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Approaches to Adult Probationary Supervision: A Positive Perspective

Douglas Wilson

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APPROACHES TO ADULT PROBATIONARY SUPERVISION:

A POSITIVE PERSPECTIVE

by

Douglas Wilson

A report submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Social Science

in

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To James Sturtevant, Supervisor, Wayne County Probation Department, Lyons, N.Y.--a probation officer's probation officer;

To Mack McPike for his patience, understanding, and loving acceptance;

To my wife, Pat, who gives so much of herself and who asks for so very little in return;

And especially to my father (1917-1962) in the hope that he would approve of who I am and what I am doing;

I dedicate this report.

Douglas Wilson
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The field of probationary supervision today is marked by division and confusion. The probation officer who attempts to define the most effective and efficient approach to supervision is confronted with conflicting advice or, perhaps even worse, no advice at all. As Allen, Carlson, and Parks (1979) point out:

In summary, if we ask which caseload management strategies have been shown to be more effective or efficient, we must answer that too little research has been done in this area to come to any definitive conclusion. (p. 67)

In spite of the lack of research to provide a "definitive conclusion," the literature does suggest some very specific directions which the field of probationary supervision must take if it is to improve its effectiveness and efficiency. The purpose of this report is then, to conduct a sufficiently in-depth review of the literature to answer the question: What is the current "state of the art" in the field of adult probationary supervision and what can probation officers do to maximize their efficiency and effectiveness in meeting their duties and responsibilities to offenders, the community, and to themselves as professionals in the field of corrections?

In order to understand the status of probationary supervision today, it is necessary to understand the background from which this status evolved. This report will initially look at probationary
supervision from an historical perspective. Following this review, probationary supervision will be described as it presently exists—the main orientations to supervision will be defined, and the issues which divide these orientations will be discussed. Emerging from this discussion will be the description of several issues (myths) which have effectively hindered any consensus of opinion regarding the most appropriate approach to supervision. Once these myths have been discussed, efforts to extract from the literature information which might provide insight into effective approaches to probationary supervision become productive. The thrust of the last chapter of this report is, then, an attempt to define a philosophical orientation, and to specify goals and objectives in probationary supervision to which the officer might successfully orient his/her efforts: an attempt to answer the question, "what can probation officers do to maximize their efficiency and effectiveness in meeting their duties and responsibilities."
Casework dominated the field of probation as the preferred approach to supervision until the mid to late 1960's. Casework during this period was profoundly influenced by psychiatric theory and especially psychoanalytic theory. Florence Hollis (1964) vividly demonstrated the degree of impact of psychoanalytic theory on casework when she not only stated that "most caseworkers have found in the work of Freud and his followers a valuable frame of reference for the understanding of the individual" (p. 15), but later said "American psychiatry was slower than casework to study and accept the Freudian point of view, and to this day many psychiatrists use Freudian ideas only superficially" (p. 144).

Banks, Porter, Rardin, Siler, and Unger (1977) note that most theories maintain that long-term changes in a probationer's situation are rooted in attitudinal changes. Some theorize that attitudes must be changed first and that positive behavior will follow; others theorize the reverse. In traditional casework, the emphasis clearly was on the former. The focus of attention was distinctly on the individual and any efforts to change a person's situation were directed at changing the individual. In this context, Hollis (1964) stated:
Intrapsychic factors causing personal difficulties for adults are usually modified through work with the individual directed toward modification of the dysfunctions aspect of the personality. Casework uses for this purpose memories and current reactions and behavior that are either immediately accessible to consciousness or else suppressed, unverbalized or uncomprehended, but not repressed or so remote from consciousness that only means such as free association, hypnosis, or therapy under drugs can bring them to the surface. (pp. 24-25)

But even in casework approaches that did not stress psychoanalytic theory during this period, the primary concern remained with the individual and his/her emotional deficiencies.

The emphasis was on seeing the offender as a disturbed person for whom some degree of psychotherapy was indicated. The professional probation caseworker, therefore, came to be valued for his ability to offer such individually oriented therapy. (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report, 1967, p. 30)

Due to the emphasis placed on the individual as the locus of various dysfunctions, casework aligned itself closely with the medical model. Little weight was given to social or environmental factors. Change was directed, not at social or environmental factors, but at the individual; it was not the society that was "sick," but the person. "A caseworker who could 'diagnose the illness' could then 'treat the disease agent' and 'cure the patient'" (Miller, 1980, p. 282).

The thrust of probationary supervision using the approach of traditional casework was: 1) to study the symptoms (often found in an offender's early social history); 2) diagnose the nature of the offender's problem or "illness", and 3) to treat the diagnosed problem.
As previously mentioned, treatment was always oriented to the individual and constituted some form of counseling and/or psychotherapy. The medium of the treatment intervention was always steeped in the relationship that existed between the caseworker and the offender. The nature of the caseworker/client relationship was therefore of paramount importance. In essence, treatment was equated with psychotherapeutic intervention which, in turn, was a function of the nature of the client/worker relationship.

In summary then, a probation officer's duties and responsibilities prior to the mid to late 1960's were interpreted in light of, and were based on, the casework approach to the field of human services. As then defined, casework was rooted in the medical model and problems of social dysfunction were attributed to deficiencies within the individual offender. It was the probation officer's responsibility to assess the offender's situation, to diagnose his/her unique intrapersonal deficiencies, and to treat those deficiencies. Treatment attempted to change the individual via psychotherapeutic intervention, the medium of which was the client/caseworker relationship.

The President's Commission, 1967

Movement away from traditional casework as the preferred approach to probationary supervision can be seen as early as 1959 when the Council on Social Work Education stated as one of its conclusions:
The social work task in corrections seems to call for social workers rather than for caseworkers or group workers. All social workers in corrections work with individuals, groups and communities, with less emphasis on the use of one method than is characteristic of many social work jobs. (Studt, 1959, p. 50)

This recommended shift away from casework was based, in part, on the assumption that "since crime and delinquency are legally defined behaviors, not all officially identified offenders can be classified as mentally or emotionally ill" (Studt, 1959, p. 10). The shift to a social worker emphasis reflected, in part, an understanding that correctional personnel needed skills in:

- Identifying the social as well as psychological strains effective in the causation of offender's behavior;
- Modifying the offender's environment so that strains toward conformity are substituted for those which press toward criminal behavior. (Studt, 1959, p. 33)

Despite such indices of change, traditional casework held fast as the preferred approach to probationary supervision until 1967 when it came under direct attack by The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in its report The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. Prior to this report, the field of corrections, to use the Commission's own words, "... is the part of the criminal justice system that the public sees least of and knows least about" (p. 159).

The commission went so far as to challenge corrections' philosophical underpinnings.
All of the past phases in the evolution of corrections accounted for criminal and delinquent behavior primarily on the basis of some form of defect within the individual offender. The idea of being possessed by devils was replaced with the idea of psychological disability. Until recently, reformers have tended to ignore the evidence that crime and delinquency are symptoms of the disorganization of the community as well as of individual personalities, and that community institutions—through extending or denying their resources—have a critical influence in determining the success or failure of an individual offender. (p. 164)

The following are some of the more salient observations and corresponding recommendations made by the Commission which relate directly to issues of probationary supervision.

Observations:

The use of subprofessionals and volunteers could significantly reduce the need for fully trained officers....

Subprofessionals could provide positive benefits beyond that of meeting manpower shortages. People who have backgrounds like those of offenders often can help them in ways professional caseworkers cannot. (p. 168)

Recommendation:

Probation and parole services should make use of volunteers and subprofessional aids in demonstration projects and regular programs. (p. 168)

Observations:

Basic changes also must be made in what probation and parole officers do. They usually are trained in casework techniques and know how to counsel and supervise individuals, but they are seldom skilled in or oriented to the tasks required in mobilizing community institutions to help offenders. Much of the assistance that probationers and parolees need can come only from institutions in the community....
Probation and Parole officers today direct their energies primarily toward the offender rather than the social environment with which he must come to terms.

Although it is important that present skills in working with individual offenders be retained and improved, much is to be gained by developing new work styles that reach out to community resources and relate them to the needs of the caseload. (pp. 168-69)

Recommendation:

Probation and parole officials should develop new methods and skills to aid in reintegrating offenders through active intervention on their behalf with community institutions. (p. 169)

Observations:

Few departments have expanded their concept of programming beyond the basic relationship between the officer and an offender .... There must be more direct relationships between offenders and persons who can help them to find success in legitimate ways.

Instead of giving a single officer total responsibility for an offender, the system needs to draw many persons into the task--teachers, vocational counselors, friends, family members, and employers. The aim must be to change the context of an offender's life as well as his personal orientation to the world around him. (p. 169)

Recommendations:

Substantial service-purchase funds should be made available to probation and parole agencies for use in meeting imperative needs of individual offenders that cannot otherwise be met. (p. 170)

Caseloads for different types of offenders should vary in size and in type and intensity of treatment. Classification and assignment of offenders should be made according to their needs and problems. (p. 170)
Although the President's Commission was in many ways critical of corrections, its overall orientation to the problem of crime was positive. The mood of the report reflected the idea that the causes of crime could be attacked. With certain changes in the criminal justice system, crime could be controlled and criminals could be changed—criminals could be rehabilitated. Faith in this ideal of rehabilitation of the criminal offender permeated the Commission's report. This positive outlook from The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society was, however, to be short lived.

The Corrections Report, 1973

In the years following the President's Commission's report, probation, and the field of corrections generally, could not retreat to the safety of "being out of sight, out of mind." On the contrary, demands for accountability for what corrections was accomplishing began to mount. Rising crime rates and events such as the Attica rebellion in 1971 focused public attention on corrections.

Six years following the President's Commission's report, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973) issued its report, Corrections. In its introductory remarks in the chapter entitled Probation, the National Advisory Commission stated:

Although probation is viewed as the brightest hope for corrections, its full potential cannot be reached unless consideration is given to two major factors. The first is the development of a system for determining which offenders should receive a sentence of probation. The second is the development of a system that enables offenders to receive
the support and services they need so that ultimately
they can live independently in a socially acceptable
way.

Currently, probation has failed to realize either of
these. (p. 311)

Relative to the second point which is more directly tied to
issues of supervision, the Corrections report specified two prob-
lems which have impeded the development of a system to provide
probationers with needed resources.

For one thing, the goals of service delivery to
probationers has not been delineated clearly and
given the priority required .... Another problem
is the lack of differentiation between services
that should be provided by probation and those
that should be delivered by such agencies as
mental health, employment, housing, education,
and private welfare agencies. (p. 317)

The Corrections report specified seven recommendations necessary
to implement an effective delivery system for probation:

1) Develop a goal-oriented service delivery system.

2) Identify service needs of probationers system-
atically and periodically, and specify mea-
surable objectives based on priorities and
needs assessment.

3) Differentiate between those services that the
probation system should provide and those that
should be provided by other resources.

4) Organize the system to deliver services,
including purchase of services for proba-
tioners, and organize the staff around workloads.

5) Move probation staff from courthouses to resi-
dential areas and develop service centers for
probationers.
6) Redefine the role of probation officer from caseworker to community resource manager.

7) Provide services to misdemeanants. (p. 320)

The National Advisory Commission was rather specific in its rationale for making the above recommendations. A basic point continually stressed, was that casework is overemphasized as the preferred approach to probationary supervision. The Commission attacked casework and the medical model with its emphasis on diagnosis and treatment, and its implications of illness. "Essentially, the medical approach overlooked any connection between crime and such factors as poverty, unemployment, poor housing, poor health, and lack of education" (p. 317).

The casework model restricted itself to developing skills in "interviewing, creating therapeutic relationships with clients, counseling, providing insight, and modifying behavior" (p. 317). The outcome of such a restricted view of a probation officer's role as that of therapist was to focus the officer's energies on the offender and to ignore community and environmental factors affecting the probationer's situation. This attitude or approach manifested itself in various ways. For instance, a unique consequence of the caseworker as therapist was the practice of requiring offenders to come to the office rather than workers going into the homes and the communities.

A second major issue addressed by the National Advisory Commission was the practice of assigning probationers to one probation officer with that officer having sole responsibility for the supervision of that caseload. The caseload approach assumed that
a probation officer would possess the necessary knowledge and skills
to handle all the problems that the offenders in the caseload pre­
sented. The Commission continually emphasized, however, its point
that no one person can possess all the skills necessary to deal
with all the diverse and complicated human problems presented by
probationers.

An outgrowth of the caseload model for assigning probationers
was the blaming of probation's lack of effectiveness on caseloads
of unmanageable size. The Commission pointed out, however, that
results had been disappointing when caseloads alone had been reduced.
Effectiveness then, was not so much an issue of how many probationers
a probation officer worked with, but what it was he/she did with them.
The Commission therefore recommended that the concept of caseload
be replaced with that of workload where "specific tasks are identified,
measured for time required to accomplish the task, and translated
into numbers of staff members needed" (p. 319).

Finally, the Corrections report introduced an issue which was
to become a major theme in corrections during subsequent years;
the issue of offenders' rights. The Commission noted that "the
probationer's right to participate in decisionmaking has been
limited by probation conditions and the role assigned him by the
probation staff and system" (p. 319). Under the auspices of the
casework model, the roles of probationers and probation officers
were clearly defined. The probationer was the one with the problem
(the one who was "ill") and the probation officer was the person
in charge of diagnosing and treating the problem (curing the "illness"). The probation system viewed offenders as a homogeneous group requiring the same kind of service, namely, treatment on a one-to-one, therapy basis. The commission bluntly noted, however, that "probationers are a heterogeneous group" (p. 320). The Commission's solution to this problem was based not so much on the issue of probationers' rights, as on the more practical consideration of effectiveness of probationary services. Probation must diversify its approach to supervision if it was to become more effective.

