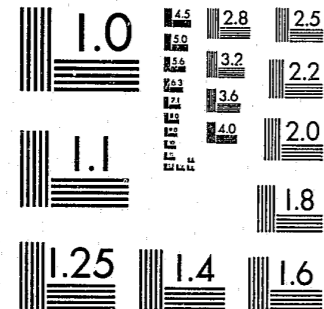


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THE NEEDS AND CONCERNS OF PROBATIONERS:
A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS

BY
JOHN J. GIBBS

June, 1981

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This project was supported by Grant No. 78-NI-AX-0152 awarded to the Research Center of the Graduate School of Criminal Justice, Rutgers, The State University, Newark, New Jersey. The funding was provided by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

This is one of a series of reports on the Improved Correctional Field Services Project Evaluation. The series consists of these parts:

1. Abstract
2. Executive Summary by Don M. Gottfredson, James O. Finckenauer, John J. Gibbs and Stephen D. Gottfredson.
3. The Improved Correctional Field Services Project: A Case Study by James O. Finckenauer and Don M. Gottfredson.
4. Screening for Risk: An Assessment of the ICFS Project Instruments by Faye S. Taxman, Don M. Gottfredson and James O. Finckenauer.
5. Risk, Supervision, and Recidivism: The First Six Months of Recorded Experience in the Improved Correctional Field Services Project by Don M. Gottfredson, James O. Finckenauer, and Faye S. Taxman.

Appendix A: ICFS Instructions for Coding.
Appendix B: Characteristics of the Sample for the First Six Months of Experience in the ICFS Project.
6. Social Adjustment: A Preliminary Report of the Improved Correctional Field Services Project by James O. Finckenauer and Faye S. Taxman.
7. The Needs and Concerns of Probationers: A Thematic Analysis of Interviews by John J. Gibbs.
8. The Needs and Concerns of Probationers: An Analysis of Questionnaires by John J. Gibbs.
9. Additivity and Interactions in Offense Seriousness Scales by Stephen D. Gottfredson, Kathy S. Young and William S. Laufer. 65872
10. Describing Probation Populations: Offense Seriousness by Stephen D. Gottfredson.

Appendix A: Offense Seriousness Scoring System.
11. Exploring the Dimensions of Judged Offense Seriousness by Stephen D. Gottfredson.

Appendix A: Offense Seriousness Study (survey form).
Appendix B: The Question of Scale Value
Appendix C: Replication of Factor Structures

Abstract

This report contains an analysis of tape-recorded and transcribed interviews with 57 probationers in two New Jersey counties. The interviews were structured to elicit the clients' perceptions of probation and to explore their concerns. Each subject was asked to describe his probation experience, and to respond to an orally administered Self-Anchoring Striving Scale, a measure of satisfaction.

The themes that emerged from a content analysis of the interviews were Flexibility, Control, Assistance, Support, and Autonomy. These themes are defined and illustrated with interview excerpts in the report. Support was the most popular theme, followed by Autonomy and Flexibility. Control and Assistance were the two lowest ranking themes.

The report contains analyses of themes in conjunction with satisfaction measures, personal characteristics, and treatment variables. Many of the relations among variables appear plausible, and tentative explanations are offered for many of the findings.

Acknowledgments

This report is based on research underwritten by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice. The research was one project of a grant entitled "Evaluation of Improved Correctional Field Services."

The work would not have been possible without the cooperation of the clients and probation officers of the Morris County and Middlesex County, New Jersey Departments of Probation. We would like to give each individual the recognition due him, however, protection of human subject concerns dictate that the clients and officers who participated shall remain anonymous. John Enright and Lyman O'Neill, the Chief Probation Officers of Morris and Middlesex Counties, deserve special thanks for allowing us to conduct research in their departments.

My associate in the field was Donald Rebovich who proved to be a sensitive and astute interviewer. Timothy L. Kennedy appeared to be an appendage to a computer terminal for weeks, and he could be called upon any time day or night to place "just one more run" with the machine. Tim also reviewed the manuscript and made many thoughtful suggestions.

Albert Record furnished valuable advice on conducting research in an agency setting, and my colleagues James O. Finckenauer and Todd Clear were instrumental in obtaining permission to conduct research at the sites.

Members of our research team, Don M. Gottfredson, James O. Finckenauer, Stephen D. Gottfredson, and Fay S. Taxman, reviewed the report and offered helpful suggestions. Kathleen J. Hanrahan examined the pages as they emerged from my typewriter and provided editorial and substantive comments.

I am indebted to Shirley Jackson, Margret McGuire, and Kathleen Sternik for the scrupulous typing of the manuscript.

The Nature of Our Concern

In seeking to modify, modulate, control, or in some way change human behavior, the perceptions, attitudes, predispositions, and sentiments of those involved in the enterprise must be taken into account. Unlike ingots, people do not take shape uniformly due to the influences of an intended uniform processing. The range of reactions that ingots have to heat, chemicals, or pounding is limited; and it is a function of well-defined physical characteristics. The variety of human responses, however, to ostensibly similar situations is broad and complex. What one man responds to with equanimity, another may consider a catastrophic event. Reactions to probation may reflect the observation made by Lucretius in On The Nature of Things: "What is food to one, is to others bitter poison."

As with understanding other human actions, capturing the meaning of the situation to the actors involved (Verstehen) may be an essential element in exploring reactions to probation. And, although we may reasonably assume that perceptions may be critical determinants of behavior and the foundation for explanatory constructs, only a handful of supervision studies have considered the clients' perceptions of the process. The typical conceptual stance is that elements of supervision are what elements of supervision were intended to be. Research workers on this topic typically have assumed that the purported quantum of supervision (for example, level of intensity of supervision) is the

perceived quantum.¹ Rarely has there been reported an adequate description of the supervision or treatment -- the independent variable in the investigation! Variance in outcomes typically has been interpreted in terms of readily measurable factors, such as number of contacts, while overlooking other potentially more significant variables, such as the clients' sensitivities to modes or amounts of intervention and the clients' perceived needs and concerns.

Our objective is to provide a richer portrait of the probation process. We assume that in order to understand human behavior in a particular setting or human climate, a description of the "realities" or the functional worlds of the persons in the

¹For examples of studies that examine either the clients' or agents' perceptions of the process (or both) see Studt, E., Surveillance and Service in Parole, Los Angeles, California: University of California Institute of Government and Public Affairs, 1972; Erickson, R.J., et. al., Paroled But Not Free: Ex-Offenders Look at What They Need to Make It Outside, New York: Behavioral Publications, 1973; Renzema, M., "Success and Failure Among Parolees as a Function of Perceived Stress and Coping Styles," in Toch, H., et. al., LEAA Grant Number 77N-99-0030 Interventions for Inmate Survival, August, 1976; Lohman, J.D., et. al., The Impact of Supervision: Officer and Offense Assessment, Research Report #13, Sept. 1967, The San Francisco Project; Berman, J.H., "Parolees' Perceptions of the Justice System," Criminology XIII, 1976, 507; and two Canadian studies, James, L., Prisoners' Perceptions of Parole: A Survey of the National Parole System Conducted in the Penitentiaries of Ontario, Canada, Toronto: Center of Criminology, University of Toronto, 1971; and Valler, I., Men Released From Prison, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

setting is required.² Our exploration of the "worlds" of probationers began with confidential interviews with a sample of persons sentenced to probation in two counties in New Jersey.

Method of Inquiry

Our interview schedule was structured to explore the concerns of probationers. Each interview was tape-recorded and included an orally administered instrument, the Self-Anchoring Striving scale, which was developed by Cantril³ and modified by Toch⁴ for use in prison settings. We made some additional changes in the scale for use in the probation setting. Cantril describes the scale as a

...technique for tapping the unique reality world of an individual and learning what it has in common with that of others...a person is asked to define on the basis of his own assumptions, perceptions, goals, and values the two extremes or anchoring points of the spectrum on which some scale measurement is desired -- for example, he may be asked to define the top and bottom of the scale as the best and worst. This self-defined continuum is then used as our measuring instrument.⁵

²Our approach is basically transactional. We consider behavior a set of complex interactions between man and his environment. In order to understand a person's behavior, we must have some idea of the world in which he lives and what he expects from that world. See Barker, R., "Explorations in Ecological Psychology," American Psychologist 20, (1965), 1-4; Ittelson, H., et. al. An Introduction to Environmental Psychology. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974; Lewin, K., Principles of Topological Psychology. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936; Stern, G., People in Context: Measuring Person-Environment Congruence in Education and Industry. New York: John Wiley, 1970; Toch, H., Living in Prison: The Ecology of Survival, New York: Free Press, 1977; Gump, P., Schoggen, P., and Redl, F., "The Camp Milieu and Its Immediate Effects," Journal of Social Issues. 13, (1957), 40-46.

³Cantril, H., The Pattern of Human Concerns. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1965.

⁴Toch, 1977: 11-12

⁵Cantril, 1965: 22

The advantage that the Self-Anchoring Striving scale has over many other instruments is that the subject, not the researcher, defines what is important or central, and the subject evaluates his present situation in terms of those self-generated concerns. The technique minimizes the chances of the subject responding to personally unimportant or irrelevant questions.

Our interview schedule evolved over time and interviewers were encouraged to explore concerns expressed by individual subjects. Our objective was to enter the unique world of each subject, sometimes at the expense of presenting consistent test stimuli across subjects. The interview schedule that was usually followed appears below:

1. How long have you been on probation?
2. How often do you meet with your probation officer?
3. On the average, how long do the meetings with your probation officer last?
4. Typically, what goes on at these meetings? What do you usually talk about?
5. Do you think about the fact that you're on probation very often? Is it something that's on your mind?
6. Is there anything that you especially like about your probation?
7. Is there anything that you especially dislike about your probation?
- 8A. Most people who are on probation have some idea of what the perfect probation situation would be for them. Assuming that you have to be on probation for a certain period of time, what would the perfect probation world look like for you? Can you describe the best possible probation situation for you?

Permissible probes: What would probation have to be like for you to have the easiest or most profitable time?

Obligatory probe: Anything else?

- 8B. How about the other side of the coin; what would be the worst possible probation situation for you?

Permissible probes: What would make probation difficult for you? What would make probation a miserable experience?

Obligatory probe: Anything else?

- 8C. Here's a picture of a ladder. Suppose that the top of the ladder represents the best possible probation situation as you have described it (SUMMARIZE BEST POSSIBLE SITUATION) and that the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible situation for you (SUMMARIZE THE WORST POSSIBLE SITUATION). Where would you place your present probation?

- 9. What do you think the purpose of probation is?
- 10. What do you think your P.O. thinks the purpose of probation is?
- 11. Have you ever been confined in jail?
- 12. You've been on probation ___ months. How much time in jail would equal ___ months on probation?
In other words, if you were given the choice of doing jail time or doing probation time, how much time in jail would you be willing to serve to get out of serving the amount of time you have been on probation to date?
- 13. Have you ever served time in prison?
- 14. How much time in prison would equal ___ months on probation?
In other words, if you were given the choice of doing prison time or doing probation time, how much time in prison would you be willing to serve to get out of serving the amount of time you have been on probation worth to you?
- 15. If you had the choice of paying a fine or being on probation for ___ months, how much would you pay?
How much money is not serving ___ months of probation worth to you?

- 16. Will life be different for you when you get off probation?

Research Sites and Samples

The Chief Probation Officers in Morris County and Middlesex County, New Jersey, agreed to allow us to interview a sample of their clients. In Morris County, the Chief Probation Officer contacted members of his staff he felt would be interested in the project.⁶ Each of the selected staff members furnished us with a list of their current cases (n=206). A total of 50 probationers were randomly selected from this list as interview candidates.

In Middlesex County, we randomly selected two Probation Officers from the two most urban areas in the county, and selected a random sample (n=60) from their caseloads (n=322). We concentrated on the urban areas in Middlesex County because we unsystematically observed that in Morris County most of the clients we interviewed were white, educated, and sentenced to probation for minor offenses. We felt that capturing a broader range of concerns required a sample from areas which contained more ethnic and economic diversity.

As shown in Table 1, we interviewed about half the people in our sample; attrition was a substantial 48 percent. In some respects, the attrition percentage can be considered artificially inflated because we did not attempt to contact 16 percent of the sample, which accounts for 34 percent of the attrition. After

⁶A sample of officers biased in this way could influence both the type of probationers we interviewed and their impressions and concerns.

conducting and transcribing a small number of interviews, we realized that about 30 interviews from each site was a more realistic goal considering the resources available. The other major source of attrition appearing in Table 2 is termination of probation (20.8 percent). For these cases, we found that the subjects had completed their probation sentences by the time we attempted to contact them.

TABLE 1
Percentages of the Morris County and Middlesex County Samples Interviewed

INTERVIEW STATUS	MORRIS (N=50)	MIDDLESEX (N=60)	TOTAL (N=110)
Interviewed	54.0%	50.0%	51.8%
Attrition	46.0	50.0	48.2
TOTAL	100 %	100 %	100 %

TABLE 2
Reasons for Attrition from The Morris County and Middlesex County Interview Samples

REASON	COUNTY		TOTAL (N=53)
	MORRIS (N=23)	MIDDLESEX (N=30)	
Termination of probation	21.7%	20.0%	20.8%
Fugitive	8.7	3.3	5.7
Medical*	8.7	10.0	9.4
Absence	26.1	3.3	13.2
Termination of Interviewing at Site	21.7	43.3	34.0
Refused	0.0	10.0	5.7
Other**	13.0	10.0	11.3
TOTAL	99.9%	99.9%	100.1%

*Includes persons living at home who could not travel due to physical or mental illness and persons hospitalized.

**Includes persons with unknown addresses and persons incarcerated. One person in the Morris County sample was incarcerated and two people in the Middlesex County sample were incarcerated.

Characteristics of the Sample

We see in Table 3, that the majority of the interviewees were males, white, less than 25 years of age, and unmarried. Most of the subjects did not claim any dependents, had at least a high school education and a job. The majority of the respondents did not report a history of alcohol or drug abuse. And the vast majority of subjects were not presently receiving treatment for mental health problems, nor had they received treatment in the past. On the average, subjects (1) had been employed 21 months on their previous jobs, (2) had a prior record of 2.7 arrests, 2 convictions, and .72 commitments, (3) were first convicted at 22.7 years of age and first committed to a penal institution at 26.1 years of age.

Table 3 shows that for three of the comparisons between the counties, differences were large enough to occur by chance less than five percent of the time over a large number of trials. In comparison to Morris County probationers, Middlesex County clients were more likely to be reported drug abusers and to have ingested alcohol on the day of their arrest. The records of Middlesex County probationers indicated more prior arrests per person than those of Morris County clients. Other substantial differences appearing in Table 3 that are not statistically significant are that, in comparison to Middlesex County probationers, Morris County clients are more likely to be female and white. They were also employed longer on their last job than were their Middlesex County counterparts. The Middlesex group shows a higher proportion of alcohol abusers than does the Morris County group.

