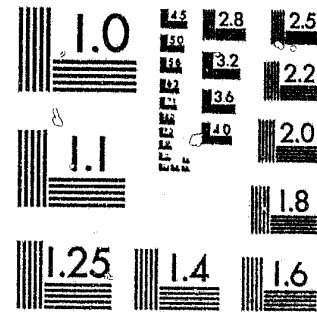


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97867-97875

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Subscriptions may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, at an annual rate of \$9.00 (domestic) and \$11.25 (foreign). Single copies are available at \$3.50 (domestic) and \$4.40 (foreign). Permission to quote is granted on condition that appropriate credit is given to the author and the Quarterly. Information regarding the reprinting of articles may be obtained by writing to the Editors.

FEDERAL PROBATION QUARTERLY
Administrative Office of the United States Courts, Washington, D.C. 20544

SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.
Publication Number: USPS 356-210

Federal Probation

A JOURNAL OF CORRECTIONAL PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICE

Published by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts

VOLUME XLVIII

DECEMBER 1984

NUMBER 4

This Issue In Brief

The Evolution of Probation: University Settlement and Its Pioneering Role in Probation Work.—In the final article of a series of four on the evolution of probation, authors Charles Lindner and Margaret Savarese further explore the link between the settlement movement and the beginnings of probation in this country by focusing on one particular settlement, the University Settlement Society of New York City. Close examination of the University Settlement papers revealed that this settlement, during the late 1890's and early 1900's, expanded its programs and activities to meet the growing needs of the people of the Lower East Side and became very much involved in probation work at the same time. This involvement included experimentation with an informal version of probation prior to the passage of the first probation law in New York State, the appointment of a settlement resident as the first civilian probation officer immediately following passage of this law, the creation of a "probation fellowship" sponsored by one of the settlement benefactors, and the description of this probation work in various publications of the day.

Professionals or Judicial Civil Servants? An Examination of the Probation Officer's Role.—A major issue and question in the probation field is whether probation officers are professionals. In this study, Richard Lawrence examines whether probation officers see themselves as professionals and the extent to which they experience role conflict and job dissatisfaction. The study also looks at how probation officers perceive their roles in relation to the judicial process and the services provided to probationers. Three factors were found to make a difference in officers' role preference and whether they experience role conflict: size of their department (and city), age, and years of experience. A number of recommendations are offered to give probation of-

ficers equal professional status with judicial personnel and more autonomy to exercise their professional skills in the court organization.

Six Principles and One Precaution for Efficient Sentencing and Correction.—According to author Daniel Glaser, more crime prevention per dollar in sentencing and correction calls for: (1) an economy principle of maximizing fines and minimizing in-

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ACQUISITIONS

carceration; (2) noncriminalization of offenders who have strong stakes in conformity; (3) crime-spree interruption; (4) selective incapacitation; (5) reducing inmate pressures from other inmates and increasing staff and outsider influences; (6) appropriate vocational training of offenders. These goals require avoidance of sentences based purely on just deserts.

The Juvenile Justice System: A Legacy of Failure?—In a follow-up to his previous article, "Juvenile Court: An Endangered Species" (*Federal Probation*, March 1983), author Roger B. McNally expands the notion that the juvenile justice system is on the brink of extinction. The author identifies five contemporary themes which are jeopardizing the very existence of juvenile justice and strongly suggests that if the present course of events goes unabated, this system—by the turn of the century—may be recorded in the annals of history as a legacy of failure and a system that self-destructed. The article identifies the need for a separate system of justice by citing examples of failure when the adversarial model is applied to juvenile matters. The author maintains that the juvenile justice system is at a crossroad which requires an affirmation rather than a condemnation of the notion that youth are more than "short adults" necessitating incapacitation until they "grow-up."

An Assessment of Treatment Effectiveness By Case Classifications.—Authors James M. Robertson and J. Vernon Blackburn studied the effects of treatment upon probationers by formulating three questions which asked if court-ordered treatment had any effect on the revocation percentage of probationers in the minimum, medium, and maximum supervision categories as established by four major base expectancy scales. Summarized, the treatment group had lower revocation percentages in 10 out of 12 supervision categories. These results led to positive conclusions regarding the effects of treatment in reducing probation failures.