The issues which were addressed by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973) were, by and large, the same issues addressed by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967). "While more specific in delineating strategies for implementing needed changes, the study largely adopted the premises and agreed with the findings of the earlier Crime Commission" (Nelson, Ohmart, & Harlow, 1978, p. 1). Any remnants of a positive outlook regarding corrections' ability to "correct" offenders that still lingered in the Corrections report were, however, soon to be shattered. Doubt and skepticism were in the air and the entire field of corrections, including probation, entered a period marked by defensiveness, division, and conflict: a situation from which corrections has yet to extricate itself.

Corre ctional Issues During the Decade of the '70's

At the very time when the National Advisory Commission issued
its report, crime was on the rise. In 1974, the rise in crime experienced its largest one-year increase on record (Walker, 1978). Prison populations which had been declining during the late '60's and early '70's to a low point in 1973, rose to an all time high in January 1976 (Nelson et al., 1978). At a time when public concern about rising crime rates was intensifying and demands were being made on corrections to account for what it was doing to combat crime, Martinson (1974) published his review of 231 rehabilitative programs. Martinson's conclusion: "With few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effects on recidivism" (p. 25). Perhaps no quote has been more often cited in the correctional literature of the '70's than this statement, and it is this statement that has led to the notion that nothing which the field of corrections does can do any good—"nothing works."

In addition to being charged with being ineffective and inefficient in its efforts to curb the tide of rising crime, the field of corrections was under attack from various fronts calling for major, and oftentimes mutually contradictory, changes.

Militant critics of the American way, fueled by the events of Viet Nam and Watergate, had identified correctional clients as victims of a discriminatory system .... Meanwhile, attacks from the opposing camp also escalated. Corrections was depicted as permissive, uncaring about the victims of crime, blindly advocating a rehabilitative ideal and ignoring the reality of violent predatory criminals. (Nelson et al., 1978, p. 1)
The extent and depth of confusion, cynicism, and disillusionment existing during the '70's regarding correctional practices cannot be overstated.

The severity of the disillusionment has led some to question the validity of the term corrections .... Today, the Commission's [President's Commission, 1967] optimism is regarded by those in the criminal justice system as a bad joke. The term rehabilitation has acquired a particularly bad image. (Walker, 1978, p. 8)

A desirable outcome of the confusion and conflict that marked the '70's would have obviously been a unified national perspective on the nature of crime and how to combat it: a unified correctional philosophy. Quite the contrary, however, is true. The field of corrections at the end of the 1970 decade was marked by a deep scission of philosophical perspectives. "A debate that is unparalleled in the 20th century is currently taking place on the future course of the criminal justice system in the United States" (Spiro, 1978, p. 315). To date, a great deal of this debate has been oriented toward discrediting the medical model approach and the rehabilitative ideal. But as Culbertson (1977) notes, the rejection of one philosophical approach is not the same as the formulation of another.

Without an overall theoretical framework, treatment programs in corrections have, by default, been guided by a medical model .... While the medical model is now receiving a long overdue critical analysis, its demise will not concurrently result in the development of a complete theoretical framework for the correctional process. (p. 44)
Although described in various terms, the rift in correctional philosophy can be divided roughly into two distinct groups. Shrader-Frechette (1978) describes the two dominant philosophies regarding treatment of offenders as those that subscribe to the retributive theory and those who subscribe to a humanitarian theory.

Citing extensive statistics which establish the fact that a majority of criminals come from environments of poverty, poor education, inequity, and child abuse, proponents of the humanitarian theory argue that it is unjust to give criminals punishment or retribution ....

Proponents of the humanitarian theory maintain that society must be held morally accountable for members of the "permanent underclass" created by society .... Proponents of rehabilitation argue that, given the criminal's conditioning and his unmet needs, the offender never had a real choice to behave other than as he has ....

Failure to admit the real causes of crime, and to address these, results in meaningless imprisonment of the criminal.

The retributive policy, on the other hand, also has a logical and ethical framework to recommend it. On this view, human beings are, and should be held to be, free, responsible and punishable. Proponents of this theory maintain that it is far more desirable in terms of justice, to have one's penalty related retributively to one's crime, than to have the criminal diagnosed as sick. How is it possible, they claim, to decide who is "sick" and who is not? ... Also how is it possible to tell when a socially maladjusted person is rehabilitated? Moreover, claim its proponents, is not the retributive theory correct, at least, inasmuch as it is impossible to show mercy to the criminal unless there is a consistent framework within which he can be shown justice? ... Besides, is not an attempt to control one's mind and condition one's behavior a far greater violation of one's civil liberties than a mere physical incarceration? (pp. 11-12)
Spiro (1978) defines the debate in corrections in somewhat different terms: those who are in favor of, and those who are against, the "rehabilitative ideal—that is, the belief that the rehabilitation of prisoners should be a goal of the system—which has reigned largely unchallenged for the past 75 years ..." (p. 315). Those favoring rehabilitation stress individualized treatment of offenders as the primary goal of the criminal justice system while those opposing rehabilitation emphasize punishment, deterrence, and the protection of the community.

The state of corrections at the close of the decade of the '70's is well summarized by Shrader-Frechtette (1978):

Why has crime continued to increase at such a devastating rate? Perhaps one reason is that there is not yet any clear, consistent rational policy regarding whether to pursue a correctional philosophy of rehabilitation or of retribution. Often criminologists, as well as corrections officials, operate at cross purposes because some judge criminals alone to be accountable for their acts and emphasize retribution. Others maintain that offenders need rehabilitation or therapy, since their behavior is the product of a disease or pathological condition and not the result of a free and responsible choice. Complicating the situation even further, some experts since 1975 have held a "nothing works" doctrine ....

Not only is there wide disagreement, theoretically speaking, regarding what ought to be done in corrections. There is also no consensus as to what is currently being practiced, overall, in the United States. (pp. 9-10)

Within this context of tremendous upheaval in the field of corrections, how did the area of probationary supervision fare through the decade of the '70's? The answer is, regrettably, that
probationary supervision today is as deeply divided, both in theory and in practice, as the larger field of corrections. Although manifested in different ways, the same issues which plague corrections in general, also plague those who are attempting to answer the question: "What is the best approach to probationary supervision?"

As in corrections generally, approaches to probationary supervision have evolved in two separate and distinct tracks: casework and resource brokerage. Resource brokerage stresses as the officer's primary function, the meeting of offenders' needs by referral to existing agencies; a role of manager or "broker" or community resources. The philosophical issues that divide these approaches are much the same as the issues addressed by both the President's Commission (1967) and the Corrections report (1973). The tone of both of these commissions reflected a need to shift the emphasis in supervision from casework to brokerage techniques. Instead of evolving in a conciliatory, complementary way, however, brokerage and casework have evolved over the decade of the '70's into an adversarial relationship—a relationship which can be represented as brokerage vs. casework. These two approaches are as deeply entrenched in their own perspectives today as they were ten years ago. The situation in probationary supervision today, except for intensity, remains largely the same.

The mainstream of probation and parole is not grossly different from what it was a decade ago. Too often, new and innovative efforts are essentially "side shows"—intriguing, exciting, but devoid of major impact upon the overall operation. (Nelson et al., 1978, p. 2)
CHAPTER III
STRATEGIES OF PROBATIONARY SUPERVISION TODAY

Resource Brokerage

In contrasting resource brokerage to casework, Carlson (1980) states:

Almost diametrically opposed to the caseload approach is the brokerage approach. Under this approach, the probation officer is not concerned primarily with understanding or changing the behavior of the probationer, but rather with assessing the concrete needs of the individual and arranging for the probationer to receive services which directly address those needs. Since the probation officer is not seen as the primary agent of treatment or change, there is significantly less emphasis placed on the development of a close, one-to-one relationship between the probation officer and the probationer. The probation officer functions primarily as a manager or broker of resources and social services which are already available from other agencies. It is the task of the probation officer to assess the service needs of the probationer, locate the social service agency which addresses those needs as its primary function, refer the probationer to the appropriate agency, and follow up referrals to make sure that the probationer actually received the services. Under the brokerage approach, it can be said that the probation officer's relationship with the community service agencies is more important than his or her relationship with an individual probationer. The brokerage approach does share with the casework approach the importance of the probationer's participation in developing his or her own probation plan in a one-to-one relationship. (pp. 15-16)

Carlson concludes his contrast of brokerage to casework by emphasizing that, with the brokerage approach: 1) little emphasis is placed on the quality of the probation officer/probationer relationship,
2) counseling and guidance are not appropriate activities of a probation officer, and 3) no attempt is made to change the behavior of the probationer.

Brokerage is also preferable to casework, maintains Carlson, because it is more amenable to team supervision where two or more officers supervise a pooled workload. Team supervision, in turn, has distinct advantages over single officer supervision:

1) Teams offer greater potential for drawing on multiple disciplines rather than social work only.

2) The team approach offers the client a broader range of expertise and skills and therefore the widest array of problem solving talents because officers are able to specialize.

3) Teams can better handle large caseloads because:
   a) members can cover for one another, b) the probationer has a better chance of finding a probation officer he/she can relate to, c) members of a team can specialize either by function or by expertise and interests, and d) accountability for supervision is on the team as a whole.

4) The team approach offers greater opportunities to use volunteers and paraprofessionals.

Perhaps the most complete and concise description of brokerage—the principles and assumptions upon which it is based, its goals, and its tasks—is supplied by Varnon (1980).
The principles upon which resource brokerage is based are:

All probationers will be released from supervision at some point in time in our communities and citizens should expect that offenders have been prepared for the responsibility of community life.

Each individual is accountable for his or her own behavior; responsible behavior is required for freedom.

Probationers generally need the opportunity to learn new workable strategies of handling their life roles (work, family, leisure) while under supervision.

Programs don't change people; but programs can provide appropriate "opportunities" for individuals to change themselves and their life situations. (p. 53)

The goals of resource brokerage are:

Operate a highly structured community resource program that provides community treatment services to selected probationers who are under supervision in our communities.

Increase the "opportunities" for probationers to change themselves and those conditions that brought them into the criminal justice system (such as problems of immaturity, alcohol, employment, leisure time).

Develop a social climate and program that facilitates personal change, encourages individual responsibility, and increases social problem-solving skills.

Encourage and guide probationers toward development of positive interpersonal relationships with family members and others as appropriate.

Operate a probation program in such a manner that the community feels comfortable with the probationer's presence.

Release probationers from supervision with appropriate employment, cash savings, and suitable housing.
Implement a probation program that provides economic and social advantages to the community (for example, employed probationers, family support, restitution, taxes).

Decrease the need and probability of continued crime after release from supervision by providing "opportunities" to probationers to prepare themselves for the responsibilities of freedom. (p. 54)

Brokerage's assumptions about motivation and control of human behavior are:

Probation is in need of improved delivery system models.

Most offenders are not pathologically ill; therefore, the counselor/therapist role is usually inappropriate.

Most probation officers are not equipped by education and experience to provide professional counseling even if it is needed.

Existing probation manpower is not likely to be expanded.

Services needed by the offender to "make it" in society are available in the community, or they must be created in the community.

Probation officers must assume advocacy roles in negotiating appropriate community-based services for offenders to assure needed services are available.

Utilization of community resources will enable the client to independently arrange to meet his or her needs rather than to rely on corrections' services. (pp. 54-55)

The tasks in brokerage are:

Identify the client's needs--Does the client need assistance from one or more agencies?
Make appropriate referrals--Do the appropriate agencies exist to meet the client's needs?

Provide short-term assistance where referral is not indicated or immediately possible--Is there a long waiting list?

Serve as advocates to assure cooperation and delivery of appropriate services--Is the client receiving services that will meet his or her needs?

Monitor the client's activities--Is the client aware of and utilizing available services? (p. 55)

A crucial component of the brokerage model is the need to involve the probationer in the process of supervision. As Varnon (1980) explains:

The client must be involved in problem identification and problem-solving activities of assessing needs in order to increase the possibility of making an appropriate assessment and proper utilization of community resources. (p. 57)

Varnon suggests that a contract between the probation officer and the probationer is the best means to involve the probationer. This contract should state goals and objectives that are observable, measurable, realistic, and bound by specified time constraints. Contracts should also be subject to renegotiation.

Included in the Appendix is a sample of a probation officer/probationer contract and a sample of a "case summary" form used in the brokerage model (Varnon, 1980).

Before closing this discussion of brokerage, a unique adaptation of the brokerage principle should be mentioned as it represents one of the few attempts to apply the model of brokerage on a large scale. In 1975, the first Community Resource Management Team (CRMT)
was established and by 1977 twelve such programs existed in the United States (Carlson, 1980). The emphasis of the CRMT approach is to manage community resources rather than clients. Carlson identifies the characteristics of CRMT as: 1) offenders' tangible normative needs are assessed rather than psychological needs, 2) caseloads are assigned based on tangible normative needs rather than indiscriminate assignment to one probation officer, 3) the role of the probation officer must be broker/advocate rather than counselor/caseworker, and 4) teams offer differential skills collectively rather than isolated individuals operating alone. Varnon (1980) describes CRMT as the synthesis of four elements: needs assessment, resource brokerage, pooled caseloads, and team management. To date, the effectiveness of CRMT programs has not been evaluated (Carlson, 1980).

Casework in Probation

The term "casework" has, in the field of corrections, been inextricably tied to terms such as "the medical model," "rehabilitation," "diagnosis" and "treatment," and "helping relationship." Because of the negative connotations which these terms acquired during the '70's, few in the field will openly acknowledge that "casework" is their preferred approach to probationary supervision. Indeed, some authors of the resources which will soon be cited go out of their way to point out that the approaches they advocate are not casework. It will become apparent, however, that the approaches described are indeed casework. Furthermore, they are
a unique form of casework; they are, in essence, the traditional casework approach described in the beginning of Chapter II. This section is intentionally entitled *Casework in Probation* to differentiate the casework approach as it presently exists in probation from casework as it has evolved in other disciplines. This second type of casework will be elaborated upon later in the text of this report.


