportion of officers citing training in given areas as most beneficial), we can better interpret the meaning of all three sets of findings. The first comparison (7-2 with 6-6) is a gross way of standardizing negative nominations in terms of degree of exposure. The second comparison (7-2 with 7-1) is another means of standardizing and also unveils the extent to which popularity and unpopularity vary relative to each other. The latter phenomenon is analagous to the occasional findings of public

Table 7-2 -- Recent Training Subjects Identified as Least Beneficial to Their Work by Probation Officers (N=529*)

Subject Area	% (Number) of Probation Officers Identifying a Subject	(Number)	Examples of Frequent Sub-Types of Mention
General Work Skills	24%	(126)	Survival techniques/staff development (30), Communication skills (24), Information processing and systems (24), Interskills (16), Management/supervisory techniques (15), Interviewing (8), Clerical/paperwork (6)
Law Enforcement	12%	(61)	Police training (29), Firearms (17), Safety and security (14)
Counseling Knowledge and Techniques	11%	(59)	Crisis intervention (8), Transactional analysis (8), Behavior management (7)
General Knowledge/Orientation	8%	(42)	To systems (8), Visits to institutions (8), To duties of probation officer (5)
Administrative Policies and Procedures	7%	(37)	Caseload management (13), Department concerns (10), Probation standards/professionalism (8)
Community resources	6%	(34)	Program information (9), Job placement/vocational counseling (9), Utilization (6)
Pre-Sentence Investigations	5%	(25)	Report writing/preparation (12)
Law	4%	(23)	Title XX (3)
Supervision Methods	4%	(23)	Relationship to probationer (15)
Drug and Alcohol Abuse	4%	(22)	Drugs (11), Drugs and alcohol/chemical dependency (6), Alcohol (5)
Court/Legal Skills	3%	(16)	Report preparation (4), Probation revocation procedures (4), Investigations (3)
Juvenile	3%	(16)	Laws (3)
Counseling (Whom)	2%	(12)	Group (5), Family/marital (4), Victims (3)
Residual	2%	(11)	Academic subjects (6), Non-specified/informal (4)
Training Modalities	-%	(1)	Group discussions/reporting (1)
TOTAL	100%	(529)	

*In addition, 161 responded that no subject was least beneficial, 195 did not indicate receiving any training in the preceding two years, and 220 others did not respond to the question.
Source: Survey of Probation Officers

opinion surveys that a given individual, say Billy Graham or Jimmy Carter, is rated as one of the most admired and as one of the least admired individuals in the same poll.

The rank order correlation (rs) between agency exposure to training areas (Table 6-6) and officer negative evaluation of training areas (Table 7-2) is .662, a relationship significant at the .02 level. There is good reason to believe then that the ranking of subject areas in terms of being least beneficial is a function of exposure to them. That is, the more frequently agencies include a subject area within their curriculum, the greater is the probability that probation officers will evaluate it negatively (or positively as we saw a few pages back in considering the extent to which citing a subject area as most beneficial is a function of provision of training in that area by agencies). This is not a startling finding, but it enhances the significance of deviations from this pattern. Consequently, it is noteworthy that while law enforcement is only the seventh most frequently provided area of training, it is the second most unpopular area of training (defined in terms of the number of probation officers identifying a training experience in that area as the least beneficial undergone since 1977). Similarly, while general knowledge/orientation is only the twelfth most frequently mentioned agency offering, it is the fourth most unpopular area; the comparable ratings for community resources training are tenth and sixth respectively. These three areas are the only ones exhibiting a negative shift of three or more ranks between Tables 6-6 and 7-2. Conversely, positive shifts of this magnitude were registered by training in law (fourth most frequently provided, (eighth most unpopular) and

court/legal skills (eighth most frequently provided, eleventh most unpopular).

The relationship between popularity (Table 7-1) and unpopularity (Table 7-2) of training areas is not quite as strong. Nevertheless, the rank order correlation (rs) of .567 is significant at the .05 level, suggesting that both popularity and unpopularity of training areas are a function of exposure to them. That is, we do have a Billy Graham/Jimmy Carter kind of ambiguous popularity contest type of finding. In looking at shifts by individual training areas, however, we do observe deviations of note, particularly since this comparison takes us quite close to isolating areas which probation officers receive favorably and areas which probation officers receive unfavorably with the extent of exposure being in a rudimentary sense controlled. In this fashion, we find that the downwardly mobile training areas (those whose "least beneficial" rank (Table 7-2) is at least three ranks higher than their "most beneficial" rank (Table 7-1)) are:

Law Enforcement (ninth most beneficial, second least beneficial)

General Knowledge/Orientation (eighth most beneficial, fourth least beneficial)

Community Resources (thirteenth most beneficial, tenth least beneficial)

Conversely, two upwardly mobile training areas (those whose "least beneficial" rank (Table 7-2) is at least three ranks lower than their "most beneficial" rank (Table 7-1) emerge from this comparison:

Law (third most beneficial, eighth least beneficial)

Drug and Alcohol Treatment (third most beneficial, tenth least beneficial)

Beneficiality Ratios

To make standardization more exact, we turn to Table 7-3 in which are contained ratios of the number of "most beneficial" to "least beneficial" nominations for each major training area. This procedure controls for exposure since areas are ranked in terms of ratios which can theoretically vary between 0 (zero "most beneficial" mentions divided by any number of "least beneficial" mentions) and infinity (any number of "most beneficial" mentions divided by zero "least beneficial" mentions). Empirically, as is evident in Table V-10, the ratios for the general subject areas range from 4.5 to 0.4. (The training modalities category has been eliminated from consideration here since only 5 probation officers cited an approach under this rubric and it is not a training subject area.) The average (mean) ratio for subject areas is 1.6 since 859 probation officers identified a training topic as most beneficial but only 528 mentioned one as least beneficial. The reader can readily observe that some areas with relatively few total mentions rank above the average, e.g., counseling targets, and some with relatively many total mentions rank below the average, e.g., general work skills. This suggests that the beneficiality ratio approach is standardizing for exposure. A more direct test is to compare the rankings of the subject areas in Table 6-6 (proportion of agencies in which training in given areas was received) with those in Table 7-3. The rank order correlation (rs) obtained in this comparison is .259 which is not significant at the .05 level (and only becomes acceptable as significant at the .36 level).

Table 7-3 -- Ratio of Most Beneficial to Least Beneficial Mentions for Each Recent Training Subject Area

<u>Subject Area</u>	<u>Ratio of Most to Least Beneficial Mentions</u>	<u>Ratios for Some Frequent Sub-Types</u>
Drugs and Alcohol Abuse Identification/Treatment	4.5 (100/22)	Drugs and alcohol/chemical dependency (8. Alcohol (7.0), Drugs (1.4)
Law	4.3 (100/23)	New legislation/court decision (I*), Correctional/probation and parole law (I), Sentencing (5.5)
Counseling Knowledge and Techniques	2.8 (167/59)	Reality therapy (7.0), Dealing with difficult human behavior (5.7), Crisis intervention (3.6), Family dynamics (2.2), Behavior management (1.9), Transactional analysis (0.8)
Pre-Sentence Investigations	2.6 (65/25)	Undifferentiated/format (2.5), Report writing/preparation (2.2)
Supervision Methods	2.3 (52/23)	Relationship to probationer (2.3)
Counseling (Whom)	2.0 (24/12)	Family/martial (3.8)
Court/Legal Skills	1.8 (28/16)	Investigation (2.3)
Administrative Policies and Procedures	1.7 (64/37)	Caseload management (3.6), Departmental concerns (3.0), Probation standards/professionalism (0.2)
Juvenile	1.6 (25/16)	Laws (5.0)
Residual	1.3 (14/11)	
General Knowledge/Orientation	1.0 (44/42)	To duties of probation officer (2.8), To systems (0.4), Visits to institutions (0.4)
General Work Skills	1.0 (131/126)	Interviewing (3.1), Communication skills (2.0), Management/supervisory techniques (1.7), Survival techniques/staff development (0.7), Interorganizational skills (0.6), Clerical/paperwork/record-keeping (0.4), Information processing and system (0.1)
Law Enforcement	0.5 (30/61)	Police training (0.6), Firearms (0.4) Safety and security (0.3)
Community Resources	0.4 (15/34)	Utilization (0.5), Job placement/vocational counseling (0.3)
TOTAL	1.6 (859/528)	

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

Therefore, the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between exposure and beneficiality ratio is not rejected. That is, it appears that the beneficiality ratios are not a function of exposure to given training subjects. Table 7-3 thus represents a successful standardization procedure.

In examining the table, it is clear that two subject areas -- drug and alcohol treatment and law -- are substantially more popular with probation officers in small agencies in terms of the ratio of "most beneficial" to "least beneficial" mentions than are the twelve other general subject areas. Other areas considered particularly valuable are: counseling knowledge and techniques, pre-sentence investigation, supervision methods, and conselling targets. We also observe that the top seven areas all fall within either the treatment-oriented or the compliance-oriented clusters mentioned earlier. All of the management-oriented and other (miscellaneous) subjects and only one of the treatment-oriented subjects are included in the bottom seven areas. The least valuable areas in the aggregate opinion of these officers are community resources and law enforcement followed by general work skills and general knowledge/orientation. The division of opinion about the value of general work skills training (131 identify one of the constituent training experiences as their most beneficial recent encounter with training, 126 rate one of these experiences as least beneficial) is particularly striking given that this was the type of training reported to be most frequently provided in 1978.

It is worth reminding ourselves at this time that the fourteen training areas used throughout this analysis are constructed categories.

Our approach was to ask probation administrators and officers what subjects were covered in training programs, were most beneficial, least beneficial, or should be provided. These thousands of individual responses were then coded into hundreds of topics at a slightly higher level of generality which were then collapsed into the fourteen general areas. The homogeneity of these categories depends then on the sensitivity of our coding procedures. There is always a trade-off involved of course between having a number of categories small enough to aid comprehension and a number large enough to do justice to the important differences among discrete subjects. While we think that the scheme used represents a judicious trade-off for the types of analysis being pursued, the need for the most specific focus on training possible has prompted the inclusion of findings regarding topic sub-areas and individual topics in the right-hand columns of the tables in this section. Although we have referred to these findings before, they seem particularly important with reference to Table 7-3.

We can thus easily observe from the right-hand column in Table 7-3 that there is quite a bit of variation in beneficiality ratios among sub-types within a given subject area. For example, while reality therapy is rated very highly (7.0), transactional analysis training is assessed quite poorly (0.8), far below the average (2.8) for the general subject area of counseling knowledge and techniques within which both it and reality therapy are categorized. Recognizing the deviations of some sub-types from the score for the general area will be important in any attempt to use these findings for training program development purposes. To refrain from providing training in interviewing (3.1) or

because of the 1.0 ratio for the general work skills subject area would be foolish when the ratio has been suppressed by survival techniques (0.7), recordkeeping (0.4), and other poorly rated sub-types. Similarly, caseload management (3.6) and departmental concerns (3.0) are administrative policies and procedures subjects ranking substantially above the ratios for the area (1.7) and for the probation standards sub-type (0.2). Of particular interest is the poor rating for drug-only treatment (1.4) compared to the high ratings for alcohol-only treatment (7.0) and combined alcohol-and-drug treatment (8.3). This seems consistent with our field visits in which probation officers have alluded to the prevalence of alcohol involvement and the less serious involvement with drugs or its combination with alcohol abuse.

These variations suggest a more fundamental limitation of these data, mentioned at the beginning of this section. Even at the sub-type or individual subject level, the only thing uniting training experiences under a given category is the label for the category. There can be, and no doubt are, wild fluctuations in the content and format of training experiences classified under the same label. The reader is thus cautioned to recognize the aggregate character of this analysis, and its objectives of describing in a global sense what exists and providing general directions for future training initiatives. The decision to choose or avoid training in a given subject should not be based solely on these aggregate findings; assessment of the individual needs of departments and officers to be receiving training must also be considered.

Ideal Training Curricula

In addition to asking what training was provided and which of those experiences were most and least beneficial, we also inquired as to what training should be provided. As already indicated in Table 6-6, officers in charge indicated the areas in which they would have liked their staff to have received additional training in the previous year. In Table 7-4 on the next page, we display findings regarding what probation officers (including officers in charge) believe constitutes an ideal training curriculum for experienced probation officers.

Again we observe the "usual suspects" being mentioned. Table 7-4 shows that probation officers in small agencies think that the ideal curriculum for experienced probation officers -- presumably including themselves -- would emphasize general work skills, counseling knowledge and techniques, and law. Other subjects mentioned with frequency (more than 6% of the total) are: supervision methods, community resources, administrative policies and procedures, drug and alcohol treatment, and the presentence investigation. The reader will observe in the right-hand column the subject sub-types which are frequently nominated for inclusion in the ideal curriculum.

One might reasonably pose once more the question: to what extent are these nominations a function of exposure to these topics? The rank order correlation between 1978 exposure (Table 6-5) and ideal curriculum (Table 7-4) is 2.75, a statistically discernible relationship at the .01 level, indicating that there is a relationship between exposure and perceptions of what training is ideal. This does not tell us however whether current offerings demonstrate sensitivity to what proba-

Table 7-4 -- Number of Mentions for Subjects to be Included in Ideal Inservice Training Program Designed by Probation Officers (N=3955)

<u>Subject Area</u>	<u>% (Number) of Mentions as One of Five Subjects</u>	<u>Some Frequent Sub-Types (Number of Mentions)</u>
General Work Skills	17% (672)	Communication skills (288), Survival techniques/staff development (187), Interviewing (182), Inter-organizational skills (107), Management/supervisory techniques (79), Information processing and systems (55)
Counseling Knowledge and Techniques	16% (622)	Dealing with difficult human behavior (73), Crisis intervention (53)
Law	12% (464)	New legislation/court decisions (98), Correctional/probation and parole law (94)
Community Resources	9% (345)	Utilization (101), Program information (40)
Supervision Methods	9% (353)	Relationship to probationer (170)
Administrative Policies and Procedures	7% (273)	Caseload management (175)
Drugs and Alcohol Abuse Identification/Treatment	7% (267)	Drugs and alcohol/chemical dependency (192), Drugs (50)
Pre-Sentence	7% (266)	Report writing/preparation (110), Undifferentiated/format (95), Investigation (58)
Court/Legal Skills	5% (210)	Court etiquette and procedure (70), Investigation (40)
General Knowledge/Orientation	4% (155)	
Law Enforcement	4% (154)	Police training (76), Safety and security (73), Firearms (57)
Counseling (Whom)	3% (113)	Family/marital (76)
Juvenile	2% (61)	
Residual	1% (44)	
TOTAL	100% (3955)	

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

tion officers want or whether nominations for the ideal curriculum result from positive experiences. Of course in those small offices where the decision about what training will be experienced by the probation staff is decided by the officers themselves, we would expect the former position to obtain. Moreover, the two explanations are not mutually exclusive.

Another way of approaching the issue is to ask whether nominations for an ideal curriculum are related to reported beneficiality. The rs for beneficiality ratio (Table 7-3) and ideal curriculum (Table 7-4) is only 0.80 which is not statistically discernible at the .05 level. This suggests that what probation officers consider desirable in terms of content for an ideal training curriculum is not a function of positive or negative experiences in recent training received. Rather, as indicated in the relationship of exposure and perceived ideal discussed in the preceding paragraph, there seems to be a prevailing consensus about what types of training should be provided and that that training, at least in terms of broad content areas, is generally being provided to probation officers in small agencies. Of considerable interest then are (1) the bases on which training provisions are determined and (2) the exceptional pockets of lack of training provisions.

The first of these questions lies beyond the scope of this project; the second has been addressed in Chapter 6 and will be considered in more detail in Chapter 9. In conclusion, let us take a more fine-grained look at the relationships among exposure, beneficiality, and inclusion in the ideal curriculum. In examining Tables 6-5, 7-3, and 7-4, one subject area in particular stands out for its volatility. That

subject area is community resources. Although community resources was only the tenth most frequently provided subject area of training in 1978 and was ranked thirteenth (and last of non-residual subject areas) in terms of beneficiality ratio, it is the fifth most frequently mentioned subject area for inclusion among the ideal in-service training curriculum. Community resources then seems to be both an important area for training and one in which improvements in training provided are needed. This need becomes even more important when we consider the traditional rhetoric about probation as a community-based alternative. It would make sense then at some point to examine the responses of the 15 probation officers who ranked their community resources training as the most beneficial recent training experience and to compare the responses of the 34 with the opposite opinion to determine whether there are any clues for improving training in this area.

Chapter 8 -- Becoming and Being a Probation Officer

The preceding two chapters have shown what types of training probation officers in small agencies have recently received, how they assess it, and what types of training they think should be provided. This information gives us a good idea of what subject areas are popular with small probation agencies and the officers who work for them. We now want to examine the rationales by which probation training is and should be provided. Implicit in this approach are our opinion that there are normative bases for probation training and our notions about what these should be.

Our approach is quite simple. We posit that determinations of what training probation officers should receive requires prior consideration of two other matters. First, it should be determined what the role of the probation officer should be. From this one should then discern what skills are incumbent on the identified role or roles. Presumably such a process could be conducted as a deductive exercise. This, however, is a research effort in which we are attempting to work back and forth between the inductive and the deductive, between the empirical and the normative.

Continuing in this manner then we work back from training exposure and popularity to skills and then to role orientations. In this chapter we first examine job capability indicators, the skills probation officers report as most important in their work, their educational

programs, and their occupational experiences. To obtain a slightly different focus on skills, we next consider job demand indicators such as allocation of time to different tasks, caseload responsibilities, and constraints on the performance of duties. We then inspect the roles which probation officers construct for themselves as revealed in job orientation indicators such as the factors officers consider most important in the pre-sentence investigation report, the actions which they are likely to take in hypothetical situations, their exercise of authority, and their job satisfaction as it relates to agency enforcement policies.

Job Capability Indicators

In the next paragraphs, we attempt to answer the question, what basic skills are required of probation officers in small agencies? We rely on the opinions of probation officers about what these skills are and on information about their preparation for this line of work.

Probation officers in small agencies were asked to identify in rank order the four most important skills a probation officer should have. With all but forty of the 1105 probation officers in the sample citing at least one such skill, a diversity of open-ended responses was provided. These ranged from the whimsical -- live with low pay, answer surveys -- to the serious. To better comprehend and analyze the responses, we coded them first into over 100 discrete skills, then sorted those in about fifty skill sub-type groupings, and then collapsed those into five broad skill areas. The procedure then is analagous to that followed in coding open-ended responses to the several training questions.

The five broad skill areas are: interactional attributes, character attributes, organizational skills, client-related skills, and other. Interactional attributes are those traits indicative of abilities to relate effectively with other persons generally. Such attributes include knowledge of human behavior, empathy, open-mindedness, flexibility, persuasiveness, firmness, consistency, and the desire to help others.

Character attributes are traits, which while they also may be conducive to effective interaction, are not as closely tied to interaction but rather reflect more of what is intrinsic to the persona. Examples are self-motivation, good character, street sense, common sense, self-awareness, self-control, sense of humor, leadership, learning capacities, physical health, intelligence, and public safety orientation.

Organizational skills are those talents on which formal organizations place high priority and which are required by bureaucratic definitions of acceptable job performance. These skills include: administrative, communication, paperwork, and management skills, decision-making, resource utilization, understanding the role of the probation officer, knowledge about the criminal justice system, the law, and the agency, investigating, and working with the court.

Client-related skills are those acquired abilities which are explicitly needed or desirable for working with probationers. Client-related skills include: expressing oneself, listening ability, counseling, interviewing, teaching life skills, problem identification,

diagnosis/assessment, dealing with crises, supervising probationers, law enforcement, and special technique skills such as sign language and vocational training.

Other skills encompass all miscellaneous responses such as college education, experience, firearms proficiency, driving, neat appearance, and theoretical knowledge. To provide a better sense of skills mentioned and of how they are accommodated within our coding scheme, Table 8-1 provides some exemplars of skill areas and the frequencies with which they were mentioned among the four believed desirable by each probation officer.

Two things stand out in the skills cited by probation officers in small agencies as important to their work. First, they took the liberty of including attributes as well as skills or learned abilities in their identification of "what it takes to be a good probation officer" (question 1 in the Survey of Probation Officers), indicating the perceived importance of these less tangible characteristics. Second, and related to the first observation, the image of probation work which emerges from this list of skills is of a "people work" endeavor in which "anthropological skills" (Bennett and Hokenstad, 1973) which differentiate this new type of profession from traditional professions are critical.

In terms of the rank order of the four major broad skills areas, we observe in Table 8-2 that client-related skills are most often mentioned as the most important (43%) and second most important (35%) skills and organizational skills are most frequently mentioned as the third (41%) and fourth (46%) most important skills. Further,

Table 8-1 -- Examples of Skill/Attribute Areas Probation Officers Consider Among Four Most Important with Frequencies Indicated

Major Skill/Attribute Area	Examples of Responses Included (with frequencies of total mention)
<u>Interactional attributes</u>	General Empathy, general relating, "in the people" business, develop rapport (248) Patience (97) Remain open-minded, flexible (68) Understanding (63) Discretion, judgment, evaluation (49)
<u>Character attributes</u>	Common sense (107) Good character/responsibility/maturity/sincerity/honest, integrity/fair (70) Self-motivated/diligent, conscientious (33) Self-control, stability (20) Self-aware, "in touch with one's feelings" (11)
<u>Organizational skills</u>	Writing ability/relay information accurately (254) Know the criminal justice system, laws, rules (178) Investigating (125) Have management skills, caseload management, Organization (116) Decision-making (42) Understand role of probation officer/understand job (39)
<u>Client-related skills</u>	Communicate by word and action, express oneself, communication (393) Counseling (284) Listening, attending, auditing abilities (184) Interviewing (127) Identify problems and carry out solutions (97) Supervision of probationers (51)

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

Table 8-2 -- Most Important Types of Skills a Probation Officer Should Have as Identified by Probation Officers

Percentage (Number) of Probation Officers Citing:

Important Skills as Identified by Probation Officers	Inter-actional Attributes	Character Attributes	Organizational Skills	Client-Related Skills	Other
Most Important Skill (N=1065)	33% (351)	10% (107)	12% (128)	43% (458)	2% (21)
Second Most Important Skill (N=1055)	27% (285)	8% (84)	29% (306)	35% (369)	1% (11)
Third Most Important Skill (N=1015)	25% (254)	8% (81)	41% (416)	24% (244)	2% (20)
Fourth Most Important Skill (N=920)	24% (221)	12% (110)	46% (423)	15% (138)	3% (28)
Total -- First Through Fourth Most Important Skills (N=1013.75)	27% (277.75)	9% (95.5)	31% (318.25)	30% (302.25)	2% (20)

interactional attributes are the second or third most frequently mentioned skill area throughout the four ranks of importance (33%, 27%, 25%, and 24% respectively) and character attributes are always last by a substantial margin (10%, 8%, 8%, and 12% respectively). In terms of total number of mentions, organizational and client-related skills and interactional attributes are very close to one another, ranging from 27% to 31% of the total. In addition, despite the previously-mentioned tendency of probation officers to nominate attributes as well as more narrowly defined skills, the latter emerge as more important from this analysis, in terms of both a higher ranked importance and total number of mentions. This pattern of responses suggests then that probation officers in small agencies believe that learned capabilities, often understood as anthropocgical skills, first in the area of working with probationers as clients and second in terms of working within an organizational context are most important in doing probation work but that these skills should exist against the backdrop of a demonstrated capacity to work with people in general and, at an even more fundamental level, to be the "kind of person" who can be entrusted with the diverse responsibilities of the probation officer. While some of the elements within this prescription are not achievable via training, and others imply more of an imperative for personnel recruitment and selection processes than for training, the total pattern suggests the need for a comprehensive, wide-ranging, and humanistic training package to capitalize on existing good will and good sense, enhance present skills, and teach new ones.