TABLE 3
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE BY COUNTY

Characteristic	COUNTY			Strength Of Association	Probability Of Occurrence	
	MIDDLESEX	MORRIS	TOTAL			
	Percent (N)	Percent (N)	Percent (N)			
Gender	Male	89.7% (26)	71.4% (15)	82.0% (41)	.23	.20
	Female	10.3% (3)	28.6% (6)	18.0% (9)		
Ethnicity	White	57.1% (12)	86.7% (13)	69.4% (25)	.32	.13
	Non-White	42.9% (9)	13.3% (2)	30.6% (11)		
Age	Less than 25	51.7% (15)	64.7% (11)	56.5% (26)	.13	.43
	25 or older	48.3% (14)	35.3% (6)	43.5% (20)		
Marital Status	Single	64.3% (18)	72.2% (13)	67.4% (31)	.08	.81
	All	35.7% (10)	27.8% (5)	32.6% (15)		
	Others					
Number of Dependents	None	56.7% (17)	51.9% (14)	54.4% (31)	.05	.92
	One or more	43.3% (13)	48.1% (13)	45.6% (26)		
Educational Attainment	Less than high school	43.3% (13)	29.6% (8)	36.8% (21)	.14	.43
	High school or more	56.7% (17)	70.4% (19)	63.2% (36)		
Employment Status	Unemployed	40.7% (11)	30.0% (6)	36.2% (17)	.11	.65
	Employed	59.3% (16)	70.0% (14)	63.8% (30)		
Number of Residence Changes	None	72.2% (13)	75.0% (12)	73.5% (25)	.03	1.0
	One or more	27.8% (5)	25.0% (4)	26.5% (9)		
Alcohol Abuse	None reported	52.0% (13)	76.5% (13)	61.9% (26)	.25	.20
	Reported	48.0% (12)	23.5% (4)	38.1% (16)		

TABLE 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE BY COUNTY
(continued)

Characteristic	COUNTY			Strength Of Association	Probability Of Occurrence
	MIDDLESEX Percent (N)	MORRIS Percent (N)	TOTAL Percent (N)		
Drug Abuse	56.5% (13)	94.1% (16)	72.5% (29)	.42	.02
None reported	43.5% (10)	5.9% (1)	27.5% (11)		
Alcohol Use On Day Of Instant Offense	33.3% (9)	0.0% (0)	19.1% (9)	.42	.01
Use On Day Of Instant Offense	66.7% (18)	100.0% (20)	80.9% (38)		
Drug Use On Day Of Instant Offense	11.5% (3)	16.7% (3)	13.6% (6)	.07	.97
Use On Day Of Instant Offense	88.5% (23)	83.3% (15)	86.4% (38)		
Past Mental Health Service Received	21.7% (5)	30.8% (4)	25.0% (9)	.10	.84
Past Mental Health Service Received	78.3% (18)	69.2% (9)	75.0% (27)		
Currently Receiving Mental Health Service	25.0% (6)	18.8% (3)	22.5% (9)	.07	.94
Currently Receiving Mental Health Service	75.0% (18)	81.3% (13)	77.5% (31)		

TABLE 3
 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE BY COUNTY
 (continued)

CHARACTERISTIC	COUNTY						T	PROBABILITY OF OCCURRENCE	TOTAL \bar{X}
	MIDDLESEX			MORRIS					
	N	\bar{X}	S	N	\bar{X}	S			
Months Employed On Last Job	21	14.14	4.75	10	36.10	11.04	-1.83	.09	21.2
Adult Arrests	25	3.44	2.71	8	.75	1.39	3.68	.00	2.7
Adult Convictions	24	2.46	2.50	19	1.37	2.22	1.51	.14	1.98
Adult Commitments	26	.81	1.62	21	.62	1.63	.40	.70	.72
Age at First Conviction	27	21.22	5.81	21	24.67	13.33	-1.10	.28	22.7
Age at First Commitment	8	24.50	6.63	7	28.00	28.83	-.31	.76	26.1

Interview Classification

The content of the interviews was coded according to a classification scheme that was developed to capture reliably the concerns of probationers. The thematic analysis of the interviews centered on descriptions of the anchors provided by the subjects in response to the Self-Anchor Striving scale. Because people generally have more than one concern or need, each interview was assigned a primary theme and, when warranted, secondary themes. The average number of themes assigned was 1.7.

The themes or concerns that emerged from the interviews will be defined in the next few pages along with interview excerpts to illustrate each theme and its variations. What will quickly become apparent is that the concerns expressed by our subjects and reduced to the content categories go beyond the probation situation. Some of the concerns catalogued appear to be generic and, with modified points of reference, they would be relevant to other life situations and settings. In fact, similar dimensions have been charted by Toch⁷ and Moos⁸ in their studies of the environmental concerns and needs of prisoners.

The dimensions that were derived from the interview content furnished by the members of the sample are Flexibility, Control, Assistance, Support, and Autonomy. Originally, an additional dimension, Clarity, was included in the classification scheme. However, as the classification of interviews proceeded, it was discovered that content reflecting the Clarity dimension was not

⁷Toch, 1977.

⁸Moos, R.H., Evaluating Treatment Environments: A Social Ecological Approach. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974.

appearing often enough to justify the inclusion of Clarity as a distinct dimension in the classification scheme.

Flexibility

Flexibility emerged as a need for adaptability; a concern about pliable regulations and requirements; a desire for controller discretion when there is a perceived necessity for lenient or merciful adjustments.

Subjects who expressed Flexibility concerns felt that rules, especially those that could result in revocation, should not be invoked uniformly. A good probation officer was described as a person who understood that probation was only one aspect of a probationer's life; an officer who realized that "making it" required that the client must take care of "business on the streets," and that sometimes such activities took precedence over making an appointment. The flexible officer was depicted as reasonable and aware that pets and car batteries die, children become ill, and employers request that employees work overtime. All such events were seen as limiting one's ability to comply with probation conditions at least temporarily. The following interviews excerpts illustrate Flexibility concerns:

M1-9

So now I have this job, and I'm off for a week. I work for seven days and then I'm off for seven days. I can come here within the seven days that I'm off...I work on a boat. I can't call. But if I don't call, the first thing they think is violate him, he didn't come. I get

a letter. There goes my job. There goes everything.
So I think that they should be more lenient with those
that have a job than those who don't. Maybe more flexible.

* * * *

M2-9

I'm afraid, I guess, of messing up. And, if I do, she's
pretty lenient, she's okay. Some people might not say
that, they might think that it's jumping probation. I'll
definitely, once a month, you know, come down. If, like,
we've gotten to the point where for the past few months
I've been really busy. I just had a job, I lost a job,
and I got another job -- moving around here and there, so I
don't have a lot of regulated time, I don't know what
I'm doing. So I'll just call her when I know a month has
gone by or three weeks or whatever, and let her know what
I'm doing, if I can come in for an interview. If not, catch
you next time around. This has just happened recently...

* * * *

Flexibility was also related to the payment of fines. Some
subjects felt that variations in financial ability, including
outstanding debts, should be taken into consideration when they
were delinquent in their fine payment. Others proposed a spirit
of the rules rather than a letter of the rules application of
conditions. If a man makes a genuine effort to pay a fine or
restitution, full payment becomes an irrelevant concern.

M2-4

Well, I'll give you an example in the other County they
don't, of course, they have so many people, you know,
they do whatever they think they have to do. "A review
of your records indicates you owe a balance of \$175 fine,
imposed by Judge so-and-so, in (...) \$225 restitution
on 2/7/74. The last payment made by you on this fine was
on 12/28/78." I got it on 1/25, which is less than a
month. "Unless you immediately begin making regular
payments to reduce this fine, your case will be returned
to court for a violations hearing." Right away - they
don't care what the reason is - I could be dead! You
know, somebody in my family could've died, I could've
lost my job, you know. And in less than a month's time,
they're screaming for another payment, or else they're
gonna violate...

Well, they felt I was not paying the fine fast enough. I
realize there has to be a time limit on paying a fine, in
my case, in anybody's case there has to be some kind of
time limit, but if it's not met, as long as the fine is
being paid, and the effort is being made - and they know
it is - they should just continue on with whatever they have
to do. I know there's paperwork involved, and they have a
lot of other people, you know, they could make you come
once a week. There's so many things they could do, you

know, they could really make it hard for you.

* * * *

M2-7

Alright. Well, I don't know, because nobody ever, you know, everything's alright with me. I guess just to bust my hump about stuff, I don't know what. I guess the biggest thing that they bust my hump about is paying the fine. But they just ask me, "Why didn't you pay this week?". And I tell them, "Well, I had bills that week or this happened and I didn't have the money so I didn't pay." And that's it, they don't say nothing else.

* * * *

Another aspect of probation that relates to Flexibility is the location of the meeting. Some subjects expressed a desire for a probation officer who would be willing to come to them. In the excerpt below, a subject describes the perfect probation situation for him:

M2-6

The only thing is that I would say is that he's gotta come to me. I'm not coming up! He can catch me on the job - I'll tell you where I'll be; I'll call you everyday and tell you where I'm gonna be. You come down and find me if you want to see me every day.

* * * *

M2-4

Like, he's offered to come down and see me. He usually

sets up appointments on days when I have off, it's a lot easier now. Before, I was working different shifts, too, I was working night shift - 11-7, and I'd have to come in at 10:00 o'clock in the morning when I was just getting off work. I'd go home, take a shower, a walk three miles to catch the bus, take the bus for an hour and a half...

* * * *

The excerpts presented above also illustrate the point that the same conditions or events can hold different meanings to persons with different concerns. As we shall see when we discuss Autonomy concerns, what appears to be a desirable feature of probation for the person who prizes Flexibility may be considered an incursion to a client with extensive Autonomy concerns.

In sum, our subjects who emphasized Flexibility considered their personal schedules and life styles as a component of potential importance in making conditions and revocation decisions. They felt that rigidity on the part of the probation officer was an undesirable feature and one that promoted fears concerning revocation.

Assistance

Assistance is the need for aid in dealing with concrete problems; a desire for help in planning or achieving tangible goals; a concern about help in solving practical problems or completing necessary tasks.

Those who expressed Assistance concerns desired or enjoyed

the help of their probation officers in solving some mundane but critical life problems -- employment, education, housing, financial management, and health. The ideal Assistance probation officer was portrayed as avuncular and resourceful:

M2-4

If the P.O. know somebody, you know. Say a guy comes in - he doesn't have a job. You're a probation officer - you have a lot of connections around town...

You know the guy is willing to work, and you know what his limitations are, so you say, you call up Joe Schmoe from CETA, or you call up - you know, your friend from down the block is lookin' for a mechanic for his garage, you know. Anybody can do that, it's just that coming from a probation officer - he says, "Look. I've got a guy, I think he's pretty good." He's gotta helluva shot to get the job.

* * * *

M1-4

The other county probation department will help you find a job. This county they don't want to know anything about it. They'll tell me I was just told about a place hiring now. But if I had asked to help me get a job, a specific job that I had went for, to maybe call up and speak to somebody at the place for me or something like that, which the other county does do, they will help you get a job, the job that you had applied for, this county won't. They feel that you have to do it yourself. If

you don't do it all, you might wind up back in jail eventually, cause they can violate you.

* * * *

Some of the interview content that reflected the Assistance dimension illustrated a desire for help and advice in dealing with various bureaucracies and other criminal justice agencies:

M1-25

This is the first time I have been on probation. I think that it is alright. Cause if the person is on probation and have some problems he can explain to the officer, and then find out where to get help. Like I used to have some problem. I used to have a station wagon that was stolen, and the people make an accident, and then they blame me because all my papers were in the car. So I explained to the probation officer he helped me with the problem by calling Trenton Motor Vehicle, and he find out that and helped me.

* * * *

M2-16

Well, I've asked him on legal matters from time to time, such as what do I do if, you know, if I'm stopped by the police as far as a routine check is concerned. And he's told me, just mention you're on probation, maybe they'll think well, he won't get in any trouble cause he's on probation. So I kinda like, use him as a lawyer too, legal advice.

* * * *

In some cases, the problems were seen by the clients as difficulties associated with their perceived diminished legal, social, or economic status resulting from their probation sentence:

M1-24

You know like you figure you give a person probation so you don't send them to jail, therefore, his head is kind of foggy from the jump because of the fact that he was worried about going to jail and now he's not. His head is still kind of foggy he doesn't know what direction he wants to go into. But you know he has to do this or this will happen. He only knows but so many places to go to. And being as most of them feel as though because, well myself, I won't say everyone else, but myself, I had no high school diploma, and I have a criminal record as long as the majority of people are, I feel as though there is a strike against me anyway I try to go as far as looking for a job. But I feel as though the probation department should be able to pick that slack off of me. I mean at least lead me to the door.

* * * *

In other cases, the probation officer's help with solving practical problems was considered "above and beyond the call of duty."

M2-2

It would be up around 9 or 10, see, cause he's helped me in a bunch of things that he really hasn't, he really

didn't have to like, now, I came in a little bit earlier and we were talking about some things, about my landlord's trying to evict me, and she gave me a notice, and he called up his lawyer friends, he told me well, this piece of paper isn't really legal, he's doing this on his own, like calling up his lawyer friends and all, finding out what are the recourses I have. He didn't have to do that.

* * * *

In all cases, those who were primarily concerned with Assistance desired a probation officer with the characteristics of a one-person social service agency and a friendly advisor:

M2-14

S: It would help me, like, if I had problems with money, or you know, things that I could talk about and she could help me straighten things out.

I: Has she done that yet?

S: I was gonna buy this washer and dryer from a store and they wanted a lot of money for it - I really couldn't afford it. I was gonna take out a loan for it. She discussed what I should do about it. Finally she decided we should go to the paper and get it. That's the way I did it, and I was better off.

Control

The Control dimension is defined as a need for external regulation to avoid troublesome situations; a desire to delegate responsibility for one's behavior to the controller; a concern

for external restraint which is seen as necessary.

The Control concern goes beyond the normal recognition that one must tread cautiously while on probation because of the consequences of revocation. It is more than considering deterrence and incapacitation legitimate purposes of probation. Those who prize Control view rules, regulations, and other aspects of probation as necessary and desirable:

M1-9

Probation officers definitely look after you trying to keep you out of trouble. He knows a lot of people the same way as me. He knows how to keep them out of trouble and what to do.

* * * * *

M1-8

Speaking for myself, probation, there's nothing wrong with it. It does help a person if they want help. If he constantly getting into trouble, and put on probation it can help him from getting into trouble if he go along with the probation officer and rules and regulation. But if he doesn't go along with it he's bound to get back into trouble again.

* * * * *

M1-25

The probation officer is all the time got to be in back of the person. Don't do it you know. Like I believe the person watches that guy, and why he do and sometime he make a visit to the home. They know when the guy doing good and when he not doing right, and they maybe see that guy do something wrong in the street or something then they stop the guy.

They say "Why you do this".

* * * * *

M2-8

I: What would the best possible probation world be for you? What would it have to have?

S: I guess rules, you know, good substantial rules...that you have to work and stuff like that...just make sure you're on the right track...

* * * * *

Some subjects considered probation a significant life event which occurred at a key juncture and diverted them from the self-destructive path they had been following. Threats of revocation were considered interventions which kept them on the "straight and narrow":

M1-30

To keep track of you. Make sure you are keeping your nose clean. I'd rather be doing this than sitting in jail. So keep your nose clean, keep track of you, scares you a little bit...

Well when I was younger I would think "well I can't go outside and go crazy tonight because I'm on probation. If I get busted then I will go to jail." So keep my nose clean. It actually helps you.