Three methods of treatment are used extensively in probation/parole practice, although not necessarily in the same proportion:

1) social casework
2) reality therapy
3) behavior modification

In order to better understand these methods, it is necessary to review a method of treatment that is not used extensively, if at all, in probation/parole. The above methods of treatment can be delineated according to the degree to which they accept, use, or reject psychoanalytic theory and methods. (p. 234)

Abadinsky then takes six pages, almost one-fifth of the chapter's length, to describe psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic theory!

In describing the social casework approach to treatment, Abadinsky outlines three operations that are basic to social casework methodology--study, diagnosis, and treatment. The initial phase of the study period is devoted to establishing a warm relationship with the client with the worker conveying acceptance and understanding. The worker engages the client in the helping process which initially may be marked by resistance on the client's part.
There are ways of lessening resistance. The worker can discuss the clients feeling about being on p/p [p/p refers to probation/parole] allowing him to ventilate some of his feelings and anxiety .... The client's motivation can also be influenced by transference. He may view the worker as a friendly parent, or authoritative and demanding mother or father. The worker can be influenced by countertransference since he may view the client as a child-like figure or when there is a great age difference between the worker and client, the former may view the latter as a father or older brother. (pp. 242-243)

Once the problems of establishing a relationship, overcoming resistance, and resolving issues of transference and countertransference have been worked through, the worker prepares a psychosocial study.

The p/p worker seeks information that will provide an indication of the client's view of his present situation. He concerns himself with his client's plan for improving his situation and weighs the sincerity and intensity of the latter's commitment to change. He reviews the client's relationship with his family and evaluates the impact of his current situation. (p. 243)

Once the psychosocial study is completed, the worker makes the diagnosis. The diagnosis specifies the nature of the client's difficulty as well as a realistic assessment for individualized treatment.

The diagnosis focuses particular attention on ego-functioning .... Ego adequacy will have a direct impact on the client's efforts to deal with his difficulties ....

In order for diagnosis to be complete, psychological testing and/or a psychiatric evaluation is necessary. (p. 244)

After study and diagnosis have occurred, the worker enters into treatment of the client. Abadinsky relates three techniques which are basic to casework treatment:
Changing the Environment. This may involve obtaining needed resources if these are not available from the agency, or locating other agencies that can provide them. In using this technique the worker may assume mediator or advocate role when the client is unable to secure a service which he needs and to which he is entitled.

Ego Support. The use of this technique entails attempts by the worker to sustain his client through expressions of interest, sympathy and confidence. The worker, through the use of his relationship with his client, promotes or discourages behavior according to whether or not the behavior is consistent with the goals of treatment. He encourages the client to ventilate, and he deals with any anxiety that may inhibit functioning ....

When the relationship is a good one, the client cannot help but view his worker as a friend.

Clarification ....

The client is encouraged to explain what is bothering him. If the problem is external, this may be relatively easy. However, if the difficulty is internally caused, it may go deep and provoke anxiety. This will cause resistance and the worker will require great skills to secure enough information about the problem to be able to be of assistance. In response to the information, the worker may provide a direct interpretation to the client; more often he will ask questions and make suggestions designed to help the client think out his problem more clearly and to deal with it in a realistic manner. (pp. 244-248)

It should be noted that although this last treatment technique is called "clarification," it is, in fact, psychotherapy which is being described.

The last sections of Abadinsky's chapter are devoted to reality therapy, behavior modification and social group work. Although these topics will not be discussed in depth here, it should be noted that the focus of attention of each is still on the individual offender.
Each, in its own way, is an intervention modality aimed primarily at changing the individual.

Introduction to Probation and Parole by Alexander B. Smith and Louis Berlin (1979) provides a second interesting look at the casework approach to supervision. Although the authors specifically contend that probation officers engage in counseling as opposed to casework or psychotherapy (p. 6), and although they make references to advocacy and brokerage in probation (pp. 7-8); their orientation to supervision is clearly directed toward the individual, stresses the importance of the client/officer relationship, and emphasizes as the goal of treatment the changing of the individual and/or behavior through means that can only be interpreted as psychotherapeutic intervention. Call it what they will, the authors' approach to probationary supervision certainly appears to be traditional casework by any reasonable definition of the term.

In their chapter entitled What Do Probation and Parole Officers Do?, the authors almost immediately introduce the three components of the "medical model" namely; study, diagnosis, and treatment.

The advantage is all on the side of the officer since available to him is a study of the client, his involvement in the crime for which he was convicted, his family background, social milieu, education, employment, previous legal history, and in the case of the parolee, his adjustment in the correctional institution. From this material each officer can form a tentative diagnosis or hypothesis as to the factors in the client's life which played an important role in his maladaptive behavior. From this, the officer sets up a tentative plan of treatment including long term and short term goals. If the officer takes more time to delve in depth into the
client's life, he will note the positive assets in the probationer's and parolee's personality and environment which he (the officer) will utilize in meeting his client's needs. Conversely, the officer will sketch a tentative plan to mitigate or counteract the negatives in the client's personality and environment.

All this can be done before the probationer and parolee make their initial physical appearance in their status as probationer and parolee. (p. 114)

During the initial interview, the officer is more able to adequately assess the probationer and the probationer's situation, and the officer may modify both the impression of the client and of the immediate and long-term goals. The initial interview serves other purposes including definition of roles, setting limits, and obtaining current information regarding the probationer's situation. "In all the above activities and interactions a basic process in treatment is taking place, namely, a relationship between the officer and supervisee is being formed" (p. 116). The relationship is further established when a concrete problem is presented which usually occurs during the first interview.

Discussion of the problem presented, encouraging active participation of the client in its solution, counseling as to options and alternative solutions—all these activities not only strengthen the positive relationship between officer and client, but serve to point the direction in which future contacts and interviews will go. (p. 116)

To overcome any inhibiting effects to the building of a relationship caused by the officer's dual role, the authors recommend a direct and frank approach to the topic. "The officer, in discussing his role, should frankly inform his client that he combines the role of therapist with that of peace officer" (p. 116).
Although the goals of supervision have not been previously discussed in the chapter, the authors introduce the topic of treatment modalities with a statement of goals.

How does the parole and probation officer affect the goals of ventilation, self-understanding, preparation for a concrete goal, such as removal from a deleterious environment, or initiating a vocational or educational program, embarking on a program of psychotherapy or effecting an intra-familial reconciliation or separation? (p. 117)

The authors go on to explain that there are many intervention techniques for treatment. They describe five such treatment methods which are used in probation and parole.

The first technique described is rooted in Freudian theory. After a very brief discussion of Freudian concepts, the authors state:

Merely recording these concepts gives the reader some idea of how pervasive Freudian psychology was in the field of probation and parole. However, no responsible officer should have attempted to probe the unconscious or embark on a program of depth analysis with any of his clients since he was usually not sufficiently skillful in the relevant techniques and since very few, if any, clients would consent to such treatment.

However, Freudian concepts are useful in understanding a client's unspoken conflicts and feelings and then using such understanding to impart some measure of insight to the client and/or direct him where he can meet the urgent need articulated. (p. 118)

A second approach described by Smith and Berlin is the Rogerian non-directive approach which assumes that the client possesses the resources to solve his/her own problem.
All that is needed is a warm, non-judgmental sympathetic atmosphere generated by a therapist who will reflect back the feelings expressed by the client, but who will not suggest to him what to speak about or what feelings to express. (p. 119)

Through an active listening process, clients will gain insight and strength to work through their own problems.

The authors briefly introduce two additional therapeutic modalities which are based on a one-to-one relationship. These are Elbert Ellis' rational emotive therapy and William Glasser's reality therapy. Although examples of the application of these theoretical approaches are given, descriptions of the theories themselves are too superficial to warrant description here.

Finally the authors describe techniques for group therapy.

With the group assembled and meeting 90 minutes weekly, the officer has a choice of several modalities he can employ in guiding group interaction. The one-to-one modalities mentioned previously can be used with groups. In the psychoanalytically oriented technique, the therapist is regarded as the parent figure; the members are siblings; the interactions are then interpreted in Freudian terms using concepts of sibling rivalry, resistance, transference, counter-transference, oedipal conflict, castration, etc. However, the experience and skill needed to interpret member productions along these lines is highly specialized and beyond the competence of the probation/parole officer. Nevertheless, Freudian concepts are utilized with discretion and judgment whenever appropriate. The Rogerian non-directive therapist reflects back the feelings and thoughts of group members ....

The reality therapist's technique in a group encourages members to assume responsibility for their behavior and to pledge a commitment to change. The group acts as an emotional support and reinforcer of such commitment. The rational-emotive therapist practices "attack therapy"
confronting the members with the illogical assumptions implicit in their unhealthy attitudes. In this group therapy modality the members are also sources of encouragement and support. (p. 123)

Regardless of what the authors wish to call the intervention modalities which they describe, there is simply no disputing the fact that psychoanalytically oriented therapy, Rogerian non-directive therapy, reality-oriented therapy, rational emotive therapy, and group therapy are high on the list of incredibly powerful psychotherapeutic intervention techniques currently being employed by psychologists and psychiatrists alike. They were developed for, and are used for, the restructuring of individuals' personalities and/or behavioral patterns.

Following their discussion of therapeutic intervention techniques, and prior to their closing remarks describing work-release programs, the authors devote one paragraph to the topic of community referral and the use of community resources.

An additional aspect of casework in probation today is the propensity of probation officers to view their roles as that of the "helper." This is indicated in the introductory remarks of An Introduction to the Federal Probation System (Federal Judicial Center, 1976):

Your position as a probation officer is unique. Fundamentally, your job is to help people--people with deep hurts, people in need of understanding, people in need of guidance, people who need to know that someone cares. (p. 1)

Finally, Carlson (1980) describes casework:
Modern definitions of casework focus on the caseworker's role of discovering potential in his or her client and assisting the client to exploit his or her own capabilities. The medium upon which this role is played out is the relationship between the client and the caseworker. Thus, the attempt to change the behavior of the client through the development of a supportive one-to-one relationship and a mutual plan between the caseworker and the client is emphasized. Because of this close relationship, the casework approach views the caseworker as the sole, or at least the primary, agent of treatment for the client. (p. 15)

Brokerage vs. Casework: Who is Right?

How does the individual probation officer ascertain which is the best approach to probationary supervision? Should the probation officer follow the casework model and emphasize rehabilitation or should he/she follow the brokerage model and emphasize reintegration? Surely it is not unreasonable for the individual officer to expect that, even if there is no conclusive answer to this question, the literature should at least suggest a preference for one approach over the other.

The field of probation has had both the time and the money to address the issue of which approach to supervision is the most appropriate. For example, in the last ten years the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) alone has invested $250 million in programs for the development of probation services (Allen et al., 1979).

An initial perusal of the literature suggests that either approach can be equally supported, that there simply is no preferred approach. In addition to the sources already cited in this report, including the President's Commission's report (1967) and the Corrections report (1973), one can easily make a case supporting brokerage and/or
reintegration as the preferred approach to probationary supervision (cf. Dahl, Banks, Carlson, Debro, Kirkpatrick & Varnon, 1980; Dell'apa, Adams, Jorgensen, & Sigurdson, 1976; Killinger, Kerper, & Cromwell, 1976; and Duffee, Hussey, & Kramer, 1978). Opposing forces favoring casework and/or rehabilitation are not lacking supporters, however, and in addition to the sources previously cited which support the casework approach, others can readily be added.

In their article entitled Is Rehabilitation Dead?, Halleck and Witte (1977) answer their own question with a definite "NO."

Spiro (1978) echoes a similar opinion recommendation that corrections not be too hasty in abandoning rehabilitation. Nelson et al. (1978) state: "Concerning some broad and fairly pervasive trends in probation and parole, we can speak with some confidence" (p. 2). The very first of nine such trends described by the authors is:

The rehabilitative ethic is still alive and, if not well, at least active and visible in probation and parole. Particularly with respect to experimental programs and to pre-insitutional as opposed to post-institutional operations, there is a strong predilection to be helpful and supportive of the offender population. (p. 2)

Finally, the probation officer may refer to the study conducted by The Ohio State University based on a grant awarded by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. This eight-volume study constitutes, without doubt, the most comprehensive look at the state of the art in probation to date. In Vol. 1, Critical Issues in Adult Probation: Summary, Allen et al. (1979) state:
In summary, if we ask which probation officer role is most appropriate, we must answer that research has not yet been done in this area. (p. 59-60)

Virtually no research comparing the effectiveness or efficiency of single officer and team caseloads was located. (p. 65)

As with the single officer and team models, we found a wealth of descriptive material covering the assumptions, rationales, and operations of both casework and brokerage, however, no research comparing the effectiveness, efficiency, or cost of these approaches was available. (p. 65)

Since no research studies were available which attempted to evaluate the efficiency or effectiveness of the functional specialization technique, our knowledge of this area remains subjective. (p. 66)

In summary, if we ask which caseload management strategies have been shown to be more effective or efficient, we must answer that too little research has been done in this area to come to any definite conclusions. (p. 67)

Perhaps surprisingly, all this does not imply that the probation officer must choose an approach to supervision based only on personal judgment. Even if there is no "definite conclusion," there exists a wealth of information to provide direction to the probation officer's choice. Although this information comes from divergent sources and is in many ways piecemeal, it does nevertheless exist. Before this information is presented, however, it is necessary that certain myths be dissipated. These myths have effectively hindered, or perhaps even prevented, the development of a unified approach to probationary supervision.
CHAPTER IV
THE DISSIPATION OF MYTHS

Myth 1: "Nothing Works" and Other Related Myths

Robert Martinson may one day be dubiously distinguished as the father of the greatest American correctional myth, "nothing works." This, the most heralded of all correctional myths, found its origin in Martinson's 1974 publication What Works? Questions and Answers about Prison Reform. It should be noted at the onset that: 1) Although published in 1974, Martinson's conclusions were based on studies conducted between 1945 and 1967. 2) Martinson did not say "nothing works"; what he did say was, "with few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism" (p. 25). 3) Martinson made certain concessions regarding his rather damning conclusion, namely; "it is just possible that some of our treatment programs are working to some extent, but that our research is so bad that it is incapable of telling" (p. 49), and "this is not to say that we found no instances of success or partial success; it is only to say that these instances have been isolated, producing no clear pattern to indicate the efficacy of any particular method of treatment" (p. 49). It is, no doubt, appropriate that Martinson is the first to dispel his own myth.