Forecasting Federal Probation Statistics.—The procedures used in forecasting Federal probation population totals are explained with the intention of making these techniques available to the individual probation office. Author Steven C. Suddaby discusses long- and short-term projections and difficulties which are peculiar to probation forecasting.

The Armed Urban Bank Robber: A Profile.—An analysis of 500 armed bank robbers revealed that they do not fit the stereotype of sophisticated professional criminals, say authors James F. Haran and

John M. Martin. Rather, these robbers are a cohort of young adult, unattached, socially disorganized males, predominately black, poorly educated, and lacking vocational skills; most are unemployed, previously arrested property offenders. Twenty-five percent are drug addicts. They make little profit from their crimes, are swiftly arrested, and receive long jail sentences. A fourfold typology of offenders is developed based on career patterns of prior property crime offenses. The authors propose that selective sentencing, focused more on the career pattern rather than the crime, might render a more effective sentencing formula.

Female Employees in All-Male Correctional Facilities.—Court decisions have opened the doors for women to work in male corrections, but the real struggle to find acceptance and promotion within the system is just beginning. According to authors Rose Etheridge, Cynthia Hale, and Margaret Hambrick, this struggle takes place within the parameters established by inmate, staff, and community attitudes and the attitudes and motivations of the woman herself. Images of women developed long before the working relationships color her interactions with inmates and staff. The authors stress that the woman must understand what is happening and use specific coping strategies if she wants to succeed.

Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control in Israel.—The number of youth committing serious crimes in Israel is reaching alarming proportions. After discussing the scope and dimensions of the delinquency problem in Israel, author Gad J. Bensing describes the Israeli juvenile justice system and explains the prevention and control strategies of the police, the courts, and the juvenile probation department. Although law enforcement and delinquency prevention was never a national priority in Israel, a reallocation of resources may be required to meet the new domestic needs.

I Didn't Know The Gun Was Loaded.—The judgment of criminal intent has become formalized in Western law as a way of appreciating more fully the nature and quality of an unlawful act and, implicitly, assessing the character and social fitness of the accused. However desirable in theory, the evidential determination of intent, a subjective phenomenon, may pose complex problems. Author James D. Stanfield proposes a revised concept of criminal intent, one less heavily dependent upon rational choice as a precondition of legal accountability.

The Evolution of Probation

University Settlement and its Pioneering Role in Probation Work*

BY CHARLES LINDNER AND MARGARET R. SAVARESE**

ALTHOUGH THE settlement movement originated in England with the founding of Toynbee hall in 1884, the underlying settlement idea was quickly appropriated by a small band of young, energetic Americans and transported to the United States. Here, it took hold and spread so rapidly that by the turn of the century, there were more than 100 settlement houses, of all types and descriptions, most of them located in the largest, most heavily populated urban centers.

There were many similarities between the English social settlement movement and its American cousin. Both had come about as a response to the ever-growing tide of urbanization and industrialization, and both were envisioned as one possible remedy for the social rifts and disorganization which inevitably accompanied these two processes. Thus, the settlement movement on both sides of the Atlantic attempted to repair these rifts and "sought to reconcile class to class, race to race, and religion to religion."¹ The English and American settlement movements were also very much alike in that both tended to attract clergymen, professors, writers, and, more than anyone else, young men and women eager to serve their fellow man in some socially useful way. In America, the pioneering settlement residents were, invariably, not only young but also well-educated, usually with some post-graduate training, from solidly middle or upper-class backgrounds, and of old, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant stock.

In addition to the similarities, there were also differences between the English and American versions of the settlement movement. Unlike their English counterparts which were often church-affiliated, most of the American settlements were deliberately nonsectarian and devoid of any formal adherence to doctrine or ritual, although the individual founders and leaders were often deeply

religious themselves. An even more significant difference was the involvement of many of the American settlements in a wide variety of reform measures designed to improve the lot of the thousands of impoverished immigrants who were pouring into the already congested, tenement neighborhoods. Their continuous day-to-day presence in these neighborhoods brought the early settlement residents face-to-face with a bewildering array of problems that cried out for attention and amelioration and turned many of them into political activists. Jane Addams, of Hull House, touched on just a few of the problems which galvanized settlement residents into fighting for social change when she wrote:

Insanity housing, poisonous sewage, contaminated water, infant mortality, the spread of contagion, adulterated food, impure milk, smoke-laden air, ill-ventilated factories, dangerous occupations, juvenile crime, unwholesome crowding, prostitution, and drunkenness are the enemies which the modern city must face and overcome would it survive.²

Thus, settlement workers became deeply involved in a broad range of reform activities aimed at eliminating these conditions, and one of the many reform measures which attracted their support was an innovation known as probation. The active role played by a number of very influential settlement leaders in helping probation become an accepted practice has been virtually ignored, although the part they played was a truly critical one. This article continues to explore the link between the settlement movement and the beginning probation movement by focusing on one particular settlement, University Settlement of New York City, and by examining its active involvement and support of probation during its infancy around the turn of the century.

The Early Years of University Settlement

University Settlement, which went on to become one of the most influential of all the settlements, began rather inauspiciously, as the Neighborhood Guild, in a dilapidated tenement on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. The founder was Stanton Coit, a moody, idealistic intellectual who had spent some

*This is the final article in a series of four.

**Charles Lindner is associate professor, Department of Law, Police Science and Criminal Justice, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York City. Margaret R. Savarese is supervising probation officer, New York City Department of Probation, Bronx. The authors wish to thank Professor Eileen Rowland, Chief Librarian, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, and her staff for their support and assistance.

¹ Clarke Chambers, *Seedtime of Reform: American Social Service and Social Action, 1918-1933*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963, p. 14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

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Professionals or Judicial Civil Servants?

An Examination of the Probation Officer's Role

BY RICHARD LAWRENCE, PH.D.

Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice, The University of Texas at San Antonio

THE FIELD of probation has seen tremendous growth and development since its inception as primarily a volunteer movement a century ago. Today it is the largest single correctional service in terms of the number of offenders served (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1983). The past decade has witnessed an increased emphasis on the professionalism of probation officers. The minimum educational requirement is now a 4-year college degree, with many departments requiring a master's degree (Abadinsky, 1977, p. 314). The majority of probation officers today are without doubt more highly qualified for their jobs, and seem to be very concerned about legal issues of their role and the quality of services provided to persons on probation.

In spite of these positive developments, there are some problems confronting probation. Probation is increasingly being looked to for help in alleviating the serious problems of overcrowding in jails and prisons. A greater percentage of convicted offenders are being placed on probation—the foremost agency of community corrections—as an alternative to incarceration. This increase necessarily results in a greater workload on probation officers: more presentence investigations, larger caseloads, and more paper work to complete. The increased pressure on probation often adversely affects the quality of the officers' reports and the supervision provided.

Professionalism in Probation

A major issue in the field of probation is the question of professionalism. There is concern among personnel from administrators to line officers whether their occupation represents a professional career. Does the field of probation possess a specialized body of knowledge by which it may be considered a profession? Do probation personnel provide a specialized service and conduct themselves in a manner which may be considered professional? These and similar questions are found in abundance in the literature (Linden, 1973; Mangrum, 1981; and Thomas, 1983). Mangrum (1981) believes that corrections has suffered from being the stepchild of the

criminal justice system and from a lack of public support. The resulting negative self-image limits the probation officer from being committed to his field as a professional. The importance of a positive self-image is underscored as essential in providing quality services to clients, who themselves are characterized by low self-esteem. Thomas (1983) believes probation lacks a professional identity because there is no recognized professional school to prepare leaders for probation and no nationally recognized scholars or administrators who can be called eminent leaders in probation. In spite of its effectiveness—from 60 to 85 percent success rate (Albanese, et al., 1981)—probation is uneasy about what it produces in the way of measurable results. According to Fogel (1981) probation suffers from an image of leniency and has done little to offset this criticism. Linden (1973) surveyed 60 Federal probation officers and found that the probation officer exhibits professional frustration as a result of his inability to achieve the goals of professionalism. On an index designed to measure the difference between what the officer perceived as his occupational role and his professional ideal, it was found that the greater the education, the more the professional frustration.