To return for a moment to the "kind of person" idea implicit in the character attributes suggested, and to get a better sense of ways in which new probation officers have demonstrated their interactional attributes and skills in working with clients and organizations, we look now at the prior experience and education reported by probation officers in the sample.

Probation officers in small agencies tend to be a well-educated group of individuals whether compared with the general population, other street-level bureaucrats such as police officers, or what we suspect are popular perceptions. The level of education would also seem to compare favorably to that of other people work semi-professions (Bennett and Hokenstad, 1973; Etzioni, 1969) such as social work, teaching, and nursing. Although 11% (124) of the responding probation officers reported that they had not finished college, 29% (323) had earned only their baccalaureate degree, 32% (353) had also received some education beyond the undergraduate, without earning an advanced degree, and 27% (301) had received a graduate or professional degree. Although we do not have information about undergraduate major fields of these probation officers, we assume that they tended to concentrate in the behavioral and social sciences. Some support for this notion comes from the data on areas in which they earned master's degrees; besides the 4% (46) who earned master of social work degrees, the great majority of the other 22% (247) received advanced degrees in such behavioral/social science or human services fields as corrections, criminal justice, counseling, communications, psychology, or sociology. It seems then that the ed-

education received by probation officers, at least as measured by labels, is quite congruent with the kinds of skills they deem important and with conventional opinions in the field about what pre-service education should be. It should be noted that we do not know what proportions of educational experience came after entering probation work and thus may have been even more directly tied to job requirements or career advancement incentives.

To get an idea of how probation officers in small agencies are prepared by their prior experience for probation work, we asked what their main occupation was before entering this field. The responses are shown in Table 8-3. A slim majority of respondents report that their previous main occupation was in a field traditionally considered akin to probation work, i.e., employment in criminal justice agencies (23%) or in the human services field (28%). Prominent in the former area are law enforcement (11%) and social work/counseling in a correctional setting (5%) job. Frequently mentioned prior human services positions were in social work/counseling (17%), presumably in a non-correctional setting, and teaching (10%). Prior experience in criminal justice or human services would seem to be what administrators have in mind in preferring related prior work experience of recruits.

We do not know whether the 49% of probation officers in small agencies who did not have prior experience in a closely related field (at least as their main occupation) before entering probation work is high or low compared with their counterparts in larger agencies. But it does suggest rather clearly the need for both entry-level and in-service

Table 8-3 -- Main Occupation Before Entering Probation Work of 1083*
Probation Officers in Small Agencies

Main Occupation Before Probation Work	Number of Probation Officers	Percentage of Total
Criminal Justice -- law enforcement 116 (11%), social work/counseling in correctional setting 49 (5%), institutional corrections 38 (4%), previous probation/parole work 33 (3%), other court work 12 (1%)	248	23%
Human Services -- social work/counseling 179 (17%), teaching 107 (10%), clergy 12 (1%), non-household service 9 (1%)	307	28%
Office Work -- managers and administrators 43 (4%), clerical 43 (4%), sales 39 (4%), professional 33 (3%)	158	15%
Factory/Field Work -- craftsmen 12 (1%), operatives 12 (1%), farm workers 8 (1%), laborers 6 (1%), transport operatives 4 (-%)	42	4%
Other -- student 245 (23%), armed forces 58 (5%), none 16 (1%), homemaker/parent 9 (1%)	328	30%
Total	1083	100%

*22 of the 1105 probation officers in the sample did not answer this question.

Coding procedures: if more than one occupation recorded, take last mentioned unless student, homemaker/parent, or previous probation/parole; if more than one occupation and number of years are given, choose the one with the most years, unless it is one of the three mentioned above.

training programs. Although one could argue that the 15% whose main prior occupation was in some type of office work presumably acquired skills in managerial, communication, or record-keeping techniques transferable to probation work, or that the 4% whose prior main occupation was in some kind of factory or field work were thus presumably prepared to empathize with the individuals whom social control agencies tend to select for intervention, they do not seem to be what is conventionally considered closely related experience. Particularly striking is that for as many as 28% -- previous probation/parole work, student, none, and homemaker/parent -- of these persons, probation work is their first paying job.

Job Demand Indicators

Having achieved some idea from the preceding pages about skills probation officers in small agencies are expected to bring with them to the job or to develop on the job, we turn now to some of the demands the job imposes. The underlying question in this analysis is, what emergent skills are required of probation officers to deal with the types of situations with which they are confronted?

The job demand indicators are comprised of three sets of variables. The first set consists of those variables for which probation officers reported the amount of time they devoted in the average week to various activities. The second set concerns the caseloads carried by probation officers in small agencies. The third set reflects the major problems encountered by these individuals in the performance of their work.

Probation officers do have some discretion, presumably quite a bit of discretion in many cases, about how they use their time. In this sense, the distribution of their time in various activities may be more of an indicator of their role orientation than of job demands. For the purposes of the present analysis, however, we assume that their behavior in this regard is to a large degree constrained and stimulated by structural demands, for example, to complete a pre-sentence investigation report by a certain date, to provide a superior with a monthly report on activities, or to respond to community sentiments about a recent incident. To the extent that the use of time is responsive to such external expectations, it can be considered an indicator of job demands. Ironically, if the use of time is too discretionary, the anomie characterizing the work environment becomes another type of situation with which the probation officer must have the skills or temperament to deal. During our field visits to probation officers in small agencies, some officers, notably in one-person offices, mentioned that they were troubled by anomic circumstances -- a lack of supervision, a lack of expectations by others, a lack of anyone caring what the probation officer does or does not.

Table 8-4 indicates the distribution of their work time as reported by probation officers in small agencies. The first column to the right of the work activities reports the arithmetic mean and the third column the median. The middle column containing the standard deviations provides a measure of the extent of variation in the sample around the average for a given category. The greater the ratio of the standard

Table 8-4 -- Hours Spent in 14 Work Activities Per Average Week as Reported by Probation Officers in Small Agencies

Work Activities	Number of Hours in an Average Week Spent in:		
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Median
a. Face-to-face supervision/counseling of clients --			
in the office . . .	8.1	6.3	6.9
in the field . . .	5.3	4.8	4.2
b. Supervision/counseling of clients by telephone or mail	3.1	2.7	2.3
c. Advocating with agencies and other organizations on clients' behalf	2.0	1.7	1.6
d. Working with and making referrals to community agencies	2.0	1.7	1.6
e. Information gathering for presentence investigation reports	4.5	4.3	3.7
f. Other investigative duties	2.5	2.6	1.9
g. Writing presentence investigation and other reports to the courts	4.0	3.9	3.3
h. Other paperwork	4.1	4.0	3.3
i. Making presentations in court	1.5	2.0	1.1
j. Waiting to appear in court	1.3	1.7	0.9
k. Traveling	4.0	3.8	3.1
l. Staff meetings	0.9	1.1	0.8
m. Administrative duties	3.2	6.0	1.2
n. Other activities (Please specify)	1.0		0.0
TOTAL HOURS	47.3	16.4	42.5

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

deviation to the mean, the more variation there is in the sample. We observe then that there is the greatest concentration around the mean for face-to-face supervision/counseling of clients in the office and the least concentration around the mean for administrative duties. This suggests that the former is the most prototypical small agency probation officer activity, particularly given the size of the mean, and that the latter is the least prototypical small agency probation officer activity. Similarly, client contact activities and community agency related activities in general seem to be more prototypical than duties relating to investigation, court responsibilities, or the maintenance of the agency.

These findings can be compared with previous time studies. Allen, Carlson, and Park (1979: 80-82) have summarized the results of seven time studies at the federal, state, and local levels. While it is not clear what proportion of the probation agencies involved were small, we assume that these findings, representing what is known generally about probation officers' allocation of time, reflect a cross-section of agencies of varying sizes. Allen et al. report (1979: 81):

... the evidence suggests that probation officers devote approximately one-third of their working time to pre-sentence investigations, from two-fifths to one-half of their working time to supervision, and the remainder of their time to activities classified as "other," which includes, among other things, administrative duties....

Given the differences in methodologies and categories used, our findings appear sufficiently close to these previous studies to be considered equivalent. The comparable percentage allocations for probation officers in small agencies are 26% for pre-sentence investigations (defined as activities e, f, g, and i), 43% for supervisions (defined as activities a, b, c, and d), and 31% for other (defined as h, j, k, l, m, and n) activities.

A more recent time study has been reported by Seltzer and Clugston (1979: D-2). As the companion NIC study to the small probation agencies project, the Seltzer and Clugston effort has the advantage of providing a data base on mid-sized probation and parole systems. Unfortunately, their definition of system differed substantially from ours of agency, and more importantly since their charge was to concentrate on administrators, their estimates of probation officer time allocations were provided by administrators rather than by probation officers themselves. Moreover, it appears that the averages presented are for the average officer in each system taken as a unit and thus are not weighted for number of officers in the system which varies by definition from 10 to 100.

With all of these problems in mind, we proceed to a comparison of how probation officers in small agencies report using their time with how probation officers in mid-sized agencies are reported to use their time. The comparisons are further complicated by the different sets of response categories provided in the two studies. Using roughly equivalent sets of categories, we find virtually no difference in the ways in

which these two sets of probation officers use their time with respect to client contacts (56% for mid-sized, 47% for small), investigative duties (22% and 21% respectively), developing community resources (4% for each), and preparing reports and other clerical activities (13% and 17% respectively). The one possible exception to this pattern concerns "other duties" to which mid-sized system probation officers devote 4% of their time compared to 11% by small agency probation officer. The difference, however, may be related to the latter figure including totals from the provided categories of staff meetings and administrative duties which were not listed as separate categories in the mid-sized system study.

To make the time allocation findings a little more palatable and interpretable, we present in Table 8-5 eight clusters of work activities formed from the fourteen work activities presented in Table 8-4. This depiction allows some substantive comparisons. For example, that small agency probation officers spend fourfold the time in probationer contact that they do in brokerage and linking activities may reflect more of a commitment to a caseworker role rather than a community resource manager role among probation officers in small agencies. Such interpretations must, however, be considered tentative since the correspondence between proportion of time spent in a given activity and the salience or effectiveness of that activity is not necessarily one-to-one. Further inspection of clusters in Table 8-5 reveals how individuals oriented toward working with people would be disenchanted with spending a day a week on paperwork and more than another day in ancillary activities

Table 8-5 -- Time Spent in 8 Clusters of Work Activities Per Average Week as Reported by Probation Officers in Small Agencies

Clusters	Time Spent in:	
	Average (Mean)	Percentage of Work Week (Hours)
1) Probation contact -Supervision/counseling (a. and b.)	35%	(16.5 hours)
2) Paperwork -Writing presentence, other reports, and other paperwork (g. and h.)	17%	(8.1 hours)
3) Investigation -Information gathering for presentence investigation reports and other investigative duties (e. and f.)	15%	(7.0 hours)
4) Down time -Waiting to appear in court and traveling (j. and k.)	11%	(5.3 hours)
5) Organizational maintenance -Staff meetings and adminstrative duties (l. and m.)	9%	(4.1 hours)
6) Brokering/linking -Advocating on clients' behalf and working with and making referrals to community agencies (c. and d.)	8%	(4.0 hours)
7) Court appearances -Making presentations in court (i.)	3%	(1.5 hours)
8) Other	2%	(1.0 hours)
TOTAL	100%	(47.3 hours)

(down time, organizational maintenance, and other). It is also clear that explicit officer of the court functions are important, consuming more than a quarter of total work time (investigation, court appearances, and writing pre-sentence and other reports to the court (from Table 8-4)). Less apparent is the extent to which the better than a third of working time in contact with probationers reflects an enforcement or a treatment orientation. Of more interest and utility is a consideration of how probation officers vary in their use of time from this average profile and how such variations are related to training and other variables. For now, however, it is sufficient to say that the diverse activities in which probation officers spend their time are consistent with the diverse areas in which they receive and want training.

Caseloads

The second set of job demand indicators to be examined are caseload distributions. Data regarding the types of cases for which probation officers are responsible are presented in Table 8-6. We observe that most probation officers in small agencies do pre-sentence investigations, supervise primarily adult probationers, and have an average (mean) supervision caseload of almost 80. (The preponderance of adult probation cases reflects the operational definitions of this project in selecting for study only probation agencies which deal with adult offenders, consistent with the mandate of NIC.) If we use a traditional workload determination formula of one unit for each supervision case and five units for pre-sentence investigation, the gross average workload figure is work units.

Table 8-6 -- Average Caseload Distribution for Probation Officers in Small Agencies

Type of Case	Mean (% of Total)	Standard Deviation	Median	% with No Cases of This Type
Adult Pre-Sentence Investigations Assigned Per Month (N=1087)	4.5	6.9	2.9	21%
Adult Intake Cases (Pre-Court) Assigned Per Month (N=1074)	2.8	7.1	0.3	60%
Adult Probation Cases Currently Under Supervision (N=1090)	59.8 (76%)	60.5	42.0	12%
Adult Parole Cases Currently Under Supervision (N=1090)	6.0 (8%)	11.8	0.4	55%
Other Adult Cases Currently Under Supervision (N=1091)	5.5 (7%)	26.0	0.2	70%
Juvenile Cases Currently Under Supervision (N=1091)	7.8 (10%)	18.1	0.2	71%
TOTAL CASES Currently Under Supervision (N=1092)	79.5 (100%)	67.3	59.9	5%
Number of Females Currently Under Supervision (N=1074)	12.6 (16%)	19.1	6.7	12%
Whites Currently Under Supervision (N=1079)	56.8 (74%)	49.6	45.7	6%
Blacks Currently Under Supervision (N=1079)	14.3 (19%)	27.1	3.1	35%
Spanish/Hispanics Currently Under Supervision (N=1080)	4.1 (5%)	19.2	0.3	61%
American Indians Currently Under Supervision (N=1080)	1.2 (2%)	5.2	0.2	75%
Asian/Orientals Currently Under Supervision (N=1080)	0.1 (-%)	0.6	0.0	94%
Others	0.1 (-%)	1.1	0.0	97%

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

These caseloads figures can be compared with those generated by the LEAA/Bureau of Census 1976 survey of state and local probation and parole agencies (U.S. Department of Justice, 1979). According to this national study, counselors in agencies with adult probation responsibilities had an average client caseload of 55.4 (1,121,350 clients divided by 20,229 counselors) on September 1, 1976 (U.S. Department of Justice, 1979: 70). The average supervision caseload of adult probation officers in small agencies at 79.5 is substantially larger (44% larger) than that of adult probation officers in general. Similarly, probation officers in small agencies are assigned more pre-sentence investigations per month than are probation officers in general. The respective figures are 4.5 and 2.8 (997,514 pre-sentence investigations conducted during 1975 divided by 30,043 counselors in agencies with adult or juvenile probation responsibilities divided by 12 months), or 61% more pre-sentence investigations for probation officers in small agencies (U.S. Department of Justice, 1979: 29, 70).

Table 8-6 also displays the sexual and racial/ethnic composition of caseloads in small probation agencies. We observe that the caseloads are predominantly male (84%) and white (74%). For comparison purposes, we note that 82% (903) of the responding probation officers are male and 93% are white (1017). In addition, the 1976 survey of all state and local probation and parole agencies (U.S. Department of Justice, 1979: 38,39) shows that at that time, males comprised 84% of all those on probation, parole, or aftercare and 84% of all adult probationers.

In summary, the caseload demands on probation officers in small agencies appear heavy; they appear even heavier when consideration is given to the informal caseload which we are told is a significant part of some small probation agency workloads. The caseloads are also differentiated frequently in terms of age and legal status of clients and sexual and racial/ethnic composition. This situation is sometimes reflected in the interest of probation officers in training about dealing with probationers with perspectives or needs associated with gender or racial/ethnic status.

Obstacles

Probation officers also indicated in the survey how important various problems are as obstacles to the performance of their work. While the assessment of the importance of these problems can be considered an indicator of job satisfaction, we view them here as indicative of consequential situations with which probation officers in small agencies must deal, and therefore as implying the desirability of certain coping abilities.

Eight problems were listed in the questionnaire; respondents were asked to rate each of them as a major problem, a minor problem, or no problem in the performance of their work. They were also given an opportunity to mention up to three other major problems. The eight listed problems are shown in Table 8-7 ranked from the most to the least serious in the judgement of the probation officers.

The three most important problems -- amount of paperwork, lack of community resources, and caseload size -- are perhaps the same ones we

Table 8-7 -- Problems in the Performance of Probation Work in Small Agencies

<u>Problem</u>	<u>% and Number of Officers Identifying It as:</u>		
	<u>Major Problem</u>	<u>Minor Problem</u>	<u>No Problem</u>
Amount of paperwork you have to do (N=1099)	43% (470)	45% (494)	12% (135)
Lack of community resources (N=1096)	38% (411)	44% (487)	18% (198)
The size of your caseload (N=1100)	33% (364)	39% (424)	28% (312)
Physical distances which you or probationers must travel (N=1104)	24% (269)	46% (508)	30% (327)
Lack of public support for what you are trying to do as a probation officer (N=1098)	18% (199)	50% (554)	31% (345)
Lack of inter-agency cooperation (N=1099)	11% (125)	50% (552)	38% (422)
Lack of office space or equipment (N=1104)	16% (181)	30% (328)	54% (595)
Lack of secretarial, clerical or other office help (N=1100)	13% (138)	27% (298)	60% (664)

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

might expect to find prominently mentioned by probation officers in larger agencies as well. The paperwork problem is consistent with the frequency with which communication skills are mentioned in response to training and skills questions. That a dearth of community resources is a problem was anticipated by the assumptions of the project and the rationale for its existence, although we still do not know whether it is more of a problem with small agencies than with larger ones. That 38% of small agency probation officers find the lack of community resources to be a major problem and another 44% find it to be a minor problem does, however, suggest the need for the abilities to develop useful resources or to compensate for their absence. Our visits to small probation agencies demonstrate that some probation officers do exercise such abilities by capitalizing on neighboring assets of small towns, sharpening grantsmanship capabilities, or being generalists who are all things to all persons, more or less.

The caseload size problem implies that training should foster skills in time management in particular and caseload management in general. There are, of course, more far-reaching implications such as hiring more probation officers or reducing the number of persons placed on probation.

The fourth most important problem -- the distances which must be traveled by probation officer or probationer -- is one which we expected to be of particular importance in small agencies. That almost a quarter of the respondents consider it a major problem suggests that our assumption was correct. It is difficult, however, to determine what the

implications of this problem are for skills required and training desired other than to observe that probation officers should have a high degree of tolerance for travel, be able to use their time judiciously, and be reasonable in making appointments.

Less problematic for probation officers in small agencies are public support, inter-agency cooperation, and the availability of office space, equipment, and help. It should be noted, however, that of the other major problems suggested, the one volunteered most frequently concerned dissatisfaction with the courts, mentioned by 121 (27%) of the 442 probation officers who responded that there were other situations which were major problems seriously interfering with their work.

Job Orientation Indicators

The training which probation officers desire and to which they are likely to be responsive depends on what they perceive their role to be. Conversely, their role orientations can be modified by training received. For both reasons a consideration of how probation officers are oriented toward their work is quite important to this assessment of training needs. We thus consider here some variables indicating what probation officers are likely to do in various situations and what they consider most important in decision-making.

Pre-Sentence Investigation

The pre-sentence investigation and the accompanying report are generally considered important elements in decision-making about who will be placed on probation and what will be done with him/her after being placed in that status. The pre-sentence investigation as an

attempt to provide a comprehensive and incisive portrait of the situation before the court also calls for the consideration of varying types of information -- for example, description of the present legal chronology, discussion of the offense and of the prior record, examination of the offender's background, capabilities, social relationships, and environment. What probation officers think is of the greatest importance for inclusion in the pre-sentence investigation reports should therefore reflect something of importance about their ideas of what probation should be. Of particular interest is the perceived salience of legal vs. social bits of information, and of various sub-types of each.

Table 8-8 depicts how probation officers in small agencies rank items of information in the pre-sentence report in terms of importance. These data are derived from asking probation officers to write in their order of importance the four most important items of information, and then coding the responses into homogenous categories. The classification scheme was modeled after Carter's outline (1978: 65-70). For presentation of analysis purposes, we further collapse the categories into five major types of information in Table 8-8: current offense, prior record, personal history, current information, and decision-making.

Others have noted the importance of prior record and current offense information in probation officers' conceptions of what should go into a pre-sentence investigation report (Allen et al., 1979: 104-132). Results of our survey of probation officers in small agencies, as repor-

Table 8-8 -- Four Most Important Types of Information Items for Inclusion in the Presentence Report by Order of Importance as Identified by Probation Officers

Information Item Type (with list of sub-types)	Order of Importance			
	Most important (N=1056)	Second most important (N=1053)	Third most important (N=1037)	Fourth most important (N=1011)
Current offense -- legal chronology and legal data plea/sentence bargain data, restitution possibilities, official version, defendant's version, statements of interested parties, weapons/violence, at least two versions of offense	32% (335)	20% (207)	13% (132)	11% (110)
Prior Record -- other pending charges, juvenile court history, adult misdemeanor, adult felony, military, defendant's explanation of prior criminality and delinquency, co-defendant(s) and crime partner(s) in prior offenses	41% (438)	31% (324)	12% (128)	5% (54)
Personal History -- general social/family history, history prior to leaving home, marital and post- marital history, education/training, academic education, vocational/professional training, health status and history (including drugs/ alcohol), mental health status and history (including testing and evaluation), employment status and employment history, military service	13% (141)	33% (350)	51% (534)	47% (474)
Current Information -- physical environment, interpersonal environment (including attitudinal), religious involvement, interests and leisure time activities, financial status	2% (23)	6% (64)	12% (123)	15% (150)
Decision-Making -- resources available, evaluation and prognosis, evaluation, prognosis, treatment plan and recommendation, treatment plan, recommendation	11% (119)	11% (108)	12% (120)	22% (223)

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

ted in Table 8-8, are consistent with these previous findings. Information concerning current offense and prior record are what probation officers in small agencies consider most important for inclusion in the pre-sentence report. We note, however, that at least 24% of the responding probation officers do not list current offense information among the four most important items, and at least 11% never list prior record information among the top four. Moreover, we observe that while prior record and current offense types are the elements of information most frequently mentioned as the most important item, when we consider total mentions for all four levels of importance, personal history elements are by far the most frequently cited.