Any conclusion that "nothing works" based on research subsequent to 1967 must also be relegated to the status of myth. The research
in probation has been of such poor quality that any all encompassing observation such as "nothing works" must be discounted as subjective speculation.

Research in criminal justice, compared with research in other fields, has a short and undistinguished history .... Few decent theories have been generated, but even more surprising is the fact that few of the existing theories have been empirically tested. ... Many of the research methods used in the area are laughably unsophisticated when compared to methodologies in other areas of social science. (Duffee et al., 1978, p. 457)

The most important observation that can be made is that measurement practice in adult probation remains in a rather primitive state, in spite of considerable activity in the past several years. Process measures are widely used, but have little demonstrated validity. Outcome measures are less frequently employed, partially because the recidivism-based ones have serious implementation problems. Cost and cost/benefit measures are simply not considered in most evaluation designs. Any development of a systematic knowledge from results of individual probation studies must await methodological and implementation improvements that permit more meaningful measurements. (Banks & Rardin, 1978, pp. 138-139)

Correctional research in the past has moved in a zig-zag and sometimes circular progression rather than a reasonably coherent line of development. (Nelson et al., 1978, p. 4)

With few notable exceptions, the state of research relating to probation is quite poor. For a whole host of reasons, very little probation research has been attempted, while that which exists is often of dubious quality. Recently, even the "best" of probation research has been called into question. (Allen et al., 1979, p. 225)

In light of the current state of probationary research, any global conclusion such as "nothing works" or anyone, for that matter, promoting
a one approach/one answer position, should be regarded with extreme caution. Nelson's admonishment should be heeded by all professionals in the field of corrections. Although he specifically refers to "skepticism about rehabilitation," his warning would be equally relevant if the words "treatment" or "casework" were substituted for "rehabilitation."

While the importance of existing evaluative data cannot be denied, caution is advisable in drawing conclusions from them. Any effort to piece together the results of different studies conducted in different times and places will confront enormous difficulties .... In the 1960s we may have been too quick to accept uncritically the apparent success of community correction programs. Now, with the swing of the pendulum and the shift in the national mood to one of skepticism about rehabilitation, we stand in danger of reaching opposite but equally simplistic answers to the same complex questions. (Nelson et al., 1978, p. 4)

Myth 2: Myths About Resource Brokerage

There are several interrelated myths concerning brokerage. The first is the implication that the brokerage approach is in any way new or radical (cf. Dell'apa et al., 1976; Carlson, 1980; Varnon, 1980). There simply is nothing in brokerage that has not been stated before. The concept of reintegration—the "purpose of resource brokerage" (Varnon, 1980, p. 53)—was first introduced by the President's Commission (1967). The assumption that "most offenders are not pathologically ill; therefore, the medical (casework) model is inappropriate" (Dell'apa et al., 1976, p. 38) was stated by Stundt in 1959. Using community resources, a primary objective of those advocating brokerage, was strongly promoted by, among others, both the President's Commission (1967) and the Corrections report (1973).
Resource brokerage has grown and evolved out of a long developmental history drawing from a broad spectrum of contributing factors.

The second mythical contention of brokerage is that it is "almost diametrically opposed" to the casework approach (Carlson, 1980). Despite opening his definition of brokerage with this strong statement of opposition, Carlson ends his definition with: "The brokerage approach does share with the casework approach the importance of the probationer's participation in developing his or her own probation plan in a one-to-one relationship" (pp. 15-16).

But even to the extent that those supporting brokerage may maintain that they are "opposed" to casework, they can only validly make such a point when contrasting brokerage to casework as it exists in probation. Later in the text of this report, examples of casework in related disciplines will be described. It will become apparent from such descriptions that casework is, in many regards, indistinguishable from brokerage.

Finally, in their eagerness to divorce themselves from casework (and casework's emphasis on the medical model and the helping relationship), brokerage advocates have downplayed any significance of the probation officer/probationer relationship. In many instances, advocates of brokerage simply do not address the issue. But how do they intend to meet their stated goals such as to "develop a social climate and program that facilitates personal change, encourages individual responsibility, and increases social problem solving skills," and to "encourage and guide probationers toward development of
positive interpersonal relationships with family members and others as appropriate" (Varnon, 1980, p. 54)? And how do they intend to involve probationers in the process of probation through such means as negotiating a contract? The answer, of course, is that some form of positive, supportive, encouraging relationship between probation officers and probationers must exist if brokerage advocates hope to accomplish their goals. To maintain otherwise is to perpetuate a myth.

Myth 3: Caseworkers in Probation Can Therapists Be

A preponderence of the evidence in correctional literature argues against probation officers being therapists. These arguments generally direct their attention to topics of "casework," "the helping relationship," "rehabilitation," the "medical model," or even "treatment." The issue that is really being addressed, however, is generally the role of the probation officer as the primary change agent in the life of the offender. This approach traces the etiology of social dysfunction to the individual offender and attempts to ameliorate the dysfunction by changing either the offender's personality and/or behavior—an approach that is, by whatever other label it may be tagged, psychotherapy.

No attempt will be made here to enter this largely philosophical debate. These philosophical positions have already been, to a large extent, presented in previous sections of this report. Instead, a case will be made on a more concrete level: regardless of the degree to which psychotherapy is appropriate for some or even all offenders,
probation officers are not qualified by reasons of training, time constraints, and inherent role conflicts, to practice psychotherapy or intensive intrapersonal counseling.

Dietrich (1979) tells us that

... the supervisory role of the probation officer has expanded to include functions of psychotherapist, marriage counselor, family therapist, habilitator, and guide for the probationer's discovery of "moral action." (p. 15)

Dietrich presents a convincing argument against such functional roles. He bases his argument on three points: probation officers are not professionally qualified to serve as change agents or therapists; the training which probation officers do receive results in harmful consequences to probationers because the advice is simplistic and short term; and inherent conflicts in the probation officer's job inhibit development of a truly therapeutic relationship. Added to Dietrich's three points is the issue of time constraints which preclude therapeutic intervention as a viable function for probation officers. These four issues will be discussed separately.

Professional Qualifications and Training

The National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (1978) describes the minimum and preferred educational standards for probation officers:

The preferred standard is the completion of two years of graduate study in an accredited school of social work or comparable study in criminology, sociology, or a related field. The minimum standard consists of graduation from an accredited college or university with a major in the social or behavioral
sciences and either one year of graduate study in social work or a related field such as counseling or guidance, or one full year of full-time paid social work experience under professional supervision and direction in a recognized welfare agency. (p. 69)

While these educational standards sound impressive, the fact of the matter is that they generally are not met. In 1974, the average educational attainment of probation and parole officers was slightly more than 16 years--somewhat more than a bachelor's degree (NILECJ, 1978). In addition, because of a shortage in qualified manpower, many probation offices settle for persons with any college degree, regardless of its relevance to the field (Duffee et al., 1978). Despite the preference by most states for a minimum entry level for probation officers of a bachelor's degree, only about 15 states require a bachelor's degree and only two states require a master's degree (Allen et al., 1979).

Given the fact that the average level of education for probation officers is a bachelor's degree, and even granting the improbable likelihood that most of these degrees are in preferred disciplines, it can be stated that probation officers are not qualified, by reasons of education and training, to practice either intensive counseling or psychotherapy. Evidence for this statement is easily provided by looking at licensure or certification requirements for professional psychologists. In its pamphlet entitled Entry Requirements for Professional Practice of Psychology, the American Association of State Psychology Boards state that 49 of the 50 states, as well as the District of Columbia, now regulate the practice of professional
psychology by law. The American Association provides the rationale for legal licensure or certification:

The legal basis for licensure lies in the right of the state to enact legislation to protect its citizens. Caveat emptor or "buyer beware," is felt to be an unsound maxim when the "buyer" of services cannot be sufficiently well informed to beware, and hence states have established regulatory Boards to license qualified practitioners. (p. 2)

Cited as typical requirements for licensure are:

... achievement of a doctoral degree in psychology from an approved program or the equivalent as deemed by the board; ... one or two years supervised experience in a setting approved by the state board; and ... demonstration of relevant knowledge through passing an objective written examination. (p. 3)

In light of these educational and training standards, it may be true then, that "in a sense, this group [probation and parole officers] along with other social agency workers become, by employment alone, the only unlicensed paid therapists in the country" (Stratton, 1973, p. 14).

In his concluding remarks regarding education and training of probation officers, Dietrich (1979) states:

Each professional person must be constantly cognizant of limitations of competency. The "anybody can do anything" philosophy cheapens the complexities of clinical work, demeans the attainment of clinical maturity of judgement, and potentially hurts the probationer under the guise of rehabilitation. (p. 16)

Short-term, Simplistic Advice and Potentially Harmful Consequences

Dietrich warns of the potentially harmful consequences of employing
psychotherapeutic principles without a thorough understanding of those principles. His warning echoes the old saying that a little knowledge can be a dangerous thing.

A frequent recommendation to the officer is for him to render cognitive advice to the probationer who will then change his behavior or attitudes in an effort to comply with probationary requirements. The proposed advice in the literature is usually humanistically oriented and presented in tones of warmth and concern for the probationer's welfare. The problem with the majority of humanistic directives found in the criminological literature is that they are simplistic, cognitive, overgeneralized and lacking in depth of understanding of the dynamics and complexities of personality organization and change. (p. 16)

An example of such simplistic advice was earlier cited where Smith and Berlin (1979) recommended that probation officers employ the techniques of psychoanalytically oriented therapy, Rogerian therapy, reality oriented therapy, rational emotive therapy, and group therapy. These are powerful tools of the psychotherapist demanding a great deal of training and experience. Although they have the potential to accomplish a great deal of good, they likewise have the potency to inflict a great deal of harm. To employ these tools without adequate training is, in all likelihood, an illegal and unconscionable act.

Conflict Inherent in the Probation Officer's Role

Nearly every definition of a therapeutic relationship is steeped in the basic assumption that complete trust and confidentiality must exist between the therapist and the client. But how
can probation officers ensure trust and confidentiality when they are bound by statute and/or administrative policy to reveal illegal activities of, and to log contacts with, probationers thereby exposing such information to at least other probation officers and the courts? The answer is plain—it cannot be done. Dietrich (1979) and Fisher (1978) both point out the irreconcilable nature of this inherent conflict in the probation officer's role.

**Time Constraints**

Even if therapy were appropriate for all offenders, probation officers were qualified therapists, and no role conflict existed in the probation officer's job, it would still not be feasible for a probation officer to assume the role of therapist due to time constraints.

Probation and parole activities have experienced more rapid growth in employment and workloads than any of the major correctional activities. The number of officers in state and local agencies more than doubled from 1967 (16,877) to 1976 (35,072). This rapid growth is not likely to abate in the near future. Employment in probation and parole is expected to increase from 23% of correctional employment in 1974 to 30% in 1985 (National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1978). This increase will be more than offset by ever increasing workloads, however. On September 1, 1976, the average caseload of probation and parole officers was 48 clients/officer. But this average represented a broad range; for instance, the largest average caseload of 107 existed in agencies that handled
adult probationers only (National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, 1978).

Granting the unlikely occurrence that the adult probation officer only has 45 clients, the next relevant question is how much time does he have to devote to those clients? From their analysis of time studies regarding probation officers, Allen et al. (1979) conclude that a probation officer devotes approximately 1/2 of his/her time to presentence investigations, from 2/5 to 1/2 to supervision, and the remainder to other responsibilities.

Again granting the unlikely occurrence that the average officer devotes half of the time to supervision, that officer has 20 hrs/week to supervise 45 probationers. Making the very conservative estimate that 5 hours of this time is devoted to supervision tasks such as home visits, employer contacts, etc., we have, under the most ideal circumstances, a total of 15 hours a week which the officer may devote to therapy for 45 probationers—20 minutes per individual per week—hardly enough time to engage in intensive counseling or psychotherapy.

It is vitally important to the development of quality supervision practices that probation officers divorce themselves from the myth that they can and/or should be therapists.

To encourage the officers to assume all these tasks [therapy, counseling, etc.] is unrealistic; it demeans the very skills the officers have to offer since the overassumption of responsibilities dilutes the officer's well based professional contributions, and it introduces the very serious legal question of practicing therapeutic interventions without legal license. (Dietrich, 1979, p. 18)
Myth 4: Treatment = Rehabilitation = Medical Model = Casework = Helping Relationship = Therapy = Treatment

Perhaps no single factor in the past decade of correctional development has done more to create confusion, bitterness, controversy, and debate than the perpetuation of the myth that treatment, rehabilitation, the medical model, casework, the helping relationship, and therapy are synonymous. Throughout the correctional literature these terms are often equated and used interchangeably. Nowhere are these terms clearly and explicitly defined. Indeed, as one reviews the literature, it becomes apparent that these terms are implicitly defined and accepted as meaning the same thing. Perhaps due to its insidious nature, this problem seems to have largely escaped the attention of those in corrections. It is a myth that evolved in the late '60's when casework as then defined was, indeed, rooted in the medical model; when casework did orient itself to psychotherapy; when the prevailing mode of rehabilitation was indeed casework; and when rehabilitation was, in fact, the dominant thrust of treatment. Although these terms have evolved in definition and meaning, the myth continues.

