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This Issue in Brief

Structuring the Exercise of Sentencing Discretion in the Federal Courts.—Brian Forst and William Rhodes report results of a major study of Federal sentencing practices, focusing on highlights that have special relevance to the probation community: survey results on the purposes of sentencing, an analysis of recent sentencing decisions, and an analysis of the information contained in the presentence investigation report. The survey revealed that Federal probation officers and judges, on the whole, regard deterrence and incapacitation as more important goals of sentencing than either rehabilitation or just deserts. The judges individually, on the other hand, are divided over the goals of sentencing.

Zero-Sum Enforcement: Some Reflections on Drug Control.—This article reflects upon the dilemmas in drug control efforts and suggests that current policy and practices be reviewed and modified in order to evolve a "more coherent" approach to the problem. The authors critique the methods of evaluating drug enforcement efforts and provide a series of rationales that can be employed in the decisionmaking process.

Inreach Counseling and Advocacy With Veterans in Prison.—A self-help model of direct and indirect services is provided through a Veterans Administration veterans-in-prison (VIP) pilot program. Authors Pentland and Scurfield describe objectives and methodology of the program, including the formation of incarcerated veterans into self-help groups, organization of community-based resources into VIP teams that visit the prisons, serving veteran-related issues and services such as discharge upgrading and Agent Orange, and a diversionary program for veterans in pretrial confinement.

The Probation Officer and the Suicidal Client.—This article by Federal probation officers Casucci and Powell attempts to provide the probation officer with enough information to be able to

recognize and deal effectively with the suicidal client. The authors furnish an overview of the problem of suicide, a profile of the suicidal client, and the therapeutic response of the probation officer in this crisis situation.

An Experiential Focus on the Development of Employment for Ex-Offenders.—U.S. Probation Officer Stanley S. Nakamura of the Northern District of California states that a concerted effort

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has been made in his District to establish an employment program that would provide real assistance to those clients interested in working. Integrity, friendship, patience, professionalism, trust, placement, and followthrough are the basis of a successful employment program, he concludes.

Alienation and Desire for Job Enrichment Among Correction Officers.—Responses to a correction officer opinion survey suggest that C.O.'s hold attitudes toward their job that are similar to those of other contemporary workers, report Hans Toch and John Klofas. Like other urban workers, urban C.O.'s tend to be very alienated; like workers generally, most C.O.'s are concerned with job enrichment or job expansion.

BARS in Corrections.—Evaluating the job performance of employees is a perennial problem for most correctional organizations, according to Wiley Hamby and J.E. Baker. The use of Behaviorally Anchored Rating Scales (BARS) appears to be a viable alternative for evaluating the performance of employees in corrections, they maintain.

Redesigning the Criminal Justice System: A Commentary on Selected Potential Strategies.—Selected strategies are highlighted by Attorney Tommy W. Rogers which would appear worthy of consideration in any contemplated alteration of the criminal justice system. Suggestions are made concerning modification of the criminal law detection and apprehension strategies, improving the administrative and judicial efficiency of courts, redressing system neglect of victims, and utilization of research in planning and legislation.

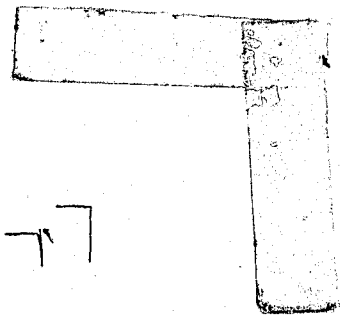
Strategies for Maintaining Social Service Programs in Jails.—Social services within jails and community-based alternatives to incarceration are vulnerable to cutbacks, asserts Henry Weiss of the Wharton School in Philadelphia. His article suggests a number of strategies for maintaining the improvements in service delivery that have been so painstakingly won over the past 15 years.