* * * * *

M1-29

Probation is very helpful to people. Like if men drink too much and make a lot of trouble...

I got into a lot of trouble when I was drunk and I was drunk every week. And then I go home from the bar and then start drinking at home and my wife and children not happy. I would start fight with them...

I have to care about everything now. Not like before. And I care about the child and I care about my wife. I care about my mortgage and my house and I would say the probation office is a very good office. People would stop me from making trouble.

* * * * *

Support

The Support dimension reflects a need for understanding, empathy, warmth; a desire for emotional support and help with personal problems; a concern about personal relationships and communications.

Subjects who expressed Support concerns desired a probation officer who was willing to listen to them; they emphasized that a probation officer should show interest in their lives. They wanted a probation officer with whom they could relate and share feelings. A supportive officer was described as a psychologist and confidant:

M1-2

With my probation officer it's like you come in and have a friend I could talk to and relate to, and express my problems with whatever is happening at the time she'll understand, and she will not look at me, and she will try to help me out.

* * * * *

M1-5

My previous probation officer, if I go by that, being on probation with him was ideal. He was genuinely concerned about his people. I have absolutely no complaints about it. Once

in a while he put me in my place, if I lost my temper with him, he'd treat me the same as I treated him. If I cussed at him, he would cuss at me. Then I would listen, and start laughing, and that would break the atmosphere. He was ideal, terrific. I knew if I needed help I could come to him. There was no problem that was too great for this man to handle.

* * * * *

M2-9

Yeah, I think there should be a lot of psychology involved, and not just the preliminary college psych. The more psychology the better. The more understanding, the people that are dedicated to trying to help the person rather than restrict the person.

* * * * *

M2-21

I: Well, what would it be like, what's the worst possible situation?

S: Just, maybe hostile, not friendly, not, don't listen, not really pay attention, non-caring...Basically non-caring; it's important that you show you care, that you are interested.

* * * * *

Similar to those who were concerned with Flexibility, subjects who expressed Support concerns wanted their probation officers to possess and consider information about their personal lives. They wanted their probation officers to treat them as individuals and "get to know them":

M1-14

At one time we used have a group. Group was okay...We would sit in a group of may 10 people, and just talk. Work into your life style, and like the main dude would sit around and listen to the group. One would ask another why did you get into it, what made you get into it? A lot of dudes got very serious. We would break down and go into ourselves and bring it out. Really sit down and talk. And I believe that had a lot to do with helping me because we would sit down, rap, and work it out instead of going in there and talking, 5 minutes and leaving. Like sit there for awhile and talk. Talk about anything you don't have to sit there and be proper, just sit there smoke cigarettes and rap. The dude would listen to see where you are coming from. And that way he could find you out more, then he could believe what you say is true or not.

* * * * *

M2-11

Well, I guess you could say counseling, but more at an individual level as to what you're there for, in relation to...She never mentions anything as to why I'm there. I don't even know if she remembers why I'm there. She just greets me as a person that came in and did something wrong. Doesn't know what...

Well, if you're gonna help somebody, like I say, for armed robbery, that did armed robbery and somebody that smoked a joint, I'm sure that you would have different things to say to the fellow, you know?

* * * * *

For subjects with very strong Support concerns, probation officers were sometimes seen as substitute parents or siblings:

M1-20

You do have somebody to talk to when you need any help. Like my probation officer, he has been pretty good. You can talk to him and he will listen. Like a big brother, really. It has really been hard, my father died when I was young. I had two brothers but they were both married. I was always by myself. I didn't have anybody to talk to. Like if I have a problem I can talk to my P.O.

Autonomy

Autonomy is a need to be in control of one's life; a desire for minimum restraint and maximum freedom; a concern about being treated with deference and respect when one's perceived prerogatives are involved.

Those who were concerned with Autonomy expressed a strong desire to be masters of their own fates. For these subjects, the restrictions on mobility and life chances imposed by probation spawned feelings of impotence and resentment.

M1-10

I don't like anybody telling me where to go and when I can go what I can do. If I can leave the state, if I can't leave the state. I'm being controlled by another person.

* * * *

M2-15

I know that I'm not in total control of my life right now as far as mobility, and that is a concern. I've had an 'up you' urgency in the last couple of years to kind of pack up and take off someplace for a month, just get away from it all. And I realize now that since I've been on probation, I can't really do that. I don't really have total control of my life. Whether you're not in any position to take advantage of it or not, it's just that you have a feeling that you're not in control, that you are, you know, in a very, very loose kind of...loose, I'm

using the word incarcerated...

* * * *

M2-1

Yeah, and I don't think that the way probation gotta be, cause it's gonna screw you up, man, she was too strict. It's gonna screw you up, something like that. Definitely, it's gotta, you know? People on probation are on probation because say, some sort of rebellion against authority or something like that, you know? And then your probation officer is gonna be like that, authority again, be strict with you again, you understand what I'm saying? So that's not cool, that isn't the way probation should be.

* * * *

Autonomy shares a rigidity aspect with Flexibility. However, what the person who needs Flexibility considers unreasonable, the person concerned with Autonomy considers disrespectful, and he reacts with anger.

M1-10

When I come down here with a gut feeling, I'd like to blow this building off the face of the earth. I don't need nobody checking on my personal life. I don't want the fact that when you're on probation you have no civil rights. You can't even vote. But if that man wanted to come in my home and search my home, I can have no choice. I have no rights. He can walk in there without no warrant or nothing and search my house.

I have no rights on probation, no civil rights at all. You are a convicted criminal. You can do nothing about this. This man controls your life. If he wants to bust you today, and take you to court and jail your ass he's going to find a way to do it.

* * * *

M1-7

I wouldn't like anyone stopping in my house. They have the right, I know that. But I wouldn't like it. They have the right to come to your work, too. I wouldn't like that. I just don't want anyone cutting into my life. It's not bad when I come here to check in. That's cool. But I wouldn't want anyone snooping around.

* * * *

Privacy is another aspect of Autonomy. Subjects with substantial Autonomy concerns wanted control of information. What the person with Support concerns perceived as the officer showing interest in their lives, those with Autonomy concerns considered prying.

M2-6

I don't ask her where she goes. As long as I'm not getting arrested and I'm going to work, and I attend A.A. then I don't see why they have to go into your personal life. As long as you're not getting arrested, and you're showing up when you're supposed to or whatever what else do you have to do, as long as you're doing that I don't see why

they have to know where you go at night or what you do.

* * * *

M2-24

Right. Or showing people my records. I know in this office alone that there have been other probation officers that have went into my files to see why I've been coming here. Now that's not right!...

Thematic Distributions

Tables 4 and 5 present the results of the thematic analysis of the interviews. The data in Table 4 indicate that the primary theme, major concern, or dominant need expressed by the subjects was Support (29.6%) followed by Autonomy (25.9%) and Flexibility (20.4%). Just over one-tenth of the sample was assigned a primary theme of Assistance or Control.

Table 4 Distribution of Primary Themes Among Respondents

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
Flexibility	20.4%	11
Assistance	13.0	7
Control	11.1	6
Support	29.6	16
Autonomy	25.9	14
TOTAL	100.0%	54

The distribution of all themes (primary and secondary) appearing in Table 5 demonstrates that although Flexibility is not

the most prevalent primary concern, it is certainly on the minds of probationers. Almost one-half of the subjects expressed a Flexibility concern. When primary and secondary themes are combined, Autonomy and Support maintain their positions among the three highest ranking themes; each concern was expressed by approximately two-fifths of the subjects. Assistance (24.1%) and Control (14.8%) remained the two lowest ranking concerns.

Table 5 Distribution of All Themes Among Subjects

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
Flexibility	48.1%	26
Assistance	24.1	13
Control	14.8	8
Support	37.0	20
Autonomy	40.4	23
TOTAL	164.4%	90

*The total percent sums to more than 100% and the number of themes sums to more than 54 (the number of interviews assigned themes) because each interview could be assigned more than one theme. The percentages are based on the number of useable interviews and not on the number of themes.

In sum, it appears that the subjects were most concerned with warm supportive relationships with their officers, including assistance with personal problems; freedom, minimal restrictions, and personal respect; and pliable rules and regulations, enforced by an officer who was willing to make schedule adjustments when necessary.

Association Between Dimensions

Table 6 displays the correlation coefficients that indicate the strength of the association of each theme in the classification scheme with every other theme. The most substantial, and the only statistically significant, association appearing in Table 6 is between Support and Autonomy. The substantial negative correlation between these two concerns was expected. Persons who desire freedom, independence, and control over their own lives are not likely to have a very favorable impression of relationships featuring dependency, mutual decision making, shared information, and clinical intervention.

TABLE 6
 DIMENSION - DIMENSION CORRELATIONS

DIMENSION	DIMENSION			
	Assistance	Control	Support	Autonomy
Flexibility	-.11	-.09	.10	-.17
Assistance		.01	-.07	-.06
Control			-.21	-.16
Support				-.37 *

*Significant at the .05 level of significance

Analysis and Description of Interview Content

As our interview schedule indicates, we asked a number of questions other than those included in the Self-Anchor Striving scale. In this section, the distribution of responses to those questions among the subjects will be presented. When warranted, the variables derived from the questions and the response categories will be described and illustrated with interview content. A great amount of excerpted material is included in this section not only to bring the content categories to life with the words of those who have experienced probation but also as documentation of our content analytic scheme for researchers wishing to replicate the study and others with an interest in this area.

Length of Time Served

The first question we asked a member of the sample was, "How long have you been on probation?" As we see in Table 7, there is considerable variation in responses. The mean time served is 17 months. The most popular response is 12 months. And almost one-fifth of the subjects have served more than 2 years on their sentences.

Table 7 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 1: Length of Time Served on Probation in Months

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
0-6	19.3%	11
7-12	35.0	20
13-24	26.3	15
Over 24	19.3	11
TOTAL	99.9%	57
$\bar{X} = 17.0$ $\bar{X}_{mod} = 12$ $\bar{X}_{med} = 12.2$ $S = 13.6$		

Frequency of Contact

The second question posed to a respondent was "How often do you meet your probation officer?" As the distribution appearing in Table 8 suggests, the great majority of the subjects (72.2%) met with their probation officers once a month. Approximately one-fourth of the respondents reported that they were required to meet with their officer more than once a month.

Table 8 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 2: Frequency of Contact Per Month

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
0	1.9%	1
1	72.2	39
2	13.0	7
3	3.7	2
4	9.3	5
TOTAL	100.1%	54
$\bar{X} = 1.5$ $\bar{X}_{mod} = 1.0$ $\bar{X}_{med} = 1.2$ $S = .97$		

Length of Contact

Question 3 in the interview schedule is "On the average, how long do the meetings with your probation officer last?". The figures contained in Table 9 show that over nine-tenths of the respondents reported that they meet with their probation officers 30 minutes or less. The typical meeting lasted 23.5 minutes (mean). The modal category is 30 minutes, and a median of 21 minutes was computed.

Table 9 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 9: Duration of Contact in Minutes

Category	Percent	Number	
0-15	33.3%	17	
16-30	58.8	30	
Over 30	7.8	4	
TOTAL	99.9%	51	
$\bar{X} = 23.5$	$\bar{X}_{mod} = 30$	$\bar{X}_{med} = 21.0$	$S = 9.8$

Nature of Contact

Question 4 in our schedule is "Typically, what goes on at these meetings? What do you usually talk about?" From this question, we extracted the variable "Nature of Contact," and from the responses to this question, we developed two main response categories, "Reporting" and "Counsel." Content was coded as "Reporting" when, as the probationer sees it, the purpose of the meeting is for the officer to gather information on the client's activities and progress. The climate of the meeting is more conversational than clinical, and typical questions center on employment and finances. In most cases, it appears that the probation officer is trying to determine if there are concrete problems. Examples of responses to Question 4 that would be coded as "Reporting" appear below:

M2-19

S: Oh, man, we just talk about what I done and he'll ask me how's work, and I'll tell him work is okay. And that's about it, really he just wants to find out how

I am, how I'm making out, how I'm making out with money and stuff like that, seeing if I'm doing okay.

I: Financially?

S: Right. And he just likes to see how I'm doing as a citizen. It's just like if I was talking to my neighbor, you know, hey, how ya doing, how's work, you know?

I: Do you ever talk to him about any problems you encounter?

S: Uh, no.

* * * * *

M2-17

And I don't do nothing, so I don't have nothing to talk about, you know what I mean? He just says what did you do? I say I watched the game last night. He's a Yankee fan, this guy, too. We talk about the Yankees, you know. He says, well, is there anything you want to tell me? I says no, he says go, go ahead, go home - come back in a month.

* * * * *

M2-15

Oh, uh, nothing really in particular. The job, when I go to school I talk about that sometimes, plans for the future, weather, bought a new car - talked about the new car. By and large, I consider it small talk.

* * * * *

Response content coded in the "Counsel" category reflects a clinical problem-centered meeting. The focus is less on activity and more on the probationer as a person with a unique set of problems:

M1-17

I tell her about my problems. With counselors and like that. More or less I tell her things that I wouldn't tell somebody else.

* * * * *

M2-10

Like I said, you know, when you come in, something's bothering you, you can talk to her. It's not the thing that she's talking to you about, it's just she's there and you're unloading your problem, you know what I mean? Somebody to talk to.

* * * * *

M2-9

What I do is I use her to talk out the problems I might have or first let her know how I'm doing in general. And maybe if I have a problem which I'd like to talk to somebody about, I'll talk to her about it cause she seems to understand. She's a fairly receptive person as far as, you know, being able to help me deal with maybe, some of the ideas she gives me. A few ideas of how to go about it, just give me a little incentive or whatever.

* * * * *

The findings appearing in Table 10 suggest that clients seldom consider their meetings with their probation officers as clinical experiences. Almost nine-tenths of the respondents reported that the purpose of the contact was for the client to furnish the officer with information on activities or that the meeting took the form of a social call.

Table 10 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 4: Nature of Contact

Category	Percent	Number
Reporting	88.5%	46
Counsel	11.5	6
TOTAL	100.0%	52

Extent of Concern About Probation

"Extent of Concern About Probation" is an ordinal level variable which reflects Question 5 in our interview schedule: "Do you think about the fact that you're on probation very often? Is it something that's on your mind?". The response categories related to this variable are "Constantly," "Frequently," "Occasionally," and "None."

The best way to describe these response categories is in relation to each other. Content coded in the "Constantly" category reflected a concern with probation that was foremost in the subject's mind. For these subjects, probation represented a major dimension of life, and influenced many aspects of their lives.

M2-19

S: Constantly!

I: Constantly. In what way, what do you think about?

S: Well, if you make a mistake, you go to jail. So I just, I don't drink, I don't do anything. I just like, I joined the fire department and I just hang out with people there, see my friends that's it.

I: Because you're on probation. To make sure that you're not gonna break the law at any time.

S: Right. Like, I even noticed it with my driving. I slowed down.

* * * * *

The "Frequently" category contains responses that suggest a substantial concern with probation. However, the subject was not preoccupied with thoughts of probation as reflected in the "Constantly" category:

M2-16

S: Maybe a couple of times a day.

I: Couple of times a day. And what do you think about when you think about probation?