To a large extent, this myth underlies all the myths previously cited. It undermines any efforts to arrive at a consensus about how to attack crime generally, or how to approach probationary supervision specifically. If professionals in the field of corrections are ever to understand and relate to one another, they must first make clear what it is that they are talking about; they must define their terms. Wilks and Martinson (1976) for instance, confuse the
reader when, in their article *Is the Treatment of Criminal Offenders Really Necessary?*, they contrast "treatment" efforts to those efforts oriented to retribution and incarceration. But aren't efforts to combat crime via retribution and punishment also "treatment" methods? If so, what then do the authors mean by "treatment"? In his article *Justice, Not Therapy: A New Mission for Corrections* (1979), Fogel equates, without explanation, therapy to rehabilitation and then contrasts the rehabilitation model to the justice model. On the fifth page of his article, Fogel places the banner across the top of the page reading "the dubious benefits of the treatment model" (p. 377). Weren't we talking about the rehabilitative model--or was it the therapy model? Similar examples of such confusing usages of language seem to infiltrate and infect the entire field of correctional literature. As Gendreau and Ross (1979) insightfully observe:

The arguments are persuasive, the language used often brilliant, the metaphors appealing, and the objectivity sadly lacking. The antagonists--who represent a mixture of different disciplines (e.g., sociology, economics, political science, psychology) and professionals (e.g., academicians, administrators, clinicians) seem to be more intent on winning arguments than on seeking truth. They have been described by one observer as "strangers trying to communicate in different languages by raising their voices." (pp. 464-465)

With these myths refuted and with an understanding of the historical perspective and current status of probationary supervision behind us, it is time to turn to matters of a more constructive nature. What does the literature tell us about methods of probationary supervision that are more effective and efficient? What can the
individual officer do to improve his/her supervisory skills? What
does the future of probationary supervision look like?
Corrections' inability to define the most appropriate approach to probationary supervision is principally due to its reliance on "hard" research (which in many instances simply does not exist), to ignorance and exclusion of parallel knowledge and developments in related fields, to the perpetuation of the myths previously discussed, and to the maintenance of an adversarial stance by factions in the field where finding fault with another's views sometimes seems to take precedence over constructive criticism and comment. The thrust of the remaining sections of this report is oriented toward looking beyond the "hard" research evidence to carefully peruse, in a critical but unbiased manner, the literature from corrections as well as from related fields. Although occasionally fragmentary and disjointed, positive and constructive contributions exist in this literature which can provide valuable insight and direction in developing efficacious approaches to probationary supervision. Efforts will first be made to address issues of a broad, philosophical nature—issues which will place probationary supervision in context to a larger perspective.
Perhaps the most obvious issue repeatedly found in the literature is the contention that there is no one answer to the problems facing corrections and probationary supervision—be it brokerage vs. casework, retribution vs. rehabilitation, or social responsibility vs. individual responsibility. Indeed, it seems that for years corrections has been asking the wrong question. Instead of "what works?", corrections might better have asked "what works, when, with whom, and under what conditions?". The literature frequently reflects this view:

The fact is there is virtually no program, technique, or other effort to which we in corrections can point as a demonstrably sound, universal model for changing criminal behavior. (Diffenbaucher, 1976, p. 27)

It could be argued that the meaning of negative findings [in correctional research] is not that no correctional treatment works but that no treatment is effective with all offenders. (Nelson et al., 1978, p. 80)

Treatment must account for differences in clients, in settings, in treated-treater relationships, and in subsequent careers ....

We are struck by the apparent evidence that a wide variety of treatments seem to work, at least with some people, in some places, and perhaps under some practitioner types. (Adams, 1977, pp. 328-329)

Again, successful rehabilitation appears to be possible only when offenders who can be helped are matched with programs that fit their needs. (Halleck & White, 1977, p. 377)

Finally, Cunningham (1980) offers perhaps the most succinct description of the "one approach" mentality which has plagued the field of corrections for years:
There is, indeed, a depressing regularity about the cyclical quality of alternating philosophies of rehabilitation and control in criminal justice as succeeding generations of helping professionals become disenchanted with one approach or another having failed to take into consideration the inherent vulnerability of any argument concerning something as poorly understood as human behavior. In frustration we are inclined to look for someone or something to blame for our failure to predict with accuracy how thousands of unique individuals in unique environments will respond to our helping effort. Sometimes we blame the clients and declare them "untreatable." We blame our theoretical forebears; Freud, Skinner, or Mary Richmond or our methodologies. Most often we blame one another for not having all the right answers, and our professional name-calling makes us vulnerable to attacks by others, especially in the light of the escalating competition for dwindling funding resources. Frequently concern for the client and the community get lost in the midst of these polemical discussions and everyone is the loser. It would be a genuine mark of professional maturity if criminal justice practitioners could acknowledge openly what we know to be the truth; that people can be helped in a variety of ways, that no one approach will work with everyone, nor will any one approach work with the same person every time. (p. 64)

How then does one approach probationary supervision? The answer, only somewhat facetiously, is that instead of a philosophy of "nothing works," a probation officer must maintain an outlook of "everything works." As Adams (1977) notes: "A review of the whole range of apparently effective treatments suggests that almost any conceivable manner of treatment may be effective in at least limited application" (pp. 329-330). It is necessary then, to acquire a pluralistic knowledge which K. Wood (1978) tells us is an in-depth knowledge of all old and new theories and intervention modalities. Although Wood acknowledges that this clearly is not possible, she maintains that it is still a requirement of professional and scholarly responsibility,
if only as a life-long goal. Wood additionally warns about confusing pluralism with "'electicism' which, as commonly used, seems to mean that the worker does not know a great deal about any theory or intervention, but has stitched together a hodge-podge out of bits and pieces of various theories" (p. 454).

Perhaps an easier way to visualize the pluralistic orientation to probationary supervision is to look at a profession in another field--the general practitioner in medicine. The GP today has evolved from the horse and buggy "doc" of yesteryear to a position of respect in the medical community--a specialist within a field marked by professionalism and specialization. Because of the complexity in medicine today, and because the GP is confronted with a host of problems which are not necessarily medical in nature, he/she must have a very broad knowledge base, be well grounded in medical matters to be sure, but also be familiar with psychological and social issues as well. The GP must be able to differentially intervene, and appropriate intervention can only be formulated from a broad knowledge base; a pluralistic knowledge. Not only must a GP know the most appropriate intervention modality, he/she must also know the limits of his/her capabilities--what it is he/she can do and what must be referred. This, of course, necessitates a thorough knowledge of resources which are available within the community and the astuteness to realize that certain agencies may be better suited to handle certain problems; e.g., child abuse, psychiatric dysfunction, alcoholism, etc.

The essential ingredients that account for a general practitioner's status as a professional and as a specialist are much the same as
those that identify a probation officer's situation: a pluralistic knowledge base, the ability to differentially intervene, a recognition of the limits of professional competence, referral of situations not within those limits to other specialists, and a thorough knowledge of resources available within the community. How then are these criterion manifested in a probation officer's role? A look at the literature provides, at least in part, an answer to this question.

Gendreau and Ross (1979) reviewed 95 programs which treated antisocial behavior from late 1973 to early 1978. They concluded, in part, that there was an overreliance on a single method in the programs they reviewed, that there was too great a reliance on a single outcome measure, and that the single treatment modalities took no account of individual differences. The authors noted that, of the studies they reviewed, the ones which relied on a single treatment method had notably less positive results than studies that used a combination of several treatment tools. In addition to the limitations of a single treatment modality, the authors state that the overuse of recidivism as an outcome measure obscured other useful outcomes of treatment programs; outcomes such as the resolution of interpersonal, familial, educational, and vocational problems.

A probation officer, therefore, should not only be able to intervene differentially but should be able to apprise outcomes using a variety of measures. But the literature is more specific than this. It prescribes an appropriate emphasis for differential intervention as well as limitations of professional competence of the probation officer.
The direction of change in probationary intervention techniques over the past 10-15 years has been described in various ways. Some refer to a change in emphasis from people to problems (Duffee et al., 1978) while others talk of an emphasis on behavior rather than personality (Mangrum, 1976). Regardless of the terminology used, the literature tells us that there needs to be a shift in the direction of orientations to intervention. Not only is a shift called for but this change in direction is of a particular nature. Ever since the President's Commission (1967) introduced the concept of reintegration, the change in emphasis from the individual alone to the individual interacting within the context of a larger social setting has continually been reflected in the literature.

An important theme of the Commission's report [President's Commission, 1967] was that probation and parole officers are not the omnipotent therapists evoked by the traditional propaganda and cannot deliver "rehabilitation" through their own efforts. Instead, it was suggested, the community must be the target for change and "reintegration" rather than rehabilitation of offenders should become the modus operandi of the future. (Nelson et al., 1978, p. 1)

Rather than changes in the individual, the correctional system will emphasize changes in the interfaces between the individual and among organizations. (Duffee et al., 1978, p. 250)

The general trend in innovative programs is a move away from supervision and control per se and toward more emphasis on general social assistance and guidance programs. The trend thus is away from the medical-model treatment modality and more toward improving social assistance. (Allen et al., 1979, pp. 212-213)

One way to do this [make corrections more effective] is to focus on behavior rather than personality. After all, it is behavior—overt action—that is illegal, not an attitude or a characteristic of a personality trait. (Mangrum, 1976, p. 12)
The misinterpretation of this trend over the past 15 years has had a tremendously debilitating impact on the development of a sound, coherent approach to probationary supervision. Professionals in the field of probation have made a grave error by interpreting this trend in a black and white fashion by viewing the issues as if there were only one right answer: to look at approaches to probation as casework or brokerage, rehabilitation or reintegration, attention to individual factors or attention to environmental factors, psychotherapy or needs delivery. By disavowing any possibilities of grey areas, correctional personnel have totally missed an important implication of the trend that has evolved in the field of probationary supervision, the implication being that the trend is exactly that, a trend. It is an evolution of an approach to probation that has been characterized by a change of focus, a shift in direction, and a change in emphasis. This trend has been a fluid progression over many years marked by reassessment and refinement, but it has never been a call to substitute one approach in toto for another. This trend has suggested a shift from attention to the individual alone to the individual and his/her interaction with the larger social situation; it has suggested a shift from a casework emphasis towards a brokerage emphasis; it has suggested that rehabilitation be enhanced by emphasizing elements of reintegration; and, finally, it has never stated that psychotherapy is inappropriate. It has suggested that it is not appropriate for everyone, and when it is appropriate it is not within the bounds of a probation officer's competence to fill such a need.
This entire situation is perhaps best summarized by Cunningham (1980):

Narrow methodological adherence promotes the idea that anything less than longterm, intensive counseling oriented to achieve personality restructuring is second best or "bandaid" help. Because this clinical model was upheld as a sine qua non of professional practice, we do not value the important, significant and highly skilled work we do with people in other ways. We depreciate our high level performance in the difficult tasks of working effectively with a client's environment to promote a more receptive milieu that helps modify destructive behavior. We are led to believe that anything short-term, reality oriented, or concerned with concrete services and environmental intervention is somehow not "real treatment." It is important to understand that "real treatment" is a status game that professionals play with one another. It has very little to do with actual, significant help to people in need. Real treatment can be understood as any kind of purposeful intervention rendered within the context of an ethically bound professional relationship and directed toward aiding the client in easing some problematic aspect of his or her functioning. The "realness" of the treatment should not be based on the extent to which it adheres to a particular theoretical framework or how much other professionals are impressed by the technique. A more rational basis for evaluation is in terms of the extent to which it is appropriate to the client and the particular case situation ....

Sometimes the most realistic target for change is a significant person in the client's environment. Sometimes it is the family system or the larger society which has denied resources and opportunities to the client to fulfill necessary role expectations. Sometimes it is, indeed, the client who must change, but our knowledge of the situation tells us that change can be induced more readily if change in other systems occur first. The relevance of this point is that the adjustment of the individual can be enhanced by intervention in a variety of ways, and that no one single technique is necessarily more likely than another to produce more positive social functioning ....
We are not talking in either/or terms. We are saying that no technique is inherently better than any other technique, or is a more "real" form of treatment, and that the final decision rests on the basis of the professional judgment of the practitioner who bases his decision in turn on an indepth knowledge of the client, his situation, and the interventive alternatives available. Many probation officers have conducted their practice in this way for many years, and for them there is nothing new in such a point of view. What may be new is the acknowledgement that this represents the highest form of professional service, one which involves a myriad assortment of skills, knowledge and expertise. (p. 66)

Mangrum (1976) attributes corrections' "tarnished halo" to the fact that the American criminal justice system has failed to live up to announced expectations of rehabilitation of offenders. He feels that corrections has failed because it has made promises it could not keep; it claimed to be able to do what it could not do. More specifically,

... the major reason corrections has failed to reach its high goals is that we have set our sights too high; we have attempted to approach our task of rehabilitation by trying to change the personality of the offender. I believe this is a faulty foundation on which to base our treatment techniques. (p. 11)

But the author does not end his discussion on this negative note. He maintains that correctional authorities should stop trying to prove that they have not failed, that they should stop blaming others, and that they should accept the failures of the past.

