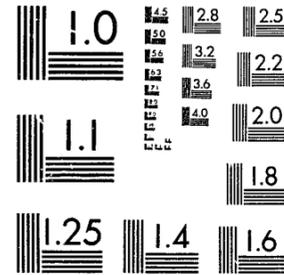


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DECEMBER 1982

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All phases of preventive and correctional activities in delinquency and crime come within the fields of interest of FEDERAL PROBATION. The Quarterly wishes to share with its readers all constructively worthwhile points of view and welcomes the contributions of those engaged in the study of juvenile and adult offenders. Federal, state, and local organizations, institutions, and agencies—both public and private—are invited to submit any significant experience and findings related to the prevention and control of delinquency and crime.

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This Issue in Brief

Shadows of Substance: Organized Crime Reconsidered.—Authors Martens and Longfellow discuss contemporary perceptions of organized crime and how they affect public policy. Arguing that organized crime is neither parasitic nor exclusively functional to the maintenance of the social order, they suggest that organized crime must be perceived as a process. At historical times, organized crime is functional and at other times it is exploitive. The authors assert that contemporary research is empirically weak, ethnically biased, and inappropriately focused by a poor data collection methodology.

Organized Crime, RICO, and the Media: What We Think We Know.—RICO was legislated to combat Mafia-style organized crime. Authors Wynn and Anderson maintain, however, that the precise Congressional target is unclear. RICO provides a formal notion of organized crime whose key is the proof of a "pattern of racketeering activity." But this means only the commission of two predicate offenses within a 10-year period. One result is a body of cases whose only common denominator is unfettered prosecutorial discretion. In addition, Federal jurisdiction and surveillance powers are greatly increased.

Adolphe Quetelet: At the Beginning.—Professor Sawyer F. Sylvester of Bates College reveals that an empirical approach to the study of crime can be found in the history of criminology as early as 1831 in the writings of the Belgian statistician, Adolphe Quetelet. In his work, *Research on the Propensity for Crime at Different Ages*, Quetelet makes use of government statistics of crime to determine the influence of such things as education, climate, race, sex, and age on the incidence of criminal behavior. He not only establishes relationships between these factors and crime but, in so doing, develops a methodology for the social sciences which is still largely valid.

Behavioral Objectives in Probation and Parole: A New Approach to Staff Accountability.—Many

probation and parole agencies have initiated programs of risk and needs assessments for clients in an effort to manage caseloads more effectively,

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reports Dr. Alvin Cohn of Administration of Justice Services. By taking such programming one step further, namely by developing behaviorally anchored objectives, workers can maximize available resources in directing clients toward realistic and relevant outcomes, he states. Workers can thus be held accountable in the delivery of specific services.

The Use of "Third Sector" Organizations as Vehicles for Community Service Under a Condition of Probation.—The increasing use of community service as a condition of probation has provided probation officers with improved opportunities to use such assignments as a way of teaching responsible citizenship as well as achieving community improvement. This article, by Deputy Chief Probation Officer Jack Cocks of the U.S. District Court in Los Angeles, reflects some of the recent developments in formalizing service programs in public benefit "third sector" organizations designed to carry out new strategies of networking.

Not Without the Tools: The Task of Probation in the Eighties.—Traditionally, the role of the probation officer has been viewed as dichotomous with supervision involving maintaining surveillance and helping the clientele. This dilemma is likely to remain with us in the next decade as the field of probation faces the challenge of stiffer sentencing policies. Authors Marshall and Vito outline some of the difficulties to be faced by probation officers and suggest some methods of dealing with them.

Inside Supervision: A Thematic Analysis of Interviews With Probationers.—This article by Dr. John J. Gibbs of Rutgers University contains an analysis of taperecorded 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.

Writing for the Reader.—Nancy Hoffman and Glen Plutschak of the Maryland Division of Parole

and Probation discuss the pitfalls of the bureaucratic style of writing often developed by criminal justice professionals. Such writing is generally characterized by poor organization, extremely long sentences, over-used jargon and unnecessarily complex words. The results are documents which are difficult to read. The authors stress the importance of writing readable communications which are clear, concise, and to the point.

The Male Batterer: A Model Treatment Program for the Courts.—Authors Dreas, Ignatov, and Brennan examine the male batterer from the perspective of court-ordered treatment. A 30-week group treatment program is described in which various aspects of domestic violence are considered, with the ultimate goal being cessation of abusive behavior. Specific steps taken regarding program development and implementation are presented and a description of additional adjunct services is also provided.

Issues in Planning Jail Mental Health Services.—One impact of deinstitutionalization of state mental hospitals noted by many authors is an increased need for mental health services in local jails. Given current fiscal constraints and community attitudes, program development in the 3,493 jails in the United States is often very difficult. In this article, Messrs. McCarty, Steadman, and Morrissey assess the range and structure of mental health services in a national sample of 43 jails.