Role Conflict and Organizational Behavior

There is a direct relationship between professionalism and the nature and quality of an individual's work in an organization. While research has been done on role conflict among prison guards (Jacobs, 1978; Poole and Regoli, 1983), there have been few efforts to document the problem among probation personnel. Tomaino (1975) identified five distinct styles of "probationing" and noted that "concerns for control and rehabilitation are in basic conflict with each other and are mutually exclusive" (p. 42). Use of the different styles is hypothesized to result in different outcomes for probationers. Petronio (1982) tested the rehabilitative and control-oriented roles of juvenile probation officers and found that the officers do not always carry out the roles which are communicated to them.

It is generally acknowledged that to understand the operations of a given probation department or the behavior of individual officers, one must view them in an organizational context (see, e.g., Hussey and Duffee, 1980). Blumberg's (1979) study of a court system is the most prominent example of an organizational analysis of judicial roles and functions. Eisenstein and Jacob (1977) take issue with Blumberg's view of the courts as bureaucracies in which negotiation and bargaining predominate over the adversary system.¹ They conclude from an analysis of three court systems that courtroom cases and dispositions are not mere assembly line operations, but are given considerable individualized treatment. On the other hand, Blumberg's view of probation officers as non-professionals who play a relatively minor role in the judicial process has not been challenged by the literature on probation (see, e.g., Czajkowski, 1973; Linden, 1973; and Thomas, 1983). While many of his observations are no doubt accurate, it is questionable whether his analysis of a single court system can be generalized to many others in this country. There are a number of research questions raised by Blumberg's analysis which deserve more serious examination.

The following observations made by Blumberg (1979, pp. 198-285) about the role and function of probation officers provide the focal points for this study:

1. Probation officers are "mere instruments to be utilized for larger organizational ends. ... (T)heir body of professional skills cannot be autonomously employed but must be exercised within the framework of precise organizational limits and objectives" (p. 198).
2. Probation officers' "lack of genuine professional status in the court is a constant source of personal anxiety, work alienation, and general dissatisfaction" (p. 281).
3. "The pre-sentence investigation document is often cynically employed to validate judicial behavior or is otherwise used to reinforce administrative action already taken. ... The circumstances under which probation reports are prepared cast serious doubts on their objectivity, validity, and integrity" (p. 283). "The importance of the pre-sentence investigation as a decision-making tool for the judge is overrated" (p. 285).

4. "Frustrated as professionals, stripped of real decision-making power, lacking a genuine career motif, and assigned relatively low status by the community, it is not surprising that probation workers often develop a high degree of cynicism" (p. 283).

5. Probation officers "come to view their administrators as frightened, insecure, petty officials who will respond to any organization need at the expense of workers and clients. There is a constant undercurrent of antagonism between probation workers and their supervisors" (pp. 283-284).

Probation Officers' Role Perceptions

Data were collected from 139 probation officers serving state district courts and employed by adult probation departments in a Southwestern State. The officers were from a representative cross-section of probation offices in the State, including metropolitan and smaller urban departments. Self-administered, anonymous questionnaires were completed at training sessions and in offices. Subjects were informed that their responses would be strictly confidential. The State Adult Probation Commission cooperated fully with the study.²

Several items were generated to assess the subjects' perception of various roles and functions of their job in the context of the court organization and in relation to other judicial personnel. The items were arranged in related groups and organized in four scales. The scale of "professional identification" items measures the degree to which the subject identifies himself as a professional; his agency and the general field of probation as professional; and the agency goals and functions as indicative of professionalism. This scale also includes job satisfaction items.

The presentence investigation items assess the officers' opinions on the proper role and functional value of the PSI, in terms of the objectivity with which it is written and the recognition given by the judge in the sentencing process. The role conflict scale measures how the probation officer perceives and defines his role in relation to the offender, the court organization, and other judicial personnel. The scale includes the extent to which the officer perceives conflict in the definition of his role by himself and the organization. The final scale assesses the nature of the working relations with probation supervisors and administrators and with other judicial personnel.

Results

The probation officers in the sample generally have a high degree of professional identification

¹ Blumberg's work was originally published in 1967, 10 years before Eisenstein and Jacob. References to and quotations from Blumberg in this paper are from the second edition, published in 1979.

² Appreciation is gratefully acknowledged to Dr. George Pryor, Training Education Director, and Don Stiles, Executive Director of the Texas Adult Probation Commission, for permission and assistance in collecting data for this study.

with their field. There are some exceptions, however. Many believe they are not given equal professional status with attorneys in the performance of their jobs (70, or 50.4 percent agreeing with this item). Many likewise believe they are not seen as professionals by attorneys and judges. Blumberg is thus partially supported in his view of probation officers' lack of professionalism.