Promises and Realities of Jail Classification.—The process by which jails reach classification decisions has rarely been studied due to the preoccupation of the field with predictive models, assert James Austin and Paul Litsky of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency Research Center. The authors' opinions expressed in this article are based on their findings of a comparative process study of four jail classification systems.

Crime Victim Compensation: A Survey of State Programs.—Compensating crime victims for injuries sustained as a result of their victimization has evolved into a highly complex practice, report Gerard F. Ramker and Martin S. Meagher of Sam Houston State University. Their study showed that the state compensation programs in existence today are subject to similarities in certain organizational characteristics and also appear to share certain disparities.

Probation Officers Do Make a Difference.—This article by Marilyn R. Sánchez of the Hennepin County (Minn.) Probation Department examines the successful interaction between probation officer and client. Her article discusses a three-issue model for feedback from probationers: (1) the "exit interview" with the probationer, (2) presentations in schools, and (3) the postprobation checkoff list.

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



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Alienation and Desire for Job Enrichment Among Correction Officers*

BY HANS TOCH, PH.D., AND JOHN KLOFAS**

IT HAS BEEN the misfortune of correction officers that they fit neatly into all sorts of theoretical schemes, with the result that the portraits of guards that are handed down from teacher to student have none of the flesh-and-blood complexity ascribed to members of other occupations. Officers are presumed stressed by "role conflict," are assumed to subserve "custodial goals" in rehabilitative contexts or to belong to a reactionary "subculture." If the C.O. is humane, he is adjudged as "compromising power" via "corruption" to get along with inmates. Moreover, because most officers are white and nonurban, while prison inmates are disproportionately nonwhite and urban, C.O.'s are ascribed "culture conflict."¹ Such schemes gain credence from the fact that recent strikes and high levels of turnover attest to widespread C.O. discontent, a finding that is compatible with conflict-centered perspectives. To borrow from Gilbert and Sullivan, it can be adduced that "when correctional duty's to be done, the C.O.'s lot is not a 'appy one."

But if the C.O.'s role "is not a happy one," neither is that of most postindustrial workers. Recent surveys have consistently described trends toward worker alienation, particularly among younger and better-educated blue collar workers.² Such trends have been largely attributed to discrepancies between worker aspirations and job (or management) attributes. In the words of one survey team who reviewed the dramatic downtrend in positive work-related attitudes:

esteem-related items ... are those that employees rate most critically. The decreases in favorable attitudes regarding equity, respect, companies' responsiveness to employees' problems, and advancement opportunities most clearly parallel the overall drops in ratings of job satisfaction ... the esteem-related items seem to account for the recent downturn in overall job satisfaction, while extrinsic items, such as satisfaction with pay, do not.³

There is consensus on the growing desire of most workers for jobs that are personally involving and that yield opportunities for learning and development; for work situations that provide a feeling of accomplishment and a sense of self-esteem; for assignments that offer responsibility, independence and opportunities for participation. The absence of such attributes is said to characterize "impoverished" jobs, and the concern is with designing tasks that are less impoverished. This movement is that of "job enrichment."⁴

White collar workers are less alienated than blue collar workers, but this fact does not help the officers. In surveys, professionals are classified as white collar and service workers as blue collar. However, it is not clear whether C.O.'s don't fall between the cracks of the professional (white collar) nonprofessional (blue collar) dichotomy. If officers are human service professionals, they are candidates for theories that expect such workers to become "burned out." A burnout sequence presupposes that the workers enter their careers full of idealism and of concern for clients, but that, after trials and failures, they end up feeling cynical and indifferent to human suffering. Burned out workers are said to move from low alienation to high alienation, and from high desire for job enrichment to none.

But where, on this spectrum, falls the C.O.? Does he (and increasingly, she) find himself/herself torn apart by custody-treatment conflict? Is the C.O.

*The research discussed in this article was supported by Grant CD-6 from the National Institute of Corrections ("Research/Training/Development of Correctional Officers").