In addition, we see that current information is only infrequently considered important. Before concluding, however, that pre-sentence investigations lack a here and now orientation with reference to non-legal factors, we must note that some of the personal history items no doubt contain considerable current information. Current information may also be reflected in some information items categorized under decision-making. The relative lack of importance attached to decision-making information is also of note, suggesting perhaps a nearly even split among judges whom these agencies serve in terms of a desire for probation officers to be more than conduits of factual information.

Control and Assistance

Another indicator of probation officers' job orientations is how they react in important work situations. Among the more salient work situations are those involving interactions with probationers, partic-

ularly when a crisis is involved. These situations help reveal how probation officers deal with what has conventionally been identified as the central dilemma of probation work, asking the probationer to enter into an open counseling relationship while the probation officer maintains the option of initiating probation revocation proceedings if the probationer reveals too much of the wrong kind of information, or if such information comes to the probation officer's attention by other avenues (Klockars, 1972; McCleary, 1978, e.g.). These conflicting mandates of probation work have been discussed by other investigators (e.g., Ohlin, Pappenfort, and Piven, 1956; Pownall, 1963; Glaser, 1964; Dembo, 1971; Crow, 1974) in terms of control and assistance responsibilities. As we noted in Chapter 3, these dimensions are generally treated as theoretically independent of one another. Following this assumption, researchers have suggested types of probation officers derived from the combination of their control orientation and their assistance orientation.

Pursuing this approach, we selected from the array of questions others have used to get at these dimensions one designed to identify degree of assistance orientation and another designed to identify degree of control orientation. The assistance question was:

When one of your adult probationers tells you that his or her employer has been harassing the probationer and asks for your help, what do you generally do?

The control question was:

When a probationer under your supervision temporarily leaves the jurisdiction, contrary to

the conditions of probation and without permission, what do you generally do (assuming that this is the first time this has happened)?

Four forced choice responses indicating various levels of control or assistance and one response category for specifying some other action were provided for each item. These response categories are identified in Table 8-9 where we have cross-tabulated responses to the two items after first ordering them from highest to lowest on the respective control or assistance dimension. This represents an attempt to go beyond the fourfold typologies used by Pownall (1963), Glaser (1964), Dembo (1971), and Crow (1974) while pursuing the same approach of fitting control orientation with assistance orientation.

In examining first the marginals in Table 8-9, we observe that both the lowest assistance response and the lowest control response were almost never selected as the reaction of choice. Further, the highest control response (request a revocation) was also rarely selected (24, or 2%, out of 1034 ordered responses). Ordered responses then clustered in the three highest assistance actions and in the two intermediate control actions. Corresponding to these frequency distributions is the concentration of 904 cases (97% of those with ordered responses in each dimension) in the six cells formed by the intersections of these three assistance actions and two control actions.

This concentration of responses suggests that we can propose a sixfold typology which encompasses 82% of the 1105 probation officers in this sample. These six types are highlighted in Table 8-9 by the box

Table 8-9 -- Probation Officers' Reported Likely Assistance Actions By Reported Likely Control Actions in Two Hypothetical Situations (N=1105)

Assistance Dimension	Control Dimension						TOTAL
	Highest Request revocation	Warn	Discuss	Lowest Take no action	Other	Missing	
Personally contact employer	13 (1%)	70 (6%)	219 (20%)	1 (-%)	13 (1%)	0 (0%)	316 (29%)
Arrange for proba- tioner to talk with employer	2 (-%)	24 (2%)	148 (13%)	0 (0%)	8 (1%)	0 (0%)	182 (16%)
Advise probationer	7 (1%)	86 (8%)	357 (32%)	4 (-%)	19 (2%)	1 (-%)	474 (43%)
Do nothing	1 (-%)	2 (-%)	3 (-%)	1 (-%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (1%)
Other	0 (0%)	9 (1%)	64 (6%)	1 (-%)	16 (1%)	0 (0%)	90 (8%)
Missing	1 (-%)	5 (-%)	16 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	14 (1%)	36 (3%)
TOTAL	24 (2%)	196 (18%)	807 (73%)	7 (1%)	56 (5%)	15 (1%)	1105 (100%)

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

drawn around them. How does this typology compare with the three and fourfold typologies developed by Ohlin et al., Pownall, Glaser, Dembo, and Crow? First, a closer examination of the actions probation officers selected suggests that the conventional imagery of high assistance vs. low control assistance and of high control vs. low control may be misleading. While it appears valid to order the options presented along high-low continua, it may be more fruitful to conceptualize them also as different types of assistance or control and thus help to avoid a pejorative interpretation. In this way, we can think of the first assistance response as a type of direct intervention, of the second as a type of coordination, and of the third as a type of facilitation. The popularity of the facilitation response reflects perhaps not a repudiation of assistance, but a reconceptualization recognizing free-agency, responsibility for self of probationers and other clients/consumers. Such a perspective seems consistent with what we understand of shifts in counseling education to the rhetoric of facilitation in the last two decades or so.

Similarly, the second control response (as well as the much less frequently selected first response) can be considered a type of enforcement orientation and the third control response a type of compliance orientation. We note that the inclination among these probation officers is very much in the direction of discovering the source of non-cooperation rather than strictly enforcing the condition of probation.

The selection of only two of the hypothetical situations developed and used by previous investigators does not permit us to elaborate further on the typology suggested here. Since we decided not to burden the questionnaire with a larger number of these items, there are limits to how much we can use these data. Two other observations are in order, however, before leaving these data. Not only do we recognize the logic of earlier investigators' claims that control and assistance are conceptually distinct dimensions, but Table 8-9 suggests that they are empirically distinct as well. While the chi square of 42.091 with 9 degrees of freedom for the joint frequency distribution is statistically discernible at the .001 level, it is a weak relationship attributable in large part to the sample size. Thus, we observe that the association between control and assistance, as measured by gamma, is only .127 which means that one could not with much confidence predict one value from knowledge of the other.

The second observation is that this conflict is considered a problem by probation officers in small agencies. Sixty-three percent (683) of the responding probation officers agreed or strongly agreed with the statement:

One of the most difficult things about being a probation officer is trying to reconcile responsibilities for assisting the probationer with responsibilities for controlling the probationer.

This appears then to be an area on which training must continually be directed since no final resolution is acceptable.

In considering the tensions in probation work between expectations of being both an agent of the legal system and a human services worker, we can also turn to behavioral evidence from the surveys. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Survey of Agencies generated findings regarding the enforcement policies of small probation agencies. In addition, probation officers were asked in the subsequent survey about the extent to which they took actions consistent with an enforcement orientation or exercised authority in their relationships with probationers. Other questions pertained to punitive actions taken by others, but in which the probation officer might have played an initiating or facilitating role. Arrayed from those enforcement behaviors over which the probation officer presumably had the most control to those over which he/she presumably had the least control, the indicators solicited were as follows:

- whether they carried firearms
- how many adult probationers they had arrested in the past year
- how many of their adult probationers in the past year had their probation revoked for a technical violation
- how many of their adult probationers in the past year had their probation revoked for conviction of a new crime
- how many of their adult probationers in the past year were incarcerated

Clearly, the latitude enjoyed by probation officers in exercising enforcement powers will depend greatly on the constraints placed on them by a particular system. Hence, we would expect agency policy prohib-

iting the carrying of firearms to reduce --although not eliminate (cf. Keve, 1979) -- such behavior. Similarly, arrest behaviors require statutory authorization if probation officers are to do something more than make citizen arrests. Nevertheless, the findings presented in Table 8-10 give us a general sense of the extent to which small agency probation officers do engage in enforcement behaviors given varying organizational constraints, situational opportunities, interaction contexts, and their own backgrounds.

We note from these findings that it is atypical for a small agency probation officer to arrest a probationer, and even more atypical for an officer to carry a firearm. A majority, however, have recently had probationers whose probation was revoked for a technical violation, a situation which suggests generally some exercise of authority by the officer. Others have observed that it is in the area of discretion regarding technical violations that the tensions between control and assistance are most dramatically played out (Klockars, 1972; Ackerman, 1976; McCleary, 1978). The pattern continues with regard to the measures furthest removed from the control of probation officers with the great majority having recently had probationers whose probation was revoked for conviction of a new crime and an even greater majority having recently had probationers who were incarcerated. While it would be hazardous at this point to attach causal significance to this phenomenon, it is at least interesting to observe that -- at least as we have measured them and arrayed the measures -- as enforcement behaviors are controlled less by probation officers and shared more with others, e.g.,

Table 8-10 -- Summary of Enforcement Behaviors of Probation Officers in Small Agencies

- A. "Do you ever carry a firearm while working as a probation officer?" (N=1094)
- Yes -- 21% (229)
No -- 79% (865)
- B. "How many adult probationers have you arrested in the last year?" (N=1095)
- 0 -- 63% (680)
1- 5 -- 23% (251)
6-10 -- 7% (81)
11-25 -- 6% (63)
26-75 -- 1% (12)
- Mean -- 2.5 Standard Deviation -- 5.8 Median, mode -- 0
- C. "In the past year, approximately how many of your adult probationers had their probation revoked for a technical violation?" (N=1079)
- 0 -- 43% (460)
1- 5 -- 45% (481)
6-10 -- 8% (84)
11-25 -- 4% (40)
26-68 -- 1% (14)
- Mean -- 2.8 Standard Deviation -- 5.6 Median -- 1 Mode -- 0
- D. "In the past year, approximately how many of your adult probationers had their probation revoked for conviction of a new crime?" (N=1080)
- 0 -- 29% (314)
1- 5 -- 46% (495)
6-10 -- 15% (160)
11-25 -- 9% (95)
26-102-- 1% (16)
- Mean -- 4.3 Standard Deviation -- 6.0 Median -- 2 Mode -- 0
- E. "In the past year, approximately how many of your adult probationers were incarcerated?" (N=1055)
- 0 -- 18% (187)
1-5 -- 34% (359)
6-10 -- 20% (215)
11-25 -- 21% (218)
26-102-- 7% (76)
- Mean -- 9.4 Standard Deviation - 12.0 Median -- 5 Mode -- 0

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

probationers, police, prosecutors, defense counsel, and judges, enforcement actions increase. Stated grossly, probation officers are less enforcement-oriented than the criminal justice systems within which they work. Or framed in Donald Black's terminology (1976), probation officers do not make as much law as do their counterparts permitted discretionary behavior in the realm of criminal law.

This relatively small amount of enforcement activity by probation officers is particularly interesting in view of the support they express for an enforcement role for probation officers. Thus, we note that while only 37% (407) actually arrested any adult probationers in the past year, 67% (731) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, "Probation officers should not be authorized to arrest probationers," and 23% (248) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement.

This notion that probation officers refrain from assuming the full degree of enforcement authority -- symbolic or behavioral -- accorded them is further supported when we examine their reported behavior relative to agency policies on the carrying of firearms and the making of arrests. Thus, we find that only 46% (182) of probation officers working in small agencies in which the carrying of firearms is permitted actually do so while working. Similarly, only 43% (386) of those in agencies in which probation officers have arrest powers actually arrested an adult probationer in the past year.

Concerning enforcement policies, we suggested in Chapter 4 that congruence in agency policies regarding firearms and arrest powers might be related to probation officer job satisfaction. That is, we supposed

that in those agencies in which officers were permitted to both carry firearms and make arrests (enforcement orientation) or were denied both (treatment orientation), probation officers would express greater job satisfaction than would their counterparts in agencies in which there was incongruence between these policies (compliance orientation or defense orientation). The underlying assumption was that policy incongruence would lead to unresolvable tensions for probation officers, frustrating them in the conduct of their work and diminishing their enjoyment of it. In popular parlance, probation officers would be receiving a "double message." As indicated in Table 8-11, the hypothesis is not supported by the data; job satisfaction is not related to congruence of agency enforcement policies. This failure to reject the null hypothesis suggests several possible explanations: (1) agency/enforcement policies are not salient for probation officers; (2) they are able to work around the policies; (3) when first confronted, policy dissonance harms morale but dealing with the tensions produced perhaps collectively, enhances job satisfaction, restoring it to a level comparable to that found in agencies with policy congruence; (4) the measures of job satisfaction employed are too crude to reveal the attitude differentials suggested by the hypothesis. We do not know the relative validity of these explanations, and it does not appear that the STSPA data base can adequately address this issue.

Table 8-11 Probation Officer Job Satisfaction
by Agency Enforcement Policy Types

A. Affective Job Satisfaction
("How much do you like or dislike the work you are doing?")

Agency Enforcement/ Policy Type	Like it a Great Deal	Like it Pretty Much	Ok, it is a Job	Dislike it Pretty Much	Dislike it a Great Dea
Enforcement (arrest and firearm authority)	65% (247)	29% (109)	5% 20%	1% (2)	1% (2)
Compliance (arrest, no firearms)	64% (311)	30% (148)	5% (22)	1% (6)	0% (0)
Defense (no arrest, authority to carry firearm)	81% (13)	19% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Treatment (no arrest, no firearms)	67% (116)	28% (49)	2% (3)	2% (3)	1% (1)
Total	65% (687)	29% (309)	4% (45)	1% (11)	1% (3)

Chi square=10.86349
with 12 degrees of freedom
Not significant at .05 level

B. Instrumental Job Satisfaction
("How frequently does your job give you
an opportunity to do the things you do well?")

Agency Enforcement/ Policy Type	Very Frequently	Frequently	Sometimes	Hardly Ever
Enforcement	33% (124)	47% (178)	19% (71)	2% (6)
Compliance	35% (173)	47% (232)	16% (81)	1% (6)
Defense	31% (5)	50% (8)	19% (3)	0% (0)
Treatment	29% (51)	54% (94)	16% (27)	1% (1)
Total	33% (353)	48% (512)	17% (182)	1% (13)

Chi square=5.05173 with
9 degrees of freedom

Not significant at .05 level

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

Chapter 9 -- Conclusions and Recommendations: Training for Small
Probation Agencies

Our research suggests three major conclusions about training for small probation agencies, the assumptions on which this project is based, and the probation officers who work in these agencies:

- 1) although training is provided extensively, in some cases by organizations cognizant of urban/rural, large/small agency differences, there are notable gaps;
- 2) it appears that there are consequential differences between small agencies and larger agencies, but that some of the more significant ones for the purposes of this study are subtle;
- 3) probation officers in small agencies tend to be independent, self-sufficient, and frequently, innovative, and appear to be doing their work in ways comparing favorably with that of their counterparts in larger agencies.

Training

Both the surveys and the field visits have highlighted the substantial degree to which training is being provided to small agency probation officers, and the high degree of quality they generally attribute to training provided. Moreover, two of five of those who have not received training recently did not view its absence as a serious problem. This is not to say, however, that NIC's interest in small agency probation training is misplaced; rather, the scope of the training to be provided may be more delimited than expected and the ways in which it might be delivered may be different than originally anticipated. In a way, this makes the task more difficult. If deficiencies in training were uniformly immense throughout the occupation and the

nation, wide varieties of training subjects and modes could be more or less indiscriminately dispensed with beneficial and non-redundant consequences. Given our findings, however, concerning pockets of deficiencies and deprivations within a sea of training, a more thoughtful approach to targeting training is indicated. Suggestions for how such an approach might be implemented are proposed in this chapter.

Differences

While we have been frustrated in the attempt to identify discrete differences between small agencies and larger ones by the exclusive focus of our data collection efforts on the former, we have been able to tease out some apparent differences by comparing our findings with those reported elsewhere. Thus, as reported in Chapter 8, such comparisons of probation officers in small agencies with those in larger agencies indicate that:

-there appears to be little difference in the reported distribution of work time among general categories of activity (e.g., probation officers in general have been reported to spend about 33% of their working time on presentence investigations, 40%-50% on supervision, and 17%-27% on other activities; the comparable distribution for probation officers in small agencies are 26%, 43%, and 31% respectively):

-probation officers in small agencies have substantially larger supervision caseloads and do more presentence investigations than their counterparts;

-the sexual composition of caseloads is virtually the same.

More definitive comparisons of agencies of varying size can be documented by secondary analysis of data from a national census of probation and parole systems conducted under the auspices of LEAA.

While the differences presented above and those we propose to examine further bear indirectly on training requirements, there is a dearth of systematic information comparing small agencies with larger ones regarding training and the specifics of probation work in these different contexts. Nevertheless, in the course of our field visits, we have observed some apparent differences pertaining to training and professional efficacy. One such difference is the importance of scale for determining what is feasible and desirable for probation work in small agencies. One manifestation of this problem as it relates to training is that there is sometimes a presupposition of numbers of resources unreasonable to assume for a small town. Thus, a probation officer observes that an approach to alcoholism treatment requiring that the probation officer first pull together ten alcoholics is not appropriate for his situation. Another probation officer in another location suggests that a training session on something which only happens in his caseload four times a year and then all in the same month will be of questionable benefit to him or to others in similar circumstances.

More generally, there appears to be a difference of potential importance regarding the community context in which probation officers work. While there may be relatively little difference between large agency and small agency probation officers with reference to education and skills, there appears to be considerable difference in the community circumstances with which they deal. We expected that small agencies would be advantaged by informality and neighborliness conventionally expected of small towns, and hampered by the lack of conventional com-

munity resources. While some field visits have lent substantial support to the former notion, and 37% (411) of the probation officers report that lack of community resources is a serious problem [only 18% (198) report that it is no problem], there is another important community context differential which has been more serendipitously revealed. It appears that well-qualified and committed probation officers in some small agencies deal with unsophisticated local officials whose views of criminal justice were formed in another era when the county's probation officer perhaps was an untrained retiree rewarded with a political sinecure in the probation office. There is then the possibility of a substantial gap between what probation officers are and can do, and what they are perceived to be. This problem may be exacerbated by what we perceive to be a visibility without understanding characteristic of some small towns. This stands in marked contrast to the prototypical large agency setting in which probation officers perhaps more often enjoy the professional freedom afforded by the cloak of urban anonymity, as well as the presumed greater criminal justice sophistication of local officials who provide funding or other resources.

Self-Sufficiency

Related to these community context considerations is the self-sufficiency of probation officers in small agencies. Despite whatever deficiencies they suffer in terms of community resources or training, probation officers in small agencies are generally learning what they have to do and apparently doing it well. Their independence and self-sufficiency was reflected in the bemusement or bewilderment they sometimes conveyed about this study. They did not want to be patronized.

Indeed, they suggest lessons -- in creatively making do with less, in working with extant community support systems, in demanding accountability yet maintaining respectful, even warm relationships with probationers -- which might be more closely studied for application in larger agency and urban settings. In this vein, we are sometimes tempted to conclude that the introduction of greater "professionalism" might interfere with, even do irreparable damage to, the informal "natural" flow of rural probation services.

Yet despite the innovations and commitment of individual probation officers, there remains the issue of the frequency of incarceration in some small agency jurisdictions, a phenomenon we have also observed. Perhaps this represents a legitimate response to community sentiment; perhaps it even is more effective than we care to admit. However, whether the requirements of justice, fairness, decency, and humaneness can be better met by increased use of the probation option is worth exploring. Possible means of implementing this suggestion are presented in Chapter 10.

Recent and Desired Training Provisions

The general theme linking findings regarding training is that while training deficiencies are not a universal problem in small agencies, they are a problem of considerable magnitude and potential consequence for small probation agencies in the aggregate, and even more so for particular states, systems, agencies, and officers. We review here in summary fashion some of the evidence presented earlier and examine how it indicates that there is no pervasive, all-encompassing crisis in small agency probation training and yet there are some glaring deficiencies and deprivations.

First, regarding entry-level training, 64% (355) of the officers in charge reported that it is provided. Half of the agencies have 40 or more hours of training for new officers. Half of the agencies with any entry-level training have a program consisting of 60 or more hours.

Second, regarding in-service training, 72% (399) of the agencies had training for experienced probation officers in 1978.¹ Half of the agencies reported that their average probation officer received at least 20 hours of in-service training in 1978. Of the agencies which had in-service training and reported the number of hours (371), half had 40 hours or more per officer.

Third, training provided is quite diversified in terms of subjects covered. Although we collapsed training subjects into thirteen major areas, the specific responses provided identified hundreds of specific topics including some considered among the more advanced in the field such as changes in sentencing laws, crisis intervention, reality therapy, management by objectives, time management, and stress management.

Fourth, probation officers generally like the training they receive. Thus, 95% (863) of those reporting having received some training in the past two years identified a most beneficial training subject while only 58% (529) identified a least beneficial training subject. In addition, 18% (161) volunteered the opinion that all training received was beneficial while only 2% (15) stated the converse. Clearly, training is being well received in small probation agencies.

Given these findings, one might ask, where then is the problem? The problem is twofold: (1) because probation is organized under scores

of auspices throughout the nation, there are pockets of both wealth and deprivation, and (2) even in the aggregate, there is a shortfall in training provisions. The implications of the first problem are discussed in the following section, where we highlight some of the pockets of training deficiency and deprivation and propose some means of filling them.

The second problem can be considered in terms of both minimum standards and numerical projection. From the perspective of minimum standards, it is not entirely satisfactory that 28% of small agencies had no in-service training in 1978, only 36% (186) had 40 hours or more, and only half (260) had at least 20 hours for the average probation officer. Likewise, there is the unambiguous finding that 17% (189) of the probation officers reported that they received no training from 1977 to 1979.² Clearly, a preponderance of the field is receiving training. But would we be satisfied to find that the great majority of doctors, lawyers, and auto mechanics were adequately trained if our doctor, lawyer, or auto mechanic were one of the training-deficient? Considering training not as a nice diversion but as a fundamental element of professional development, the aggregate level of training suggests that despite great gains in recent years (e.g., a 1977-1978 increase of 11% in known agency coverage) and an amount of training surpassing our expectations, there is still considerable room for improvement and expansion. And many probation officers share this opinion; 42% (454) agree or strongly agree with the statement, "A serious problem in probation work is that sufficient training has not been provided for staff." Similarly, 52% (262) of the officers in charge

reported that they would have liked their staff to have received more training in 1978 than they actually did. Table 9-1 on the next page shows that probation officers who have not received training are more likely than those who have to agree that insufficient training is a serious problem. The distribution suggests that there are organizational or resource obstacles preventing training.

The second sense in which aggregate small agency training deficiencies are too great is realized when we indulge in numerical projection, i.e., translating our responding sample findings into population estimates. Estimating the total number of small agency probation officers who have not had any training in the past two years requires an elementary algorithm, presented in the next section. For now, it is sufficient to note that we estimate that over 800 small agency probation officers have not had any training in the past two years. Projecting from the sample averages presented in Chapter 8 (Table 8-17), we estimate that these training-deficient probation officers have over 63,000 individuals under their supervision, and are assigned over 43,000 presentence investigations a year.

These estimates suggest at least three questions:

- 1) is that all?
- 2) do they want to be trained?
- 3) are these numbers large?

The answers are:

Table 9-1 -- Training Received in Past Two Years (Yes/No) by Level of Agreement or Disagreement with Statement Concerning Importance of Insufficient Training as a Problem in Probation Work

"A serious problem in probation work is that sufficient training has not been provided for staff."