I believe the better reaction is to admit the failure--especially in view of so much evidence--and endeavor to move on from there. After all, someone has to deal with the offender; so why not make the necessary adjustments in philosophy and practice and begin a more realistic approach to dealing with the problem. (p. 12)
And so it is that probation officers should adopt a new philosophy. This philosophy should disavow the cynicism and negativism of the past. As a positive orientation to corrections, this new philosophy should have a pluralistic knowledge base. The probation officer must be a professional; he/she must be able to differentially intervene in the lives of offenders, know the limits of his/her competency, be able to refer those situations which fall outside the limits of his/her area of expertise, and he/she must have a knowledge of resources that are available in the community.

With this philosophical perspective in mind, attention will now be turned to specific goals and objectives in probationary supervision to which the officer might direct his/her attention to maximize the proficiency of supervision.

"New" Objectives and Goals in Probationary Supervision

It should be noted that the title to this section places the word new in quotation marks. As with the "new" philosophy in probationary supervision previously discussed, this "new" refers only to a new interpretation of old information. There is nothing new about the issues—philosophical approaches, goals, or objectives. They have been in the literature for years. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to refer to "old" philosophies, goals, and objectives in a "new" light. In any event, what does the literature tell us about goals and objectives in probationary supervision? How, exactly, should a probation officer "supervise" an offender? The literature is quite clear on a number of points. These will be discussed separately.
Meeting Needs

The literature indicates that a primary goal of supervision ought to be the meeting of probationer needs. Evidence suggests that when needs are met, offenders stand a better chance of successfully completing probation. The evidence also suggests, however, that offenders' needs, in probation today, are not being met.

In summary, if we ask whether needed services are being provided to probationers, we must answer that research indicates that they are not. Studies suggest that probationers who do receive needed services have a greater chance of successfully completing probation, but that adequate needs assessments are not attempted and, consequently, most probationers do not receive the services they need. (Allen et al., 1979, p. 71)

The Comptroller General's report to Congress (1980) mirrors these same conclusions. In a sample of 106 case files, 168 potential needs including employment, vocational training, academic education, drug treatment, alcohol treatment, and psychiatric treatment, were identified. Of these needs, only 55 were being addressed while under probationary supervision. The Comptroller General's report concludes that "probation officers should emphasize addressing offenders' needs and regularly assess their progress" (p. 38).

Offender Involvement

A major needed change in emphasis from the past where the probation officer was the "changer" and the probationer the "changee," is to involve the offender in the probationary process. The rationale for this change is quite sound. As Nelson et al. (1978) remind us: "Probationers and parolees are relatively powerless within the
official interactions, yet they hold absolute veto power in their ability to subvert the desires of treaters" (p. 12).

The Comptroller General's report (1980) supports the idea of offender involvement recommending that probation officers use available information on offenders and discussions with them to develop realistic programs for meeting their needs. The research studies reviewed by K. Wood (1978) support a rationale favoring offender involvement as well. Although these studies dealt with juveniles, the conclusions drawn from the studies have relevance for adult offenders as well. The studies reviewed failed to meet their stated goals—they were unsuccessful. Wood attributes as a main cause of their failure, the lack of offender involvement.

None of the studies began with the adolescent's own perceptions of what their problems were and what help they needed .... They did not explore and assess the problems being experienced by individual clients; instead, the professionals assumed they knew what ailed their young clients and what was good for them. (p. 440)

Contracting

The literature, whether from a casework or a brokerage point of view, supports the idea that supervision should not be a willy-nilly process but should be structured and well planned. Contracting has become a major technique developed to add structure, planning, and offender involvement to the process of probationary supervision.

K. Wood (1978) describes six issues relating to worker/client contracting: 1) defining the problem, 2) analyzing the problem, 3) workability and goals, 4) negotiating a contract, 5) planning intervention, and 6) evaluation.
Defining the problem may seem like an obvious objective but, as Wood discovered in the many studies she reviewed, oftentimes there is no clear statement of the problem. For example, the problem may be stated in such terms as "lack of ego capacities" or "difficulty in object relationship." The problem should be stated in clear and straightforward terms which are understandable to both the worker and the client. A clear statement of the problem provides direction for subsequent efforts to resolve the problem. The definition of the problem must include a dimension of measurability and it must be phrased in terms that are subject to change.

Analyzing the problem means

... identifying, weighting, and assessing the factors in the client's intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social systems that are contributing to the problem or that might be enlisted in resolving or ameliorating it. All three of these systems must be involved in this analysis. (p. 452)

The worker must be certain that this analysis evolves from a particular case rather than taking the particulars of a given case and forcing them into a preconceived theoretical structure that the worker may be biased towards. As is usually the case, an analysis will often identify problem areas in all three dimensions of the client's situation.

After analyzing the problem, the issues which have been raised are assessed by the worker and client to determine which issues might relieve the problem and which are possible to change—which are workable. Goals derived from this process should be realistic and achievable by the client.
Once the problem has been defined and analyzed, and workable goals have been set, the worker and client enter into a contract. The contract specifies the problems, the goals, and the planned interventions designed to solve the problems. The contract may need to be renegotiated repeatedly over time. Planned intervention which has been mapped out in the contract is the fifth point of Wood's strategy. "The strategy of intervention must bear a logical and conceptual relationship to the previous stages of the process; it must flow naturally from them" (p. 454).

The last step described by Wood is that of evaluation.

There are two aspects to the process of evaluation: ongoing evaluation and terminal evaluation. The former is an assessment of the validity, accuracy, and efficacy of each step of the helping process as it occurs, and the latter is an appraisal of the final effects or outcomes of the treatment in terms of the original definition of the problem and the contracted goals. (p. 454)

Wood concludes her remarks by making an interesting and thought-provoking analogy:

The processes of casework that have been described are exactly the same processes as those of research. These include formulating the problem for study; setting hypotheses; defining the dependent variable; defining the independent variable; applying and monitoring the independent variable; collecting and analyzing data; evaluating the outcomes; and drawing inferential conclusions that are supported by the data. (p. 454)

An example of contracting in brokerage was presented in Chapter III and a sample of a brokerage contract was included in the Appendix. Havenstrite (1980) offers a somewhat different approach to contracting.
Included in the Appendix is a copy of Haverstrite's "officer-client worksheet."

Haverstrite maintains that good supervision planning is a five-step process. The first step to the process is an analysis of the client's problem. The second step is the establishment of goals to address the problem. Goals are the desired end results, and they should be restricted to time, measurable, verifiable, realistic, and attainable. Haverstrite makes a noteworthy point that most clients can effectively cope with only one or two goals at a time. Once goals have been assigned, they should be placed in priority. Planned action steps are the final step in the contracting process. "Action steps are those things done in order to reach the goal. Action steps are always under the person's control and he can be held accountable for not carrying out action steps" (p. 58). Action steps can identify measures to be taken by either the probationer or the probation officer. Action steps, like goals, must be realistic and attainable, and measurable and verifiable. An example to illustrate this process is provided by Haverstrite:

**PROBLEM**

Client drinks to excess frequently and has several arrests related to alcohol abuse.

**GOAL**

Discontinue alcohol abuse within 6 months.

**ACTION STEPS**

1. Begin attending Alcoholics Anonymous immediately.
2. Attend a minimum of twice per week.
3. Meet with the probation officer every 2 weeks for individual counseling. (p. 58)
Specialization

There is some evidence to suggest that specialization of officer function may be beneficial. Specialization is, of course, only a viable option in probation offices that have several officers. Relative to this issue, Allen et al. (1979) draw the conclusion that specialization can be relatively effective with target probationers as long as the referrals are appropriate and that probationers are offered special services which they might not otherwise receive. They further state:

Although a portion of the research to date has suffered from poor design and implementation, it may still be argued that a well-designed, well administered classification system, with both the needs of the offender and the limitations and resources of the agency in mind, will help eliminate wasted time and effort on the part of the officer and the offender. (p. 148)

Banks et al. (1977) further support the concept of specialization. After looking at Intensive Special Probation projects (ISP's), they offer as one of their conclusions that specializing in serving particular client groups offers evidence of successful outcome.

Team Approach

Advantages of the team approach were outlined in Chapter III. In addition to the support given there for the team approach, Nelson et al. (1978) state:

Team supervision as a form of work organization should be carefully considered by larger, urban agencies or any other department where the caseload is concentrated within a limited geographical area. Team supervision makes feasible the efficiencies of
specialization where the worker with special talents or interests in job-finding, resource development, counseling of drug addicts or alcoholics, or other areas can put his special abilities to better use.

The team decision process, preferably with the offender involved, also may assure greater objectivity and consistency from case to case. There is less likelihood of an individual officer's bias, whether protective or punitive, becoming critical in case disposition ....

Use of a "revocation specialist," who acts, in effect, as prosecutor for a staff unit, is an interesting concept worthy of further experimentation. This arrangement should help to ease the conflict between the officer's helping and policing roles ... (p. 32)

Although there is no "hard" research evidence to support the team approach, common sense indicates that it is a viable and practical alternative to traditional supervision. The team approach is well suited to accommodate many of the changes which have been suggested for probation supervision including a greater emphasis on resource brokerage, specialization of officer function, and organizational efficiency, among others. Several examples of team approaches to supervision will be presented in the later text of this report.

Paraprofessionals/ Ex-Offenders and Volunteers

Although there is little evidence for or against the use of paraprofessionals and volunteers, the evidence that does exist seems to suggest that it may be a valuable tool for probationary supervision. Perhaps the best way to state the current situation is to recommend that probation officers be "cautiously open" to the idea of using paraprofessionals and volunteers. Regarding the use of paraprofessionals and ex-offenders, Allen et al. (1979) state:
In summary, if we ask whether paraprofessionals can be effectively used in probation, the research suggests that they can be at least as effective as professional probation officers and perhaps even more effective with "high risk" probationers. This suggestion must be considered tentatively, however, because of the small number of research efforts in this area. (p. 74)

Regarding the use of volunteers, Allen et al. (1979) state:

In summary, if we ask whether volunteers can be effectively used in probation, the research produces mixed results. Some research finds volunteers having a positive effect on outcome indicators, while other research finds neutral or even negative effects. (p. 77)

Probation Officer/Probationer Relationship

Few in the field of corrections today are comfortable talking about the officer/probationer or worker/client relationship. Despite this fact, the literature seems to emphasize the point that a workable relationship between the worker and the client, especially in probation, is an essential ingredient in successful supervision. Although such implications are often vague and couched in tangential terminology, the literature nevertheless suggests that productive probationary supervision cannot exist without constructive exchange and interaction between the officer and the probationer—a relationship.

Beyond a few basic characteristics such as respect and honesty, probation personnel have had a great deal of difficulty agreeing on preferred qualities of the probation officer/probationer relationship. It may well be that this inability to arrive at a consensus of
opinion is due to the same problem that has inhibited the development of agreement on other correctional issues. That is to say, corrections again may be asking the wrong question. Instead of "what should an effective relationship be?," correctional personnel might better ask "what should a relationship be, with whom, when, and under what circumstances"? As with differential intervention, relationships may have to be tailored not only to each individual offender, but also to each unique situation.

The goals and objectives of supervision which have been discussed here have also found support at both the state and national level by commissions that have been formed to establish standards and goals for adult probation. At the state level, for instance, the Utah Council on Criminal Justice (1977) established as one of its standards, Standard 6.2, Services to Probationers. This standard, in the Council's own words,

... suggests that probation staff give more attention to reducing the barriers confronting probationers and providing access to established community resources (i.e., employment, training, school, health services, and other related services). Probation staff should place less emphasis on counseling and surveillance. The standard suggests specialization of probation staff, where possible, to provide services to the court and to probationers with special problems. (pp. 1-2)

On a national level, the Commission on Accreditation for Corrections (1977) issued its report, Manual of Standards for Adult Probation and Parole Field Services. A few of these standards which relate specifically to the issues previously discussed are cited below:
3031 Field facilities are located in areas conveniently accessible to offenders' places of residence and employment, and to transportation networks and other community agencies. (Essential)

3039 Written policy and procedure exist for securing citizen involvement in the probation/parole process. (Important)

3051 There is provision for the recruitment and employment of ex-offenders. (Important)

3112 The agency's statement of purpose affirms that the supervision program is to provide necessary services to the offender with the goal of reducing the probability of continued criminal behavior on the part of the offender. (Essential)

3113 There exists a written workload formula which is used in the allocation of work to field staff. (Essential)

Discussion: This formula should consider factors such as legal requirements, goals, character and needs of offenders to be supervised, geographic area, administrative tasks required of the field staff, and types of personnel to be utilized. A workload rather than caseload model is based on programs of differential supervision ranging from intensive to minimal. Supervision tasks must be identified, measured against a time requirement, and then translated into specific total time and staff requirements.

3118 The field officer and the offender jointly develop objectives and a supervision plan, including its stated objectives. (Important)

Discussion: Planning that incorporates the needs, problems, capabilities, limitations and the participation of the offender provides a positive framework for the period of supervision. It is important that the goals and plans remain within the offender's capacity.

3119 The field supervision plan is reviewed with the offender on an as-needed basis and adjusted in accordance with the offender's performance in the community. (Important)

3121 The supervision plan requires that the field officer contact persons within agencies in the community that are familiar with the offender. (Essential)
Supervision services are available 24 hours a day. (Essential)

Written policy and procedure provide for special case services for offenders with specific types of problems; these are reviewed at least annually. (Essential)

Discussion: Grouping offenders by problem and placing them under the supervision of a specially trained and experienced field officer can result in better supervision and improved services to the offenders. Types of offenders that could be placed in specialized caseloads include drug addicts, alcoholics, mentally ill, senile and physically handicapped offenders, and individuals needing intensive or special surveillance, etc. For the majority of these caseloads, it is advisable, if not necessary, to reduce the size of the caseload because of the extra attention required.