S: Well, I think that I have five more months left to serve this probation. I'm thinking about wanting to get it over with, you know, and starting all over again. And, you know, I just wanta just end it.

* * * * *

Persons whose interview content was coded in the "Occasionally" category did not consider probation a major concern in their lives and did not think of probation very often.

M1-1

No, not very frequently at all. The only time basically when I remember is the last week of the month, cause I know the first week I'm gonna have to go back to probation.

* * * * *

The "None" category is self-evident.

M2-12

S: I can't say that I do.

I: You don't think about it. Just when you come in...

S: Not at all!

I: You don't think about the fact that you're a probationer.

S: No.

* * * * *

The data appearing in Table 11 suggest that most probationers are not bombarded with or tormented by continual thoughts of probation. For the majority of clients, images of probation do not intrude into everyday thoughts. The percentage of subjects who reported that they never think about probation or think about it infrequently exceeds three-fifths. Less than two-fifths of the respondents reported that they constantly or frequently think about probation.

Table 11 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 5: Extent of Concern

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
Constantly	14.3%	6
Frequently	21.4	9
Occasionally	45.2	19
None	19.0	8
TOTAL	99.9%	42

Nature of Concern

The "Nature of Concern" variable is also based on responses to Question 5, "Do you think about the fact that you're on probation very often? Is it something that's on your mind?". The response categories for this variable are "Prior to Contact with Probation Officer," "Situational -- Occasions of Sin," "Meaning to Self and Significant Others," and "Opportunity -- Restrictions."

Subjects whose responses were classified as "Prior to Contact with Probation Officer" thought of probation as the time for their scheduled appointment with their officer approached.

M1-15

I think about when it starts getting close that I have to go there. The thought passes my head once in awhile. But that's about it. I've never said "I can't do this because I'm on probation." Now as far as getting in trouble the thought of being on probation never did deter me from getting in any trouble. The only reason I haven't gotten in any trouble is I'm just not into it any more.

* * * * *

The "Situational -- Occasions of Sin" category contains content representing a concern with probation that emerges when one is faced with temptations or situations that could result in "trouble."

M1-6

S: Definitely.

I: How?

S: Fights at the bar or anything like that, I leave. Because I'm on probation as it is. I have too much to lose. I don't want to go to jail.

I: So you put restrictions on yourself.

S: Right. It makes me think. If I wasn't on probation I'd probably think like everyone else if we're going to fight, we're going to fight, what the hell. Cause if the cops come and you're not on probation either they might let you go or pay your bail and go to court and pay your fine. But I have different things to look for.

I: So it's a different situation for you as opposed to someone else getting into an argument? You've gotten one break next time might be no break.

S: These other guys have nothing to lose. They feel big deal I'll be on probation, I go once a month and that's it.

* * * * *

The "Meanings to Self and Significant Others" category reflects the concerns of those who think about probation in terms of the consequences for their relationships with significant others, sense of adequacy, or feelings of worth.

M1-2

I: Do you do that often? Or is it just an occasional thinking of it?

S: Just an occasional thinking of it.

I don't like the fact of being on probation at all. Only because my being on probation is telling that I made a mistake early in life, and it is nothing to be proud of. So I don't like the fact of being on probation.

* * * * *

Thoughts about probation that arise when one considers the limits on employment opportunities and mobility, and other restrictions that are consequences of probation are represented in the "Opportunity -- Restrictions" category.

M1-12

S: Yes. I think a lot about it. Many times I wanted to go somewhere else, and I cannot because I got to go to probation.

I: You aren't allowed to do certain things, that you would otherwise be allowed to do. Does it bother you?

S: Yes it does.

I: What kind of things? Like going out of state?

S: Yes. I blew it a long time ago.

* * * * *

Almost half of the interviewees who reported that they thought about probation (N=34) considered probation an impediment to travel, employment, and other activities ("Opportunity--Restrictions"). For approximately one-third of the subjects, thoughts of probation came to mind around reporting time. Approximately one-fourth of the subjects associated thoughts of probation with illicit temptations, and about the same percentage of subjects thought about probation in terms of its effect on personal and public image.

Table 12 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 5: Nature of Concern

Category	Percent	Number
Prior to contact with probation officer	32.4%	11
Situational--Occasions of sin	26.5	9
Meaning to self and significant others	24.0	8
Opportunity--Restrictions	47.1	16
TOTAL	130.0%*	44

*The total sums to more than 100% because some subjects furnished more than one response. The percentages are based on the number of subjects and not on the number of responses. The percentages are based on the 34 subjects who responded that they thought about probation "Constantly," "Frequently," or "Occasionally."

Desirable Features of Probation

The variable "Desirable Features of Probation" relates to Question 6, "Is there anything that you especially like about your probation?" The response categories for this variable are "Alternative to Confinement," "Relationship with Probation Officer," "External Control," "Concrete Assistance," and "Relative Leniency."

As can be seen from the excerpt below, the first response category "Alternative to Confinement" is self-explanatory.

M2-23

I: Is there anything you like about probation?

S: Yeah, I didn't go to prison.

* * * * *

A wide variety of content is represented in the "Relationship with Probation Officer" response category ranging from descriptions of officers who are pleasant and interesting conversationalists to portraits of officers who are helpful clinicians.

M1-2

The only thing I really like about probation is my probation officer because she's a nice person. But I'd rather go to her house to see her. She's a really friendly person. She understands me. I'd rather be friends with her on other terms than have to come see her for probation.

* * * * *

M1-12

S: Yes. I think a lot about it. Many times I wanted to go somewhere else, and I cannot because I got to go to probation.

I: You aren't allowed to do certain things, that you would otherwise be allowed to do. Does it bother you?

S: Yes it does.

I: What kind of things? Like going out of state?

S: Yes. I blew it a long time ago.

* * * * *

Almost half of the interviewees who reported that they thought about probation (N=34) considered probation an impediment to travel, employment, and other activities ("Opportunity--Restrictions"). For approximately one-third of the subjects, thoughts of probation came to mind around reporting time. Approximately one-fourth of the subjects associated thoughts of probation with illicit temptations, and about the same percentage of subjects thought about probation in terms of its effect on personal and public image.

Table 12 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 5: Nature of Concern

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
Prior to contact with probation officer	32.4%	11
Situational--Occasions of sin	26.5	9
Meaning to self and significant others	24.0	8
Opportunity--Restrictions	47.1	16
TOTAL	130.0%*	44

*The total sums to more than 100% because some subjects furnished more than one response. The percentages are based on the number of subjects and not on the number of responses. The percentages are based on the 34 subjects who responded that they thought about probation "Constantly," "Frequently," or "Occasionally."

Desirable Features of Probation

The variable "Desirable Features of Probation" relates to Question 6, "Is there anything that you especially like about your probation?" The response categories for this variable are "Alternative to Confinement," "Relationship with Probation Officer," "External Control," "Concrete Assistance," and "Relative Leniency."

As can be seen from the excerpt below, the first response category "Alternative to Confinement" is self-explanatory.

M2-23

I: Is there anything you like about probation?

S: Yeah, I didn't go to prison.

* * * * *

A wide variety of content is represented in the "Relationship with Probation Officer" response category ranging from descriptions of officers who are pleasant and interesting conversationalists to portraits of officers who are helpful clinicians.

M1-2

The only thing I really like about probation is my probation officer because she's a nice person. But I'd rather go to her house to see her. She's a really friendly person. She understands me. I'd rather be friends with her on other terms than have to come see her for probation.

* * * * *

M1-23

S: And another thing if you have a personal problem your probation officer always helps you.

I: Oh, he can give you some guidance and counsel.

S: Yes.

* * * * *

The "External Control" category contains responses that reflect an appreciation of the assistance probation conditions and probation officers provide in keeping the client out of "trouble."

M1-19

Yes I knew it kept me straight in the beginning. Like I said before, I knew if I did something, and I knew I was on probation, I knew I wouldn't get another chance.

* * * * *

Responses classified in the "Concrete Assistance" category represent a recognition of the tangible aid offered or provided by the agent to the client in the areas of housing, employment, programs, or solid advice.

M2-16

Well, I can't speak for anybody else, but as far as the relationship between me and my, or my P.O. and myself, he's helped on quite a number of occasions, you know? Like, he's give me tips on jobs and I've checked them out. So I would include that.

* * * * *

Those who mentioned desirable features of probation that were coded in the "Relative Leniency" category perceived their probation conditions and officer as less restrictive than expected or stated in the law as they understood it. These subjects felt that their probation officers were reasonable in their demands, and their probation conditions were tolerable.

M2-15

I would never have any knocks on the door, I have never been confronted by anybody in the probation department in any way, ever! It's always been on very personal kind of basis, and for me, what it comes down to, is about a monthly, 15 minute social call.

* * * * *

The data appearing in Table 13 indicate that most respondents perceived probation as having desirable qualities (61.9%), whereas approximately four-tenths of the subjects did not feel that probation possessed any redeeming features.

Table 13 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 6: Desirable Features of Probation

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
Present	61.9%	26
Absent	38.1	16
TOTAL	100.0%	42

Table 14 shows that the "Relationship with Probation Officer" category accounts for approximately three-fourths of the subjects who responded positively to the question "Is there anything that you especially like about your probation?". Each of the other

response categories represented less than one-fifth of these respondents.

Table 14 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 6: Desirable Features of Probation

Category	Percent	Number
Alternative to confinement	3.8%	1
Relationship with probation officer	76.9	20
External control	11.5	3
Concrete assistance	7.7	2
Relative leniency	19.2	5
TOTAL	119.1%*	31*

*The total percent sums to more than 100% and the total number sums to more than 26 (the number of respondents who reported that there was something they found desirable about probation) because some subjects furnished more than one response to the question. The percentages are based on the number of respondents who answered the question affirmatively and not on the number of responses.

Undesirable Features of Probation

The variable "Undesirable Features of Probation" and its response categories, "Relationship with Officer," "Lack of Concrete Assistance," "Restrictions," "Inconvenience and Associated Costs," and "Implications for Other Areas of Life," were developed from responses to Question 7, "Is there anything that you especially dislike about your probation?"

Those who considered their relationship with their officer as an undesirable feature viewed their officer as cold, unfriendly, and uninterested. Such officers were seen as persons without feelings and without clinical talent.

M1-5

Not only that, I don't think he has got the soothing power. I have to keep to myself within a shell when I see him. There is a big wall between us. I feel "don't say this because he might violate you, don't say that because he might violate you." Where the other guy I could come, let myself go like I would with my mother and I if we were closer.

* * * * *

The "Lack of Concrete Assistance" category contains content that reflects an individual or organizational failure to provide the client with what he considers desirable or necessary services.

M1-24

Well, probation has nothing really for a probationer to go for. Like I know a lot of other programs, a lot of other probations. In where they might have programs, and they have ex-offender programs, or something that they could get an ex-offender into, and like the probation officers here are not pushing their probationers in that direction. They're pushing them in the direction where after he finished talking to the probation officer he couldn't come to no constructive understanding from the probation officer. So now he feels I might as well go on out there and do something else. Cause he is thinking of putting the probationer in jail anyway. Now how is he helping me?

* * * * *

Responses to Question 7 that were coded in the "Restrictions" category represent specific complaints about conditions and the

practices of officers, and more general complaints regarding feelings of impotence and lack of control over one's life.

M1-20

Not being able to leave New Jersey

* * * * *

M1-5

I'm tired of being on probation. It's a pain in the neck to come in "Hi, how are you doing," "I'm doing fine." "You still have the same name?" "You still work for the same place?" And that's it. It's almost a modern day slavery. I think I have to mention I feel that way now because it's the way our relationship is. This man owns me. As far as I'm concerned he owns me.

* * * * *

M1-10

I don't think it should be to a situation that a man's life is ruled by another man. Cause he is only flesh and blood.

* * * * *

Subjects whose responses were classified as "Inconvenience and Associated Costs" felt that visits to the probation office were a burden and a waste of time. They suggested that their time could be spent more productively and more comfortably in settings other than the probation office.

M1-1

I: What do you dislike about it?

S: Just that it's time-consuming, there's other things I could be doing at the same time, you know.

* * * * *

M2-7

Definitely! You know, cause I got better things to do. I work hard when I work. I'm not working now, but when I work I work hard. Then I gotta come here at night and I don't eat. I can't eat - right after work. I work hard all day and I can't eat - I've gotta come right here. And if I gotta wait a half hour, that's two hours later I eat, you know. And I get hungry cause I work all day.

* * * * *

Sometimes my youngest son he stays down South. I like to go and spend a couple of weeks with him, since he is not here with me. Like those weeks I can't see him because I have to be here too. To report to my probation officer, and coming back and forth all the time ain't going to get it. So I sacrifice some of my time for probation instead of being with my son.

* * * * *

The "Implications for Other Areas of Life" category contains responses that demonstrate from the subject's perspective ways in which probation can affect employment, public image, and the probability of contact with criminal justice agents.

M2-16

Well, I think that...what I don't like about probation, I guess, is because, it's like a stigma. As far as obtaining a job is concerned, I could go to apply for a job and if you put down that you are on probation, then when they ask you

what you done, you know, I don't know how it applies to anybody else, but for myself I went to apply for a job at a bank and I was told they couldn't hire me cause I'm on probation. I think that's one of the disadvantages.

* * * * *

M1-2

Walking through those two doors bothers me. Because if I see anybody on the street that I know, because I know many people, and they see me walk into the building, which happens often, they wonder why I'm coming here.

* * * * *

M2-15

The only other thing, aside from that, is if I do get in trouble with the law, whether it's, you know, whether or not I'm guilty, it's gonna result in much more of a hassle than it would for somebody who's not on probation. But, you know, it's, I have been convicted of things unjustly simply because I was in no position to be able to...twice, I would say, it has happened - both minor things. But the fact that I am on probation just brings out unknown paranoia.

* * * * *

As was expected, more respondents described features of probation that were considered undesirable than the number of subjects who described desirable qualities. As we see in Table 15, 72.9 percent of the interviewees reported that probation had at least one undesirable feature.

Table 15 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 7: Undesirable Features of Probation

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
Present	72.9%	35
Absent	27.1	13
TOTAL	100.0%	48

The data in Table 16 show that about two-fifths of the subjects who described an undesirable feature (N=35) considered the inconvenience and lost time associated with meetings at the probation office as the major drawback of probation. Approximately one-third of the respondents mentioned that probation translated into social and economic costs ("Implications for Other Areas of Life"). One-fifth of the interviewees considered the restrictions on mobility and autonomy imposed by probation burdensome.

Less than 15 percent of the sample considered their relationship with their probation officer as a liability. This, however, we would expect because three-fourths of those who reported desirable features of probation (Table 14) mentioned the client-officer relationship as a positive feature of their probation.

Table 16 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 7: Undesirable Features of Probation

Category	Percent	Number
Relationship with probation officer	14.3%	5
Lack of concrete assistance	11.4	4
Restrictions	20.0	7
Contacts, inconvenience, opportunity costs, time	42.8	15
Implications for other areas of life	34.3	12
TOTAL	122.8%*	43*

*The total percent sums to more than 100% and the total number sums to more than 35 (the number of respondents who reported that there was something they found undesirable about probation) because some subjects furnished more than one response to the question. The percentages are based on the number of respondents who answered the question affirmatively and not on the number of responses.