Victim Offender Reconciliation: An Incarceration Substitute?—Howard Zehr and Mark Umbreit describe the Victim Offender Reconciliation Program (VORP) operated by PACT in Indiana. The program allows for a face-to-face meeting between victim and offender in which facts and feelings are discussed and a restitution contract agreed upon. Trained community volunteers serve as mediators. VORP can serve as a partial or total substitute for jail or prison incarceration. Eighty-six percent of all cases represent felony offenses, with burglary and theft being the most common.

All the articles appearing in this magazine are regarded as appropriate expressions of ideas worthy of thought but their publication is not to be taken as an endorsement by the editors or the Federal probation office of the views set forth. The editors may or may not agree with the articles appearing in the magazine, but believe them in any case to be deserving of consideration.

vision 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, intensity of supervision) is the perceived quantum. 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.

The purpose of this article is to describe an initial step in measuring the needs and concerns of probationers. The objective is to provide a richer portrait of the probation process, and the method of inquiry is guided by the assumption 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 setting is required. The exploration of the "worlds" of probationers began with confidential interviews with a random sample of 57 persons sentenced to probation in two counties in New Jersey.²

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 Cantril (1965) and modified by Toch (1977) 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

²In County A, the chief probation officer contacted members of his staff he felt would be interested in the project. Although we were aware that a sample of officers biased in this way could influence both the type of probationers we interviewed and their impressions and concerns, it was the most reasonable procedure in light of real world constraints. Each of the selected staff members provided a list of their current cases (n=206). A total of 50 probationers were randomly selected from these lists as interview candidates.

In County B, 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 County B because we unsystematically observed that in County A 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.

We interviewed about half the people in our sample; attrition was a substantial 63 cases. In some respects, the attrition can be considered artificially inflated because we did not attempt to contact 18 members of the sample. After 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 was termination of probation (n=11). For these cases, we found that the subjects had completed their probation sentences by the time we attempted to contact them.

Six of the probationers contacted declined the invitation to participate in the project.

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. (Cantril, 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. The version of the Self-Anchoring Striving scale contained in our interview schedule appears below:

- 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?

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-Anchoring Striving scale. Because people generally have more than one concern or need, each interview was

Inside Supervision: A Thematic Analysis of Interviews With Probationers

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The Problem¹

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 situa-

tions 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 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' or agents' perceptions of the process (e.g. Studt, 1972; Erickson, 1973; Renzema, 1976; Lohman, 1967; Berman, 1976; James, 1971; and Waller, 1974). The typical conceptual stance is that elements of super-

¹This 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 and do not necessarily represent the official position of policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

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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 chartered by Toch (1977) and Moos (1974) 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 appearing often enough to justify the inclusion of Clarity as a distinct dimension in the classification scheme.³

The remainder of this article will be devoted to the definition and illustration of the themes that comprise the classification scheme. 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 the content analytic scheme for researchers wishing to replicate the study and others interested in this area.

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 real-

³Each interview was classified on two occasions by the same rater, the author. Approximately 3 months elapsed between the two interview classification periods; themes were coded consistently for about 85 percent of the interviews. The agreement percentage may have been adversely influenced by minor modifications in the definitions of concerns during the 3-month interval. An examination of the interrater reliability of the classification scheme has not yet been conducted.

ized 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 7 days and then I'm off for 7 days. I can come here within the 7 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 here when I know a month has gone by or 3 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
"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. . . . 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. . . .

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. 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.

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.

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 in incursion to the 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 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. knows 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.

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
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. 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.

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.

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 an' 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

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.

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.

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 like the fact that when you're on probation you have no civil rights... 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.

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 not 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 you have to do, as long as you're going 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 rightl...

Thematic Distributions

Tables 1 and 2 present the results of the thematic analysis of the interviews. The data in table 1 indicate that the primary theme, major concern, or dominant need expressed by the subjects was Support (29.6%) and Flexibility (20.4%). Just over one-tenth of the sample was assigned a primary theme of Assistance of Control.

TABLE 1.—Distribution of Primary Themes Among Respondents

Category	Percent	Number
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 2 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 ex-

TABLE 2.—Distribution of All Themes Among Subjects

Category	Percent	Number
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.

pressed by approximately two-fifths of the subjects. Assistance (24.1%) and Control (14.8%) remained the two lowest ranking concerns.

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 3 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 3 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 decisionmaking, shared information, and clinical intervention.

Conclusion

The concerns and needs of probationers identified in this article are informative, and they furnish us with a first person view of the probation process. 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 instruments with dimensions and items that have relevance to those who are serving time on probation.

If it proves to be socially, legally and ethically desirable, our goal is to classify clients according to their major needs and assign them to officers or refer them to programs that match their needs. The target group for classification in terms of the dimensions discussed should consist of those clients with the most urgent needs or strongest concerns. Readers who wish a fuller discussion of the problems of classification using the dimensions discussed in this article should refer to Gibbs (1980:84-89).

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END

TABLE 3.—Dimension—Dimension Correlations

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

*Significant at the .05 level