Received any probation-related training in past two years (1977 to present)	Strongly Agree		Neutral	Strongly Disagree		Total*
	Agree	Agree		Disagree	Disagree	
Yes	110 (12%)	229 (25%)	182 (20%)	326 (36%)	55 (6%)	902 (83%)
No	43 (23%)	72 (39%)	13 (18%)	32 (17%)	7 (4%)	187 (17%)
Total	153 (14%)	301 (28%)	215 (33%)	358 (33%)	62 (6%)	1089 (100%)

*16 missing observations

Chi-square=41.568 with 4 degrees of freedom
 significant at .0001 level
 Gamma= -0.361

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

- 1) No. These numbers only represent a worst case situation, i.e., where probation officers have gone for a long time without any training. Presumably there are other gradations of training deficiency.
- 2) We think so. As indicated in Table 9-1, 61% (115) of the seriously training-deficient probation officers agree that insufficient training is a serious problem in probation work, suggesting that they place a high value on the importance of training. We do note, however, that 67% (114) of the training-deficient probation officers work in agencies which reported having in-service training in 1977 or 1978. Yet again, we recall, as reported in Chapter 6, that 52% (262) of the officers in charge would have liked their staff to have received more training in 1978, and usually mentioned lack of time or money as the major obstacle.
- 3) Yes. The appropriate analogy to numerical projection is the familiar situation where someone objects to the assurance that a certain section of the Federal budget equals only a small proportion of the total by calculating the absolute number of dollars involved. Similarly here whether one chooses to emphasize reintegration or community protection goals for probation, the complete absence of training in the past two years for over 800 probation officers responsible for over 63,000 convicted offenders is striking.

Specific Directions for Training

The major objective of this project was to develop some clear research-based guidelines for small probation agency training. In this section, we zero in on some of the most important training implications of the findings. Our recommendations are organized under three categories. First, we summarize appropriate curriculum directions for small probation agency training in the aggregate. Second, we go beyond this generalized model approach to propose modes of delivering training tailored to the needs of individual states, systems, and probation officers. Finally, we suggest some alternative means of providing training for this market.

Model Curriculum Guidelines

In Chapters 6 and 7, we reviewed at some length our findings from the surveys of both agencies and probation officers regarding entry-level and in-service training provided to probation officers in small agencies, the perceived beneficiality of training received, and subject areas in which more training is desired and which should be part of an ideal curriculum for experienced probation officers. Here we summarize the implications of these findings for a general model curriculum for small probation agencies for adult offenders throughout the United States. Table 9-2 on the next page depicts these findings grouped according to their implications for action.

We attempt in this table to determine what three sets of findings considered together mean for emphasis, by NIC or others operating at the national level, on general subject areas in which training might be provided for small probation agencies. Each of fourteen subjects is listed with its rank (very high/high/medium/low) on the dimensions of exposure, beneficiality, and desirability. Exposure is defined in terms of the proportion of agencies reporting provision of the subject to experienced probation officers in 1978 (as reported in Table 6-5). Beneficiality is defined as the ratio of "most beneficial" to "least beneficial" mentions by responding probation officers for given general subject areas (as reported in Table 7-3). Desirability is defined in terms of the proportion of responding probation officers (reported in Table 7-4 with reference to proportion of subject mentions) who include a given type of subject in an ideal training curriculum for experienced probation officers. Listed of the criteria are its numerical rank and

Table 9-2 -- Summary Implications of Exposure, Beneficiality, and Desirability Findings for Training Development and Delivery in Fourteen General Subject Areas

General Subject Area	(a) 1978 Exposure	(b) Beneficiality	(c) Desirability	Training Development and Delivery Implication
General Work Skills	Very High (#1; 28%)	Low (#12; 1.0)	Very High (#1; 65%)	Improve
Community Resources	Medium (#10; 12%)	Low (#14; 0.4)	Medium (#4; 33%)	
Law & Legal Issues	High (#4; 22%)	Very High (#2; 4.3)	High (#3; 45%)	Safe Bet
Counseling Knowledge & Techniques	Very High (#2; 28%)	High (#3; 2.8)	Very High (#2; 60%)	
Drugs & Alcohol	Medium (#9; 15%)	Very High (#1; 4.5)	Medium (#7; 26%)	Expand
Supervision Methods	Medium (#6; 19%)	High (#5; 2.3)	Medium (#5; 28%)	
Presentence Investigations	High (#5; 22%)	High (#4; 2.6)	Medium (#8; 26%)	
Participants in Counseling	Low (#13; 6%)	High (#6; 2.0)	Low (#12; 3%)	Speciality
Administrative Policies & Procedures	High (#3; 22%)	Medium (#8; 1.7)	Medium (#6; 26%)	Saturated
Court & Legal Skills	Medium (#8; 15%)	Medium (#7; 1.8)	Low (#9; 20%)	
Law Enforcement	Medium (#7; 17%)	Low (#13; 0.5)	Low (#11; 15%)	De-emphasize
Orientation/General	Low (#12; 9%)	Low (#11; 1.0)	Low (#10; 15%)	
Juvenile	Low (#11; 9%)	Medium (#9; 1.6)	Low (#13; 6%)	Not Applicable
Residual	Low (#14; 5%)	Medium (#10; 1.3)	Low (#14; 4%)	

Sources: Tables 6-5, 7-3, and 7-4 (modified to reflect percentage of probation officers rather than percentage of subject mention) for columns (a), (b), and (c) respectively

either the percentage of respondents mentioning it or the ratio. The final column contains our conclusion as to what this may mean for further training development and delivery.

The seven resulting sets of implications are listed roughly in order of (a) level of effort required and (b) attractiveness of anticipated results in positively affecting probation training. We begin with the more difficult and more attractive. The strategy in arriving at these conclusions was (1) to inspect the relationships among exposure, beneficiality, and desirability in terms of both the configuration of the relationship and its vertical position, (2) to group together subject areas with similar profiles, and (3), finally, to attach plausible names to these groups.

Thus, general work skills and community resources have a similar V-shaped relationship among the three criterion variables with low ratings on beneficiality of recent training experiences but moderate to very high ratings on exposure and desirability. While training in these areas is being provided at a respectable rate, and probation officers agree that such training is important to their work, they are not favorably impressed in general with what they have received. Three steps are indicated. First, there should be a more fine-grained analysis of the research findings to specify differences among the array of individual topics composing these areas, particularly general work skills, to locate crucial problems and promises. Second, an analysis must be made of the reasons given for positive and negative ratings in these two areas to discover what is going wrong -- and what role NIC might be able to play in rectifying it. Third, training in these areas must be improved

to meet the high expectations probation officers have for them. This is the greatest challenge contained in these implications. The directions such improvement efforts should take must await completion of the first and second steps suggested above.

The next three sets of general subject areas are very promising low-risk ones for continued training development. It appears that it would be difficult to go wrong in expanding training in these areas. This is especially true of the "safe bets" -- law and legal issues and counseling knowledge and techniques. Probation officers have frequently experienced these subjects, they consider them very beneficial, and they wish to have them included in an ideal curriculum for experienced probation officers. Moreover, recent court decisions have made legal training a critical element in probation officer preparedness for the responsibilities of the position (Ackermann, 1980; Kutcher, 1977; Head, 1977).

The profile is similar for drug and alcohol treatment, supervision methods, and presentence investigation training, except that exposure and desirability are not quite as great as they are for the subjects mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The satisfaction probation officers report with training in these areas together with moderately strong desirability ratings suggest, however, that many other probation officers could benefit from expansion.

There appears to be a much more limited market for training in participants in counseling. However, twice as many probation officers mentioned training in this category as their most beneficial recent training experience as mentioned it as the least beneficial. Of course,

if this area was combined with the kindred counseling knowledge and techniques area, the latter would enjoy even more substantial exposure and desirability ratings with little detriment to its beneficiality ratio.

Interpretation of the findings and implications for the last three sets of subject areas is fairly straightforward. The "saturated" subjects are just different enough from the "expand" subjects to suggest a maturity associated with familiarity and a lack of excitement. The findings regarding de-emphasis and non-applicability of the final two sets of subjects are apparent.

Targeting Training

Since small probation agencies are quite heterogeneous, as has been demonstrated in this report, and training for them at the national level is not indicated either by the spread and concentration of their training needs nor by the level of resources likely to be available, the global implications of our findings presented in the preceding paragraphs are of limited practical utility. They were presented for illustrative purposes, as a summary statement, and hopefully are of heuristic value. At this point, we turn then to a consideration of how small probation agency training can be targeted more fruitfully and what kinds of training should be provided where.

We begin by renewing our pursuit of numerical projections as discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Table 9-3 displays our estimates of the number of seriously-training-deficient small agency state and local adult probation officers in each state as of mid-1979. "Seriously-training-deficient" is defined as not having received any

training in the previous two years. We also estimate in the table the number of training-deprived probation officers, i.e., seriously-training-deficient probation officers who would like to receive training, operationally defined in terms of agreement with the statement that lack of sufficient training is a serious problem in probation work.

The algorithms for deriving these estimates are as follows:

$$T = t(P/p) (A/a) (U/A)$$

$$= \frac{UtP}{pa}$$

where T = population estimate of t

U = universe of small probation agencies

t = number of probation officers reporting no training received 1977-1979

p = number of probation officers responding to Survey of Probation Officers (SPO)

P = number of probation officers in SPO sample

a = number of agencies responding to Survey of Agencies (SA)

A = number of agencies in SA sample

$$\text{and } T' = (t'/t) (T)$$

where T' = population estimate of t'

t' = number of t agreeing or strongly agreeing with statement that a serious problem in probation work is that sufficient training has not been provided

The algorithms project the findings provided by respondents to the entire samples and then to the universe of small probation agencies of which approximately 50% were selected for the SA sample. We hasten to

Table 9-3 -- Sample Findings and Population Estimates of Numbers of Seriously Training Deficient and Training Deprived State & Local Small Agency Adult Probation Officers by State (N=904)

State	Seriously Training Deficient (STD)				Training Deprived (TD')		
	(t) Number identified in sample	(t) as % of those responding to survey	Estimated number of STD in population	Cumulative %	(t') Number identified in sample	(t') as % of those responding to survey	Estimate number of TD' in population
Ohio	27	55%	118	14%	18	37%	79
Indiana	20	35%	85	24%	13	23%	55
Texas	11	16%	63	32%	6	9%	35
South Carolina	10	45%	61	39%	9	41%	55
Pennsylvania	10	22%	51	45%	3	7%	15
Florida	10	*	48	51%	9	*	43
Louisiana	4	*	37	56%	2	*	18
Minnesota	11	14%	35	60%	5	6%	15
Georgia	8	11%	32	64%	5	7%	20
Illinois	5	24%	25	67%	2	10%	10
Michigan	5	10%	21	69%	3	6%	12
California	4	13%	19	71%	2	6%	8
Rhode Island	3	*	19	74%	3	*	19
Arizona	1	*	18	76%	1	*	18
Massachusetts	2	10%	17	78%	0	0%	0
West Virginia	3	*	17	80%	2	*	11
Kansas	3	*	17	82%	0	*	0
Oregon	3	12%	14	84%	2	8%	9
Arkansas	4	*	13	85%	3	8%	9
Nebraska	4	19%	13	87%	3	14%	10
Tennessee	1	*	13	88%	0	*	0
Alaska	2	*	12	90%	1	*	6

*Number responding to survey too small (less than 20) to compute reliable percentages

Table 9-3 (continued from preceding page)

State	(t) Number identified in sample	(t) as % of those responding to survey	Estimated number of STD in population	Cumulative %	(t') Number Identified in sample	(t') % of those responding to survey	Estimated number of TD' in population
Vermont	3	*	12	91%	2	*	8
Missouri	3	15%	12	93%	1	5%	4
Mississippi	1	*	9	94%	1	*	9
New York	2	8%	8	95%	0	0%	0
New Mexico	3	*	8	96%	3	*	8
New Hampshire	2	*	6	96%	2	*	6
Montana	2	*	6	97%	1	*	3
Wisconsin	1	5%	6	98%	0	0%	0
Virginia	2	6%	6	99%	2	6%	6
Alabama	1	*	5	99%	1	*	5
Wyoming	1	*	3	100%	1	*	3
Washington	1	*	3	100%	1	*	3
North Carolina	1	*	1	100%	0	*	0
TOTAL	174	19%	800	100%	107	12%	492

*Number responding to survey too small (less than 20) to compute reliable percentages

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

add that these estimates are quite rough, premised as they are on small frequencies for many states and assumptions of equivalent ratios for sometimes substantial non-respondent portions of the samples. Generally, however, the greater t is, and the greater p is relative to P and a is relative to A , the more reliable will be the estimate. The easiest way to assess the reliability of an estimate is compare t with T . If exactly one-half of the small agencies in a particular state were selected for the sample, and response rates were 100% for both surveys, t would be exactly $1/2$ of T . The lower this ratio is, for any value of t , the less reliable is the estimate.

The reader should also remember that these estimates apply only to small probation agencies for adult offenders. They do not speak to the status of probation training in general in a particular state. Moreover, estimates of T depend on the number of small agency probation officers in a state. Therefore, we also list the percentage equivalent of t/p .

We observe in the total row of Table 9-3 that there are an estimated 800 probation officers in small state and local agencies for adult offenders who have not received any training in the past two years. Examining the beginning of the table, we note that 10 states account for two-thirds of these probation officers, 6 states for a majority, and 2 states for almost a quarter. In terms of targeting training resources to have the greatest impact on the greatest number of probation officers with the greatest need, it makes sense to focus on these states. We select two of them -- Ohio and Indiana -- to demonstrate how training curricula might be derived from the data collected during this project.

The approach is quite simple. We consider the data collected to be interpretable as training needs assessment material. From the selection of an ideal curriculum by seriously-training-deficient probation officers in each state, we identify a list of desirable subjects. From the beneficiality ratings by probation officers in each state who have received training recently, we identify a list of subjects with a high probability of success. By matching the two lists, we derive a recommended curriculum for seriously-training-deficient probation officers in each state. Tables 9-4 and 9-5 illustrate the process and the findings for the demonstration states.³

Three assumptions underlying this approach should be made manifest:

- 1) the opinions of seriously-training-deficient probation officers about what five subjects should be included in an ideal curriculum for experienced probation officers is an appropriate basis for deciding what training is needed by the former;
- 2) judgments of probation officers about the benefit of lack of same of recent training they have received is adequate and valid baseline for evaluating the success of that training;
- 3) conclusions about the beneficiality of training received by other officers is a reliable predictor of the expected beneficiality of that training for seriously-training-deficient probation officers within the same state.

Each of these assumptions could be challenged. For now, however, they form the basis of a potentially useful application of the data collected to program development.

How can NIC use findings of this sort to develop and deliver training? We propose three approaches, three levels of targeting.

The first approach is to establish demonstration training programs in a small number of states. These should be states identified as

Table 9-4 -- Deriving a Recommended Curriculum from Ideal Curriculum Nominations of Seriously Training Deficient and Beneficiality Ratings of Probation Officers Who Have Recently Received Training -- The Case of Ohio

<u>Ideal Curriculum Nominations by Seriously Training Deprived (N=25)</u>	<u>Beneficiality Ratings* by Those Who Have (N=21) Received Training Recently</u>	<u>Recommended Curriculum</u>
General Work Skills (15)	Law & Legal Issues (3/0)	Law & Legal Issues
Community Resources (13)	Participants in Counseling (3/0)	General Knowledge & Orientation
Counseling Knowledge & Techniques (11)	Drugs & Alcohol (3/0)	General Work Skills
Law & Legal Issues (10)	General Knowledge/ Orientation (4/1)	Community Resources
Court & Legal Skills (7)	Counseling Knowledge & Techniques (1/3)	Court & Legal Skills
Supervision Methods (7)	Presentence Investigations (1/3)	Supervision Methods
Drugs & Alcohol (4)		
Administrative Policies & Procedures (3)		
Law Enforcement (3)		
Presentence Investigations (3)		
Residual (2)		
Participants in Counseling (1)		
Juvenile (1)		

*At least three specific opinions are required to include a general subject area in the beneficiality ratings list.

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

CONTINUED

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Table 9-5 -- Deriving a Recommended Curriculum from Ideal Curriculum Nominations by Seriously Training Deficient and Beneficiality Ratings of Probation Officers Who Have Recently Received Training -- The Case of Indiana

<u>Ideal Curriculum Nominations by Seriously Training Deprived (N=17)</u>	<u>Beneficiality Ratings* by Those Who Have Received Training Recently (N=35)</u>	<u>Recommended Curriculum</u>
Counseling Knowledge & Techniques (11)	Law & Legal Issues (6/0)	Counseling Knowledge &
General Work Skills (9)	Juvenile (4/0)	Law & Legal Issues
Court & Legal Skills (8)	Counseling Knowledge & Techniques (8/1)	Juvenile
Law & Legal Issues (8)	Presentence Investigations (6/1)	Presentence Investigations
Juvenile (6)	Supervision Methods (2/1)	Supervision Methods
Presentence Investigations (6)	Residual (1/2)	Court & Legal Skills
Administrative Policies & Procedures (5)	General Work Skills (3/7)	Administrative Policies Procedures
Supervision Methods (5)	General Knowledge/Orientation (1/4)	
Community Resources (3)		
Drugs & Alcohol (3)		
Participants in Counseling (1)		
General Knowledge & Orientation (1)		
Residual (1)		
Law Enforcement (0)		

*At least three specific opinions are required to include a general subject area in the beneficiality ratings list.

Source: Survey of Probation Officers, 1979

*The following procedures were used in Tables 9-4 and 9-5. All nomination frequencies by seriously training deficient probation officers were recorded in column one. For column two, the rule of thumb was that at least three probation officers had to provide assessments in a given general subject area for it to be included in the list. The rule of thumb for column three was that to be included a subject area must have been nominated by at least five respondents (column one) and either have received an excess of favorable to unfavorable ratings (column two) or not have been included in column two (less than three opinions). The subjects for the recommended curriculum are listed by their column one rank if they were assessed positively in column two.

having a large number of seriously-training-deficient probation officers. Probably, they should also be states lacking a centralized probation system; presumably NIC will not wish to compete with existing programs nor to allocate its resources in a redundant way. In any event, we shortly discuss another mechanism by which training arrangements for small agency probation officers in such states might be improved. Turning again to the demonstration training programs approach, we suggest that consideration be given to funding at least one of these programs in conjunction with the Office for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP). Logically, this should be done in a state in which probation officers have substantial responsibilities for both adults and juveniles. This would both be responsive to the observations made by several probation officers in the course of this project, as well as by various corrections officials at recent NIC regional hearings, about lack of attention given to juveniles and would be consistent with the NIC/OJJDP interagency memorandum of understanding.

Further, although our findings in general suggest more decentralized approaches to small probation agency training, the special circumstances of Ohio and Indiana suggest an exception. Since these states are adjacent to each other and contain over a quarter of the seriously-training-deficient small state and local agency probation officers in the nation, this might be considered the prime area for testing a regional approach to training.⁴ Moreover, each of these states lacks a state-administered probation system yet has a central office for monitoring and guidance. Presumably, any NIC-sponsored or -funded regional training could be coordinated through these offices. Such an

endeavor might aid in development of probation -- both as a sentence and as a line of work -- in these states in ways extending beyond training.

The second way in which NIC can use the findings of this project is in the leveraging of existing training programs. This approach should be especially appropriate and effective with centralized probation systems. It would involve (1) sharing the findings and conclusions, (2) working with the department in revising or expanding the current training program in line with the indicated needs of small agencies, and (3) providing support and technical assistance toward alleviating some of the problems probation officers in small agencies have in capturing training. This last component could take several forms. To deal with the budgetary problems frequently mentioned as an obstacle to training, NIC or its grantee might aid the state department and its small agencies in finding sources of short-term back-up services and arranging them into hireback, buddy, or similar systems. NIC or its grantee might also assist the state department in identifying effective trainers in particular subjects if this is a problem. Whatever forms they take, these leveraging efforts should always be guided by a philosophy of enhancing probation and contributing to a sense of it as a worthwhile occupation with a mission.

The third mechanism we propose for NIC action pursuant to this research is providing training stipends for small agency probation officers in states and systems other than those covered in the first two options. This would constitute a more low-keyed approach to leveraging and to probation enhancement. The manifest purpose, however, would be to get training to small agency probation officers who otherwise would

not be likely to receive it. We note in Table 9-3 that a majority of the seriously-training-deficient probation officers are located in a few states. The concentrated but decentralized mechanisms proposed in options one and two are a reasonable way to handle majority needs. But -- consistent with this project's fundamental emphasis on neglect as a function of an inequitable response to smallness -- the other probation officers who are scattered around the nation must also be provided for. Since these men and women have important responsibilities for the justice of administration in their communities, it seems both unjust and unwise to penalize them for the non-centralized status of probation in their states. Instead, by capitalizing on training opportunities, perhaps along with coordinating such efforts with state professional associations, NIC might help move probation toward a position of greater importance in these states. We suggest that NIC or its grantee (1) ensure that probation trainers, including private organizations and individuals, be apprised of the findings of this project, particularly as they relate to their areas of expertise, and (2) tie incentive stipends to training programs' sensitivity to small agency interests, needs, and constraints.

Alternative Means of Providing Training

There appear then to be ways in which training can be delivered via conventional means to small agency probation officers. In the course of our field visits, however, we became acutely aware of the problems of geographical distance, physical and professional isolation, demanding workloads, and constricted budgets which appear to hamper conventional training efforts. Some of our preceding proposals would address some of

these issues. If these should be insufficient --or if NIC decides against them for other reasons -- alternative modes of training should be considered.

Two possibilities are correspondence courses and continuing education arrangements. When we occasionally asked probation officers for their assessment of the idea of correspondence courses, their response was usually favorable. Training provided in this way would seem to deal with the important problems of time and money limitations as well as to provide a ready reference.

To establish and maintain correspondence courses would be an ambitious undertaking, replete with its share of problems. Who would develop the course material? How would they develop it? What provisions would be made for ongoing distribution and grading of the materials? What about certification and accreditation? In addition, to these logistical problems, there are limitations on what subjects can be covered in a correspondence course and on the generalizability of some subjects. Thus, teaching processes of counseling would be difficult via this mode and pertinent education about probation law would be restricted by lack of commonalities in probation law across states. Nevertheless, these problems probably can be surmounted. The question, of course, is whether it is worth the cost.

One might especially question the cost if the correspondence courses were developed only for small probation agencies. We suggest, however, that while any such effort should be developed with this audience clearly and foremost in mind, the modules should be available to larger agencies as well. This would also permit an indirect test of

assumptions of difference between small and larger agencies by examination of their differential reactions to materials designed explicitly on the basis of findings regarding small agencies.

The logistical problems could be accommodated in part by contracting with an established professional association on a multi-year step-down funding basis in anticipation of eventual self-sufficiency via subscription fees. Logical candidates for such a grant are the NCCD and the APPA, the latter now re-affiliated with the ACA. A joint approach by these two organizations might be advisable, or even a consortium involving educational institutions with expertise in the development of correspondence courses, such as the University of Wisconsin and the University of Maryland. Another approach would be given to a state department of probation of registration, training, education or certification. Whatever the approach, and whomever the actors, we would expect that development of the correspondence course material would at least begin with, if not center around, the findings and data bases of this project.