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¹ G. Hawkins (THE PRISON: POLICY AND PRACTICE, 1976, 81-107) suggests that the portraits of officers in the literature "are no less stereotypes than the earlier conceptions of guards as merely brutal, sadistic illiterates indulging in capricious cruelty." For representative generalizations, see D. Cressley, Contradictory Directives in Complex Organizations: The Case of the Prison, 4 ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCE QUARTERLY 1 (1959); O. Grusky, Role Conflict in Organization: A Study of Prison Camp Officials, 3 ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCE QUARTERLY 452 (1959); M. Zald, Power Balance and Staff Conflict in Correctional Institutions, 6 ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCE QUARTERLY 22 (1962), and D. Duffee, The Correction Officer Subculture and Organizational Change, 11 J. RESEARCH CRIME & DELINQUENCY 155 (1974).

² Cooper, Morgan, Foley and Kaplan, Changing Employee Values: Deepening Discontent? 57 HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW 117 (1979). Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, WORK IN AMERICA (1973), H. Sheppard and N. Herrick, WHERE HAVE ALL THE ROBOOTS GONE? (1973).

³ Id. Cooper and Kaplan, at 124.
⁴ Job Enrichment has been defined as the redesign of job tasks to include "a greater work content; require a higher level of knowledge and skill; give the worker more autonomy and responsibility for planning, directing and controlling his own performance; and provide the opportunity for personal and meaningful work experience." E. Luthans and E. Knod, Critical Factors in Job Enrichment, 24 ATLANTA ECONOMIC REVIEW 7 (1974). For a rundown of job enrichment theory and research, see J. R. Hackman and G. Oldham, WORK REDESIGN (1980).

subject to a burnout sequence? Is the C.O. concerned about job impoverishment, or ripe for enrichment? Is the C.O. tuned to QWL ("Quality of Work Life") concerns and eager for participation in correctional organizations?

Such questions are of theoretical and practical import. Theoretical issues relate to whether C.O.'s respond to generic forces that bear on American workers, or to specific pressures associated with corrections or human service work. Practical issues have to do with the officer's readiness for change, and with the sort of strategies that are appropriate in bringing change about.

The Illinois Officer Survey

This article presents survey data that address such issues. Before we turn to this research, a C.O. survey by Jacobs bearing on similar questions must be mentioned. This survey was conducted in 1974-75 in Illinois, and included 929 respondents.⁵ Most (90%) of the Illinois officers described themselves as "very happy" or "somewhat happy," and six out of ten saw their work as "quite interesting." The Illinois report concludes that "prison guards seem no more discontent than fellow workers in other occupations." They also seemed no more content: Jacobs notes that guards are concerned about how the public sees them, about danger and about superior officers. A substantial number of officers (four out of ten) felt that "in general, lieutenants are more sympathetic to the problems of inmates than to the problems of correctional officers"; the same proportion disagreed with the statement "when a problem arises between an officer and an inmate, the Warden and other administrators usually support the officer."

Jacobs notes that "the . . . survey data . . . do not support stereotypical depictions of the guard as a stern—even brutal—disciplinarian." Half the Illinois guards saw rehabilitation as the purpose of imprisonment; six out of ten disagreed with "rehabilitation programs are a waste of time and money." White guards were *if anything* more rehabilitation-oriented than black guards; this fact is reviewed in detail by Jacobs and Kraft, who conclude that "there is nothing . . . to suggest that black guards treat inmates with greater respect or

⁵ J. Jacobs, *What Prison Guards Think: A Profile of the Illinois Force*, 24 CRIME AND DELINQUENCY 185 (1978).

⁶ J. Jacobs and L. Kraft, *Integrating the Keepers: A Comparison of Black and White Guards in Illinois*, 25 SOCIAL PROBLEMS 304 (1978) at 217.

⁷ R. Teske and H. Williamson, *Correctional Officers' Attitudes Toward Selected Treatment Programs*, 6 CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND BEHAVIOR 64 (1979).