Self-Anchoring Striving Scale Score

The content that was elicited by requesting our subjects to describe the "best possible" and "worst possible" probation worlds (Questions 8A and 8B) has been defined and illustrated in the "Interview Classification" section of this report. After the self-generated anchors of the scale were described by the interviewee, he was asked Question 8C, "Here's a picture of a ladder. Suppose that the top of the ladder represents the best possible probation situation as you have described, and that the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible situation for you. Where would you place your present probation?" The distribution of responses to this question appears in Table 17.

Table 17 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 8C: Self-Anchoring Striving Scale Score

Category	Percent	Number
0		
1	0.0%	0
2	0.0	0
3	0.0	0
4	3.8	2
5	0.0	0
6	5.8	3
7	13.5	7
8	9.6	5
9	21.2	11
10	17.3	9
TOTAL	28.8	15
	100.0%	52

$\bar{X} = 8.0$ $\bar{X}_{mod} = 10.0$ $\bar{X}_{med} = 8.3$ $S = 1.9$

If the scale is a valid measure of satisfaction, by and large our respondents appear to be a satisfied group. As we see in Table 17 the mean score is 8, the modal category is 10, and the sample is equally divided at the 8.3 score. In a study of 415 prison inmates in New York State, Toch found an average Self-Anchoring Striving Scale Score of 4.1.⁹

⁹ See Toch, 1977:Table 8-17.

Purpose of Probation

Responses to Question 9, "What do you think the purpose of probation is?" were classified into five response categories -- "Punishment," "Rehabilitation," "Deterrence," "Control," and "Mercy/Alternative Disposition." The same content categories were used to group responses to Question 10, "What do you think your P.O. thinks the purpose of probation is?"

The definition of each of the categories is fairly self-evident. Interview excerpts illustrating each response classification appear below.

Punishment:

S: Whoever is on probation probably did something wrong. If you want to play you have to pay.

I: So you consider it a penalty?

A: Yes. You did something. So you have to pay one or the other.

* * * * *

Deterrence:

M1-2

S: It teaches you a lesson...They don't make it really heavy on you but it's there. You know why it's there, it just keeps a little bell tingling in the back of your head.

I: So for you it's sort of acted as a deterrent to commit this offense, whatever it was, again. You won't do it again because of probation.

S: That's right.

* * * * *

M2-26

Well, to make sure that you never go back and make the same mistake you already made.

* * * * *

Mercy/Alternative Disposition:

M2-10

Well, you know, because people do things that aren't really that bad. You know, like, I didn't commit no murder, I didn't hurt nobody, right? But, I mean, the things that I did, and I got caught for them. They're bad enough to throw you in jail. If it wasn't for probation, I'd be in the can, and you'd be a worse person than when you went in. Cause I don't care what anybody says, jail makes you hard! But, you know, it's pretty good.

* * * * *

M2-16

Well, I think the one reason why you should have probation is because a lot of people, such as myself, not meaning to point to myself, but there are a lot of people committed first offenses, right? And I just don't think it would be fair to them, you know, I mean, to have a judge or the courts throw the book at 'em if it's their first offense.

* * * * *

Rehabilitation:

M1-18

To me it is like rehabilitating a person in a sense.

* * * * *

M1-25

The probation officer is getting inside the guy, how he act, what he need and giving a lot of help.

* * * * *

M2-13

Well, it's most of trying to find out why you did what you did, for getting arrested or just try and help you out in changing your attitude towards what happened. I guess it's renewal, rehabilitation, and all...

* * * * *

Control:

M1-9

To keep people that are in trouble out of trouble. Or that were in trouble out of trouble, and sometimes I think the way they go about it is wrong.

* * * * *

M1-21

Well the courts and the laws insist on it. They brought into the life. For that purpose is to keep a watch and control on the individual for that period of time to make up those reports and see how the individual is progressing in his everyday activities or work or whatever he is doing. His household, his environment and stuff like that. That's the purpose of that probation. To report to the courts as the courts do have it, and they did set it up for that purpose to keep track of the individual.

* * * * *

Table 18 shows that 100 percent of the subjects who responded to Question 9, "What do you think the purpose of probation is?", ventured an opinion on the objectives of probation.

Table 18 Distribution of Responses to Question 9: Client's Perception of the Purpose of Probation

Category	Percent	Number
Present	100.0%	51
Absent	0.0	0
TOTAL	100.0%	51

As we see in Table 19, "Rehabilitation" was the most popular response category (41.2%), closely followed by "Deterrence" (37.3%). The "Mercy/Alternative Disposition" category accounted for about three-tenths of the respondents, and "Punishment" and "Deterrence" were each mentioned as an objective of probation by less than two-tenths of the subjects.¹⁰

Table 19 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 9: Purpose of Probation for Probationer

Category	Percent	Number
Punishment	17.6%	9
Rehabilitation	41.2	21
Deterrence	17.6	9
Control	37.3	19
Mercy/Alternative Disposition	31.4	16
TOTAL	145.1%*	74*

*The total percent sums to more than 100% and the total number sums to more than 51 (the number of respondents who reported a purpose for probation) because some subjects furnished more than one response to the question. The percentages are based on the number of respondents and not on the number of responses.

¹⁰There is considerable unreliability built into the reduction of responses to Question 9 to content categories because many respondents furnished normative responses (i.e., what should be).

The data appearing in Table 20 demonstrate that fewer probationers held an opinion on what their probation officer considered the purpose of probation (72.1%) than the number of subjects who offered their own impressions on the objectives of the disposition (100%).

Table 20 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 10: Clients' Perceptions of the Purpose of Probation for Officer

Category	Percent	Number
Present	72.1%	31
Absent	27.9	12
TOTAL	100.0%	43

The distribution of subjects by response categories presented in Table 21 compared to those appearing in Table 19 suggests (1) there were fewer responses per subject to Question 10 (perceived officer's objective) than to Question 9 (purpose to probationer), and (2) in comparison to clients, subjects felt that officers were somewhat more likely to consider the purpose of probation control or rehabilitation, and officers were much less likely to view the objective of probation as punishment, mercy, or deterrence.

Table 21 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 10: Clients' Perceptions of the Purpose of Probation for the Officer

Category	Percent	Number
Punishment	6.4%	2
Rehabilitation	45.2	14
Deterrence	3.2	1
Control	48.2	15
Mercy/Alternative Disposition	6.4	2
TOTAL	109.4%*	34*

*The total percent sums to more than 100 percent and the total number sums to more than 31 (the number of respondents who reported the perceptions of the purpose of probation for the officer) because some subjects furnished more than one response to the question. The percentages are based on the number of subjects who provided a purpose and not on the number of responses.

Confinement Experience

Question 11 in our schedule is "Have you ever been confined in jail?", and Question 13 is "Have you ever served time in prison?" The data appearing in Table 22 indicate that over three-fourths of the subjects who were asked or responded to Question 11 reported that they had experienced incarceration in jail. The impression gathered from the interviews is that in the vast majority of cases, the interviewees were detained in jail for less than a day.

Table 22 Distribution of Responses Among Subject to Question 11: Jail Experience

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
Present	76.7%	33
Absent	23.3	10
TOTAL	100.0%	43

We see in Table 23 that only 15 members of the sample were asked or responded to Question 13. This is because many subjects who responded to Question 11 indicated that they had never been confined or the only time they had been incarcerated was for a short period of detention while they were awaiting arraignment. In these cases, the question of prison confinement was irrelevant.

The findings presented in Table 23 suggest that probation is not a disposition that favors veterans of prison confinement. Only one of the respondents reported that he had served a prison term.

Table 23 Disposition of Responses Among Subjects to Question 13: Prison Experience

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
Present	6.7%	1
Absent	93.3	14
TOTAL	100.0%	15

Comparative Severity

Questions 12, 14, and 15 were designed to determine the severity of a sentence of probation relative to other dispositions. The questions were structured to ground the responses in the

subjects' own probation experiences. Respondents were asked to estimate the amount of time in jail and prison that they would consider the equivalent to the amount of time they had served on their present probation sentence, and they were requested to provide a money fine that they would consider the equivalent of the amount of time they had spent on probation supervision. In order to obtain a relative measure for each subject, we divided the dollars, jail time, and prison time that they considered the equivalent of the time they had served on probation by the number of days they reported they had served on probation.

The data appearing in Table 24 suggest that over two-fifths of the respondents felt that there was not any amount of jail time that would be the equivalent of probation. Many of these subjects poignantly rejected the notion of serving time in jail in lieu of probation.

M1-21

I'll take the maximum probationary period without going to jail. A confinement is not doing you any good. The outside is a little bit better. You can have more things to get you into trouble on the outside but if you are a more conscious person then you know you are on probation and you are not going to get into any type of trouble to get inside that system. I would not like to do any time. I'd do 350,000 years of probation reporting to the probation officer than going to the clink. That's not for me.

* * * * *

M2-5

I don't think any jail time equals probation. Probation helped me. The jail never did. And I can't say how much jail time, cause I was getting bitter every day instead of getting better. And on this program I've been getting better instead of bitter. There's a lot of difference.

* * * * *

Over one-third of the subjects reported that they would spend one percent to 10 percent of the amount of time they had served on probation in jail as a substitute for probation. About one-fifth of the subjects were willing spend more than 10 percent of the time they had served on probation in jail as an alternative sentence.

The average jail time equivalent of probation time was 7.8 percent. If respondents were thinking in 24 hour days this would mean for every day spent on probation, the average respondent would be willing to spend approximately two hours in jail or almost a month in jail for every year on probation. It is unlikely, however, that respondents were thinking in terms of hours or even days. In most cases, respondents were making more global judgments, and not using standard units of time as their frame of reference. Future researchers should consider transforming the subjects' global judgement into hours and days, and asking the respondent if he wants to change his response in light of this information.

Table 24 Distribution of Responses to Question 12: Jail Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days

Category	Percent	Number
0 percent	45.6%	21
1-10 percent	34.8	16
Over 10 percent	19.6	9
TOTAL	100.0%	46

Range 0-75

$\bar{X} = 7.8$ $\bar{X}_{mod} = 0$ $\bar{X}_{med} = .68$ $S = 15.7$

The distribution appearing in Table 25 suggests that the majority of subjects responded that they were not willing to spend any time in prison as a substitute for probation. Approximately one-third of the subjects responded that spending between one percent to 10 percent of the time served on probation in prison would be the equivalent to their probation. About one-tenth of the subjects were willing to spend over 10 percent of their probation time in prison as a substitute disposition.

Table 25 Disposition of Responses to Question 14: Prison Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days

Category	Percent	Number
0 percent	55.2%	16
1-10 percent	34.5	10
Over 10 percent	10.3	3
TOTAL	100.0%	29

Range 0-50

$\bar{X} = 5.1$ $\bar{X}_{mod} = 0$

It is surprising that the respondents were willing to spend so little money as a probation equivalent; 37.5 percent of the sample was not willing to spend any money, and another 12.5 percent of the sample felt that one dollar or less equaled one day on probation. One-half of the sample was willing to pay one dollar per day or less as a substitute for each day they spent on probation (Table 26).

The interview excerpts presented below illustrate some of the reasons for the subjects' unwillingness to substitute a fine for probation.

M1-8

I'd rather do the probation. Because if I'm constantly getting into trouble, then I need the probation to help me instead of paying a fine. Every time I get into trouble I pay a fine it isn't helping me. It's giving the chance to get into trouble again. If I get into a fight, I pay \$35 fine. What's going to stop me from getting into another fight? I don't have to pay but \$35 fine, right? So I get into a fight, and they place you on two years probation, that two years can keep from fighting. But paying a fine is nothing.

* * * * *

M1-4

S: I wouldn't. Money is tight nowadays.

I: You would go on probation?

S: Yes, I would.

* * * * *

M1-3

All depends what my financial status is. I really wouldn't want to pay money. I would rather come here.

* * * * *

We see in Table 26 that the average substitute fine was \$2.10 per day, and the most any probationer was willing to pay in lieu of probation was \$13.88 per day. Here, as with the jail and prison equivalent time, the amount of money that our respondents considered equal to the amount of time they spent on probation

may seem low because the money-time frame in which the subjects were responding may differ from the money-time frame used for analysis. Also, we suspect that, as the amount of time spent on probation increases, the ratio between dollars, prison time, and jail time will decrease. For example, there may be some absolute limit to the money a person is willing to spend as the equivalent of his time on probation independent of the amount of time he has served on probation. A fine of \$1,000 may appear to be a huge sum to some clients. However, if a person has served a year on probation, \$1,000 is only \$2.74 per day on probation.

Assuming that the above arguments are valid, when we couple the facts that 45.6 percent of the sample has been on probation for more than a year (Table 7), and 37.5 percent of subjects were not willing to spend any money as a probation substitute, the money-probation ratio seems reasonable.

Table 26 Distribution of Responses to Question 15:
Fine Equivalent in Dollars/Time Served on
Probation in Days

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
\$0 - \$1.00	50.0%	20
\$1.01 - \$5.00	37.5	15
Over \$5.00	12.5	5
TOTAL	100.0%	40
Range 0 - 13.88		
$\bar{X} = 2.10$	$\bar{X}_{med} = .96$	$\bar{X}_{mod} = 0$
		$S = 2.98$

Perceived Post-Probation Change

The last question we asked our respondents was "Will life be different for you when you get off probation?" Responses to this question were classified into two categories, "Removal of Threat of Revocation" and "Removal of Conditions -- Liberty." The content that was coded in both these categories reflected a sense of relief and satisfaction that personal autonomy would be restored.

Those who expressed concern about the "Removal of the Threat of Revocation" predicted that when their probation was terminated they would have more peace of mind and feel less self-conscious about their behavior.

M1-14

Yes, it would have had an effect, you would feel more relaxed; you would say I don't have to go down there to see those people all the time. Cause you do think about probation. That I had to get up and come down here, knowing that I had missed an appointment and worrying about whether he is going to violate me. I guess I would do 90 days for a violation at least. Not that it's a big time to go to jail but you don't want to go cause it's too nice outside to be dealing with that. Just because you missed the appointment and you feel as that's not a good reason for you to go to jail cause you haven't committed a crime. Then you don't have to worry about that no more. You don't have to worry about coming here and reporting, or worrying if he is going to send you to jail tomorrow or do he like you or not.

* * * * *

Subjects whose responses were coded in the "Removal of Conditions -- Liberty" category anticipated that they would enjoy increased personal freedom at the termination of their probation. They looked forward to the restoration of their mobility and power to make choices.

M1-10

* The state can kiss my ass. That's first. How's my life going to change? Not greatly except for the fact that my mind will relax. The point I know there's nobody controlling me. There's nobody telling me how to live and what to do. I can go where I damn well please. Do what I damn well please. As long as I don't hurt nobody. If I hurt myself, that's my business. But as long as I don't hurt you, nobody's got nothing to say to me.

* * * * *

The data displayed in Table 27 suggest that two-fifths of the respondents to Question 16 in the interview schedule felt that their lives would change in some substantial way when their probation was terminated, and three-fifths did not predict that their lives would change after probation. Some of those who viewed their lives as remaining the same when their probation sentence had expired felt that they had already altered their lifestyles in a fashion that would continue for the rest of their lives.