A more modest alternative approach would be the establishment of continuing education arrangements. This would be more modest because (1) the resources are already in place and (2) probation officers are already using them. The ubiquity of universities, four-year colleges, and community colleges means that many small agencies, even in sparsely-populated rural areas, are near at least one institution of higher education. Some probation officers in these agencies take courses at these schools, while others teach in them.

To convert these resources into a system of training resources, (1) action should be taken to ensure that curricula are appropriate for small agency training needs, and (2) certification and accreditation standards and mechanisms must be established. While these are not simple undertakings, NIC could convene some educational associations and probation associations to assess their feasibility and cost. As with the proposed development of correspondence courses, any further action on continuing education arrangements should be informed by the findings and data bases of this study and be oriented toward small agency concerns yet made available to larger agencies as well.

Other alternative training approaches have been suggested to address the training needs identified. For example, as suggested by Weber (1980), accreditation standards can play a very useful role in training. He notes in particular the potential attractiveness of the self-study phase for one- and two-person agencies which may not be able to afford to become candidates for accreditation.

Another approach, recommended by Newberger (1980), combines reference material with utilization of local resources. Packages of written materials would contain the substance of four to five hour courses on subjects such as probation and parole law, the presentence investigation, interviewing, report writing, and stress management. However, rather than relying on a correspondence course methodology to teach the course material, local persons of knowledge in the particular subject area would be asked to help convey the material, answer questions, facilitate discussions, and provide locally-relevant case materials. These guest instructors might be attorneys, experienced probation of-

ficers, professors, psychologists, or social workers depending on the topic, their expertise, and the needs of the students. Such an approach, in addition to offering the complementary advantages of two training modes, can be adapted to accord with resources available and scale involved in a particular jurisdiction. Newberger notes, for example, that in states lacking a state-wide probation system, materials could be distributed through a state correctional association. He also observes that the packages can be used for reinforcement learning, e.g., in a jurisdiction with extant training capabilities, or for immersion, e.g., for reading before attending a regular training session.

NOTES

1. The figures on percentages of agencies whose officers received training on entry, in 1977, and in 1978 are probably understated due to the wording of the questions (e.g., "Does your office have a training program for new probation officers?" and "During the 1978 calendar year, did your office have any in-service training for experienced probation officers?"). Thus we find that of the responding state and local probation officers from agencies reporting no entry-level training nor in-service training in 1977 or 1978, 54% (52) have received training in the past two years. While some of these individuals may have received training in 1979 or have obtained training completely on their own, it appears our agency-reported data also contains measurement error.
2. One might object that many of these training-deficient probation officers are new to the field and thus have not been employed in probation work long enough to reasonably expect that they would have been trained. If one accepts an entry-level training requirement standard, however, very few probation officers should be expected to report having received no training unless there is a deficiency somewhere. We pursued this alternative explanation, however, and found that 92% (160) of the training-deficient state and local probation officers had 1 or more years experience in probation work, and 79% (137) had 2 or more years. Conversely, one might argue that there is nothing amiss with some experienced probation officers receiving no training during a 2 to 3 year period of time. The cogency of this argument depends on one's assessment of several factors, e.g., the importance of probation training, the rate and salience of change in probation work, the complexities of probation work, and the purpose of probation training. Not being in a position to assess "training deficiency" to the degree suggested, we use the operational definition of a report of no training received in the past two years as an indicator for aggregate analysis. We recognize the inadequacy of such an approach for assessing deficiencies or competence at the individual level.
3. This approach presents its share of problems, both technical and normative. One problem is that we are assuming that beneficiality assessments are adequately explained by the criteria which led us to aggregating subject titles into like general subject areas. One could cogently argue, however, that the common name is incidental and it is the trainer, setting, approach, timing, or other unmeasured variables which better explain the assessed benefit or lack of benefit of a given training experience.

A major technical problem in analyzing these data at the state level is the small cell frequencies with which we are left after categorizing responses among 14 values. Even in the examples used of Ohio and Indiana with their relatively high numbers of probation officers, both with and without training, we encountered this problem.

As an alternative then to relying solely on these data points, it might be worthwhile to try to determine training needs at the state level by a closer examination of the role demands and role orientations of the probation officers, e.g., amount of workload devoted to presentence investigations, proportion of time working with probationers, opinion about the community resource function of the probation officer. This leads however to a fundamental dilemma in defining "need." Should we interpret the responses as indicators of what probation officers want and then proceed to recommend that for them, or as indicators of what they need and then recommend that for them? The first approach smacks of a marketing approach lacking a moral or even theoretical compass. The second approach betrays our respondents by interpreting answers provided in good faith in a pejorative fashion. We confront the dilemma in this fashion. We are committed to the justice model as a guide for probation. The justice model, however, is derived from pluralistic democratic values. It is broad enough to be consistent with a wide variety of practices. Our surveys were not designed to be used to trap probation officers into admissions of deviations from some narrowly conceived version of a justice model. While continuing to advocate policies consistent with justice model precepts, we recommend essentially giving probation officers the kinds of training they want borne out of their experience and based upon their honest and realistic assessments of deficiency. As long as eternal vigilance is accorded to basic principles of constitutionality, equity, and fairness, a diversity of training can be provided.

4. Consistent with the findings presented in Tables 9-4 and 9-5, the curriculum should emphasize law and legal issues, court and legal skills, and supervision methods.

Chapter 10 -- Conclusions and Recommendations: Toward a Mission for Probation

Training is not enough. It is not enough either for the small probation agency or the large one. To be efficacious, training presupposes both supporting structures and purpose. Probation is structurally weak. Loss of confidence in the rehabilitation rationale has fueled confusion about the purpose of probation. We suggest in this chapter some small steps for beginning -- again -- to address these issues.

Prospects for Technical Assistance for Small Agencies

Our study suggests that training may not be the best means of addressing the most critical problems of small agencies. This is true in part because of the diversity of these agencies (Chapter 4) as well as the heterogeneity of their training needs (Chapters 5-9). But more importantly, it is because the problems are more fundamental, more complex, and involve other actors. Such problems cannot be corrected by a few hours of training. To address these problems more effectively and to make NIC's efforts regarding probation logically and morally congruent with its total mission, technical assistance should be provided.

Although technical assistance should depend in part on what probation officers request, project findings together with NIC mission suggest three high priority areas. These are:

- 1) probation as an alternative to incarceration;
- 2) probation revocation procedures for technical violations;
- 3) community resource management in rural, small agency settings.

We have already remarked on the spectre of overcrowded jails when adequate probation services appear to be available. Obviously, this is a situation over which individual, often isolated probation officers have little control. By making them aware of a probation technical assistance initiative to reduce jail populations and make greater use of probation as an alternative to incarceration -- both before and after sentencing -- some may request aid in providing local judges and county boards with appropriate information, research findings, and program models geared toward achieving these objectives.

Our data indicate that in small agencies over 11,000 adults had their probation sentences revoked for technical violations in a recent one-year period. While the subject of technical violations was not intended to be a major focus of this study, this appears by its size, as a prototype of discretion, and in consideration of the diversity of jurisdictions and the low visibility involved, to be a potential problem area. Perhaps as part of a larger restructuring of probation consistent with justice model alternative to incarceration, and probation as sanction imperatives, efforts might be made to ensure that technical violation guidelines and procedures are fairly constructed and implemented. Providing technical assistance in this area would be a means of both moving toward this objective and collecting data about problems and solutions in this area.

The idea of community resource management, at least in some of its more popular manifestations, e.g., CRMT, seems to imply applicability primarily in urban areas having sizable numbers and diversity of both probation officers and community agencies. However, a sizable minority (44%) of the small agency probation officers responding to our survey believe that being a community resource manager is the primary function of probation officers. Moreover, in our field visits we found small agencies in rural locations in which probation officers were energetically practicing their own brand of community resource management. The place of technical assistance in this area might be to (1) correct any idea that community resource management is an urban, large agency strategy and (2) provide small probation agencies with information about how to implement community resource management. In this effort, peer learning should be initiated by retaining some small agency probation officers who already have implemented community resource management to consult with their counterparts about how to do it effectively.

Other types of technical assistance might be provided outside of these three areas. Other areas in which technical assistance might be requested, and in which small agency probation officers might be able to help each other, are problems concerning placement resources, difficulties in relationships with kindred criminal justice agencies, grantswriting and identification of sources, funding, and research. Technical assistance might also be provided via dissemination of timely materials including audiovisual packaged programs on exemplary projects and other topics. Special financial assistance might also be provided for attend-

ance at or establishment of state, regional, and national conferences. Our attendance at last summer's annual meeting of the APPA revealed a predictable but disconcerting dearth of participation by small agency probation officers.

The Need for a Broader Definition of Professional Development/

The Role of NIC

In varying degrees, all of the problems mentioned in the preceding chapter and in this chapter are ameliorable by an increased national solidarity and a sense of professional identity among probation officers. Unfortunately, however, probation is historically, and continues to be, organizationally weak and timid at the local, state, and national levels. At all three levels, fears of probation officers and administrators that strong independent action will lead to reprisals from other elements of the criminal justice network -- be they local judges, state departments of corrections, or professional associations -- both justify and perpetuate inaction.¹ What is very desirable at this point is support, guidance, leadership, and assistance by a strong external force. We recommend that NIC should at this time take on itself the role of national probation advocate in a bold, explicit, and highly visible fashion. In this role, NIC would advocate both for probation as a desirable and promising safe alternative sentence to incarceration, and for probation workers as criminal justice/corrections professionals worthy of substantial state and local support.

The need for such advocacy is apparent when we consider how much more fully and effectively probation could be used. As we emphasized in the first chapter, probation should be treated as a sanction, a means of enhancing public safety. At the same time, it should be used as a mechanism to reduce the contamination of the minor offender which can follow from incarceration. Although one of the important functions of probation is to reduce reliance on incarceration, it also can be used to provide sentencing resources for judges. If probation is to assume this difficult and ambitious role -- rather than continuing as a default option, a symbol of leniency, a "stepchild" -- there must be pragmatic ingenuity in sentencing and commitment to ensuring that probation officers are able to do a difficult job. Enhancing probation is one of the most important tasks challenging NIC and the corrections field in general.

NIC's efforts in regard to small agencies can be part of its larger role as probation advocate. In this chapter and the one preceding, we have outlined a variety of steps for NIC to consider. We suggest the following immediate actions to begin implementing the proposed plan:

- NIC should continue its particular interest in small agencies through its supervision of training and technical assistance delivery;
- invite ACA, APPA, and NCCD to undertake appropriate training, technical assistance, and national institutes (immediately preceding their annual meetings);
- develop RFP's to design and implement packaged training-components-based analysis of training needs;

- develop a national advisory committee of small agency personnel to oversee, plan, and advise regarding the implementation of training (one annual full day meeting is anticipated);
- assist in moving the small agency's reference group from judges and county boards to the state and national professional development groups;
- publish a newsletter (perhaps through an existing national organization) of highlights from the small agency field.

These steps will mark a beginning in NIC assuming a major leadership role for capacity enhancement for probation, as outlined in this chapter.

Articulating the Mission of Probation

To follow through on findings and recommendations of the Staff Training for Small Probation Agencies project, NIC has provided for a supplemental effort to examine fundamental issues in probation policy. This effort -- the Probation Mission Project alluded to in Chapter 1 -- is presently addressing these issues through research, formulation of position papers, and development of an action plan. We intend to provide impetus for a national assessment of what probation should do and be, and to suggest means by which it can pursue its mission. A brief outline of project sub-tasks follows.

Research activities consist largely of continued data analysis growing out of the STSPA project. One sub-task involves identifying extant roles of probation officers as a reflection of how the mission of probation is operationally defined. The purpose is to develop more

refined typologies. The roles played by probation officers imply appropriate and needed training, problems and opportunities to be encountered in pursuing given missions, and NIC activities as a national probation advocate. Another sub-task calls for analyzing data from the 1976 LEAA/Bureau of Census national probation and parole agency survey to learn more about the relationship of agency size to workload and structure. Refinement of this document constitutes another research sub-task. Finally, original research in the form of content analysis is being conducted to identify sources of theoretical rationales for probation officer role orientations.

Position papers have been commissioned to address a range of issues critical to a reconceptualization of probation's mission. These papers will tackle subjects such as:

- probation as a sanction
- probation as an alternative to incarceration
- probation service delivery and supervision/control models congruent with prescribed missions
- probation as an occupation and the problems of professional efficacy
- probation advocacy role for NIC

With knowledgeable opinions provided on these subjects, and reviewed by others, we will generate a mission statement for probation nationally.

The mission statement itself will be of little value without action. To suggest some initial direction for action, a plan for NIC involvement will be developed. As mentioned, position papers will be reviewed, ideally by a broad cross-section of agencies, associations,

and individuals interested in probation. From them we hope to learn not only their receptivity to proposals advanced but to elicit informed ideas about how best to proceed.

In addition to this reconnaissance, there is to be an analysis of NIC's current endeavors, capabilities, and interests regarding probation. This process includes a review of statutory authorization for prospective actions. The final sub-task calls for development of a long-range plan for NIC, providing general direction for actions it might take in assuming the role of focal agency for probation nationally.

NOTES

1. It has been suggested (Ackermann, 1980) that the recent battle within the APPA over the issue of affiliation with ACA provided an example of this dynamic at the national level, thus mirroring the embattlement experienced by agencies at the local level (cf. Chapter 4 of this report).

PROBATION WORK IN SMALL AGENCIES
A NATIONAL STUDY OF TRAINING PROVISIONS AND NEEDS

by

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and

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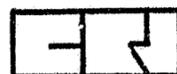
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Appendix A

Approaches to Training -

by

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ACQUISITIONS

Final report on Grant AN-9 from the National Institute of Corrections.
Points of view or opinions stated in this report are those of the
authors and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies
of the National Institute of Corrections or the U.S. Department of Justice.

Appendix A -- Approaches to Training

In this section, we review strategies for training, both in probation and generally. This is an exploratory effort, indicating possible directions which an exemplary training component might follow.

Choosing a Training Construct In designing a training program it is desirable to first consider the overall framework, i.e., a logical sequence of procedural steps that encompasses the general, abstract and long-range goals as well as the particular, practical and immediate requirements of training. Havelock and Havelock (1976: 59) offer a general overview of training program planning:

...training must be seen in a social and temporal context that extends far beyond the training event itself. Prior to training, various planning and recruiting activities should take place, establishing a clear rationale and a need for the role to be trained for, identifying and recruit-the right kind of trainers and trainees, and specifying attitudinal, knowledge and behavioral outcomes desired. Following training, there must be adequate preparation of the social environments to which trainees will be returning, monitoring and evaluation of progress in the new roles over time and, finally, reassessment and redesign of the entire training process based on this evaluation.

Below are short summaries of the suggestions of a number of authors for program design.

Auten (1973:30):

1. Set goals and objectives
2. Determine type of training: teaching context and techniques
3. Determine number of hours
4. Determine subject content
5. Set goals and objectives for each unit of instruction
6. Arrange schedules

7. Arrange physical aspects
8. Cost analysis
9. Choose instructors from within
10. Get expert instructors
11. Select trainees
12. Determine method of evaluation
13. "Present the entire program to the administrative head in the form of completed staff work."

Auten says it in another way as well: 1) determine training needs; 2) determine priority of needs; 3) develop program; 4) presentation of training; and 5) evaluation.

Jelinek suggests this training design: 1) Identify training needs and trainees; 2) Design program: training techniques, arrange schedule; 3) Develop curriculum content; 4) select materials; 5) Choose instructors; 6) select site: arrange rooms, agency sponsorship; 7) explore relationship with other training programs: suggest multi-level trainees; 8) Evaluation; 9) arrange for reinforcement and reward: training staff attends sessions, supervisors at home welcome trainee back.

The following are the planning stages of Bertinot and Taylor's Texas Probation Training Project (1974: 30): met with adult probation officers from throughout the state to assess training needs; 2) wrote grant proposal and procured funds; 3) five geographical areas were outlined and the administrative judicial judges contacted in each wrote to the other judges; 4) project staff visited and recruited judges for workshops- "The support of the judges is a vitally important part of the success of the probation officer training."; 5) Staff visited every probation department to discuss training needs; 6) "pre-involvement meetings" with chief probation officers and judges to get input on

workshop design and information on special resource people in the area; and 7) three-day workshops in each area.

In Model In-Service Training Program for Correctional Personnel (1968) developed by Georgia University, seven phases of a training plan are spelled out: 1) Content and instructional methods development; 2) Direct training: orientation, job skills, management sessions (between different kinds of correctional personnel), "core" content sessions; 3) Self-improvement program; 4) Career development, e.g., opportunities for advancement; 5) Intern program; 6) Evaluation and research; and 7) Coordination and self-planning.

Rinehart and Richardson's (1965) training process for rural correctional staff encompasses three phases. The first is the "Developmental Phase:" "sets the goals of the training program; determines how these goals of change will be reached; and develops methods and contents appropriate for the desired change." (24-5) A hierarchy for change should be established. "Criteria for priority would be change most greatly needed; change needed by the most staff members; and change required for other changes to take place." (25) The second phase is the "Operational Phase"-- arrange comfortable physical facilities and training methods -- followed by the "Evaluation Phase."

Havelock and Havelock (1976) provide a checklist for role training programs: 1) "Definition and Rationale for the Role:" what are you training participants to become? 2) Develop criteria for choosing trainees; 3) Determine expected outcomes of training; 4) "Ways to provide Training to Achieve Outcomes:"

1. the training experiences to be arranged. 2. the materials which need to be purchased, written, compiled or developed to be given to trainees with training, 3. the timing and sequencing of training sessions, and 4. the setting(s) in which the training is to take place; (72)

5) "Ways to Set the Role in an Institutional Context: Installation"-- make provisions for use of training upon return to work; 6) Determine evaluation techniques, principles and uses.

Havelock and Havelock (1976) similarly offer a checklist for a good training design: 1) Structure-- "planning," "defining objectives," "specifying the sequence of training activities that should lead to the desired learnings;" 2) "Relevance"-- "A training program...should be relevant to the objectives. The objectives, in turn, should be relevant to some real social need. Third, the training should be relevant to the trainees' back home situations and fourth, the training should be relevant to the needs, wishes, and background of the trainee, himself;" (52) 3) Specific behavioral objectives; 4) General educational value; 5) "Reinforcement;" 6) "In-Process Evaluation and Feedback;" 7) "Openness and Flexibility" during program; 8) "Linkage"-- to outside resource persons, among participants as groups, between training elements; 9) "Involvement"-- trainees "should be reading and writing, listening and telling;" (56) 10) "Cost Effectiveness;" 11) "Redundancy;" 12) "Synergy"-- "Learning seems to take place most forcefully when a number of inputs of stimuli from different sources converge on one point. This is the principle of synergy;" (57) 13) "Train for Psychological Wholeness of Learning;" 14) "Train for Transferability;" and 15) "Compatibility"-- with previous training, experience, etc.

The proposals for program design offered above appear to differ only slightly. Each plan basically includes the following stages: needs assessment, articulation of goals and objectives, curriculum content and method choice, trainee selection, arrange physical aspects, choose trainers, and evaluation. Seltzer and Clugston (1975-6) present a 7-step program design that will be followed in this report simply because it is clear, comprehensive and worked for them. The design, the first four steps of which will be the focus of the remainder of this review, is as follows:

Step 1: "Establish a General Sense of What Needs to be Done."

Step 2: "Select Participants and Determine their Training Needs."

Step 3: "Write Program Goals and Objectives."

Step 4: "Develop the Means to Realize Objectives."

Step 5: "Design Evaluation."

Step 6: "Conduct the Program"

Step 7: "Assess Program Effectiveness."

It should be noted that this section on choosing a program design could be added as a step. Also, as one reads through the steps other ways of organizing training planning may seem more appropriate due to the information gathered and as priorities emerge.

Step 1: Establish a General Sense of What Needs to be Done

In this step Seltzer and Clugston (1975-6) and their advisory committee formulated a statement of general purpose and philosophy which they sent out to participants. We may also adopt this procedure, but first a number of theoretical issues require discussion.

Higman (1967) describes the distinctions made in the Colorado Training Programs between education and training. "Education...is designed to produce a creative, independent mind...is deductive, impersonal, and permissive" and is primarily taught on the college campus. (30) In contrast, "training...we think of as the quickest possible installation into a human being of a limited amount of orientation or skill (orientation is more important than skill) for a specific goal which we have before we start and which he will have when we are through." (30)

Georgia University's (1968) concept of training correctional personnel is broader than Higman's. "The training needs of correctional personnel are not exclusively occupational. A comprehensive training plan must approach the needs of the total employee, including supplementation of basic educational backgrounds and orientation in such areas as human behavior." (35) Based on this reasoning, the researchers describe educational resources, e.g., G.E.D., vocational rehabilitation, colleges, adult education programs, that personnel may enroll in as individuals. This, in turn, would upgrade probation officer performance in general.

Appendix A-1 from Perspectives on Correctional Manpower and Training (Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, 1970) offers a grid representing various concepts of training and learning. In Appendix A-2, Havelock and Havelock delineate the general elements to include in training.

Many types of training may be provided such as the aforementioned individual educational training, on-the-job training, an on-going training program, e.g., courses requiring attendance over a period of time as the Illinois Probation Training team conducted, one-day institutes or a residential training program. Each type of training is based on specific assumptions. For example, according to Lynton and Pareek (1967), on-the-job training is founded on the belief that: 1) "the job and the work situation can be apprehended as a totality; it is a matter of letting one's senses and mind work;" (112) 2) the job does not change so time taken in learning is not important; and 3) "the risks of error during learning are small, both to the learner and to the organization." (112)

Since we have already decided on the residential training institute, Lynton and Pareek's rationale for this type of training may be relevant for us. They write that a temporary training format "can provide an environment which meets personal needs, reduces defensiveness, and releases potential for creativity and innovation." (186) Also, in regard to residential programs: "not only do they cut the participant off from the impact of the workaday world but they can also focus many events on the training objectives and so achieve a consistency and intensity that is most conducive to learning." (188)

Another important issue to consider is motivation. In Step 4, we will discuss the assumptions made concerning motivation as it pertains to learning in response to specific training techniques. Still, more general questions remain. What motivates people to enter into a train-

ing program? How can a training program assure the assimilation and use of new learning? How do previous "bad" training programs affect participants' willingness to accept new training?