Table 1. PROFESSIONAL IDENTIFICATION SCALE ITEMS
(in percentages)

Scale Items	(A)	(?)	(D)
- Probation is an important, vital part of criminal justice.	98.6	.7	.7
- Probation could and should play an even greater role in the administration of justice.	92.1	6.5	1.4
- I see myself as a professional with a specialized body of knowledge and special skills.	95.0	3.6	1.4
- My job regularly requires that I apply some professional knowledge and special skills.	95.0	2.9	2.2
- I view my role as vital to the successful administration of justice.	89.2	9.4	1.4
- The majority of probationers are much better off after serving probation than if they had been committed to prison.	77.0	17.3	5.8
- The majority of probationers are much better off after serving probation than if given a suspended sentence with no probation supervision.	71.9	13.7	14.4
- I feel that I am not seen as a professional by the attorneys and judge(s) with whom I work.	22.3	14.4	62.6
- I feel that I am not given equal professional status with attorneys in my job.	50.4	10.1	38.8
- My job requires a considerable degree of creativity and originality in its performance.	78.4	5.8	15.1
- There is a great deal I can do to help individuals on my caseload.	70.5	12.2	15.8
- My agency continuously encourages me to provide high-quality services to my probationers.	73.4	8.6	17.3
- Most of the time I feel highly motivated to provide high-quality services to the probationers I see each day.	74.8	10.1	14.4

A = Agree
D = Disagree
? = Uncertain

A significant percentage of the officers disagreed or were uncertain whether their job required any

creativity in its effective performance, as indicated in Table 1. Blumberg asserted that "very little is required of the individual by way of a creative or original performance" (p. 282). More than 20 percent of this sample agree with this. One attribute of a professional in the helping professions is the degree to which a valuable service is provided and whether individuals are being helped. Twenty-eight percent question or disagree that they are helping their clients. One-fourth of the officers either question or disagree that their agency encourages the delivery of quality services or that they personally feel motivated to provide quality services. It is fortunate that three-fourths of the officers and their agencies are service-oriented. Considerable concern is warranted for the one-fourth who are not. This represents a sizeable number of probationers in need of quality service delivery.

Many of the officers in the study did not conduct presentence investigations; thus the large number of "uncertain" responses which should be interpreted here as "not applicable." As noted in Table 2, many officers do question the objectivity, impartiality, and value of their presentence reports in the sentencing decision. Blumberg claims that the high correlation between probation officers' recommendations in the PSI and the courts' dispositions as noted by, e.g., Carter and Wilkins (1967) is due to the officers' writing what they believe the judge wants to hear rather than the judge following the recommendation. He claims probation officers are manipulated by the court structure, and learn not to question established organizational assumptions and goals (p. 211). Questioning the objectivity and impartiality of the PSI, Blumberg states that "...Each probation officer learns to emphasize only those aspects of a defendant's social biography and character which are consistent with his new status. Positive virtues are rarely stressed..." (p. 283). And he concludes, "in the main, the importance of the pre-sentence investigation as a decision-making tool for the judge is overrated" (p. 285).

Linden (1973) notes that an officer's unwieldy workload prohibits much time and effort on the PSI, and lack of agreement as to his job function and role affects the way the report is written and worded. This is a point deserving further attention. If the officer's major role is that of providing rehabilitation and serving as a referral agent to needed services, the presentence report will document needed services, noting weaknesses needing attention and strengths upon which to build. The PSI becomes a treatment plan. On the other hand, if the officer's

primary role and function is control and enforcement, then his concern is to screen any potential probationers who present risks and any chance of unsuccessful compliance with probation conditions. The PSI then will focus more on weaknesses than on potential strengths.