The excerpts presented below illustrate this point:

M2-9

S: Probation has already helped me out. I think when it does go, it's just gonna go. It'll be something like that. I won't have to show up for it anymore. National

Guard - it's over! But, it's helped me already. I think it's done a lot of good for me.

I: Specifically?

S: Specifically, I've been able to talk to somebody who's involved with keeping people in line. And it's given me more of a perspective on where I should, how far I should wander from one boundary to another.

* * * * *

M1-6

S: It has already. As far even fighting or anything like that, I think two or three times before I would jump in anything.

I: It makes you think?

S: Yes.

* * * * *

M1-9

I think it has changed already. I went through the basics of probation, and I know just about everybody here. I went through all the systems, and they told me what I was doing wrong. I realize what I was doing wrong. I think I have changed now it's just going to be the same the rest of the probation. Just going to be a matter of when I can get here and when I can't. Understood my life the way I started it. I'm not waiting till I get off probation to start my life. I don't know if that is what they want you to do or not, but I know I wouldn't cause I mean I'm 21 now I got to start sometime. I started 6 months ago. So far so good.

* * * * *

In other cases the conditions of probation and the probation officer were considered so unobtrusive that their absence would be hardly noticed. And those who assumed a more fatalistic stance felt that probation was not pertinent to their present position in life, and they implied that the question of change was irrelevant.

M1-15

* Because if I wanted to get down to it, I think it's done absolutely nothing. Because I think that the chain of events that have occurred over the last few years would be pretty much the same whether I came here or not. I'd be pretty much in the same boat as I am now.

* * * * *

Table 27 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 16: Perceived Post-Probation Change

Category	Percent	Number
Present	40.0%	20
Absent	60.0	30
TOTAL	100.0%	50

Of the subjects who reported that their lives would change when their probation was terminated, a substantial 85 percent reported that they looked forward to increased liberty (Table 28). Thirty percent of these respondents felt that the removal of the threat of revocation would constitute a part of the change experience.

Table 28 Distribution of Responses Among Subjects to Question 16: Nature of Perceived Post-Probation Change

Category	Percent	Number
Removal of threat of revocation	30%	6
Liberty	85	17
TOTAL	115%*	23*

*The total percent sums to more than 100% and the total number sums to more than 20 (the number of respondents who reported that their lives would change after probation) because some subjects furnished more than one response to the question. The percentages are based on the number of subjects who perceived a post-probation change and not on the number of responses.

Concern with Revocation

A global judgement was made about each respondent's concern with revocation based on the information appearing in the interview. The information presented in Table 29 suggests that revocation is not a major concern among the sampled clients. Three-tenths of the clients never mentioned revocation in their interviews, and the "None" and "Mild" concern categories account for over two-fifths of the sample. Less than one-tenth of the subjects expressed a strong revocation concern.

Table 29 Concern with Revocation

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
None	31.6%	18
Mild	31.6	18
Moderate	28.1	16
Strong	8.8	5
TOTAL	100.1%	57

Relations Between Variables

The remainder of this report will be devoted to examining the relations between variables. We made 387 comparisons between the distributions of subjects on two variables. Of these, 46 of the contingency tables generated are considered worthy of presentation and discussion.

In most instances, the tables are constructed so the dependent variable is the row variable, and the column variable is the independent variable in the analysis. However, when the independent variable was represented by more than three categories, it was positioned as the row variable. The test statistic used is the Pearson chi-square statistic, χ^2 , which tests the null hypothesis that there is no association between two variables. The measure of strength of association appearing in the tables is phi, ϕ . The phi coefficient varies between 0, no association, and 1, perfect association for a 2X2 table, and it is a special case of the product moment correlation or the Pearson correlation coefficient. Therefore, ϕ^2 can be interpreted as the amount of variation in the dependent variable explained by the independent variable.

For the tables that are larger than 2X2, the value of ϕ can be greater than unity and present problems for interpretation. The measure of association used for tables with more than 2 rows or columns, Cramer's V, is an asymmetric, standardized,

associative measure ranging from 0, no relation, to 1, perfect association.

Each table contains the chi-square statistic, its probability of occurrence based on the theoretical distribution of chi-square, and a measure of strength of association. The chi-square, X^2 , appearing in each table is unadjusted, not corrected for continuity. Although some authors suggest that the X^2 statistic should be corrected for continuity, X_c^2 , when the sample size is small in order for the test statistic to approximate the theoretical or sampling distribution of chi-square, the necessity for the adjustment has been a controversial point since it was developed by Yates in 1934. Today, many authors agree that the chi-square statistics should be used because the corrected chi-square is too conservative.

If, however, our aim is to correct the statistic X^2 so that it more closely adheres to the large-sample X^2 distribution, rather than to the hypergeometric distribution, then the use of the corrected chi-square statistic may not necessarily be appropriate. In fact, Plackett (1964), Grizzle (1967), and Conover (1974) have shown that using X_c^2 in place of X^2 results in an overly conservative test, one that rejects the null hypothesis too rarely relative to the nominal level of significance.¹¹

~~Our decision to accept or reject the null hypothesis~~ generated for each table is based on the probability of occurrence,

¹¹Fienberg, F., The Analysis of Cross-Classified Categorical Data, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1977, 22.

p, appearing in each table. However, the probability of occurrence appearing in each table is not the sole criterion for including a table for presentation and discussion in the text. In some cases, a one-tailed test is used because the direction of the difference between groups was predicted in advance on the basis of theoretical plausibility or previous findings. In these cases, the probability of occurrence considered is the probability of occurrence appearing in the table divided by two. In other cases, even when the X^2 is not significant at the .05 alpha level, but the relation between two variables is substantial (.25 or above), and the findings are informative when examined in conjunction with other findings, the table is presented and discussed.

In rare cases, when p is not significant at the designated level, the measure of strength of association is insubstantial, and the percentage distributions of subjects among the categories of the two variables being examined are not very different, we have presented the table. In these instances, the amount of variation between two groups on the dependent variable is limited by an extremely skewed marginal distribution on the dependent variable. In this situation, the absolute and relative frequency in one category of the dependent variable for one group (defined in terms of one category of the independent variable) could be many times the absolute and relative frequency in the same

category of the dependent variable for a second group (defined in terms of another category of the independent variable), yet, the χ^2 will not be significant unless the sample is very large, and the ϕ or Cramer's V which are based on χ^2 will not be very large. These findings, however, should be viewed with caution because with a small sample size they could be due to sampling error.

Measures of Satisfaction

The interview schedule contains a few questions that may be related in very general terms to the broad domain of satisfaction. Questions 6, 7, 8C, 12, 14 and 15 require, in some fashion, that the subject evaluate his probation experience. If these questions are measuring the same construct, satisfaction, we would expect a substantial positive association among them.

The data appearing in Tables 30, 31, and 32 show that there are substantial correlations between the variable "Undesirable Feature of Probation" and the variables "Self-Anchor Striving Scale Score," "Jail Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days," and "Prison Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation." Subjects who reported something they disliked about their probation in comparison to those not reporting a feature of probation they disliked showed a higher representation in the low anchor score category, and in terms of our relative measures, they were willing to spend more time in jail and prison in lieu of probation.

Table 30

Self-Anchor Striving Scale Score By Undesirable Feature of Probation

Self-Anchor Striving Scale Score	Undesirable Feature of Probation	
	Present	Absent
	% (N)	% (N)
Low (0-8)	66.7% (22)	27.3% (3)
High (9-10)	33.3% (11)	72.7% (8)
$\chi^2 = 5.2$	100% (33)	100% (11)
$p = .02$		
$\phi = .34$		

Table 31 Jail Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days By Undesirable Feature of Probation

Jail Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days	Undesirable Feature of Probation	
	Present	Absent
	% (N)	% (N)
0 percent	30.0% (9)	81.8% (9)
1-10 percent	40.0% (12)	18.2% (2)
Over 10 percent	30.0% (9)	0.0% (0)
Total	100.0% (30)	100.0% (11)

$\chi^2 = 9.3$
 $p = .009$
 Cramer's V = .48

Table 32 Prison Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days By Undesirable Feature of Probation

Prison Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days	Undesirable Feature of Probation	
	Present	Absent
	% (N)	% (N)
0 percent	47.4% (9)	87.5% (7)
1-10 percent	36.8% (7)	12.5% (1)
Over 10 percent	15.8% (3)	0.0% (0)
Total	100.0% (19)	100.0% (8)

$\chi^2 = 3.9$
 $p = .14$
 Cramer's V = .38

Tables 33 and 34 suggest that there is a relation between satisfaction as measured by the Self-Anchor scale and satisfaction as measured by the proportion of the amount of time a person has served on probation that he is willing to spend confined in either prison or jail as the equivalent of the time he has spent on probation. In comparison to subjects with high scores on the Self-Anchor scale, a greater proportion of those with low scores reported that they would spend over 10 percent of the time they had served on probation in jail or prison as a probation substitute. The findings appearing in Table 33, however, are more marked than those displayed in Table 34 because the majority of both the low and high Self-Anchor scale groups reported that they were not willing to spend any time in prison.

Table 33 Jail Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days By Self-Anchor Scale Score

Jail Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days	Self-Anchor Scale Score	
	Low (0-8)	High (9-10)
	% (N)	% (N)
0%	34.8% (8)	57.1% (12)
1-10%	26.1% (6)	42.9% (9)
Over 10%	39.1% (9)	0.0% (0)
Total	100.0% (23)	100.0% (21)

$\chi^2 = 10.3$
 $p = .006$
 Cramer's V = .48

CONTINUED

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Table 34 Prison Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days By Self-Anchor Scale Score

Prison Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days	Self-Anchor Scale Score	
	Low (0-8)	High (9-10)
	% (N)	% (N)
0 percent	57.1% (8)	57.1% (8)
1-10 percent	21.4% (3)	42.9% (6)
Over 10 percent	21.4% (3)	0.0% (0)
Total	99.9% (14)	100.0% (14)

$\chi^2 = 4.0$
 $p = .14$
 Cramer's V = .35

As was expected, we see in Table 35 that there is a very substantial association between the percentage of time served on probation that a person is willing to spend in prison and the percentage he is willing to spend in jail as a substitute for probation.

Table 35 Jail Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days By Prison Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days

Jail Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days	Prison Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days		
	0 percent % (N)	1-10 percent % (N)	Over 10 percent % (N)
0 percent	73.3% (11)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
1-10 percent	20.0% (3)	80.0% (8)	0.0% (0)
Over 10 percent	6.7% (1)	20.0% (2)	100.0% (3)
Total	100.0% (15)	100.0% (10)	100.0% (3)

$\chi^2 = 26.5$
 $p = .000$
 Cramer's V = .69

The two remaining measures of the construct we have loosely labeled "satisfaction" did not correlate substantially with the other measures discussed. Nor did these variables, "Desirable Feature of Probation" and "Fine Equivalent in Dollars/Time Served on Probation," show a strong association with each other.

One reason why "Undesirable Feature of Probation" is better able to discriminate among the categories of the other measures of satisfaction than is "Desirable Feature of Probation" is that when people are requested to make judgements about an experience, especially one that is not considered pleasant, they may tend to rate the experience in terms of undesirable qualities. The basis for this statement is that human beings, like most other living organisms, scan their environments for those qualities considered undesirable, unpleasant, or painful-- threats to biological or psychological equilibrium, or in the extreme case survival, the basic objective of any organism. Because of the consequences of undesirable environmental qualities for the organism compared to those of desirable qualities (in the extreme case, death compared to ecstasy), undesirable features carry more evaluative weight, and they are viewed in more concrete terms.

You can test these assumptions by describing the happiest and saddest days in your life, and rating your life today in terms of each. We suspect that the description of your saddest

day will be fuller and more concrete than your description of your happiest day, and you will find it relatively easier to rate your life today in terms of your saddest day. In a large group of people, we would expect happiest days to converge into events that are generally experienced and to be described in such terms--"the day of my wedding," "the time I hit a home run," "the senior prom." Sad or painful times may also be reduced to a number of experience categories; however, we suspect that they will be described in more detail, and experienced as more personal events.

Responses to Questions 6 and 7 in the interview schedule display this pattern. In some cases, when asked Question 6 "Is there anything that you especially like about your probation?", subjects would respond, "It's alright. My probation officer, he's an ok guy," or "It's ok. I guess they could bust my balls, but they don't," However, when asked Question 7, "Is there anything that you especially dislike about your probation?", in most cases the respondents provided more concrete answers, "I don't like running down here every other Tuesday cause the time I spend here could be spent at my job where I make \$4.56 an hour." It is suspected that when clients are asked to make global evaluations about their probation, they tend to think in terms of the opportunity cost, \$4.56 per hour, and not in the nebulous terms of "nice guy" and potential "ball busting."

The failure of the variable "Fine in Dollars/Time Served on

Probation in Days" to correlate strongly with other measures of satisfaction may be related to the previously discussed hypothesis that there may be an absolute dollar limit to the amount of money subjects will spend as a probation substitute. In addition, the amount of money one is willing to spend is typically related to the amount of disposable income one possesses. Therefore, the fine equivalent should have been standardized by disposable income. These data, however, were not collected.

The Influence of Needs or Concerns, Treatment, and Demographic Factors on Measures of Satisfaction

If a relatively high Self-Anchor scale score means that the environment (probation situation) either features those qualities that are necessary for need fulfillment or does not contain those qualities that would be considered impediments to need fulfillment or noxious environmental qualities, it appears that those subjects who expressed a dominant concern for Autonomy or Flexibility considered their probation situations better matched with their needs or less noxious than probationers with primary Assistance, Control, or Support concerns. The data in Table 36 show that over three-fifths of the subjects with dominant Autonomy or Flexibility concerns rated their present probation experience as a 9 or 10 on the Self-Anchor Striving scale, whereas less than one-third of those with primary Assistance, Control, or Support themes were classified in the "High" Self-Anchor score category. If this interpretation of Self-Anchor score values analyzed in conjunction with concerns expressed is valid, the typical supervision environment is one of relative leniency, few restrictions, and minimal intervention.

Table 36 Self-Anchor Striving Scale Score By Primary Concern

Primary Concern	Self-Anchor Striving Scale Score		
	Low (0-8)	High (9-10)	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	
Flexibility	37.5% (3)	62.5% (5)	100.0% (8)
Assistance	71.4% (5)	28.6% (2)	100.0% (7)
Control	75.0% (3)	25.0% (1)	100.0% (4)
Support	75.0% (2)	25.0% (4)	100.0% (6)
Autonomy	28.6% (4)	71.4% (10)	100.0% (14)

x² = 8.9
p = .06
Cramer's V = .43

The findings appearing in Table 37 are similar to those appearing in Table 36. Here, we see that subjects with dominant Flexibility and Autonomy concerns report that they would spend more than 10 percent of their time on probation in jail as a substitute less often than those with substantial Assistance, Control, or Support concerns.