In discussion arising from the Targets for In-Service Training conference (Randall, 1967) it was concluded:

Training in itself is not a motivator. We cannot use it to raise morale any more than we can use pay raises for this purpose. Studies have shown that a pay raise acts as a job satisfier for only a short period of time. In fact, after a pay raise a person will feel that he is worth as much as he is being paid. The significant motivators include: increased responsibility; recognition and reward for performance. Training can prepare people to assume greater responsibility; recognition and reward are administrative matters. Moreover, increased responsibility must result from a restructuring of the context of the job. We cannot train people to assume responsibility and then not give them anything responsible to do. Training is not a substitute for good supervision or good management. (28)

It may be that a pay raise per se does not constitute a strong incentive to learning. However, upgrading probation officer salaries in general would probably 1) stabilize personnel: lower turnover resulting in more experienced officers who identify with a "profession and have an interest in enhancing their skills, 2) inspire self-respect: dollars and cents still means importance in America and recognition of the value of labor by administrators and society; and 3) motivate willingness to learn: an officer who can support himself and/or his family wants to do the best job he can and risks losing something if he doesn't. An examination of studies of probation systems made over the past ten years reveals that a recommendation for salary increases across the board is a matter of course.

Not only decent salaries, but promotions based on training and skills motivate personnel. Georgia University (1968) pointed out a problem for Georgia's probation system when it states that "eighty-three staff members aspire to the eight next higher positions in the administrative sub-category." (31)

Reintegration of trainees into the home organization seems to be a legitimate concern of training planners. (See Appendix A-3 comparing old and new concepts of training.) On the one hand, training must take into consideration what the trainee already knows and what is expected of him at his office. (This will be discussed more thoroughly in Steps 2 and 3.) On the other hand, provisions should be made or at least thought given to how trainees can introduce the new skills they have acquired to their home offices. Havelock and Havelock (1976) stress the importance of including this aspect in a training design by citing six conditions necessary for the installation of a "change agent" in an institutional context.

1. maintenance and reinforcement of the identity of the graduate;
2. fundamental security for role maintenance in terms of financial, psychological, social and legal support over time;
3. specified limits on role tasks and expectations to prevent overload or exploitation;
4. freedom to perform in the role in a way compatible with personal needs and aspirations of the graduate, including mobility and a chance to experiment with various facets of the role without the threat of premature interference or punishment for failure;

5. rewards to the change agent for being a change agent; 6. rewards to the role set for accepting the graduate as a change agent. (75) Granted, we have little influence over the salary structure, general organization, administration and management of probation. As Sullivan et al. (1977) and others suggest, the organizational context is critical for the reception and effects of training programs. From a more optimistic vantage point, it would appear that any communication with probation administrators concerning the goals of our training program, any support or sponsorship one might gain from probation officer superiors, would not only motivate trainees to attend, but also might insure the use of acquired training upon their return. Other motivators to exercise control over are: 1) giving university credit; 2) paying trainee expenses; 3) arranging for trainees' release from work; 4) inviting judges and/or chief probation officers as trainees, speakers, or observers; 5) setting up a correspondence/communication network among trainees to continue after training institute; 6) telephone or personal contact. Another aspect of motivation that should be taken into consideration is disassociating a particular training program from others that were unenlightening or poorly conducted. We have already discovered that officers will not respond to questionnaires if they distrust their writers or see no need for further training research (due to "bad" experiences in the past.) Gilman (1966) cites the reasons for lack of training programs: lack of trained trainers, caseload overload, time not provided, and

money not allotted. The suggestions in the last paragraph could serve to avoid these problems. Gilman also names three factors necessary to accomplish successful training: "Administrative backing of training," "provision of training personnel," and "allotment for time and money for training." (260) Lynton and Pareek (1967) name "pitfalls to avoid" when planning and conducting a training program: 1) "input overload"--participants become overstimulated, overexcited by the end of the program making transition to everyday functioning difficult; 2) "moving"-- introducing new ideas; and 3) "refreezing"-- consumption of "unfreezing" and "moving." See also David McClelland's outline for stimulating individual motivation in Appendix A-4. Havelock and Havelock (1976) describe five models for change in reference to training change agents. What is a change agent? It is not clear. First, it is what the name implies. Secondly, Havelock and Havelock see "the change agent as process helper and knowledge linker. It seems evident that the sets of skills envisioned, namely interpersonal and intergroup relating, consultation, need definition, diagnosis, problem-solving, resource acquisition, dissemination, and utilization are going to be needed by the educators of the future at various levels and in various role categories." (2-3) This definition may be applied to the probation officer as a change agent in relation to the probationer ("emphasize the role of the officer as an agent of change rather than as an agent of control" (Gilman, 1966; 259)) or in relation to his office or previous probation practice.

On another level the trainers may be viewed as change agents and the trainees as clients. Keeping this in mind, let us proceed to an outline of Havelock and Havelock's five change training models: I. "Change as a Problem-Solving Process." "Problem-solving is defined as 'a patterned sequence of activities beginning with a need, sensed and articulated by the client, which is translated into a problem statement and diagnosis.'" (Havelock and Havelock, 1976: 8) In this process the 'innovation' (solution) to the problem is suggested by the client. Then the client "needs to concern himself with 'adapting the innovation,' 'trying out' and 'evaluating' its effectiveness in satisfying his original need. "At least five points are generally stressed by advocates of this orientation: first, that user need is the paramount consideration and the only acceptable value-stance for the change agent; second, that 'diagnosis' of need always has to be an integral part of the total process; third, that the outside change agent should be 'nondirective,' rarely, if ever violating the integrity of the user by placing himself in a directive or expert status; fourth, that the 'internal' resources, i.e., those resources already existing and easily accessible within the client system, itself, should always be fully utilized; and fifth, that 'self-initiated and self-applied innovation' will have the strongest user commitment and the best chances for long-term survival." (8-9) II. "Research-Development-and-Diffusion Process." The basic assumptions of this model: 1) "rational sequence" to introducing innovation, 2) long-range plan-

ning; 3) "division and coordination of labor;" 4) "more-or-less passive but rational consumer who will accept and adopt the innovation if it is offered to him in the right place at the right time and in the right form;" and 5) "high initial development cost." (12) The outcomes: 1) highly efficient, developed package that is "user-proof, guaranteed to work for the most fumbling and incompetent receiver;" (13) 2) development of information systems; 3) influences administrative and legislative change; 4) "fait accompli"-- immediate installation of innovation to override high degree of resistance; and 5) a form of systems analysis"...a systematic strategy innovation which begins with the careful construction of an optimum but detailed "ideal model" of the problem area. Comparison of this ideal model with current operational reality highlights various shortcomings and focal points for change effort. The problem foci are then systematically tackled on a priority basis that no steady progress is made in approaching the ideal." (14) III. "Change as a Process of Social Interaction." The basic assumptions of this model: 1) man is a social being, influenced by his social relations; 2) "that his place in the (social) network (centrality, peripherality, isolation) is a good predictor of his rate of acceptance of new ideas;" (18) 3) "informal personal contact" is important to change; 4) "that group membership and reference group identifications are major predictors of individual adoption;" (18) 5) "that the rate of diffusion through a social system follows a "predictable s-curve pattern" (very slow

beginning followed by a period of very rapid diffusion, followed in turn by a long late-adopter or "laggard" period)." (18) IV. "Change as a Linkage Process." In this model, the user has a felt need, diagnoses it, and looks for a solution. The linkage aspect is crucial. What it means is that the user is linked to as many outside resources as possible. This process requires interaction and feedback between user and resource persons. Havelock and Haveiack write:

The user must enter into a "reciprocal relationship" with the resource system that corresponds to what is happening in the user. In effect, resource systems and resource persons must "stimulate" or recapitulate the need-reduction cycle of the user; they should be able to 1) simulate the user's need; 2) simulate the search activity that the user has gone through; and 3) simulate the solution-application procedure that the user has gone through or will go through. (24)

This model combines aspects of models I and III. Most of the authorities at the conference from which the Havelock book was drawn, favored the "linkage" model.

V. "Conflict Theory of Change." This model assumes that conflicts may exist although left unrecognized when they write:

Benne notes the potential relationship between inter-system linkage. "Collaboration," he says, "should not be treated as a given but rather as an achievement within a context of conflicting interests and orientations. A conflict dimension underlies the dialogue between and within systems; collaboration or linkage can only be achieved as a synthesis of such conflict." (37)

Before we begin an exploration into the purpose of staff training for small probation offices, Havelock and Havelock offer statements on the need for designing training programs:

We are slowly moving toward a new conception of a professional discipline concerned primarily with the process of change. It rests on the assumption that social progress can be planned and engineered so that it is more reliable and more beneficial to more people. This new concept of "planned innovation" stresses the importance of realistic diagnosis of needs, adequate resource retrieval, collaborative planning and solution building, and systematic design and evaluation of alternative solutions. (2)

and

Because so many programs and pieces of programs are under development or freshly on the market, there is a special need today to provide prospective trainers and program developers with some guidelines on training in the specific contexts of resource utilization and change agency." (3)

Why have a training program, any training program, for probation officers? Gilman (1966) provides a plausible answer:

When training school and penal programs were almost entirely custodial and punitive, there was no demand for trained staff. Almost anyone old enough could qualify for a job. But with the advent of the rehabilitation concept, institutional administrators, judges and the public gradually realized that the helping professions had contributions to make in the care and treatment of offenders... (254)

It is the rehabilitation aspect, then, that is the basis for the need for training. Thus, the interpretation of "rehabilitation," the degree of emphasis upon rehabilitation in probation work, and the method of its execution is implicit in the purpose and content of probation training regardless of what becomes the stated purpose. A statement expressing what the trainers understand rehabilitation and the job of

the probation officer to be may be included in the statement of purpose. Probation job analysis and training needs will be discussed further in Step 2.

In Step 1, Seltzer and Clugston (1975-6) write: "The overall purpose of the training was: to enlarge and enhance administrators' job understandings and performance and to train administrators to train others." (32)

The following are suggestions for how to state our purpose in behavioral terms:

1. To train probation officers to better meet the requirements of their jobs.
2. To improve basic skills in probation work.
3. To broaden understanding of client requirements.
4. To inform probation officers of general trends and new techniques in probation work.
5. To enlarge and enhance officers' job understandings and performance (a la Seltzer).
6. To provide a learning environment in which job analysis, techniques and performance can be explored.
7. To provide a forum for the exchange of theoretical and practical information and experiences.
8. To achieve a uniform understanding of probation performance.
9. To focus on training needs as assessed by probation officers and experts in the field.
10. To sharpen the general knowledge and skills of probation officers in small probation offices.

After the purpose was decided, Seltzer and Clugston (1975-6) in collaboration with the project planners wrote a general statement of

philosophy concerning education and training. (See Appendix A-5.) This statement was sent out to all participants. It seems wise for us to prepare such a statement because 1) it would help us clarify our theoretical assumptions, differences and agreements for ourselves and the participants; 2) it would give staff, expert trainers and trainees a common reference point; and 3) it would show participants; that training staff is serious, respects trainees enough to share their opinions with them, is not afraid to confront issues, is organized and professional, etc.

The following is a brief outline for a statement of purpose:

- I. Funding and purpose
- II. What we're going to get out of it
- III. Statement of education philosophy
 - A. Expectations of participant involvement
 - B. Rationale for bringing in experts
 - C. Choice of content areas
 1. short statement on questionnaire survey and needs assessment
 2. Perception of probation officer job and goals
- III. Importance of evaluation by participants

In our project summary, hypotheses concerning small probation offices are made-- that they will tend to:

- be rural, located in small towns
- be less inclined toward specialization of probation officer roles, more inclined to emphasize a generalist approach
- experience relatively little staff turnover available

--have fewer training opportunities and resources available

--be able to deliver probation services relatively unencumbered

by the demands of bureaucracy

Whether or not these statements are supported by our research, one may want to refer to them in a statement of intention, as well as to findings concerning their empirical validity in any training effort growing out of this project.

Rinehart and Richardson (1965) tied the second phase (developmental phase) of their training program to four "unique characteristics" of a correctional agency in a rural setting: 1) small office size: less specialization and departmentalization; 2) staff heterogeneity: differences in education, background and skills are more apparent due to smaller number of staff, therefore greater conflict may arise; 3) lack of previous training programs: rural officers may feel more threatened by training programs than their urban counterparts; and 4) rural social systems: staff must know how to deal with rural cliquishness, power relationships and self-reliance.

Rinehart and Richardson (1965) base the rationale for the training process itself on these characteristics. For example, due to small office size, "in-service training must furnish job-function definitions and the multi-faceted requirements may require development of skills." (35) Consequently, they asked officers their perceptions of their own and others' functions and skill needs.

They determined that staff heterogeneity caused problems: "a) When different backgrounds are brought to bear on the same job function,

friction may arise as to the one 'right way' of doing the job and b) training itself needs to be tailored to the difference among staff."

(43) Thus, how they conducted the program was aimed at solving these problems: 1) training by officer level; 2) "individual skill development;" 3) "cross-fertilization"-- staff teaching staff; and 4) job function divisions and caseload assignment according to individual strengths and weaknesses.

The lack of previous training prompted Rinehart and Richardson to form training committees within offices and actively seek administrators' support. "The direct-service staff are likely to be more receptive to the training process if it is presented to them by respected supervisory or senior staff members." (31) Direct-service staff were included in training program planning to raise self-concept and because they have specific knowledge of clientele.

Finally, the nature of rural social systems was described: "1) that social structure is tightly knit and cohesive; 2) that relationships are informal, but highly defined (individuals with authority may wield great power without formal recognition) and 3) that the community is liable to be highly self-reliant in its dealings with community problems." (55) Due to these specific elements of rural social systems, officers were encouraged to become familiarized with the physical aspects of their community: local industry, agencies and social institutions, informal social institutions (e.g., poolrooms), and "trouble areas (e.g., slums)." Also community relationships should be fostered through officer awareness of local idiosyncracies, individual

meeting with and participation in community groups, and film and slide presentations to the community. "The community must accept an active responsibility for the rehabilitation of its own correctional personnel." (64)

If one decides to send out a statement of purpose to all participants, one might also consider sending: 1) a workshop schedule (and if options are offered, ask for a show of preference to better facilitate arranging room requirements and last-minute changes in scheduling); 2) request for preparation, e.g., case presentation, logs, form samples, etc.; 3) description of institute premises, recreational facilities, directions, etc.; 4) scholastic credit options, if available; and, 5) reading materials.

Step 2: Select Participants and Determine Their Training Needs Seltzer

and Clugston (1975-6) suggest that 15-20% more participants be invited than one expects to accommodate. It might be helpful for us to articulate criteria (both for individuals and the program itself) for the selection of participants, e.g., (1) from small office; 2) in midwest; 3) answered questionnaire; 4) officer for more than 2 years, etc. Sullivan (1977) refers to the officer as the "critical mass" in probation work. He/she may also be considered the "critical mass" in the success of a training program. Havelock and Havelock (1976) stress the importance of a trainee's background and experience ("Life History Relevance"): "Any training is designed to change something about the person being trained,

but a training design must take into account of where the prospective change agent starts and the implications of the training for the development of the person as a whole." (43) Havelock and Havelock suggest the following approaches when previous experience is taken into account: 1) introduce totally new conceptualization of a role-- may be exciting and refreshing to trainee; 2) "extinguish" old, bad attitudes; and 3) offer positive reinforcement to present behavior that is consistent with new behavior. Concerning the latter:

This approach is very difficult to plan or to organize coherently without knowing 1) what individual trainees already do that is "right," and 2) when they are likely to exhibit such behaviors. Short of undertaking a massive screening and diagnosis of individual trainees prior to training, one viable training method might provide extremely varied situations to which the trainee could respond freely while the trainer observed his reactions and rewarded those that were directionally relevant to the change agent concept. (44)

The second part of this step concerns identifying training needs; 1) literature survey; 2) advisory board and experts in the field; 3) questionnaires; and 4) site visits. Isolating training needs like writing a statement of purpose assumes an understanding of probation work, some kind of job analysis. "An operational job description covers at least four kinds of specifications: knowledge and skill content, relationships involved, time spans, and settings and roles." (Lynton and Pareek: 1967,25)

A comprehensive job analysis of probation work is presented by the Probation Services Council as "Minimum Training Objectives for Illinois

Probation Services Personnel." (1976) Below are excerpts from this document concerning probation skills:

1. "Knowledge and skills of a profession are highly interrelated attributes, difficult to separate. Implicit in the criteria of a skill is the possession of a certain body of knowledge. Knowledge, on the other hand, is a skill if and when it can be applied to every-day use. The role and functions of probation services... require a broad assortment of knowledge and skills." (5)
2. "...probation personnel should possess a broad knowledge of developmental growth of the individual. They should be able to distinguish between 'normal' and 'asocial' behaviors, have an appreciation of the dynamics of social, cultural and biological influences on behavior, understand individual differences, and to know something of the dynamics of human interaction." (5)
3. "Probation personnel should have an understanding of the pressures and influence these entities in the community have on the development of the individual which comes to be what he is at a given moment and also how it might create change in his behavior." (5)
4. Probation personnel should spend time understanding themselves to help them understand others.
5. "Probation personnel should have knowledge, not only of existing correctional services and practices, but also of other human services and programs which can assist the probationer in the community." (6)
6. "...probation personnel should possess a comprehensive knowledge of the laws governing crime and delinquency, and the justice system

which enforces and upholds the laws." (6)

7. "...probation personnel should...have a good understanding of the dynamics of communications, how to employ good communications under many different situations...learn what effects communication of all types have on themselves and how they react to it in their professional role...Within any given probation department there should be personnel who possess the skills of interviewing, investigation, writing, supervision, counseling, community organization and research." (6-7)

8. The interview is the primary tool of communication in probation. The probation officer must know how to use it effectively.

9. The officer must know how to gather and analyze data for investigative purposes.

10. Writing is an important skill.

11. The probation officer's role as supervisor of a client entails skills in the following areas.

- A. Formulate goals
- B. Assist probationer in achieving goals
- C. Provide supportive atmosphere
- D. Serve as probationer advocate
- E. Allot time for probationer
- F. Be honest when conflict arises
- G. Adept at caseload management.

12. The probation officer needs skills to promote "probation counseling relationship."

13. The probation officer should develop skills in community organization: 1) knowledge of community; 2) skill in gaining community support; and 3) "...stimulating improvements which will focus on the reduction of crime and delinquency as well as other social ills confronting them." (12)

14. A probation officer should be involved in research in the following ways: 1) gathering base-line data; 2) analysis and evaluation; and 3) public information-- "Having a body of knowledge, planning and evaluating programs and services in the community, offers the opportunity to share with the public sound information as to what is happening in the administration of justice generally and probation in particular." (13-14)

15. Probation work requires professional discipline: "Professional discipline calls for an ability to differentiate the priorities of one's work responsibilities, consistent with agency policies and probationer needs." (14)

In addition, the Probation Services Council described nineteen standards for probation (see Appendix A-6) endorsed by the Illinois Probation and Court Services Association.

Briefly, the Proposed Standards call for the intervention of state resources to guarantee professional probation services across the state; the adoption of a systematic approach to probation services which would benefit the administration of justice, the offender and the community; and the establishment of a comprehensive and equitable personnel practices program. (4-5)

Any development of training procedures for small agencies nationwide might consider formulating a standard job description for their officers. See also Appendix A-7, Georgia University's probation officer job analysis.

Step 3: Write Program Goals and Objectives Once training needs are determined, it is time to decide upon the content and objectives of the program courses themselves. Seltzer and Clugston (1975-6) explain that purpose "summarizes in one or two sentences the overall aim of the program and the general impact it is expected to have on participants. Goals specify the major areas the program will address. Objectives describe explicitly the results to be achieved." (15) According to Seltzer and Clugston, there are two types of objectives: 1) "End-result objectives state the activities the participants will be able to perform upon completion of part or all of the program." (16) E.g., the participant will be able to complete a presentence report according to specification and 2) "Process objectives describe the activities the instructors and participants will engage in during the program." (16) E.g., to assist officers in identifying special needs of clients.

Seltzer and Clugston used only process objectives because 1) general learning needs still needed to be identified; 2) it is difficult to measure end-result objectives; and 3) there were differences in educational philosophy among planners and trainers.

End-result objectives are preferred because they are more concrete-- concern participants' performance-- than process objectives. Yet to use them with probation training proves problematic. As was mentioned earlier, their success is difficult to measure. Unless some sort of set task were assigned during the program, it would mean arranging for evaluation upon the officers' return to work.

Havelock and Havelock (1976) describe four dimensions to consider (in descending order) when determining training goals: 1) Include goals for total role change as well as skill enhancement; 2) "Life History Relevance;" 3) Psychological Wholeness;" and 4) "Transferability." "Life History Relevance" was discussed in Step 2. What constitutes "psychological wholeness" is the integration of "attitudes," "knowledge" and "skills." These can be described in another way: "'behavior,' i.e., overt and observable physical acts; 'cognition,' i.e., the verbalizable 'thoughts' that seem to be associated with various behaviors and 'affect,' the feelings of pleasing calm, excitement, anxiety, pain, etc., that seem to be associated with either the cognition or the

Trainers usually agree that influencing behavior is the most important aspect of training. Still, according to Havelock and Havelock,

the trainee should adopt new behavioral skills but he should be able to articulate and justify these behaviors in words, and he should know why these behaviors are important. Without such knowledge he will not be able to integrate the new skills in his everyday life; he will be defenseless when others ask for justification of his new behavior and, most importantly, he will be unable to explain and teach his skills. (46)

Eventually, the trainee must also value (develop positive attitudes towards) what he has learned.

"Transferability" concerns the transfer of training to a work setting. Havelock and Havelock write: "It would seem that some degree of follow-up, assistance, and assessment is desirable if the goal is to produce 'real change,' but we should also recognize the impracticality and dangers inherent in over-planning." (47) This again raises the question: How much can we influence probation organizations and do we want to?

To determine program objectives, one must decide upon the content of the training sessions (based on identifying training needs in Step 2). Blake and Mouton (1967) suggest that every training program include a course on the general characteristics of participants' work. They offer the "organization-development hypothesis...to achieve fundamental changes in organization performance, it is necessary that the organization's culture-- its history and present problems-- be the subject of membership-wide study, examination and planning for execution and change." (59)

Appendix A-8 contains Georgia University's outline for a basic knowledge course recommended for all correctional personnel. Appendix A-9 includes general overview courses in the Probation Services Council's course descriptions for basic training in probation.

Ives (1963) conducted three in-service courses for probation officers. These "consisted of 25 hours of instruction in small groups ranging from ten to twenty officers, most of whom had been on the job less than two years." (51) The following are brief descriptions of these courses:

1) "Orientation and Role Clarification:" a. discussing actual cases brings out how officer sees his role; b. brief history of probation stressing recent probation directions-- "Through examples of treatment accorded offenders 50 years ago, trainees can learn to appreciate what their job means to offenders and acquire some patience with the imperfections of present practice." (52); c. discussion of pros and cons of identifying with offender; and d. use of actual forms, e.g., presentence, to explore probation officer role.

2) "Basic Methods: An Introduction to Casework:" a. although probation officers may have good instincts, they need a systematic approach to case analysis, which can give them some confidence in recommending choices between risky alternatives." (53); b. comparison of actual cases that are superficially alike, e.g., burglaries, in terms of diagnosis and treatment; c. application of H. Perlman's problem-solving in casework; and d. detailed emphasis on setting practical goals and interviewing techniques.