Table 2. PRESENTENCE INVESTIGATION SCALE ITEMS
(in percentages)

Scale Items	(A)	(?)	(D)
- The performance of my role as presentence investigator is impartial and independent of any influence from the court.	51.1	33.8	13.7
- My PSI's are carefully and completely read by the judge in nearly all cases.	29.5	46.0	22.3
- The judge usually skims my PSI's but reads the summary and recommendation and generally respects the contents of my report.	30.2	43.9	22.3
- The judge follows my recommendations in most cases.	48.3	36.7	13.7
- My PSI's are impartial and objective reports, including positive as well as negative factors about the offender.	68.3	26.6	2.9
- The PSI is an essential part of the sentencing process, and should be relied upon by a judge.	45.3	24.5	30.2
- I believe a copy of the PSI should be made available to the offender and his/her attorney.	41.7	18.0	40.3

The scale items measuring role conflict were designed to reflect the extent to which subjects express uncertainty, ambiguity, or disagreement with their job expectations. Thus, if officers accept their role as primarily in support of the court organization (as opposed to advocates for the probationer), then there is little conflict in their role expectations. This runs counter to one of the traditional views of the probation officer as one who intervenes on the offender's behalf and offers an alternative to incarceration. The majority of the officers who state they are "part of the system" with primary allegiance to the court, are experiencing little if any role conflict. Some degree of dissatisfaction or conflict was indicated regarding excessive caseload sizes and excessive paper work. The fact that most of the officers in this sample seem to accept their role as more in support of the court organization than as advocates for the probation client is indicative of more emphasis placed on the control function than the rehabilitative, as documented by

Tomaino (1975). As indicated by the results in Table 3, many of the officers do seem to experience conflict relating to the importance placed on case processing and paper work over supervision and guidance functions. Many express dissatisfaction over excessive caseloads and administrative requirements which often conflict with rehabilitation goals. What is important to note is the significant proportion of officers who entered the probation field with higher

Table 3. ROLE CONFLICT SCALE ITEMS
(in percentages)

Scale Items	(A)	(?)	(D)
- I view my role as an advocate for the offender, closer to the defense attorney than to the prosecutor.	10.8	11.5	77.0
- I tend to see each convicted person as an individual, and their conviction does not limit my ability to view them objectively and impartially.	87.8	4.3	7.9
- Most probation officers are part of "the system," working more for the court than for the client.	61.2	12.9	25.9
- My primary allegiance is to my agency and/or the court.	78.4	8.6	12.2
- My primary allegiance is to the prospective probationer.	21.6	16.5	61.2
- My office is more concerned about processing the most cases in the most efficient manner than giving a great deal of attention to guidance, supervision, and rehabilitation.	30.9	7.2	61.9
- The primary concern of my agency is to collect the probation fees and keep up with paper work.	33.1	9.4	57.6
- The quality of probation supervision suffers because of too many cases, too few officers.	89.2	2.9	7.9
- I entered this job with higher expectations of rehabilitation and change goals than I now have.	48.9	10.1	41.0
- I often find it difficult to effectively perform my job under the administrative requirements of my agency.	38.1	8.6	53.2
- That part of my job which my agency most rewards me for a "job well done" is getting my paper work in and keeping my files up to date.	55.4	12.2	29.5
- I believe paper work is also "people work" (they are inseparable).	71.2	13.7	14.4
- I believe I am limited by excessive paper work from doing a good job with my probationers.	51.1	12.2	36.0
- Overall, I am just as satisfied with my role as a probation officer as when I first entered this field.	71.9	6.5	20.1

expectations of rehabilitation and change goals than they now have. It appears they have greater potential as agents of change than the court and probation organizations (and excessive caseloads) allow them to express.

The responses on the working relationships scale, summarized in Table 4, indicate that most of the officers enjoy quite positive relationships with their administrators, supervisors, and judicial personnel. It is noteworthy that 51 (38 percent) of the subjects did agree that the administrators of their departments were not very effective in managing their operations. However, the data on officers' relations with supervisors and administrators is certainly not supportive of Blumberg's claims (viewing administrators as "frightened, insecure, petty officials who will respond to any organization need at the expense of workers" and "constant undercurrent of antagonism between probation workers and their supervisors"). It may be concluded from responses to the items in this scale that while probation officers may not have equal professional status with attorneys and judges, they do appear to have positive working relations with judicial personnel.