Table 37 Jail Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Days By Primary Concern

Primary Concern	Jail Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Day			
	0 percent	1-10 percent	over 10 percent	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Flexibility	57.1% (4)	42.9% (3)	0.0% (0)	100.0% (7)
Assistance	33.3% (2)	16.7% (1)	50.0% (3)	100.0% (6)
Control	80.0% (4)	0.0% (0)	20.0% (1)	100.0% (5)
Support	46.2% (6)	23.1% (3)	30.8% (4)	100.1% (13)
Autonomy	25.0% (3)	66.7% (8)	8.3% (1)	100.0% (12)

$\chi^2 = 14.7$
 $p = .06$
 Cramer's V = .41

The data in Table 38 suggest that respondents classified in the thematic categories with the highest proportion of subjects in the high Self-Anchor score category, Flexibility and Autonomy, were the least likely to report that they liked something about probation. How do we explain this inconsistency? One reason for this finding, as was discussed in the previous section, is that "Desirable Feature of Probation" may not be a very good measure of satisfaction. What this variable may be measuring is one's willingness or need to respond in a socially desirable fashion when a direct question is posed, "Is there anything that you especially like about your probation?" Those subjects whose interview content reflected the Assistance, Control, and Support dimensions share a dependency need, whereas those who expressed Flexibility and Autonomy concerns are the more independent types. When asked by a researcher (a person of education and knowledge, among other things, in the eyes of respondents), to describe a desirable feature of probation, a dependent person may feel more compelled to answer the question than a person who may consider himself a more independent thinker.

Table 38 Desirable Feature of Probation by Primary Concern

Primary Concern	Desirable Feature of Probation		
	Present	Absent	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Flexibility	42.9% (3)	57.1% (4)	100.0% (7)
Assistance	100.0% (4)	0.0 (0)	100.0% (4)
Control	80.0% (4)	20.0% (1)	100.0% (5)
Support	84.6% (11)	15.4% (2)	100.0% (13)
Autonomy	40.0% (4)	60.0% (6)	100.0% (10)

$\chi^2 = 9.3$
 $p = .05$
 Cramer's $V = .49$

We see in Table 39 that subjects with a primary Flexibility or Autonomy concern are only slightly less likely to report that they dislike something about probation than those with a dominant Assistance or Support concern. A high proportion of those with Assistance and Support concerns may have responded with an undesirable feature because they considered the response socially desirable in the interview situation. The popularity of the response among subjects expressing primary Flexibility and Autonomy concerns may reflect their sensitivity to even minor interruptions in their lives.

In contrast with the other groups, subjects who were primarily concerned with Control were unlikely to report that they considered a feature of probation undesirable. This may be because probationers with dominant Control concerns define as desirable features of probation that probationers with other concerns consider undesirable, such as surveillance.

Another interpretation is that persons with dominant Control concerns have allocated responsibility for their behavior and well-being to an outside agent, their probation officer. They may consider the mention of an undesirable feature criticism of an important and necessary figure in their lives which could result in serious repercussions. The person who prizes Control feels the probation officer knows what is best, and he does not consider himself to be in a position to offer criticism.

Table 39 Undesirable Feature of Probation By Primary Concern

Primary Concern	Undesirable Feature of Probation		
	Present	Absent	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Flexibility	77.8% (7)	22.2% (2)	100.0% (9)
Assistance	83.3% (5)	16.7% (1)	100.0% (6)
Control	33.3% (2)	66.7% (4)	100.0% (6)
Support	84.6% (11)	15.4% (2)	100.0% (13)
Autonomy	75.0% (9)	25.0% (3)	100.0% (12)

$\chi^2 = 6.2$
 $p = .18$
 Cramer's V = .37

The analysis of combined themes (primary and secondary concerns) also resulted in a significant association between Control and "Undesirable Feature of Probation." Table 40 shows that subjects who expressed either a primary or secondary Control concern were less likely to report that they disliked something about their probation experience than were respondents who expressed needs other than Control. The analyses of combined Flexibility, Assistance, Support, and Autonomy themes in conjunction with "Undesirable Feature of Probation" did not result in any significant differences.

Table 40 Undesirable Feature of Probation By Control

Undesirable Feature of Probation	Control	
	Present	Absent
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	42.9% (3)	79.5% (31)
Absent	57.1% (4)	20.5% (8)
Total	100.0% (7)	100.0% (39)

$X^2 = 4.1$
 $\Sigma = .04$
 $\phi = .30$

Only three treatment variables¹² influenced satisfaction measures in the predicted direction. The data appearing in Tables 41 and 42 indicate that the more time a client spends with his probation officer per appointment, the more likely he is to report both desirable and undesirable features concerning his probation experience. If familiarity is linked to the amount of time spent with a person or in a place, it breeds both contempt and affection.

¹² For purposes of the present section, treatment variables include "Length of Time Served," "Frequency of Contact per Month," "Duration of Contact in Minutes," and "Nature of Contact."

Table 41 Desirable Feature of Probation By Duration of Contact

Desirable Feature of Probation	Duration of contact	
	Less than one-half hour	One-half hour or more
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	53.8% (14)	85.7% (12)
Absent	46.2% (12)	14.3% (2)
Total	100.0% (26)	100.0% (14)

$\chi^2 = 4.1$
 $p = .04$
 $\phi = .32$

Table 42

Undesirable Feature of Probation By Duration of Contact

Undesirable Feature of Probation	Duration of Contact	
	Less than one-half hour	One-half hour or more
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	64.3% (18)	38.2% (15)
Absent	35.7% (10)	11.8% (2)
Total	100.0% (28)	100.0% (17)

$\chi^2 = 3.1$
 $p = .09$
 $\phi = .26$

The data presented in Table 43 suggest that probationers who had served more than a year on their sentences were more likely to report an undesirable feature of probation than those who had served less time. However, unlike "Duration of Contact," there was not a strong relation between "Time Served on Probation" and "Desirable Feature of Probation."

Table 43 Undesirable Feature of Probation By Time Served on Probation

Undesirable Feature of Probation	Time Served on Probation	
	One Year or Less	More than one Year
Present	58.3% (14)	87.0% (20)
Absent	41.7% (10)	13.0% (3)
Total	100.0% (24)	100.0% (23)

$\chi^2 = 4.8$
 $p = .03$
 $\phi = .32$

As was expected, the data appearing in Table 44 indicate that probationers who are required to report more than once a month are willing to spend a greater percentage of the time they have served on probation in jail as a probation substitute than are clients who report once a month or less. Approximately two-fifths of the higher reporting group were willing to serve over 10 percent of their time on probation in jail in lieu of probation.

Table 44

Jail Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Day By Frequency of Contact per Month

Jail Equivalent in Days/Time Served on Probation in Day	Frequency of Contact per Month	
	One	More Than One
	% (N)	% (N)
0 percent	2.9% (18)	25.0% (3)
1-10 percent	35.3% (12)	33.3% (4)
Over 10 percent	11.8% (4)	41.7% (5)
Total	100.0% (34)	100.0% (12)

$\chi^2 = 5.8$
 $p = .06$
 Cramer's V = .35

The only two personal characteristics that were associated with the measures of satisfaction discussed in the present section were use of drugs and race. Tables 45 and 46 indicate that drug users and non-whites were more substantially represented in the low Self-Anchor score categories than were their non-drug using and white counterparts.

The racial differences in the satisfaction scores may be related to the fact that all the probationers we interviewed were supervised by white probation officers. Although charges of racism, discrimination, or prejudice were not evident in the interview content, there may be some underlying resentment concerning perceived racial mismatches or feelings of victimization concerning the racial disparity between client and officer.

Probationers with a history of drug use may score lower on satisfaction with their probation experience than other probationers because some officers felt that they warranted closer supervision and could not be trusted. In addition, some probation officers required those with a history of addiction to submit urine samples to be tested for narcotic content. Such tests are likely to be considered degrading and spawn resentment.

Table 45 Self-Anchor Striving Scale Score By Drug Use

Self-Anchor Striving Scale Score	Drug Use	
	Absent	Present
	% (N)	% (N)
Low (0-8)	44.4% (12)	90.9% (10)
High (9-10)	55.6% (15)	9.1% (1)
Total	100.0% (27)	100.0% (11)

$\chi^2 = 6.9$
 $p = .008$
 $\phi = .43$

Table 46 Self-Anchor Striving Scale Score By Race

Self-Anchor Striving Scale Score	Race	
	White	Non-White
	% (N)	% (N)
Low (0-8)	39.1% (9)	77.8% (7)
High (9-10)	60.9% (14)	22.2% (2)
Total	100.0% (23)	100.0% (9)

$\chi^2 = 3.9$
 $p = .05$
 $\phi = .35$

The Relation Between the Nature of Desirable and Undesirable Features of Probation, and Other Measures of Satisfaction, Treatment Variables, and Concerns

As was mentioned previously, the responses to Questions 6 and 7 of our interview schedule, "Is there anything that you especially like about your probation?" and "Is there anything that you especially dislike about your probation?" were reduced to content categories. The categories representing "Desirable Feature of Probation" were "Alternative to Confinement," "Relationship with Probation Officer," "External Control," "Concrete Assistance," and "Relative Leniency." "Relationship with Probation Officer," "Lack of Concrete Assistance," "Restrictions," "Contacts, Inconvenience, Opportunity Costs, Time," and "Implications for Other Areas of Life" were related to the "Undesirable Feature of Probation" variable.

Tables 47 and 48 indicate that two of the treatment variables, "Time Served on Probation" and "Frequency of Contact per Month" are associated with "Relationship with Probation Officer" as a feature of probation that is disliked. Those who had served more than a year on probation and those who visited the office more than once a month were more likely to have a negative impression of their probation officer than were their counterparts who had served less time on probation or made fewer trips to the probation office. However, for both the subjects who served more than a year on probation and those who visited the office more than once a month, the majority did not report that their relationship with their probation officer was objectionable.

TABLE 47
UNDESIRABLE FEATURE OF PROBATION --
RELATIONSHIP WITH PROBATION OFFICER
BY TIME SERVED ON PROBATION

Undesirable Feature of Probation -- Relationship with Probation Officer	Time Served on Probation	
	One Year or Less	More Than a Year
	%	%
	(N)	(N)
Present	0.0%	17.4%
	(0)	(4)
Absent	100.0%	82.6%
	(24)	(19)
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	(24)	(23)

$\chi^2 = 4.6$

$P = .03$

$\phi = .31$

TABLE 48

UNDESIRABLE FEATURE OF PROBATION --
RELATIONSHIP WITH PROBATION OFFICER
BY FREQUENCY OF CONTACT PER MONTH

Undesirable Feature of Probation--Relation- ship with Probation Officer	Frequency of Contact Per Month	
	One or Less	More than One
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	3.1% (1)	21.4% (3)
Absent	96.9% (31)	78.6% (11)
Total	100.0% (34)	100.0% (14)

$\chi^2 = 4.1$

$P = .04$

$\phi = .30$

Those who consider their probation officer a liability are much more likely to score in the low category of the Self-Anchor scale than are subjects who did not mention their probation officer as an undesirable feature. Table 49 shows that 100 percent of those who reported that their probation officer was a feature of probation they disliked (n=4) had low scores on the Self-Anchor scale.

TABLE 49

SELF-ANCHOR STRIVING SCALE SCORE
BY UNDESIRABLE FEATURE OF PROBATION --
RELATIONSHIP WITH PROBATION OFFICER

Self-Anchor Striving Scale Score	Undesirable Feature of Probation -- Relationship with Probation Officer	
	Present	Absent
	% (N)	% (N)
Low (0-8)	100.0% (4)	52.5% (21)
High (9-10)	0.0 (0)	47.5 (19)
Total	100.0% (4)	100.0% (40)

$\chi^2 = 3.3$

$P = .07$

$\phi = .28$

When considered in conjunction with the data in Table 36, the findings displayed in Table 50 suggest a marked contrast. Although three-fourths of subjects with primary Support concerns had low scores on the Self-Anchor scale (Table 36), four-fifths of the respondents assigned a Support theme considered their relationship with their probation officer a desirable feature of probation. These findings support the contention that "Desirable Feature of Probation" may not be a valid measure of satisfaction.

TABLE 50
DESIRABLE FEATURE OF PROBATION -- RELATIONSHIP WITH PROBATION OFFICER BY SUPPORT

Desirable Feature of Probation -- Relationship with Probation Officer	Support	
	Present	Absent
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	81.3% (13)	30.4% (7)
Absent	18.8 (3)	69.6 (16)
Total	100.1 (16)	100.0 (23)

$\chi^2 = 9.8$
P = .002
 $\phi = .50$

The findings presented in Tables 51 through 54 suggest associations between concerns and desirable and undesirable qualities of probation that make theoretical sense. We see in Tables 51 and 52 that in comparison to probationers who do not prize Assistance, those who express Assistance needs are more likely to consider "Concrete Assistance" a desirable feature of probation and "Lack of Concrete Assistance" an undesirable feature of probation.

TABLE 51
UNDESIRABLE FEATURE OF PROBATION -- LACK OF CONCRETE ASSISTANCE BY ASSISTANCE

Undesirable Feature -- Lack of Concrete Assistance	Assistance	
	Present	Absent
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	30.0% (3)	2.8% (1)
Absent	70.0 (7)	97.2 (35)
Total	100.0% (10)	100.0% (36)

$\chi^2 = 7.3$
P = .007
 $\phi = .40$

TABLE 52
DESIRABLE FEATURE OF PROBATION --
CONCRETE ASSISTANCE BY ASSISTANCE

Desirable Feature of Probation--Concrete Assistance	Assistance	
	Present	Absent
	%	%
	(N)	(N)
Present	33.3%	0.0%
	(2)	(0)
Absent	66.7%	100.0%
	(4)	(33)
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	(6)	(33)

$\chi^2 = 11.6$
P = .001
 $\phi = .54$

Table 53 suggests that in comparison to those who do not express an Autonomy need, probationers concerned with Autonomy mention more often that they prefer the lack of restrictions associated with their probation compared with the conditions that could be imposed. Subjects who were concerned with Control were more likely than others to report that "External Control" was a feature of their probation that they considered an asset.

TABLE 53
DESIRABLE FEATURE OF PROBATION --
RELATIVE LENIENCY BY AUTONOMY

Desirable Feature of Probation--Relative Leniency	Autonomy	
	Present	Absent
	%	%
	(N)	(N)
Present	25.0%	4.5%
	(4)	(1)
Absent	75.0%	95.5%
	(12)	(21)
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	(16)	(26)

$\chi^2 = 3.4$
P = .06
 $\phi = .30$

TABLE 54
DESIRABLE FEATURE OF PROBATION --
EXTERNAL CONTROL BY CONTROL

Desirable Feature of Probation -- External Control	Control	
	Present	Absent
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	33.3% (2)	3.0% (1)
Absent	66.7% (4)	97.0% (32)
Total	100.0% (6)	100.0% (33)

$\chi^2 = 6.6$

$P = .01$

$\phi = .41$

In the last Table presented in this section, Table 55, we see that those who meet with their officers a half hour or more report more often that their probation has undesirable effects on other areas of their lives than do those who meet with their probation officers for shorter periods of time. For some probationers, relatively long meetings may emphasize to them the fact that they have been convicted of a crime and they are under supervision, and this has implications for other areas of their lives. It is surprising, however, that the variables "Time Served on Probation" and "Frequency of Contact per Month" did not have a similar influence on "Undesirable Feature of Probation -- Implications For Other Areas of Life."