3) "Toward Understanding Behavior:" a. required reading-- U.S. children's bureau pamphlets on childhood and adolescence, and Erikson's "Eight Stages of Man;" and b. discussion in detail concerning factors contributing to behavior disorders at different ages, and in different economic classes.

Bertinot and Taylor (1974) organized their Texas probation training program in three days of workshops. The workshops had a two-fold purpose: 1) to gather data concerning training needs, and 2) to provide basic training. The workshops were seen as "a total learning experi-

ence" minimizing the use of the lecture method and maximizing participation. Participants were divided into homogeneous groups: urban adult officers, rural adult, urban juvenile, and rural juvenile. Then these groups divided into smaller groups of six to eight members. The following is a summary of the program according to days:

First Day: analysis of needs by the participants and the writing and reporting of these to each other; fifteen minute evening presentations by special resource people.

Second day: two panels of juvenile judges and adult judges review previous day's needs analyses and write "prescriptions" with probation officers; mock hearings (revocation, juvenile dispositional) "performed by judges, defense attorneys, D.A.'s and probation departments." (31)

Third Day: styles of interviewing demonstrated through role play and trios (one observer) practicing.

Further suggestions for courses are offered in 1) Appendix A-10-- "Training Courses Recommended by Probation and Parole Executives; 2) Appendix A-11-- Georgia University's outline of skill training in probation; and 3) Appendix A-12-- complete list of courses administered by the Probation Services Council.

In regard to setting goals and objectives in staff training for probation officers in small offices, one might develop a goal for each day of the program, e.g., 1) Probation officers, the corrections system; 2) Probation officers and clients; 3) Skills for use in probation, and 4) Decision-making in probation. Within this framework an objective for each workshop could be written.

Step 4: Develop the Means to Realize Objectives This step includes:

A. Actual Scheduling of Training Units: Take into consideration a variation of teaching methods, e.g., six hours of lecture has a low probability of success. On the other hand, if you use the laboratory training method (discussed below), a week constitutes a minimum. Selzer's (1965-6) evaluation found that participants liked intense work periods of two to four hours, up to eight hours per day, and "the presentation of information by experts alternating with task-oriented small group discussions (eight to ten and a staff facilitator)." (44) In contrast one could choose Higman and Howard's (1967) Colorado Training Program as a model, that is, conduct the program in the "field," keep the schedule a secret, promote ambiguity and anxiety, and create a situation in which "trainees should be exhausted at all times and thus should have no time for their minds to wander." (31) The advantages of this program include emphasis on and accomplishment of practical learning, allows participant to see a different perspective-- that of client/victim, and the requirement of total involvement spurs learning and concomitantly, exacts commitment. Among the disadvantages of the Colorado Program: Trainees are under great stress which can hinder learning. Since the trainers come from the field, the valuable knowledge of experts is not shared leaving the training "ideologically empty." This kind of program fails to teach trainees about prevailing power systems and how to deal with them. The staff is extremely authoritarian, requiring trainees to submit

completely to directions. Concerning the effects of authoritarianism in training, Lynton and Pareek (1967) write:

What studies show is that a below-average proportion of direct to indirect influence over an extended period of time will establish more desirable participant attitudes and superior patterns for work. Participants working with more directive trainers, on the contrary, tend to a) imitate the trainer and use more direct influence in their own interaction, even in the absence of the trainer, b) have less positive attitudes toward the trainer, the group and the learning tasks; c) demonstrate less spontaneity and initiative and make fewer voluntary social contributions; d) be more easily distracted from the task and respond with greater compliance to, as well as rejection of, the trainer's direct influence. (241)

B. Make Physical Arrangements: Attention to the physical accommodations is essential to the success of a training institute. Making registration, room assignments, meals, etc. comfortable and simple helps stimulate interest in the program. Participants' grumbling about physical inconveniences will affect their ability to concentrate on training.

Rooms for training units should fit the teaching method used. For example, a lecture should be held in a room big enough to hold all participants comfortably, but not so big that participants and speaker are overwhelmed by size. Similarly, small discussion groups are best held in small spaces with participants seated in comfortable chairs around a table.

All arrangements for audio-visual equipment should be made and checked before use. It might be a good idea to assign one staff member to attend to physical details before and during the institute, informing participants and trainers to consult this person when a problem arises.

C. Selecting Trainers: Once you have determined the needs and goals of

training, it's time to find the trainers/experts. Experts are brought in for a variety of reasons: 1) they command a body of knowledge that should be communicated to participants; 2) they are "expert" in stimulating learning.

Whatever the reason, the factors that should be considered in choosing experts are standing in the field (e.g., national reputation, local community leader), previous experience in training, interest in program, and ability to relate to participants.

In choosing a trainer for a particular subject, the general schedule must be considered. Your expert is probably the best judge of the teaching method to employ (based on his talents and the subject matter); however, if four trainers choose to lecture, the monotony of the method may undercut the learning experience regardless of how well each lecture is delivered. So, you can 1) suggest a different method; 2) change the subject; 3) juggle the schedule; or 4) find another expert.

Once experts are selected, inform them of the program in general--purpose, goals, participants, training schedule. The better informed the expert, the greater possibility for his participation in the total program. A meeting or meetings for the trainers before the institute would serve this purpose as well as create a cohesiveness that could be transferred to the institute itself and be an important factor in the success of the program.

There can be a qualitative difference in the response elicited by a trainer who walks in saying, "I'm not sure what you'll be learning in your other classes. I'm just here to..." and the trainer who says,

"This program is designed to...in this class we will explore the aspect of..." The first trainer underscores the differences in the training program, adds to its fragmentation. The second trainer helps participants to integrate their learning experiences in the program.

Meetings of staff and/or experts during the institute to review work completed and the upcoming schedule may lend flexibility and strength to the program. Seltzer (1975-6) found that participants often responded better to staff members in small discussions than to the experts in general and preferred the experts "who could relate the information they presented to the practical concerns of the administrator's program. These experts offered either step-by-step practical techniques that administrators could give to their staff or apply in their facility or they offered general encouragement and understanding for the type of work the administrators perform." (44)

Ives (1963) concurs concerning the need for emphasis on the practical aspects of probation in training: "Sound timing in presentation of material, focused on what seems 'practical' to trainees, encourages participation and thus makes the training practical in fact." (58)

Bertinot and Taylor (1974) offered a reason for the success of their workshops, "the unique method of these workshops is the use of professionally skilled group facilitators...who keep the groups on their task, provide maximum group interaction and membership participation." (31)

D. Training Methods: In deciding upon training methods one should take into consideration: 1) what is going to be taught-- content, objectives; 2) how it should be learned to best suit purpose, e.g., interviewing may be taught most effectively through role playing since participants are active interviewers; in contrast, court procedures and laws may be taught through lecture since the participant is expected to remain an observer or passive agent in this area; 3) available time and space; 4) characteristics of the group; 5) trainer's ability; 6) degree of learning expected.

All training methods are based on assumptions concerning how people are motivated to learn. For comparisons of the use of different learning methods and a general overview see Appendices A-13, A-14, and A-15. The following discussion will outline prevailing teaching methods:

1) Lecture. The basic aim of a lecture is to instruct or inform (Zelko in Craig: 1974), "The basic activity involved is data input and the type of learning is largely the intellectual learning of new concepts." (Randall: 1967) According to Lynton and Pareek (1967), the assumptions underlying use of the lecture are: 1) participants are internally motivated; 2) the lecturer and the participants are "on the same wavelength;" 3) the lecturer can reach his listeners; 4) social interaction among participants is unnecessary; 5) participants can make connections between lecture content and his own work and can assimilate content on his own. The participant is outwardly passive and internally, cerebrally, active.

Zelko (1967) delineates factors to consider in choosing the lecture method: 1) the expertise of the instructor-- the wider the gap between his knowledge and that of the participants, the stronger the reason for a lecture; 2) group size: 20 or more; 3) time element-- a large body of information can be dealt with in less time through the use of other methods; 3) availability of study materials beforehand; and 4) the nature of the subject, usually, "straight factual, descriptive or explanatory material may be learned by direct absorption by the learner; whereas principles and concepts, such as those dealing with developing attitudes and human behavior, may best be learned by participation..." (Zelko, 1967: 142)

Auten (1973) gives pointers on how to deliver a lecture successfully: 1) state goals and objective; 2) present material in a logical sequence; 3) repeat main ideas; 4) summarize after and/or during talk; 5) suggest note-taking; 6) define terminology; 7) use humor; 8) vary the pace of the presentation; 9) direct the pace to the average participant; 10) ask questions during the lecture; 11) allow for questions during the lecture. The inclusion of a discussion period at the end is also desirable.

Lectures have their advantages: 1) response is more predictable than other methods since only one person is active and in control; 2) the topic and time allotment are clear; 3) physical arrangements are simple; 4) participants are clear about their role; 5) they allow for the transmission of the greatest amount of information in the least amount of time to the largest group of people, and 6) for training

staff, it is easier to arrange for a speaker and then sit back to listen.

Among the disadvantages of lectures are: 1) if the speaker is unprepared, a poor speaker, the lecture will be boring, unbearable, unforgivable, etc.; 2) the topic may be too broad, and the speaker may go over the time limit; 3) participants may opt not to listen since they are not required to actively participate.

In general, trainers shy away from the use of lectures and towards the newer methods of participatory learning. Lynton and Pareek (1967) state that the lecture "is the most difficult method to use effectively." (138) Still, lectures do serve a purpose-- to inform-- and can be effective if delivered by a dynamic speaker. In the Model In-Service Training Program for Correctional Personnel (1968) it is observed that "the lecture approach is least effective with the older, less educated trainee...incidence enactment, T-Group sessions and programmed instruction might be more individualized for this group." (95)

Seltzer (1975-6), as has already been noted, recommends short lectures followed by workshops. Trainers generally agree that twenty to thirty minutes is the optimal time length for a lecture.

2) Discussion. This method is also called seminar, syndicate, conference, directed discussion or buzz group. The primary aim is for participants to exchange ideas. (Lynton and Pareek, 1967) Also, "the conference method involves a group of people who pool ideas, examine and share facts, ideas and data, test assumptions and draw conclusions, all

of which contribute to the improvement of job performance." (Lerda, 1967: 155) If the small group reports to a larger group, it is assumed that their conclusions will influence general work behavior. (Lynton and Pareek, 1967)

It is generally agreed that participants of a discussion group should have some prior knowledge of the subject either through a brief introductory lecture, reading, or shared experience. Auten (1973) suggests that the directed discussion is best suited for non-controversial topics.

Keeping a discussion group small insures its success. Although Lerda (1967) suggests twelve to twenty participants, eight to ten is a more viable number. Lynton and Pareek (1967) state that research shows that in a group larger than eight, some will remain silent. Since one of the aims of discussion is to provide a forum for participants to articulate their opinions, the size of the group must be large enough to allow for a diversity of views and small enough for participants to feel secure and that their input is needed and will be appreciated.

The leader provides guidance and clarification. Auten (1973) suggests that as points are resolved, the instructor should introduce new ones, and list old ones on a blackboard. The leader is responsible for the smooth flow of discussion-- making sure that comments relate to the topic, drawing out and "protecting" shy participants and tempering disagreement. If the discussion is a sub-group of a larger group, e.g., to explore the special conditions of probation work in small agencies, then the leader should help formulate conclusions that may be presented

to the group at-large. Most of all, the leader must be careful not to dominate the discussion.

Learning takes the form of 1) shaping attitudes through the exchange of ideas and peer pressure; 2) "develops tolerance for the views of others" (Lynton, Pareek, 1967: 135); 3) encourages thinking on common grounds; and 4) participants discover the strength or weakness of their own assumptions.

Kozoll (1974) points out the strengths of discussion groups; 1) everyone gets to speak; 2) time is provided to focus on specific questions; 3) the small group offers support; 4) reporting to a large group is enlightening; and 5) the trainer gains insight into the group as a whole. In addition, Auten (1973) views the discussion as an opportunity for staff to evaluate participants.

Kozoll (1974) enumerates the weaknesses of a leaderless discussion sub-group: 1) random grouping can produce a strong or weak group; 2) leaderlessness may mean straying from topic; 3) one person easily dominates; 4) a disorganized process results in poor reporting back to the larger group; and 5) the trainer may be unable to summarize all the reports.

As has already been stated, some sort of discussion after a lecture is highly recommended. Whether small discussion groups should be leaderless, led by an "expert," or include a staff member may be best decided through experimentation during the training program, i.e., check out which method is best suited to your participants.

3) Case Method. This teaching technique dates back to the 1880's when Harvard first introduced it. Basically, "the case study is a detailed description of a complex problem. All of the important facts are included. The learner is asked to consider all the information, make a decision regarding the problem and support it from the available data." (Randall, 1967: 20) The case is presented in detail, i.e., the participant is given all facts that in reality would be available to him, and is often in written form.

The case may be true or fictional. Pigors (1967) points out that a fictional case may be easier (the trainer has greater control over the aspects of the case) and may take less time to study than a true case; however, difficulties arise when questions regarding the "facts" are posed and motivation may be undermined due to disbelief, lack of opportunity to check decision-making against the real outcome and no possibility to do further independent research. The case may also be "live"-- having just occurred or in progress.

The skills taught through the case method concern data-processing and decision-making. "The basic learning accomplished can be categorized as intellectual skill learning, i.e., teaching the learner to do something with information that is given to him." (Randall, 1967: 20) The participant, for the most part, learns how to examine data as given-- not how to gather data.

Lynton & Lynton (Lynton & Pareek, 1967) write that the purpose of the case method is

to help members conceive that there may be several ways of looking at, thinking about, and acting in an identical

situation, to wonder which they might choose if they had themselves been in it, to ask more effective questions of the data life throws up to them, and to go on to learn some generalizations and concepts from the study of field data. (165)

Pigors (1967) writes that the case method

can help people to find out 1) what they know and what they don't in regard to a limited range of topics, 2) what they and others think about these topics, 3) what they can do with what they know (their ability to put ideas into practice), and 4) what those practices could do for the organization in which they have responsible positions...(196)

In case consideration the learner is able to identify with a third-party-- the client or the officer who has to analyze the data in a real-life situation. Cases can be presented orally or in written form, to a large group for small group or individual evaluation, or to a small group. analyses of cases may take the form of written reports disseminated to a larger group; oral reports to a larger group; written reports to the trainer for review; or random reporting from participants. Reporting and reviewing the participants' handling of the cases through discussion is essential to the success of the case method.

The case method is highly touted and seems to be popular in training social workers, managers, and other professionals who are required to decide cases on the job. It would appear to be a good method for training probation officers. The content, form and presentation of cases are crucial to its success. The trainer's task is to deliver the case, answer questions that may arise, and guide the review and discussion at the end. "The instructor's task is to help them look instead of state; understand instead of overthink; listen to other people's feel-

ings instead of to the din of their own." (Lynton and Pareek, 1967: 167) The success of the case method by group also depends on group dynamics which may be facilitated by the trainer and/or roving staff.

Kozoll (1974) enumerates the case method's strengths: 1) real-life situation; 2) allows for mastery of specific skills; 3) opportunity for group interaction; 4) discussion after case analysis has a common reference point; and 5) it highlights various approaches to the same material. Among its weaknesses, Kozoll finds 1) participants may get emotionally upset if a case reminds them of one they actually handled; 2) the case may be too simple or too complex; 3) if approaches are not diverse, discussion could be dull; 4) if discussion is not focused, points lose their clarity; and 5) too much diversity may produce confusing conclusions.

4) Incident Analysis. this method is basically a variation of the case method. Participants are given sparse information and must engage in data gathering (by asking questions of the trainer/resource person) before analyzing the case. Consequently it teaches all the skills of the case method and also the process of directing inquiry to elicit necessary information. The addition of teaching the latter process may be viewed as an advantage-- it is a useful skill, closer to a real-life case-- or as a disadvantage-- it may be "too much" to learn and detract from the total learning experience.

5) Role Playing. This method involves participants taking roles in a given situation. Some writers draw a distinction between role playing or structured role playing in which participants are given a specific

situation and roles, often in written form, and psychodrama or spontaneous role playing in which roles or situations are barely described by the trainer or suggested by participants. Shaw (1967) writes that whereas in structured role playing the participant is "learning by doing," "learning through observation and feedback," and "learning through analysis and conceptualization" (209), in spontaneous role playing the participant also "discovers new modes of behavior, new methods and approaches." (210) For our purposes, role playing means all of the above.

Pigors (1967) delineates the similarities between the case method and role playing:

(they) 1) provide a means for presenting a standard situation to all persons; 2) make provision for a free exchange of views through personal involvement; 4) offer stimulating ways for presenting problems; 5) are taken from real-life situations; 6) are geared toward skill development as an important objective of training; 7) share the attribute of enabling the course director to avoid giving specific answers to the problem, thus encouraging the development of a variety of possible solutions; and 8) make it possible for participants to practice skills without anyone getting hurt in the process. (177)

Lynton and Pareek (1976) describe the purpose of role playing: "To help participants experience what something 'sounds' or 'feels like,' what the difference is between talking about people and talking with them, and talking about doing something and actually starting action." (128)

Role playing, like the case method, is often used in the human relations field. Again, it depends heavily on the expertise of the

trainer. Can he get people involved? Are his roles believable? Will he be able to handle conflict and anger if it arises? Lynton and Pareek call role playing a substitute for field training.

Kozoll (1974) points out the strengths of role playing: 1) real-life situation; 2) theories shown through practice; 3) participants in new roles become more sympathetic; 4) brevity permits immediate feedback and discussion; 5) can be enacted spontaneously to exemplify a particular point. He also detects weaknesses: 1) it may be threatening and anxiety-provoking; 2) the situation can become unrealistic; 3) if too uncontrolled, it can lose its objective and even become funny; 4) strong feelings among participants may be unleashed; 5) only the aggressive may become involved.

An important part of the role playing situation is that the players get immediate feedback from the audience. Sometimes this takes the form of members of the audience replacing players at will or simply putting words in their mouths after walking up and tapping them on the shoulder as a signal.

6) Laboratory Method. This method is also called the T-group or human relations laboratory. It requires a general involvement on the part of participants in the structuring, content, teaching and learning on the course. The T-group "has no formal leader, preset agenda, or rules by which it must operate. It is up to the whole group, including the staff member, to decide what to do and how best to learn from its experience." (Schein, Bennis, 1967: 156) "The focus is on the here and now, the process of interaction, and on what takes place between indi-

viduals in the on-going experience of the laboratory group." (Randall, 1967: 22)

The laboratory method demands the most participation of all the teaching techniques described in this section. According to Bradford and Mial (1967), "we cannot teach any set of skills-- certainly any set as complex as those called for in group leadership-- by talking 'about' them. Human relations training could be defined as an attempt to design a total learning experience in which knowledge and theory are integrated with experience and practice." (252)

Because the working of participants as a group constitutes the basis for learning, the make-up of the group is a considerable factor in success. Stock and Thelin (1967) point out the elements essential to work and expectation of degree of intimacy desire; (256)

1) "the extent of communality in the group with respect to expectation to work and expectation of degree of intimacy desired; (265)

2) "the extent to which there are persons who can openly express attitudes for and against fight, dependency, pairing and possible flight;" (265)

3) "the extent to which the leader's own problems of accepting and dealing with anxiety are different from the group's;" (265-6)

4) "the extent to which the members have and can give the information and skills required for working on the task problems."

Lynton and Pareek note a great emotional impact upon participants especially at its outset due to the lack of structure and demands of the individuals in a newly formed group.

In order to develop healthy dynamics within the group the laboratory method requires time, typically one to three weeks in a residential program. Twelve to fifteen members per group is recommended.

The basic assumption of the laboratory method is:

Training cannot force change upon the individual. It can open up the potential for change, can encourage the individual to choose whether he wants to change, can provide opportunity to experiment with new ways of behaving, and can provide necessary support during the process of re-education. (Bradford, Mial, 1967: 256-7)

The T-group can be termed a quasi-therapeutic encounter. One of its aims is "to bring to the surface the individual's resistances to growth and to change and to help him decide whether he wants to undergo the task of learning and changing." (256) Other types of learning acquired are "understanding of oneself and sensitivity to others, ability to listen to others, ability to communicate, diagnostic understanding of group problems, ability to contribute effectively and appropriately to the work of the group, understanding of the complexities of intergroup and intraorganizational problems." (255)

One unique aspect of the T-group is that it not only teaches human relations skills and specific content areas, but it also provides insight into how people learn. Lynton and Pareek (1967: 126-7) cite statistics on learning retention from the U.S. Bureau of Naval Research:

	rate of retention
laboratory training	75%
visual material	55%
lecture	35%

Schein and Bennis (1967) list some of the outcomes of the laboratory method: 1) participants are sad to see it end; 2) greater understanding of group interactions is achieved; 3) personal feelings of being accepted, of working towards a common cause, etc., are kindled; 4) some members may be disturbed, e.g., getting feedback on acting in a domineering manner; 5) participants pick up "gimmicks" to use at work; 6) "all delegates, whether they are aware of it or not, go home with greater skills as group observers and diagnosticians, and with greater sensitivity to the complexity of interpersonal relationships." (163)

There seem to be many drawbacks to employing the laboratory method in a training program for probation officers in small agencies: 1) one man or small staffs usually operate individually within the office and with clients; 2) at the outset, members of the T-group would not know each other; 3) at the end, participants would have difficulty maintaining contact with each other; 4) transposing what is learned in the controlled conditions of a T-group to the work situation may be impossible; 5) a successful T-group requires too much time away from the office.

Still, there may be advantages: 1) group interaction can assuage feelings of isolation and frustration; 2) high participation and group support may strengthen confidence; 3) opportunity for self-examination may heighten sensitivity to clients; 4) may spur officers to do group work with clients or to organize on-going "group" among staff; 5) serves as basis for establishing on-going communication between offices.

7) Panel Discussions. A number of "experts" are brought together to discuss a topic, usually from diverse perspectives. Bertinot and Taylor in the Texas probation project used judges on panels to review probation officer self-assessments and to preside over mock hearings.

Kozoll points out the strengths of panel discussions: 1) a variety of perspectives are presented; 2) interaction spurs excitement; 3) topic can be fully explored from different perspectives; 4) panelists stimulate each other; 5) presents listener with a number of directions-- he must make a choice.

Kozoll also sums up the weaknesses: 1) panelists may interact poorly; 2) panelists may not be well organized; 3) "ignorances rather than insights can be exchanged;" 4) without a leader they may stray from topic; 5) summing up and clarity on issues may be difficult.

8) Task Exercise. According to Randall (1967) the task exercise is a particular task, e.g., "construct a model airplane in fifteen minutes," that is assigned to small groups who are in competition with each other to complete the task. This exercise spurs communication within a group, reveals leadership capabilities in participants, makes obvious underlying assumptions, and "serves as a means for generating task-oriented behavior with the objective of looking at what takes place in the exercise." (22)

9) In-Basket Exercise. According to Randall, "in-basket is a simulation of what a person finds in his own in-basket when he walks into his office after vacation." (20) The exercise should be performed within a given time period, e.g., 60 minutes. Discussion afterwards

centers on priorities of decision-making, why they worked on one task before another, etc.