⁸ Smith, Milan, Wood, and McKee, *The Correctional Officer as a Behavioral Technician*, 3 CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND BEHAVIOR 347 (1976).

⁹ Jacobs, *supra* note 5, at 195.

sensitivity. They do not hold more rehabilitative views. Nor have they aligned themselves with the inmates against the administration."⁶

The pro-rehabilitation stance of guards also appears as the key finding of a Texas guard poll. Teske and Williamson report that the Texas C.O. "tended to view himself . . . as being the most important person involved with the inmate in terms of the impact on the inmate, and he had a positive attitude toward treatment programs."⁷ (As in Illinois, the Texas survey reports pro-rehabilitation attitudes becoming stronger with age.) A related finding emerges in the Federal system. Smith, who polled the officer force of FCI Draper to locate volunteers for an inmate behavior therapy program, found that *all* officers (bar none) expressed an interest in participating.⁸

The rehabilitation issue bears on the job enrichment issue, because the officer's role is most susceptible to enrichment in the treatment (human services) area. This fact is fundamental to our study. It does not impress Jacobs, however, despite the thrust of his survey. Jacobs writes:

In the last decade or so the prison has witnessed a clear movement toward specialization, and activities such as counseling, education, and vocational training have been taken from the uniformed officer. This means that the correctional officer is specifically defined as a specialist in security and discipline. Training programs should recognize and build upon this fact by emphasizing the development of detached, efficient, and rational security skills. By following the example of the state police, it may be possible to instill an esprit de corps and a strong, positive self-image in a force of professional security specialists.⁹

The Eaststate CO Survey

Our survey was conducted in late 1980, as a prelude to a participatory job enrichment program for officers. The goals of the survey were (1) to ascertain whether C.O.'s demonstrate alienation of the sort described elsewhere for blue collar workers, (2) to explore C.O. interest in job enrichment, particularly in the inmate-rehabilitation area, and (3) to map modulators of (1) and (2). In line with our applied interests, the design and administration of the survey was participatory, and we asked questions (requesting officer estimates of peer responses), the responses to which would enlighten feedback of data.

(1) Alienation:

The first third of our questionnaire comprised 25 statements that were designed to gauge job-related alienation. Most of these items were inspired by three dimensions of Seeman's classic taxonomy

(powerlessness, meaninglessness and self-estrangement).¹⁰

Powerlessness denotes a sense of impotence, or the feeling that one cannot affect systemic forces. De-escalated from society to the prison, powerlessness refers to items such as:

No one ever asks a C.O. for suggestions related to his job;

If it's an officer's word against an inmate, they'll believe the inmate; and

We're damned if we do, and damned if we don't.

Meaningless summarizes the view that one does not know what is expected. It covers such items as:

You don't know from one day to the next how the department expects you to act;

The inmate rule book means nothing in prison these days; and

A C.O. is told what his job is only when he does something wrong.

Self-estrangement is (among other things) "the loss of intrinsic meaning or pride in work," or "an inability to find self-rewarding . . . activities."¹¹ This has to do with job impoverishment, or concerns such as:

The only thing the C.O.'s job has going for it is job security;

The C.O.'s job is a treadmill; and

No matter how hard one tries, one feels no sense of accomplishment.

We included a fourth dimension, which describes bureaucratic indifference, a concern which emerges frequently in surveys of workers. The dimension refers to a feeling of not being appreciated or esteemed, a sense of being cavalierly treated, of being insufficiently supported—particularly by persons in authority. Relevant items included:

Supervisors care more about the inmates than about the C.O.'s;

If a C.O. does good work, he gets recognition; and

Most sergeants and lieutenants are concerned about their C.O.'s morale.

(2) Job Enrichment (Professional Orientation):

The second set of 25 statements in the questionnaire dealt with inmate contact or rehabilitation-related activity. Most items in this section measured (1) interest in (or sympathy for) more-than-custodial work; and (2) preference for low (or high) social distance from inmates. The interest in

¹⁰ M. Seeman, *On the Meaning of Alienation*, 24 AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW 781 (1959). Seeman's typology has been found useful in a recent study of officers by E. D. Poole and R. M. Regoli, *Alienation in Prison: An Examination of the Work Relations of Prison Guards* 19 CRIMINOLOGY 251 (1981).