Table 4. WORKING RELATIONSHIPS SCALE ITEMS
(in percentages)

Scale Items	(A)	(?)	(D)
- I do not have a positive working relationship with my supervisor.	14.4	4.3	81.3
- The administrator(s) of my department are not as effective as they could be in properly managing its operations.	36.7	10.1	53.2
- I have difficulty communicating and/or developing a positive working relationship with defense attorneys.	9.4	7.2	82.7
- I have difficulty communicating and/or developing a positive working relationship with prosecuting attorneys.	7.2	7.2	84.9
- I have difficulty communicating and/or developing a positive working relationship with the judge with whom I work most often.	7.9	7.2	84.2
- I do not have a positive working relationship with most psychiatrists or psychologists.	11.5	18.7	69.1
- I respect the judgment and evaluations of most of the psychiatrists or psychologists.	61.2	25.2	12.9
- I enjoy relating to the probationers on my case-load more than to the persons with whom I work.	13.7	18.7	66.2

Toward Professional Status

Are probation officers judicial professionals or judicial civil servants? That is, are they given genuine professional status in the court or are they "caught in the civil service malaise," as Blumberg describes them (1979, p. 281)? The results of this survey tend to support conclusions of Blumberg and other writers who question the professional status of probation officers (see also Linden, 1973; and Thomas, 1983). Many probation officers are uncertain of their professional status, and this uncertainty does cause some personal anxiety, role conflict, and job dissatisfaction. Probation officers and administrators are concerned about this problem, and some efforts are being made to enhance their professional status. These are often limited, however, to brief training programs and annual meetings of professional associations. The content and subject matter of most of these meetings is generally a repetition of many of the same old ideas. Attendance at these meetings for many is primarily for fun, recreation, and socializing. The nature of most of the professional newsletters and practitioner-oriented journals is equally limited. Blumberg notes:

Probation journals and probation workers' organizations emphasize the "professional" nature of probation work....(T)he probation officer has attempted to professionalize. But he has tried to do so by fiat rather than by developing a special body of technical knowledge (1979, p. 282).

How then can probation move from its "civil service malaise" toward true professional status? The problems faced by probation which tend to limit true professionalism are the absence of a unique base of scientific knowledge and its lack of autonomy and independence in the court setting (cf. Linden, 1973). Changes and improvements in these two areas would have a direct impact on at least two dimensions investigated in this study: professional identification and role conflict/job dissatisfaction of probation officers. Some positive developments are already occurring in the way of increasing knowledge and autonomy in probation. These developments should be encouraged and promoted by responsible leaders in the field.

Probation Knowledge Base

A number of developments in the probation field are making some advances toward a scientific knowledge base. The past decade has witnessed improvements in criminal justice education, with many programs offering specialization in corrections. College degrees in social work, psychology, or sociology by themselves do not cover the necessary perspectives on the criminal justice system, law,

and procedures so essential for a professional understanding of the field. Increased emphasis must be placed on a multidisciplinary education preparation for probation personnel. This would focus on corrections and the criminal justice system, but interrelate with psychology, sociology, and criminology. An essential part of probation education is an examination of the latest evaluative research in corrections. Students, probation officers, and administrators should be aware of evaluative research results ("what works, and what does not work?"). They should also have a knowledge of basic research design and data analysis in order to critically read and understand the latest research.

Probation officers with a knowledge of the latest research in the field are likely to have more realistic expectations. They are also willing to try new and innovative strategies, not content with doing it "the way it's always been done." The well-educated officer who values knowledge is more likely to continue his own learning experience well into his career. Gardner recognized this in describing the self-renewing person: "the development of his own potentialities and the process of self-discovery never end" (1964, p. 10). He went on to note the role of education in the process:

The ultimate goal of the educational system is to shift to the individual the burden of pursuing his own education... Not only does education continue when schooling ends, but it is not confined to what may be studied in adult education courses (1963, p. 12).

Thomas (1983) emphasized the need for probation officers to continue the education process throughout their careers, noting "true professionals are constantly observing, reflecting, reading, discussing and taking part in organized programs of instruction, incorporating into their performance what they learn..." (p. 4). He cites a survey conducted on Federal probation officers (Gooch, 1977), noting the average officer "participates in conferences and workshops external to the U.S. Probation System less than eight hours per year, is a relatively inactive or moderately active member of the Federal Probation Officers Association and has little interest in other organizations committed to the improvement of probation services" (p. 8). This is not unique to the probation field, however. According to Houle (1981) few self-appointed professionals continue to learn throughout their lives, and the opportunities provided to aid and encourage them to do so are far less abundant than they should be. If probation officers and their administrators wish to attain true professional status, greater emphasis on continuing education must be made.