10) Game-Playing. This method requires a pre-packaged game played by groups. Kozoll (1974) points out the strengths: 1) it is prepared and tested by experts; 2) it involves a high percentage of participation; 3) the trainer is a facilitator; 4) clear guidelines; 5) involvement creates learning. Kozoll's list of weaknesses include: 1) it may take too much time to learn the game; 4) may produce arguments; 5) may make participants uncomfortable. The success of game playing also rests on participants' willingness to accept as a credible, adult, learning tool.

11) Films. Participants' relationship to films parallels their position vis a vis lectures-- a passive, individual involvement. However, the film can be more attractive than the lecturer, e.g., visually stimulating, action, color, etc. Previewing films helps insure success. Kozoll notes the strengths of film use: 1) presents professional, unique settings not possible to duplicate in training; 2) length allows for prompt and controlled scheduling; 3) transports viewer to a work setting; 4) participants' distance from subject allows freedom for criticism; 5) humor or light-handed approach in some films provides a useful distraction.

Kozoll delineates weaknesses: 1) may be confusing or complex; 2) material often dated; 3) may drag on and on; 4) may contain many irrelevancies; 5) successful transition from film to discussion may be difficult.

12) Video-Taping. Video-taping may be used in conjunction with any method. Professional operators of equipment enhances possibilities for successful use. Among the strengths, Kozoll notes 1) provides immediate feedback; 2) correction and instruction is based on action; 3) tapes can be studied, used again and edited; 4) portability of equipment allows for flexibility.

Kozoll points out weaknesses: 1) participants may be self-conscious when they know they are being taped; 2) the visual representation, itself, often "freezes" people; 3) replay can confuse and bore; 4) untrained operators can create poor video tape 5) transportability of equipment may cause overuse and misuse-- it becomes a novelty or "toy."

13) Exhibits. A well-planned exhibit of relevant materials on a specific topic can be extremely informative. It should be set up in a convenient viewing site and sufficient time for examination should be allotted.

Appendix B

Survey of Administrators

Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO CIRCLE
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES
OFFICE FOR LAW-RELATED RESEARCH
BOX 4348, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60680
TELEPHONE: 996-5407

March, 1979

Dear Officer in Charge:

The training needs and related concerns of probation officers in small offices have long been neglected topics in criminal justice circles. To correct this situation, the National Institute of Corrections (Federal Prison System, Department of Justice) has authorized us to develop an exemplary training program based on communication with probation officers in the field.

We need your help to better understand the daily operations, responsibilities and training requirements of officers in small probation offices. We are mailing the attached questionnaire to several hundred officers in charge throughout the nation. Later we will survey field probation officers to review training ideas with them. The proposed training program will then be field tested.

The offices being surveyed range from those with one officer to those with several, from those which are branch offices to those which are independent departments. Your cooperation in completing the attached questionnaire is essential to producing a training program that is both needed and welcomed by many probation staff.

Please complete the questionnaire and return it in the enclosed postage paid envelope to the Survey Research Laboratory. Information should be provided only for the office to which this questionnaire was addressed. It should take less than 15 minutes to complete. We assure you that in reporting the study findings, individuals will not be identified. If you would like a summary report on project findings, please so indicate on the last page of the questionnaire.

If you have any questions or comments, please send them to the address listed above or call us collect at 312/996-4714 or 996-6679. Thank you for your consideration and assistance.

As far as we know, this is the first time that a survey of this size and scope has ever been attempted. It can't be done without your help.

Sincerely,

Doug Thomson

Doug Thomson
Project Director

David Fogel

David Fogel
Principal Investigator
Staff Training for Small Probation Agencies

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	
Sequence #	_____
Study #	354

1-4

SURVEY OF OFFICERS IN CHARGE

In answering the following questions, please provide information only for the office to which this questionnaire was addressed.

- Including yourself, how many full and part time probation officers are employed by your office?

Full time	_____	5
Part time	_____	6
Total	_____	7
- About how many adult presentence investigations are assigned to this office per month? (If the number varies a great deal, please record an average number.)

_____	_____	8-10
-------	-------	------
- About how many adult intake cases (pre-court) are assigned to this office per month? (If the number varies a great deal, please record an average number.)

_____	_____	11-13
-------	-------	-------
- How many cases are currently under the supervision of this office?

Adult probation cases	_____	14-17
Adult parole cases	_____	18-21
Other adult cases (Please specify)	_____	22-25
Juvenile cases	_____	26-29
Total number of cases currently under supervision	_____	30-33

5. What agency (or agencies) has administrative jurisdiction over your office? _____ 34-35

6a. Does your office have a training program for new probation officers?

Yes 1 36

No (Skip to Q.7a) 2

(If Yes:)

6b. What subjects are covered? _____ 37-38

_____ 39-40

_____ 41-42

_____ 43-44

_____ 45-46

_____ 47-48

_____ 49-50

_____ 51-52

_____ 53-54

_____ 55-56

_____ 57-58

_____ 59-60

6c. In total, how many hours of training does a new probation officer receive as part of this program? _____ 61-63

7a. During the 1978 calendar year, did your office have any in-service training for *experienced* probation officers?

Yes 1 64
No (Skip to Q.8a) 2

(If Yes:)

7b. What subjects were covered?

- _____ 65-66
- _____ 67-68
- _____ 69-70
- _____ 71-72
- _____ 73-74
- _____ 75-76
- _____ 77-78
- _____ 79/R 80/1
- _____ Begin Deck 2
- _____ 1-4/DUP
- _____ 5-6
- _____ 7-8
- _____ 9-10
- _____ 11-12
- _____ 13-14

7c. In 1978, approximately how many hours of in-service training did an *experienced* probation officer receive (on the average)?

_____ 15-17 4

8a. In addition to the training given to new and experienced probation staff in 1978, are there any other subjects in which you wish your staff had received training?

Yes 1 18
No (Skip to Q.10a) 2

(If Yes:)

8b. Which subjects are these?

- _____ 19-20
- _____ 21-22
- _____ 23-24
- _____ 25-26
- _____ 27-28
- _____ 29-30

9. What were the major obstacles which stood in the way of providing more training in 1978? (Please circle one answer code for each reason listed.)

	Yes, was an obstacle	No, was not an obstacle	
a. Lack of time available to probation staff	1	2	31
b. Lack of money in the budget	1	2	32
c. General lack of knowledge in the probation field about training	1	2	33
d. Staff resistance to training	1	2	34
e. Lack of trainers	1	2	35
f. Other _____ (Please Specify)	1		36

10a. During the 1977 calendar year, did your office have any in-service training for experienced probation officers?

Yes 1 37
No (Skip to Q.11) 2

(If Yes:)

10b. What subjects were covered?

_____	38-39			
_____	40-41			
_____	42-43			
_____	44-45			
_____	46-47			
_____	48-49			
_____	50-51			
52-53	54-55	56-57	58-59	60-61

10c. In 1977, approximately how many hours of training did an experienced probation officer receive (on the average)?

_____ 62-64

11. Do probation officers in your office . . .

	Yes	No	
a. Have arrest powers?	1	2	65
b. Have authority to carry firearms? . . .	1	2	66

12. Approximately what percentage of the adults convicted by the court(s) which this office serves are placed on probation?

_____ % 67-68

13. Approximately what percentage of the adults convicted by the court(s) which this office serves are sent to prison?

_____ % 69-70

14a. Does this office have any branch offices, satellite offices or sub-offices under its jurisdiction?

Yes 1 71
No (Skip to Q.14c) 2

(If Yes:)

14b. In total how many branch, satellite, or sub-offices are under the jurisdiction of this office?

_____ 72

14c. Is this office (the one to which this questionnaire was addressed) a branch, satellite, or sub-office under the jurisdiction of another office?

Yes 1 73
No 2

15. We are interested in your comments or suggestions about the questions in this survey and about any other aspects of this research/training project. Please use the following space to give us your views.

16. Would you like to receive a copy of the summary report on the findings of the project? (It will be sent in the Fall of 1979.)

Yes 1 74

No 2

Before you complete the last question we would like to reiterate our assurance of confidentiality: All information that would permit identification of individuals will be held in strict confidence, will be used only by persons engaged in and for the purpose of the survey and will not be disclosed or released to others for any purpose. The results will be used only when combined with those of many other people.

17. The next stage in this project will be a nationwide sample survey of probation officers who are employed in small probation offices. The officers will be asked their ideas on training programs and questions about what is involved in being a probation officer. Thus, we are compiling a list from which a sample will be drawn. In the following space, please list the names and years of service of all the probation officers in your office, including yourself.

<u>Name of Probation Officer</u>	<u>Years of Service in this Office</u>
1. _____ OFFICER IN CHARGE	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____
6. _____	_____
7. _____	_____
8. _____	_____
9. _____	_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE

75/

76/

77-79/354

80/2

Appendix C

Survey of Probation Officers

Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO CIRCLE
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES
OFFICE FOR LAW-RELATED RESEARCH
BOX 4348, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60680
TELEPHONE: 996-5407

June, 1979

Dear Probation Officer:

Probation officers in small offices have long been ignored in discussions of what probation work should be. To help correct this situation, the National Institute of Corrections (Federal Prison System, Department of Justice) has authorized us to develop an exemplary training program based on communication with probation officers in the field.

To gain an understanding of small probation offices and their training requirements, we are asking probation officers across the nation to tell us what skills are required as a probation officer, what the work consists of, and in what ways training opportunities might be improved. The officer in charge of your office has completed a previous questionnaire and has provided us your name. The offices being surveyed range from those with one officer to those with several, from those which are branch offices to those which are independent departments.

Please complete the attached questionnaire and return it in the enclosed postage paid envelope. Please be assured that all information that would permit identification of individuals will be held in strict confidence, will be used only by persons engaged in and for the purpose of the survey and will not be disclosed or released to others for any purpose. The information you provide will be used only when combined with those of many other officers.

If you would like a summary report on project findings, please so indicate on the last page of the questionnaire. If you have any questions or comments, please send them to the address listed above or call us collect at 312/996-4714 or 996-6679. Thank you for your consideration and assistance.

Sincerely,

Doug Thomson

Doug Thomson
Project Director

Dave Fogel

Dave Fogel
Principal Investigator

SURVEY OF PROBATION OFFICERS

1. There are a number of views about what it takes to be a good probation officer. What do you think are the four most important skills which a probation officer should have? Please list them in order of importance beginning with the most important.

- a. Most important skill: _____ 5-8
- b. Second most important skill: _____ 9-11
- c. Third most important skill: _____ 12-14
- d. Fourth most important skill: _____ 15-17

2. To what extent are each of the following situations a major problem, a minor problem or no problem to you in the performance of your work? (Please circle one answer code for each situation.)

	Major problem	Minor problem	No problem	
a. Lack of inter-agency cooperation	1	2	3	18
b. Lack of public support for what you are trying to do as a probation officer	1	2	3	19
c. Lack of community resources	1	2	3	20
d. Amount of paperwork you have to do	1	2	3	21
e. The size of your caseload	1	2	3	22
f. Lack of secretarial, clerical or other office help	1	2	3	23
g. Lack of office space or equipment	1	2	3	24
h. Physical distances which you or probationers must travel	1	2	3	25

3a. Are there any other situations which are major problems that seriously interfere with your work as a probation officer?

- Yes 1 26
- No (Skip to Q.4) 2

(If Yes:)

b. What are these other situations?

- (1) _____ 27-28
- (2) _____ 29-30
- (3) _____ 31-32

4. For each of the following statements please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement. (Please circle an answer code for each statement.)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
a. The primary function of the probation officer should be that of community resource manager for probationers	1	2	3	4	5	33
b. One of the most difficult things about being a probation officer is trying to reconcile responsibilities for assisting the probationer with responsibilities for controlling the probationer.	1	2	3	4	5	34
c. A serious problem in probation work is that sufficient training has <u>not</u> been provided for staff.	1	2	3	4	5	35
d. Probation officers should <u>not</u> be authorized to arrest probationers.	1	2	3	4	5	36

5a. In the past two years (1977 to present) have you received any training directly related to your work as a probation officer?

Yes 1 37
No (Skip to Q.6) 2

(If Yes:)

b. What one subject was most beneficial to your work as a probation officer?

Subject _____ 40-41

c. Why was it most beneficial?

_____ 42-43

_____ 44-45

d. What one subject was least beneficial to your work as a probation officer?

Subject _____ 46-47

e. Why was it least beneficial?

_____ 50-51

_____ 52-53

6. If you were designing a training program for experienced probation officers, what five subjects would you include?

1. _____ 54-55

2. _____ 56-57

3. _____ 58-59

4. _____ 60-61

5. _____ 62-63

7. We are interested in the tasks which you perform as a probation officer. During your average week about how many hours do you spend in each of the following activities? (The following list may not be exhaustive; please include any additional activities under category "other activities." Also, please record the total number of hours in the space provided at the bottom of the page.)

Table with 2 columns: Activity and Number of hours in an average week spent in:
a. Face-to-face supervision/counselling of clients - -
in the office 64-65
in the field 66-67
b. Supervision/counselling of clients by telephone or mail . 68-69
c. Advocating with agencies and other organizations on clients' behalf 70-71
d. Working with and making referrals to community agencies . 72-73
e. Information gathering for presentence investigation reports 74-75
f. Other investigative duties 76-77
g. Writing presentence investigation and other reports to the courts 78-79
h. Other paperwork 80/1
i. Making presentations in court Deck 2
j. Waiting to appear in court 1-5/DUP
k. Traveling 6-7
l. Staff meetings 8-9
m. Administrative duties 10-11
n. Other activities (Please specify) 12-13
TOTAL HOURS: 14-15
. 16-17
. 18-19
. 20-21
. 22-23
. 24-26

8. What items of information do you consider most important for inclusion in the presentence report? Please list below the four most important items in their order of importance.

Most important item: _____

27-28

Second most important item: _____

29-30

Third most important item: _____

31-32

Fourth most important item: _____

33-34

In the next five questions we would like you to describe your caseload in terms of legal status, sex and racial/ethnic group. Please record a "0" in every instance in which you do not have any cases of that type.

9. About how many adult presentence investigations are assigned to you per month? (If the number varies a great deal, please record an average number.)

35-36

10. About how many adult intake cases (pre-court) are assigned to you per month? (If the number varies a great deal, please record an average number.)

37-38

11. How many cases are currently under your supervision?

Adult probation cases _____

39-41

Adult parole cases _____

42-44

Other adult cases (Please specify) _____

45-47

Juvenile cases _____

48-50

Total number of cases currently under your supervision . . . _____

51-53

12. How many cases currently under your supervision are females?

54-55

13. What is the breakdown of the racial/ethnic background of the cases currently under your supervision? (Please record the numbers.)

White _____ 56-57

Black _____ 58-59

Spanish/Hispanic _____ 60-61

American Indian _____ 62-63

Asian/Oriental _____ 64-65

Other _____ 66-67

14. How many adult probationers have you arrested in the last year? (If none, please record "0".)

68-69

15. In the past year, approximately how many of your adult probationers had their probation revoked . . .

a. For a technical violation? _____ 70-72

b. For conviction of a new crime? _____ 73-75

16. In the past year, approximately how many of your adult probationers were incarcerated?

76-78

79/R

17. In the past year what is the total number of adult probationers you have supervised or are currently supervising?

80/2

Begin

Deck 3

1-5/DUP

6-8

18a. Do you regularly read any journals or magazines relating to your work as a probation officer?

- Yes 1 9
- No (Skip to Q.19a) 2

(If Yes:)

b. Please list the journals or magazines that you read regularly.

_____	10-11
_____	12-13
_____	14-15
_____	16-17
_____	18-19

19a. Do you belong to any occupational or professional associations?

- Yes 1 20
- No (Skip to Q.20) 2

(If Yes:)

b. In the past year, about how many hours did you spend participating in the activities of the association(s)? (Include hours spent attending a conference, a seminar, committee meetings, performing duties as an officer or on any other activities of the association(s).

Number of hours 21-23

20. Do you ever carry a firearm while working as a probation officer?

- Yes 1 24
- No 2

Each of the next two questions presents a situation and alternative actions that a probation officer could take. While it is understood that you might choose different alternatives in different situations, please try to imagine what you would do most often in each of the situations presented below. Please circle only one answer code for each question, the one which would most likely be the action you would take in that situation.

21. When one of your adult probationers tells you that his or her employer has been harassing the probationer and asks for your help, what do you generally do?

- Personally contact the employer and try to straighten out the difficulties 1 25
- Arrange for the probationer to talk the problem over with the employer 2 26
- Advise the probationer to talk out the problem with the employer 3 27
- Do nothing and let the probationer solve the problem him/herself 4
- Take some other course of action? (Please specify) _____ . . 5

22. When a probationer under your supervision temporarily leaves the jurisdiction, contrary to the conditions of probation and without permission, what do you generally do (assuming that this is the first time this has happened)?

- Tell the probationer that if he or she does this again, you will request a revocation of probation 1 28
- Discuss the situation with the probationer to find out why he or she is not cooperating 2 29
- Take no action 3 30
- Request a revocation of probation 4
- Take some other course of action (Please specify) _____ . . 5

CONTINUED

4 OF 5

23. Which of the following comes closest to describing your current position?

- Probation Officer 1
- Supervisor of probation officers 2
- Chief Probation Officer 3
- Director of Court Services 4
- Other (Please specify) _____ 5

24. What was your main occupation before you entered probation work?

25. How many years have you been doing probation work? _____ years

26. In this agency, are you currently employed . . .

- Full time, or 1
- Part time? 2

27. How much do you like or dislike the work which you are doing?

- I like it a great deal 1
- I like it pretty much 2
- It is okay, it is a job 3
- I dislike it pretty much 4
- I dislike it a great deal 5

28. How frequently does your job give you an opportunity to do the things you do well?

- Very frequently 1
- Frequently 2
- Sometimes 3
- Hardly ever 4

29. In what year were you born? 19 _____

30. What is your sex?

- Male 1
- Female 2

31. What is the highest year of school you have completed? (Circle highest grade or year.)

- High School 09 10 11 12
- College 13 14 15 16
- Some graduate school 17
- Master's of Social Work degree 18
- Other Master's degree (Please specify) _____ 19
- Law degree 20
- Other education (Please specify) _____ . . . 21

32. What is your racial/ethnic background?

- White 1
- Black 2
- Spanish/Hispanic 3
- American Indian 4
- Asian/Oriental 5
- Other (Please specify) _____ . . . 6

33. Would you like a copy of the summary report on the findings of the project?
(It will be sent in the Fall of 1979.)

Yes 1 45
No 2

34. We are interested in any thoughts which you have about the questions in this survey or about the research/training project in general. Please use the following space to give us your views.

_____ 46-47

_____ 48-49

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

50-76/R
77-79/354
80/3

Begin
Deck 1

Office Use Only
Sequence # _____
Study # 354

1-5

Appendix D

Field Visit Interview Guide

351

1) An Interview Guide

**I. Participants and Setting

***II. Training

- ***A. What happened/so what
(using SOC and SPO accounts of training received)
concentrate on determining what the reality is behind
the subject label
- what went on in the sessions?
 - * content
 - * process
 - * sponsorship
 - * setting
 - what is your assessment of this training?
 - how is the training linked to what you do?
 - additional training, including experiences which
might not be classified as conventional in-service
training, received but not noted in SOC or SPO
 - what did you learn? how have you used it?
- ***B. Accommodating needs of small agency
(particularly if training is provided from a central source)
how might the needs of the small agency be better accommodated?
- ***C. Small agency vs. large agency training
In what ways does the training appropriate for a probation
officer in this agency differ from training appropriate for
large agency counterparts? What training have you received
which was inappropriate for you because it seemed to have
been designed for the large agency (or urban) officer?
- ***D. Training resources known
What training resources do you know of apart from those
already mentioned? National (e.g., NIC, other national
institutes) State? Local?
- **E. Facilitating appropriate training
What else should/can be done to facilitate appropriate
training? How desirable is it?
- **F. What does training mean to you? What should probation
officer training accomplish?
- ***G. Desired training ideas from project/beneficial training program
What training ideas would you like to result from this project?
What would constitute a beneficial training program? How would
you know that it was beneficial?

- II.
- content
 - process
 - format
 - length
 - trainers
 - place
 - participants
 - facilities
 - frequency
 - sponsorship
- e.g., correspondence courses, continuing education credits, leverage on system presently sponsoring or providing training, special institutes, capacity building
- **III. Relationships with other organizations
- ***A. Judge (s)
Tell me about the judge (s). What is their background, dispositional predilections? How are they involved in the activities of the probation department? How does this affect your work?
- ***B. Frequently contacted agencies/organizations
With what agencies/organizations including police do you have the most frequent contact? What happens? To whom do you talk? What problems arise?
- ***C. Relationships with other levels of bureaucracy
What constraints/requirements are felt from other levels of the bureaucracy? What opportunities are provided by other levels of the bureaucracy? What is your relationship with the central office, department, other large encompassing administrative bodies?
- **D. Decision-making
Who makes the following decisions? Based on what information?
- training requirements - qualifications for hiring probation staff
 - new programs - job descriptions for probation staff
 - budget
- requesting a revocation
- *E. National and state standards
What are they, how have they affected you and the agency, what do you think of them?
- *F. Qualifications/salary structure
What are the qualifications for being hired as a probation officer? What is the starting salary? What does it go up to?

**IV. Probation officer activities and opinions

- *A. Role of the probation officer and of probation
- what is probation agency doing which it should not be doing?
 - what should probation agency do which it is not doing?
 - what parts of your job do you like best? why?
 - what parts of your job do you like least? why?
 - what do you think probation should be? whom should it serve? what should it accomplish? what are reasonable outcomes to expect?
 - what directions do you perceive probation taking?
 - with what profession/occupation do you identify? how do you keep up with its activities and developments?
- **B. The work day
- account of typical day, extremes
 - ride along
 - review of files
- *C. Round of life
- context within which the job fits
 - interests and activities outside of work
 - local/cosmopolitan orientations
 - how does officer participate in community life?
 - how significant are other probation officers and others, including police, who work in the criminal justice system in off-hours?
- *V. Characteristics of the small agency
- **A. Specialization
- is there any?
 - on what basis are cases assigned?
 - how much job differentiation is there?
 - who makes decisions?
 - * case assignment
 - * hiring
 - * firing
 - * promotions
 - * training opportunities
 - * scheduling of vacations
 - * type of work assignments
- *B. Isolation
- geographic
 - professional
 - social
 - psychological

- V. **C. Issues peculiar to/salient for small agency/rural agency
What issues are peculiar to, or especially salient for,
small agencies? how are they being addressed? how should
they be addressed? by whom?
- **D. Community constraints/facilitation
How does "the community" (which is...?) constrain and
facilitate probation work?
- *E. Staff turnover, hiring, other staffing considerations
What is the extent of and reasons for staff turnover, hiring,
other staffing considerations?
- °VI. Assessment/consequences of research process
- its impact on you, what it should accomplish now based on
what has been done so far, where it should go now

***Highest priority

**High priority

*Moderate priority

°Low priority

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