TABLE 55
UNDESIRABLE FEATURE OF PROBATION --
IMPLICATIONS FOR OTHER AREAS OF LIFE

Undesirable Feature of Probation -- Implications For Other Areas of Life	Duration of Contact	
	Less Than One-half Hour	One-half Hour or More
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	14.3% (4)	47.1% (8)
Absent	85.7% (24)	52.9% (9)
Total	100.0% (28)	100.0% (17)

$\chi^2 = 5.8$

$P = .02$

$\phi = .36$

Association Between Perceived Purposes of Probation and Themes and Treatment Variables

As was expected, we see in Tables 56 through 58 that clients who expressed a need for Support were more likely than subjects with other concerns to consider the purpose of probation rehabilitation, whereas respondents with Autonomy concerns were less likely than other respondents to express rehabilitative concerns, and more prone to view probation as punitive.

TABLE 56

PURPOSE OF PROBATION FOR PROBATIONER
-- REHABILITATION BY SUPPORT

Purpose of Probation for Probationer -- Rehabilitation	Support	
	Present	Absent
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	63.2% (12)	31.0% (9)
Absent	36.8% (11)	69.0% (20)
Total	100.0% (19)	100.0% (29)

$\chi^2 = 4.8$

$P = .03$

$\phi = .32$

TABLE 57

PURPOSE OF PROBATION FOR PROBATIONER
-- REHABILITATION BY AUTONOMY

Purpose of Probation for Probationer -- Rehabilitation	Autonomy	
	Present	Absent
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	28.6% (6)	55.6% (15)
Absent	71.4% (15)	44.4% (12)
Total	100.0% (21)	100.0% (27)

$\chi^2 = 3.5$

$P = .06$

$\phi = .27$

TABLE 58
PURPOSE OF PROBATION FOR PROBATIONER
-- PUNISHMENT BY AUTONOMY

Purpose of Probation For Probationer -- Punishment	Autonomy	
	Present	Absent
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	28.6% (6)	7.4% (2)
Absent	71.4% (15)	92.6% (25)
Total	100.0% (21)	100.0% (27)

$\chi^2 = 3.8$
P = .05
 $\phi = .28$

We see in Table 59 that there is a relation between the amount of time a client spends meeting with his probation officer and what the client considers the officer's view of the objectives of probation. In comparison to respondents who met with their officers for less than 30 minutes, probationers who met with agents for longer time periods were more likely to report that their probation officer considered control the purpose of probation. Subjects who had served less than a year on their probation reported more often than their counterparts who had served a year or more that their probation officer considered punishment a purpose of probation

TABLE 59
PROBATIONER'S PERCEPTION OF PURPOSE
OF PROBATION FOR PROBATION OFFICER
-- CONTROL BY DURATION OF CONTACT

Probationer's Perception of Purpose of Probation For Probation Officer -- Control	Duration of Contact	
	Less than One-half Hour	One-half Hour or More
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	22.7% (5)	52.9% (9)
Absent	77.3% (17)	47.1% (8)
Total	100.0% (22)	100.0% (17)

$\chi^2 = 3.8$
P = .05
 $\phi = .31$

TABLE 60
 PURPOSE OF PROBATION FOR PROBATIONER --
 PUNISHMENT BY TIME SERVED ON PROBATION

Purpose of Probation for Probationer -- Punishment	Time Served on Probation	
	One Year or Less % (N)	More than a Year % (N)
Present	25.0% (7)	4.5% (1)
Absent	75.0% (21)	95.5% (21)
Total	100.0% (28)	100.0% (22)

$\chi^2 = 3.8$

$P = .05$

$\phi = .28$

The Association Between Concern With Revocation and Other
 Probation Perceptions

Only two variables showed a substantial association with "Concern With Revocation," "Purpose of Probation for Probationer-- Mercy/Alternative Disposition" and "Extent of Concern." The data presented in Table 61 suggest that probationers who consider the purpose of probation mercy are more likely to have a moderate or strong concern with revocation than are clients who do not perceive mercy as a probation objective. Those who mentioned mercy as a probation purpose may have a "what the judge giveth, the judge can taketh away" attitude. They may consider themselves to be serving their time on the "streets" at the judge's pleasure, and to think that they could easily be confined if he becomes displeased with them.

Table 62 displays the expected finding that the more often a person thinks of probation the stronger is his concern with revocation.

TABLE 61
 CONCERN WITH REVOCATION BY PURPOSE
 OF PROBATION FOR PROBATIONER
 -- MERCY/ALTERNATIVE DISPOSTION

Concern with Revocation	Purpose of Probation for Probationer -- Mercy/Alternative Disposition	
	Present	Absent
	%	%
	(N)	(N)
None or Mild	37.5%	77.1%
	(6)	(27)
Moderate or Strong	62.5%	22.9%
	(10)	(8)
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	(16)	(35)

$\chi^2 = 7.6$
 $P = .01$
 $\phi = .36$

TABLE 62
 CONCERN WITH REVOCATION
 BY EXTENT OF CONCERN

Concern with Revocation	Extent of Concern	
	Constantly or Frequently	Occasionally or None
	%	%
	(N)	(N)
None or Mild	46.7%	77.8%
	(7)	(21)
Moderate or Strong	53.3%	22.2%
	(8)	(6)
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	(15)	(27)

$\chi^2 = 4.2$
 $P = .04$
 $\phi = .32$

The Relation Between Extent of Concern and Themes

The two variables that showed respectable correlations with the extent to which probationers thought about probation were both themes from the content classification scheme. The data appearing in Tables 62 and 63 demonstrate that those who expressed strong Control or Autonomy concerns reported more often than probationers with other concerns that they thought of probation constantly or frequently.

Subjects with Control concerns may have thought of probation as a welcome intervention which kept them free of "trouble." Those with Autonomy concerns, on the other hand, may have experienced constant or frequent thoughts of probation, because for these persons probation is considered a limitation on their freedom and a constant, if mild, source of irritation.

TABLE 63
EXTENT-OF CONCERN-BY CONTROL-----

Extent of Concern	Control	
	Present % (N)	Absent % (N)
Constantly or Frequently	80.8% (4)	32.4% (11)
Occasionally or None	20.0% (1)	67.6% (23)
Total	100.0% (5)	100.0% (34)

$\chi^2 = 4.1$
P = .04
 $\phi = .33$

TABLE 64
EXTENT OF CONCERN BY AUTONOMY

Extent of Concern	Autonomy	
	Present % (N)	Absent % (N)
Constantly or Frequently	59.3% (9)	22.7% (5)
Occasionally or None	43.8% (7)	77.3% (17)
Total	100.1% (16)	100.0% (22)

$\chi^2 = 4.5$
P = .03
 $\phi = .34$

The Association Between Perceived Post-Probation Change and Other Variables

Two variables displayed a considerable association with "Perceived Post-Probation Change." Table 65 demonstrates that subjects with Flexibility concerns were more likely to have reported that their lives would change once their probation terminated than were subjects with other concerns. Table 66 displays the expected finding that clients who are moderately or strongly concerned with revocation more often report that they look forward to the removal of the threat of revocation than do subjects who reported mild or no concern with revocation.

TABLE 65

PERCEIVED POST-PROBATION CHANGE BY FLEXIBILITY

Perceived Post-Probation Change	Present	Absent
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	54.2% (13)	26.1% (6)
Absent	45.8% (11)	73.9% (17)
Total	100.0% (24)	100.0% (23)

$\chi^2 = 3.8$
 $P = .05$
 $\phi = .29$

TABLE 66

PERCEIVED POST-PROBATION CHANGE --
 REMOVAL OF THREAT OF REVOCATION
 BY CONCERN WITH REVOCATION

Perceived Post-Probation Change--Removal of Threat of Revocation	Concern with Revocation	
	None or Mild	Moderate or Strong
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	3.3% (1)	25.0% (5)
Absent	96.7% (29)	75.0% (15)
Total	100.0% (30)	100.0% (20)

$\chi^2 = 5.3$
 $P = .02$
 $\phi = .33$

The Association Between Themes and Treatment Variables

Tables 67 through 70 display the relations between themes or concerns and treatment-relevant factors. We see in Tables 67 and 68 that those who have spent the most time on probation are the group most sensitive to freedom issues. Furthermore, clients who report that their meetings with officers have a clinical atmosphere are more likely to express Support concerns than are clients who consider their meetings reporting sessions.

TABLE 67

AUTONOMY BY TIME SERVED ON PROBATION

Autonomy	Time Served on Probation	
	One Year or Less	More Than a Year
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	28.6% (8)	56.5% (13)
Absent	71.4% (20)	43.5% (10)
Total	100.0% (28)	100.0% (23)

$\chi^2 = 4.1$

$P = .04$

$\phi = .28$

TABLE 68

SUPPORT BY NATURE OF CONTACT

Support	Nature of Contact	
	Reporting	Counsel
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	30.2% (13)	83.3% (5)
Absent	69.8% (30)	16.7% (1)
Total	100.0% (43)	100.0% (6)

$\chi^2 = 6.3$

$P = .01$

$\phi = .36$

We see in Tables 69 and 70 that subjects who reported that they were presently receiving mental health care were less likely than others to be concerned with Flexibility, and more likely to prize Support. Many persons who are dealing with mental health problems, especially schizophrenics, have been characterized as low in self-esteem and likely to find social situations painful.¹³ We should expect such people to desire Support in the form of an emotionally nurturing and non-evaluative probation officer. In addition, persons with some forms of mental illness have been described as hypersensitive to environmental fluctuations, and they require a dependable predictable environment to maintain ego strength and a sense of competence.¹⁴ We would not expect Flexibility, which translates into an unstable setting for some, to be a major concern of persons suffering from some types of mental illness.

¹³ Stotland, E., The Psychology of Hope. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969, 152-184.

¹⁴ Bettelheim, B., A Home for The Heart. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974, 38-85.

TABLE 69

FLEXIBILITY BY PRESENT MENTAL HEALTH CARE

Flexibility	Present Mental Health Care	
	Present % (N)	Absent % (N)
Present	0.0% (0)	55.2% (16)
Absent	100.0% (9)	44.8% (13)
Total	100.0% (9)	100.0% (29)
$\chi^2 = 8.6$		
P = .003		
$\phi = .48$		

TABLE 70

SUPPORT BY PRESENT MENTAL HEALTH CARE

Support	Present Mental Health Care	
	Present % (N)	Absent % (N)
Present	55.6% (5)	27.6% (8)
Absent	44.4% (4)	72.4% (21)
Total	100.0% (9)	100.0% (29)
$\chi^2 = 2.4$		
P = .12		
$\phi = .25$		

Differences Between Counties

The differences between counties presented in this section are difficult to interpret because we did not systematically collect information on the policies of the two probation organizations and how policies translated operationally into probation officer management styles. We do know that both Chief Probation Officers were progressive in policy and philosophy; especially in Morris County; Chief Enright emphasized that the mission of the probation officer should be clinical and not punitive.

The data appearing in Table 71 indicate that the primary theme that best discriminates between the samples drawn from the two counties is Flexibility. One reason for this finding, based on unsystematic observation and interview content, is that Morris County clients enjoy a considerable amount of Flexibility. In many cases, Morris County probationers included descriptions of the Flexibility that was a component of their present probation situation when they were portraying the "best possible probation situation."

TABLE 71
PRIMARY CONCERN BY COUNTY

Primary Concern	County	
	Middlesex	Morris
	% (N)	% (N)
Flexibility	6.9% (2)	36.0% (9)
Assistance	10.3% (3)	16.0% (4)
Control	17.2% (5)	4.0% (1)
Support	34.5% (10)	24.0% (6)
Autonomy	31.0% (9)	20.0% (5)
Total	99.9% (29)	100.0% (25)

$\chi^2 = 9.2$

$P = .06$

Cramer's V = .41

The only treatment variable that distinguished between the two samples was "Frequency of Contact." Table 72 shows that in comparison to the Morris County sample, a greater proportion of the Middlesex County respondents reported that they met with their officer more than once a month.

TABLE 72
FREQUENCY OF CONTACT BY COUNTY

Frequency of Contact Per Month	County	
	Middlesex	Morris
	% (N)	% (N)
One	63.3% (19)	87.5% (21)
More Than One	36.7% (11)	12.5% (3)
Total	100.0% (30)	100.0% (24)

$\chi^2 = 4.0$

$P = .04$

$\phi = .27$

We see in Table 73 that Morris County probationers reported that there was something they disliked about their probation experience more often than did Middlesex County clients. And Morris County probationers are comparatively more likely to report that the feature of probation they dislike is the impact it has, or may have, for other areas of life -- employment, reputation in the community, etc. Morris County subjects also are more likely than are Middlesex County probationers to consider the purpose of probation to be deterrence.

TABLE 73
UNDESIRABLE FEATURE OF PROBATION BY COUNTY

Undesirable Feature of Probation	County	
	Middlesex	Morris
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	58.6% (17)	94.7% (18)
Absent	41.4% (12)	5.3% (1)
Total	100.0% (29)	100.0% (19)

$\chi^2 = 7.6$

$P = .006$

$\phi = .40$

TABLE 74
 UNDESIRABLE FEATURE OF PROBATION --
 IMPLICATIONS FOR OTHER
 AREAS OF LIFE BY COUNTY

Undesirable Feature of Probation--Implications For Other Areas of Life	County	
	Middlesex	Morris
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	13.8% (4)	42.1% (8)
Absent	86.2% (25)	57.9% (11)
Total	100.0% (29)	100.0% (19)

$\chi^2 = 4.2$
 $P = .03$
 $\phi = .32$

TABLE 75
 PURPOSE OF PROBATION FOR
 PROBATIONER -- DETERRENCE BY COUNTY

Purpose of Probation for Probationer--Deterrence	County	
	Middlesex	Morris
	% (N)	% (N)
Present	7.4% (2)	29.2% (7)
Absent	92.6% (25)	70.8% (17)
Total	100.0% (27)	100.0% (24)

$\chi^2 = 4.1$
 $P = .04$
 $\phi = .28$

One reason why Morris County clients were comparatively more likely to express a concern about the effects of their status as a probationer on other life spheres and to view the purpose of probation as deterrence is because a larger proportion of the subjects interviewed in Morris County were middle class than were the clients interviewed in Middlesex County. The fact that one has been convicted of a crime and sentenced to probation has more negative connotations and is more stigmatizing from a middle class perspective than it is from other points of view.

An emphasis on rationality and a utilitarian conception of punishment are also associated with the middle class value system. The hedonistic calculus makes sense to the middle class person, and when viewed in these terms, the purpose of punishment is to insure that transgressions will not be repeated.

Conclusion

The major findings of this report are (1) the dimensions with which clients are concerned primarily include Autonomy, Support, and Flexibility; (2) the only substantial relation between any two dimensions is a relatively strong negative association between Support and Autonomy; (3) relative to other groups, prison inmates, probationers in the two counties appear satisfied in terms of the Self-Anchor Striving scale; and (4) there are some respectable correlations between the measures of satisfaction presented in this report.

The interview information gathered is not only useful in itself but also is useful for constructing instruments that can be administered to large groups of clients in a relatively short period of time for a fraction of the cost of an interview. Our research plan was to use the interview information in developing paper and pencil instruments to measure the needs and concerns of probationers. The information furnished by the clients interviewed helped us in developing dimensions and items that have relevance to those who are serving time on probation. Descriptions and analyses of the instruments will appear in a forthcoming report.

END