Probation as an Autonomous Profession

The structure of probation agencies as part of the court organization tends to place limits on officers' roles and may be the most difficult obstacle to full professional status. The probation officer becomes an agent in an accused's processing. Their professional services are preempted by the court organization. Responses from the subjects in the present study tend to bear this out—that they are providing a service to the court more than to the probationer. The bureaucratic organization undoubtedly places limits on the attainment of professional status of probation officers. Innovation, creativity, and delivery of quality services are seldom rewarded and encouraged.

Alternatives to the bureaucratic organization have been developing in many fields for several years. These developments should serve as a model for what is possible for probation. Private service agencies working on a contractual basis have the advantage of serving the organization while remaining free of bureaucratic limits of the organization. Gardner recognized the rise of servicing professions as very important for the modern organization, particularly for the range of professional and technical services available and the flexibility of the contractual relationship (1964, p. 84). He notes that since professionals are not limited to the large organization but "do enjoy the environment of a professional team, the servicing organization is usually able to retain a higher grade of specialist..." (p. 85). Toffler draws attention to the "excitement and creativity" in such new professions as the computer industry and educational technology and in the application of systems techniques to urban and environmental problems (1970, p. 148).

In each of these fields, more representation of the future than the past, there is a new venturesome spirit which stands in total contrast to the security-minded orthodoxy and conformity associated with the organization man (Toffler, 1970, p. 148).

Private contracting for government services is becoming increasingly common. The Committee for Economic Development (1982) emphasizes the advantages of public-private partnerships for dealing with the needs in our growing urban communities. Florestano and Gordon (1980) surveyed state and local governments to assess the extent and nature of services which were contracted out. They noted that contracted services range from those traditionally provided by local governments (such as police) to those with a shorter history of governmental provision (such as halfway houses).

We believe this suggests that the potential for public-private contracting is as yet untapped and that...we may in fact be seeing a rise in contracting as local governments become saddled with the obligation to provide new services in addition to the historical (Florestano and Gordon, 1980, p. 34).

State and local governments have increasingly contracted with the private sector for the provision of medical, educational, and food services in jails and prisons. Cox (1981) believes the jail of the future "will be managed and operated by *neither* the State nor the local government but by the private sector" (p. 7). Greenwood (1981) believes prisons could be run by the private sector, reasoning that there is nothing about running a prison that requires the government to be involved. An array of community correctional programs, such as halfway houses and alcohol and drug treatment programs, has been operated by private agencies since their beginning.

The time is right for the development of an autonomous agency providing many of the same probation services to the court but operating outside of the court organization. Many of the functions of probation officers could be performed as well, often better, by professionals in private agencies working on a contractual basis with the court. The beneficiaries of such an arrangement would include probation officers, court personnel, and probationers. Probation officers gain through greater motivation and job satisfaction from working in a professional agency less hampered by the bureaucratic restrictions of the traditional organization. The court gains through the provision of objective, impartial investigative reports conducted in a timely, cost-effective manner. The court and the probationer both benefit from the attainment of the adversarial ideal in the judicial process and the delivery of quality services.

Conclusions

The study has noted many probation officers see themselves more as judicial servants caught in a civil service malaise than as professionals. The study has revealed the importance of understanding differences in professional identification and degree of role conflict and job satisfaction among probation personnel. Previous research has shown that role conflict and role ambiguity were two factors in work settings that contribute to stress, strain, and emotional detachment of workers (Kahn, et al., 1964). In a study of job stress in the helping professions, Cherniss (1980) notes how the organization may contribute to staff burnout when there is a lack of clarity in organizational goals and little clear feedback

and communication among administrative, supervisory, and line personnel. The problem is important for our attention for at least two reasons: the psychological well-being and morale of personnel and the quality of services provided to clients and to the court. The importance of the latter is underscored in a study by Katz (1982), who found that the attitudes of probation officers are correlated with their decisions to recommend sentences of incarceration or probation. In conclusion, the findings may assist administrators and training staff to identify potential problems in officers' differential understanding of the goals and objectives of probation. This should be the first place to begin if we are indeed serious about uniform standards and goals for probation.

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