Community resources are developed to provide services to offenders, and field staff actively support community efforts on behalf of offenders. (Essential)

Discussion: Probation and parole are community-oriented and community-centered. The agency should be a catalyst, mobilizer, and developer of community resources, so that offenders can benefit from a wide variety of these resources.

The agency maintains an effective and cooperative working relationship with public and private service agencies. (Essential)

The agency maintains a qualitative and current inventory of functioning community agencies. (Essential)

The agency devotes specific resources to assisting employable offenders find suitable employment. (Essential)

The agency has provisions to assist offenders financially; field officers are instructed and trained in methods to obtain financial assistance for offenders from community resources. (Essential)

Written policy and procedure provide for enrolling and supporting offenders in educational programs and vocational training. (Essential)
The agency supports programs that provide offenders acceptable leisure time activities. (Important)

The agency assigns the highest priority to the supervision function. (Essential)

This section began with the questions: "What does the literature tell us about effective and efficient goals and objectives in probationary supervision?" and "How, exactly, should a probation officer 'supervise' an offender?". The literature suggests several objectives and goals of supervision toward which the probation officer might successfully orient his/her supervisory approach. Supervision is apt to be more effective and efficient if: 1) probationers' needs are met; 2) the probationer is involved in all aspects of the probationary process; 3) officer/probationer contracting is stressed; 4) specialization of officer function and utilization of the team approach to supervision are employed (in agencies which are large enough to accommodate such practices); 5) paraprofessionals and volunteers are used, with discretion; and 6) a working relationship is established between the officer and the probationer—a relationship that is tailored to each probationer and his/her unique circumstances.

**Approaches to Probationary Supervision: Examples**

In the following section examples are described to illustrate possible approaches to probation. It is strongly emphasized that these approaches are not being presented as "preferred" approaches, but only as examples of approaches which seem to demonstrate a well-balanced integration and synthesis of many of the issues previously
discussed in this report. As examples, these approaches are meant to offer a starting point from which a probation officer can begin to conceptualize and develop a more effective and efficient approach to probationary supervision.

I. Role Perception

A seldom addressed issue, but one which often plagues probation officers, is the issue of role perception. The descriptions of the probation officer's role are almost as varied as the sources one wishes to consult. The officer is often left in an indefinite situation; vaguely knowing what he/she does, but being unable to conceptualize or verbalize his/her functioning behavior in terms of role. Spica (1977) offers a visual and verbal interpretation of probation officer roles which may assist the probation officer in conceptualizing his/her role. Spica calls his model the correctional novagram.

The novagram "characterizes the two major functions of probation and parole supervision as working in different directions but struggling to utilize the best of each by consolidating their optimum success" (p. 47). Although Spica identifies the axes of his novagram as the bureaucratic function and the helping relationship function, the reader may wish to stretch an interpretation of these terms to "rehabilitation" in place of the helping relationship function and "retribution" instead of the bureaucratic function. Although conceptually not exactly the same, such an interpretation will help the reader to visualize Spica's assessment of roles in context to the issues presented in this report. Stretching the interpretation even
further, it may help the reader to view the horizontal axis as "traditional" casework, and the vertical axis as "pure" brokerage. Regardless of terms used, however, Spica's description of various probation officer roles is quite insightful.

Spica's description of various probation officer types within the novagram are presented in Figure 1. For brevity's sake, only the explanations of types A, C, E, G, and I, the polar types of the novagram, are described in detail.

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

The Problematic type is typical of the extremes of correctional personnel. At one end is the new officer who has not yet perceived the total picture of the field and its particular commitments. On the other end is the "old timer" who finds security in "noncommittal." The Problematic type is, in most cases, a temporary state. If the new worker does not become passive or threatened and, likewise, if the older worker can be given recognition, attention, and direction, movement in either or both directions of the two functions will result. (p. 49)

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

The upper left-hand corner represents a maximum concern for Bureaucratic rules and regulations and a minimal concern for the offender, as such. The individual is only incidental to the law, control, and obedience of the rules. The frame of reference is based on the assumption that satisfactory completion of all rules results in success. It is not suggested that this type has no interest in the offender, but rather that this interest becomes manifested only when there is control and regulations are met. This role is formal, official, and objective. It is based on behavior change and through this behavior change comes satisfactory discharge. Conformity is synonymous with rehabilitation. (p. 49)
Figure 1. The correctional novagram. (from Spica, Arthur. The Correctional Novagram. Federal Probation, 1977, 41 (4), Fig. 1, p. 48)
(E) Functioning Worker--Medium emphasis on both the Helping Relationship and Bureaucratic functions

The middle module is characterized by a "middle of the road" concern for both the bureaucratic policies and the needs of the offender. Both functions are seen as necessary but full commitment is not given to either or both. This officer is functioning in each direction and is doing his job but is not ready for a positive thrust into either of the functions. The Functioning Worker establishes a working relationship with the offender but only to a point. He also is aware of the rules and policies of the bureaucratic structure, but does not fully understand them. This type is characterized as the "nice guy" or "regular Joe." (p. 49)

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

The frame of reference is one of a warm, supportive, nonjudgmental relationship with the offender. This probation or parole officer is characterized by a concern for "rehabilitation" and the "well-being" of his charge, but with small concern for controlling him. This type of officer emerges primarily as a "momism type" who closely watches and supervises all of the actions of the offender. The Maternal type, however, lends itself to manipulation and could easily be "conned" by the offender. There is a great deal of contact with the offender and interviews tend to move in the direction of discussions and/or solutions of personal problems of the offender. A "psychotherapeutic approach" is used and attempts are made to foster self-understanding on the part of the offender. This model type often views its motives as the most beneficial without regard for the Bureaucratic function which they see as hampering the offender's progress. (p. 50)

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

A stress on the conditions of probation or parole is tempered with a firm, but understanding, concern for the offender. Here is the best of both worlds and is a true integration of all the concerns of the correctional process. Goals are of the upmost
importance and the offender is guided in such a way as to help himself within the limits of the conditions set down for him. The Resource Integrator pursues all avenues for the benefit of the offender and what this officer cannot do himself, he will make the necessary referrals for the best service for the offender. He knows all the community resources available to solve a common problem. By assessing the individual needs of the offender and examining the realistic conditions of the probation or parole orders, he will combine both, and determine the best and most feasible plan of action. In this module, the offender has an officer who is his advocate as well as a mediator, interpreter, and counselor. Policies are spelled out and the regulations on the offender are few in number, but crystal clear. (p. 50)

II. Social Work Intervention

As noted in previous chapters of this report, casework in fields other than probation has evolved beyond "traditional" casework. In particular, casework in social work today is, in many respects, indistinguishable from brokerage in probation. At the same time it has maintained much of what proved valid and useful from the traditional casework model. Specifically, casework as it has evolved in social work has held to the importance of the client/worker relationship. It is apparent from reviewing the correctional literature, that these developments in the field of social work have largely escaped the attention of those in the field of probation.

This new casework paradigm has tended to dissolve the duality of humans versus environment that has been fostered by the medical metaphor. The new approach presents people and environment as integral parts of a whole and encourages the caseworker to view clients in a way that is more reflective of the complexity of their lives. (Miller, 1980, p. 284)

Rather than piece together a casework approach in social work today from various sources, one source will be described in greater
detail. In their book, *Social Work Processes*, Compton and Galaway (1979) present an excellent account of social work intervention (the authors do not refer to their approach as casework). The three basic ideas found throughout *Social Work Processes* are:

First, the focus of social work intervention is on the person-situation interaction. A corollary of this approach is that a focus solely on the individual or the situation is inappropriate—the long debate in the social work profession about individual services versus social reform loses sight of the basic focus of the profession. Second, thinking of social work activities in terms of casework, group work, and community organization is not a viable conceptualization; that approach stresses the relational system in which the worker functions rather than the activities of the worker, tends to maintain a focus on the individual or the situation rather than on the interaction of the two, and leads to analyses of client situation and interaction in terms of a worker's interventive skills rather than the needs of the client. Third, this book follows an alternative organization of social work activities into skills and actions needed to decide what to do and skills and actions in doing the decided. (pp. 13-14)

It follows then, that social workers may direct efforts toward either the individual, the environment, or the interaction of the two. But in all cases, as the authors note, these strategies are directed toward changing the nature of the person-situation interaction. The authors contend that to debate whether to change the nature of the individual or the environment, is to lose sight of the focus of social work intervention. Social workers do both, but both change processes are exactly that—processes, directed at the focus of social work intervention which is the altering of the person-situation interaction.
The field of corrections, and especially probation, has long been mired in its inability to define an appropriate client/worker relationship. Compton and Galoway offer an enlightening interpretation of this perplexing problem. The relationship is, they maintain, critically important to the social work process, but it is not an end unto itself—it is a means to an end.

Relationship in a social work helping process does not emerge spontaneously and whole out of some mysterious chemistry of individuals in interaction, but develops out of purposive interaction, out of the business with which the worker and the client (or other system) concern themselves .... This means that we do not speak of the worker's "establishing a relationship" or "offering a relationship"; neither do we speak of needing a good relationship before difficulties can be discussed. The relationship comes out of the communication about difficulties. It grows and develops out of purposive work. The professional relationship as an effective, experimental interaction should develop as necessary to the task. It is not necessarily pleasant or friendly; sometimes the problem is worked out in reaction and anger, in conflict as well as in collaboration or bargaining. (p. 166)

There are seven essential elements of a social work relationship described by the authors:

(1) concern for others, (2) commitment and obligation, (3) acceptance and expectation, (4) empathy, (5) genuineness, (6) authority and power, and, overriding and shaping all the rest, (7) purpose. (p. 164)

Several of these elements are defined by the authors in fairly traditional terms. Concern, for instance, means "that the worker sincerely cares about what happens to the client and is able to communicate this feeling" (p. 168). Commitment and obligation are
often referred to as the helping contract in which the commitments
and obligations of both the client and worker are explicitly
shared. Empathy is "the capacity to enter into the feelings and
experiences of another--knowing what the other feels and experiences--
without losing oneself in the process" (p. 175).

The remaining four elements are described by the authors in
less traditional terms and these elements will be described in some-
what greater detail.

Acceptance is more than the traditional definition of being
non-judgmental; "a better meaning than 'to refuse to judge' would
be 'to actively seek to understand'" (p. 172). The expectation of
both the client and worker should be congruent. The effectiveness
of the social work process will vary directly with the degree of
congruence of expectations.

In order to be congruent and genuine, workers must seek three
things:

(1) an honest knowledge of ourselves, of who and
what we really are; (2) a clear knowledge of agency
procedures and policies and of the professional role,
both in their meaning to the worker and in their
meaning to the clients; and (3) an internalization
of the first two and our concern for others,
acceptance of clients, commitment to their welfare
and to the authority aspects of the worker's role
and position. (p. 180)

The inclusion of authority and power as essential elements in
the relationship is a distinctly unique dimension recognized by
Compton and Galaway. Most social workers, and certainly most pro-
bation officers, choose to ignore this aspect of the relationship.
But, as the authors point out, this is a very real and legitimate element which needs to be recognized and accepted by workers. There is nothing inherently good or bad about authority and power; the significance of both lies in how they are used. The authors note two aspects of authority and power.

The first might be called the institutional aspect in that it comes from the social worker's position and functions within the agency's purpose and programs. The second is psychological in that clients give workers the power to influence or persuade because they accept them as sources of information—as experts in their field. (p. 179)

A third dimension of power and authority should probably be added to Compton and Galoway's description. In probation, the probation officer has, by reason of statute and law, the authority and power to revoke probation and to institutionalize probationers, a very potent dimension of the relationship indeed, and one which cannot be ignored.

Finally, the authors suggest that all aspects of the relationship are second to the dimension of purpose. Any aspect of a relationship, regardless of how well intended, which is not oriented to purpose, is inappropriate. The purpose of social work practice is:

The changing or altering of something in the interaction of people and their environment so as to improve the capacity of individuals to cope with their life tasks in a way reasonably satisfying to themselves and to others, thus enhancing their ability to realize their aspirations and values. (pp. 164-165)
The fact that the relationship develops out of purposive work means that it has motion and direction and emergent characteristics. It grows, develops, and changes; and when the purpose has been achieved, it comes to an end. (p. 166)

After describing the social work process and the nature of the worker/client relationship, the authors present a model for problem-solving. A short form outline of this model is included here and a more detailed, long form outline may be referred to in the authors' text for additional information.

CONTACT PHASE
I. Problem identification and definition
   A. Problem as client system sees it
   B. Problem as defined by significant systems with which client system is in interaction (family, school, community, others)
   C. Problem as worker sees it
   D. Problem-for-work (place of beginning together)

II. Goal identification
   A. How does client see (or want) the problem to be worked out?
      1. Short-term goals
      2. Long-term goals
   B. What does client system think is needed for a solution of the problem?
   C. What does client system seek and/or expect from the agency as a means to the solution?
   D. What are worker’s goals as to problem outcome?
   E. What does worker believe the service system can or should offer the client to reach these goals?

III. Preliminary contract
   A. Clarification of the realities and boundaries of service
   B. Disclosure of the nature of further work together
   C. Emergence of commitment or contract to proceed further in exploration and assessment in a manner that confirms the rights, expectations, and autonomy of the client system and grants the practitioner the right to intervene
IV. Exploration and investigation  
A. Motivation  
   1. Discomfort  
   2. Hope  
B. Opportunity  
C. Capacity of the client system  

CONTRACT PHASE  

V. Assessment and evaluation  
A. If and how identified problems are related to needs of client system  
B. Analysis of the situation to identify the major factors operating in it  
C. Consideration of significant factors that contribute to the continuity of the need, lack, or difficulty  
D. Identification of the factors that appear most critical, definition of their inter-relationships, and selection of those that can be worked with  
E. Identification of available resources, strengths, and motivations  
F. Selection and use of appropriate generalizations, principles, and concepts from the social work profession's body of knowledge  
G. Facts organized by ideas—ideas springing from knowledge and experience and subject to the governing aim of resolving the problem—professional judgment  

VI. Formulation of a plan of action—a mutual guide to intervention  
A. Consideration and setting of a feasible goal  
B. Determination of appropriate service modality  
C. Focus of change efforts  
D. Role of the worker  
E. Consideration of forces either within or outside the client system that may impede the plan  
F. Consideration of the worker's knowledge and skill and of the time needed to implement the plan  

VII. Prognosis—what confidence does the worker have in the success of the plan?  

ACTION PHASE  

VIII. Carrying out of the plan—specific as to point of intervention and assignment of tasks; resources and services to be utilized; methods by which they are to be used; who is to do what and when
IX. Termination
   A. Evaluation with client system of task accomplishment and meaning of process
   B. Coping with ending and disengagement
   C. Maintenance of gains
X. Evaluation
   A. Continuous process
   B. Was purpose accomplished?
   C. Were methods used appropriate?
   (pp. 246-248)

The initial contact phase is extremely important because it sets the pattern for all subsequent phases of the problem solving process. As the authors note:

The essential factor here is not the level of goal or who works toward the goal but that the client was involved in the thinking and planning that was done, and that what was given was related to the client's wishes and not something that the worker unilaterally thought was needed. (p. 298)

The contract phase represents the negotiation of a plan jointly formed by the worker and the client. The contract defines the problem to be worked on, specifies objectives, and provides an intervention plan oriented to moving from the problem to the stated objectives. The contract is binding on both the worker and the client and can be changed only via renegotiation.

The authors describe four principles which relate directly to the contract phase. These are: 1) The contract must be jointly negotiated. Neither a diagnosis which represents the worker's input only, or the client's wishes alone, is appropriate. They key is to arrive at a service contract which is truly joint, representing the best combined inputs of both the worker and the client. 2)
worker must possess a broad knowledge of human functioning, of the social environment, and of the interaction of the two. 3) The worker and client must be open to the widest range of possible goals and intervention techniques, always orienting their attention to the concept of social functioning. The target of change may be the client, the environment, or the interaction of the two.

Although no worker can be expected to master all change strategies, the worker can be expected to be aware of the broad repertoire of change strategies available to the profession and to be able to select jointly with the client the strategy most appropriate for the client and, if the worker cannot provide that service, to be able to locate it elsewhere in the community. (p. 323)

4) The development of a service contract should be a cognitive, rational process; not one based on feelings. The contract may, of course, involve plans to deal with feelings, but it should not be rooted in feelings. Any intervention efforts engaged in by the worker should be based on the rationally negotiated contract.

The final phase of the problem solving model, the action phase, is of particular interest here because it is this phase that identifies specific tasks, methods, and processes of intervention—the substance of supervision for the probation officer.

In order to implement the plan developed during the contract phase, the worker may orient his activity to five possible interventive roles described by the authors as broker, enabler, teacher, mediator, and advocate. These roles are never clear-cut but often intertwine. Nevertheless, each has certain characteristics which provide useful intervention techniques to the worker. The authors stress the point,
however, that these intervention roles are not meant to be the basis of functional specialization on the part of the worker. Rather, the worker should borrow from each as the client's needs demand.

The broker role serves as a linkage between the client and other community resources. It emphasizes helping the client to use community systems to his/her best advantage.

The activities of the worker are directed toward making connections between the client and the community in order to accomplish the objectives specified in the service contract. (p. 339)

The broker role requires a broad knowledge of community resources and of agency operating procedures.

The role of enabler focuses the worker's activities on assisting clients to find strengths within themselves which may help them to cope with their problems.

The major distinguishing element of the enabler's role is that change occurs because of client efforts; the responsibility of the worker is to facilitate or enable the client's accomplishment of a defined change. (p. 340)

The role of teacher is essentially a process of providing new information to the client. This teaching function can be manifested in simple information giving, assisting clients to practice new behaviors or skills, or through modeling of alternative behavioral patterns.

Although the two roles [enabler and teacher] may tend to overlap, we perceive the enabling role as involving the worker's efforts to help clients mobilize existing resources within the client system whereas the teaching role involves introducing additional resources into client systems. (p. 341)
The mediator role "involves efforts to resolve disputes that may exist between the client system and other persons or organizations" (p. 341). This role is employed only when such disputes either interfere with, or are specified as a target problem in, the goals of the service contract. The process of mediation calls for skills in persuasion and conciliation on the part of the worker.

Lastly, the role of advocate aligns the worker with the client in supporting or presenting the client's position or cause when such activities are necessary to reach the goals of the contract.

Advocacy differs from mediation; in mediation the effort is to secure resolution to a dispute through give and take on both sides. In advocacy the effort is to win for the client; advocacy efforts are frequently directed towards securing benefits to which the client is legally entitled. (p. 343)

In their concluding remarks, Compton and Galoway point out a direction for future social work processes:

As our experience and professional maturity increase, we will find less need to define ourselves as the expert holder-of-solutions-to-the-client-problems and will be increasingly able to acknowledge gaps in knowledge (knowledge of both client and worker) and to engage the client in a joint quest for the necessary information. No worker is expected to know everything; disillusionment and disaster await those who think they do. What is required is the ability to involve clients, professional colleagues, supervisors and others in comfortably and jointly seeking out the information required for rational problem solving. (p. 517)

III. Other Examples

These two examples, role perception and social work intervention, provide a practical orientation to supervision that may help to
provide officers with a contextual framework within which they may develop their own unique approaches to probation. There are other innovative programs, however, which have been developed in the field of probation that might provide the officer with specific ideas on how to approach supervision. Resources describing a few of these approaches will be briefly introduced here. These resources may be pursued by the officer wishing to delve more deeply into programs which have recently been developed in the field of probationary supervision.

As previously mentioned the Community Resource Management Team concept is one of the few programs attempting to implement brokerage on a large scale. Dell'apa et al. (1976) and Nelson et al. (1978) provide valuable information regarding this program. In addition to CRMT programs, Nelson et al. (1978) describe other innovative approaches to supervision including "The Bakery: Minneapolis' Neighborhood Probation Services" which is a community-based probationary service emphasizing the use of paraprofessionals, volunteers, and brokerage; and Connecticut's "Private/Public Resources Expansion Project (P/PREP)" which stresses the involvement and use of community resources to reintegrate misdemeanor offenders.

An officer wishing to explore the concept of team management further is urged to consult, in addition to the above resources, W. Wood's article (1978) Maltnomah County Probation Teams, and Koontz' article (1978) which describes the unit-specialist approach to probation.

Finally, An Exemplary Project: Project CREST (DeJong, 1980) describes a successful attempt to develop counseling services to
probationers by developing a reciprocal program between probation departments and college/university psychology departments; probation receives qualified counselors, and the psychology students receive valuable practicum experience.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Probationary supervision has survived a decade of attack, conflict, and confusion. Although painful, the experience of the '70's should be regarded as a positive growth experience. With the opening of the decade of the '80's, those in the field of probation have an opportunity to put the conflicts of the past behind them, to learn from their experience, and to grow in purpose and potential.

This report has examined the rather frenzied evolution of probationary services over the past 10 to 15 years—a period marked by rapid and dramatic change. Current approaches to supervision have been examined and efforts have been made to explain the conflict and confusion that has existed in the field of corrections generally, and probationary supervision specifically. Barriers to the resolution of this conflict have been explored, and an attempt has been made to formulate an approach to supervision to which officers might successfully orient their practices. A philosophical orientation to probationary supervision has been suggested and specific goals and objectives have been recommended. Examples have been presented to assist officers in formulating their own unique approaches to supervision. Probation officers need no longer act defensively, but should approach their responsibilities aggressively and offensively with the assurance that they do indeed have a valuable contribution to make to the field of human services. Not only do they have a definite
purpose, but they have, as a result of the upheaval of the '70's, the means for accomplishing their purpose.

The Zeitgeist is right! With everyone else "coming out of the closet," it is time for probation officers to do the same. It is time for them to recognize the importance of their positions and to proclaim their worth. It is no longer necessary for officers to validate themselves by hanging their professional hats on hooks labeled "caseworker," "broker," "peace officer," "therapist," or any other label besides "probation officer." It is time for officers to assume their rightful places as specialists and professionals in the field of correctional and human services—to be probation officers—positions warranting professional recognition in their own right. Positivism should replace negativism, and a conciliatory stance should be substituted for adversarial positions. Probation officers must remain flexible and open to innovation and change; they must promote and support research efforts which will continually help to refine and define appropriate strategies in probationary supervision; they should promote and support professional organizations at all levels; and, perhaps most importantly, they must keep abreast of the ever evolving knowledge base in probation, corrections, and related fields.

More concretely, probation officers should encourage increased inter/intradepartmental communications in order to facilitate the exchange of information and ideas. They should insist on having within the department an up-to-date file of all resources available within the community, and they should support and encourage inservice
training programs as well as other administrative policies that promote continued education (i.e., leave of absence to attend school, financial assistance, etc.). Officers must devise officer/probationer contracts and other useful forms if they do not already exist within the department and they must not hesitate to try new and innovative ideas. Lastly, probation officers should read extensively and should have available to them, at a minimum, Federal Probation, Crime and Delinquency, and Social Work (or Social Work Today).

As a closing note, the probation officer who wishes to keep abreast of the field of knowledge in probation is referred to the monthly publication Selective Notification of Information (SNI) by the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS). NCJRS is a national and international clearinghouse for law enforcement and criminal justice information. There are 800-1000 items added monthly to the NCJRS data base. A portion of the most significant of these items (approximately 10%) are reported in SNI. SNI provides bibliographic descriptions, abstracts, and ordering information for the documents and audio-visual items it presents. Individual subscriptions to SNI are available by writing:

NCJRS-User Services
Box 6000
Rockville, MD 20850
REFERENCES


BIBLIOGRAPHY


ADDENDUM TO BIBLIOGRAPHY

Although received subsequent to the writing of this report, the following resources contain information germane to the issues presented in this report and are therefore included here for the reader's convenience.


"Sample"

CRITERIA FOR CONTRACTS

The criteria listed below make up the program that has been mutually agreed upon by ___________ and the Probation Department on ___________, 19__.

I. Employment

I will be employed at _________________________________.
I will be up by 8:30 a.m. each morning and will check with the Job Development Coordinator about employment until I find employment.
I will find a job within 3 weeks.
I will take vocational tests and evaluate my employment goals with the Job Development Coordinator.

II. Treatment

I will see my probation officer at least once a week.
I will regularly participate in a counseling program within the community.
I will attend money management counseling sessions.
I am willing to enter counseling with _________________________________.

III. Education

I will attend GED, Basic Ed, college (schedules coordinated with staff).
I will attend literacy classes.

IV. Skill Training

I will talk with the Work Release Coordinator about job training (on-the-job training, Voc. Rehab., etc.)

V. Behavior

I will not use alcohol or drugs.
I will be punctual and will be accountable to the probation officer for my whereabouts at all times.
I will not verbally or physically abuse another person.
I will follow probation officer's instructions.
I will regularly give a urine sample. Failure to do so will be considered a violation of this contract.

VI. Finances

VII. Living Situation

I will locate suitable housing.
I will coordinate my efforts with the Social Service Agency to obtain suitable housing.
I desire to live with _________________________________.
I will contact the probation officer to coordinate my release plans.

VIII. Other

I would like to participate in a community volunteer work project.
I will establish new (positive) peer associations, either through my job, family, or through planned social outlets.
I will obtain a driver's license.
I would like to be involved in religious activities.
I would like to participate in Jaycees, golf lessons, or another structured activity in the community, if possible.

I understand and agree that if I violate any of the terms of this contract, I may have terminated referral assistance in that area, and I may have violated the conditions of my probation.

I further understand that this contract may be renegotiated at any time upon request to my probation officer.

### "SAMPLE"

#### CASE SUMMARY

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<th>Client/P.O. Review:</th>
<th>Contract:</th>
<th>Plan:</th>
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<th>Contract Modifications:</th>
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<th>Periodic Evaluations:</th>
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Sample of case summary in brokerage.
### Discussion: Milestone Events and Performance Information

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<th>Employment</th>
<th>Vocational Training</th>
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<th>Counseling</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Financial</th>
<th>Housing</th>
<th>Transportation</th>
<th>Recreational</th>
<th>Religious</th>
<th>Professional (e.g., legal)</th>
<th>Volunteer</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Problem-Solving Skills</th>
<th>Accepts Responsibility</th>
<th>Restitution/Finan</th>
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### New Charges/Technical Violations:

- **N**: Assessed as Need
- **C**: Contracted as Need
- **R**: Referred to Agency
- **F**: Failed to Contact Agency
- **RC**: Recontracted
- **M**: Modified
- **/:** Task Accomplishment
- **T/L**: Time Limit
- **X**: Goal Accomplished
- **O**: Failed to Accomplish

### Case Summary Approval:

- **Probation Officer:**
- **Supervisor:**

Sample of case summary in brokerage (continued) (Varnon, 1980, pp. 64-65).
OFFICER-CLIENT WORKSHEET

Name: ____________________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem &amp; Goals</th>
<th>Officer Action Steps</th>
<th>Status &amp; Results</th>
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Officer: ____________________ Date: __________ Code: L = Low

Client: ____________________ Date: __________ M = Medium

H = High