¹¹ Seeman, *supra* note 10, at 790.

high contact jobs was defined through items such as:

The most satisfying jobs involve inmate contact;

The C.O.'s only concern is with prison security;

Counseling is a job for counselors, not correctional officers; and

Sometimes a guard should be an advocate for an inmate.

Social distance items included such statements as:

The best way to deal with inmates is to be firm and distant;

A C.O. should work hard to earn trust from inmates;

A good principle is not to get "close" to convicts; and

A personal relationship with an inmate invites corruption.

There were also a few items (e.g., "there would be much less crime if prisons were more uncomfortable") that tapped a generic hard nosed or soft nosed stance in penological matters. Generically worded job enrichment items were included in pretest, but the paucity of nonenriched responses made such items useless.

(3) Officer Opinion Estimates:

In the third section of the questionnaire half of our 50 items were repeated, and the officers were asked to "guess how other officers in your institution will answer each question." The response choices were:

Almost all agree ("over 80% of officers would agree with the statement")

Most agree ("more than half but less than 80% would agree")

Most disagree ("fewer than 80%")

Almost all disagree ("80% or more")

The purpose of the exercise was to document for the officers' benefit the prevalence of pluralistic ignorance relating to interest in job enrichment (17 items) and to alienation (eight items). The point of having such data available, as we discuss them elsewhere, is to explode the myth which "suggests that the brave feel lonely because they *are* lonely . . . (which) implies that officers who admit that they want to help inmates and/or improve prisons must swim against the tide, that they must run an embarrassing gauntlet of irate fellow-guards who vociferously demand conformity to a cynical, dinosaur view of the world." If pluralistic ignorance emerges in a correction officer survey, it means that "the officer subculture becomes *imaginary*. In other words, the brave can afford to be braver than they suspect, because consensus on

such premises as 'never talk to a con' or 'never rat to a sergeant' is *falsely* assumed, and no guard group really cares whether Officer Jones lets a depressed inmate show him pictures of his unfaithful wife, or runs a counselling group in the protective segregation galley."¹²

Development of the Survey Instrument

Our instrument evolved through several pretests, and employed the expertise of an Officer Advisory Group including two union representatives. The first pretest was conducted using 69 officer-candidates for positions in therapeutic communities. The second pretest group comprised 64 officers who had been appointed as inservice training officers in prisons. The second group was more representative than the first because it covered Eaststate geographically, but it was no more a random sample than the first pretest group. Results from our first survey were submitted to the Officer Advisory Group, who expanded the time pool for the second pretest. The data from each pretest cycle were subjected to item analysis. Responses on the alienation and job enrichment scales were analyzed separately. Items for which there was little variability in the responses or which did not discriminate between high and low scorers on each summated scale were rejected. Item to scale correlations on the retained variables ranged between .31 and .72. The product moment

¹²H. Toch, *Liberating Prison Guards*, PROCEEDINGS OF THE 15th INTERAGENCY WORKSHOP, SAM HOUSTON STATE UNIVERSITY, 1980 at 29.

TABLE 1. *Items Yielding Extreme (High Intensity) Alienation Responses (N = 834)*

Item:	Response			
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The average C.O. would change professions if he had a chance.	27.2	47.7	24.0	1.1
No one ever asks a C.O. for suggestions relating to his job.	25.3	46.0	27.2	1.4
You don't know from one day to the next how the department expects you to act.	29.4	40.6	27.8	2.2
A C.O. is told what his job is only when he does something wrong.	21.9	38.0	37.7	2.4
Most sergeants and lieutenants are concerned about their C.O.'s morale.	3.1	30.2	43.4	23.3
We're damned if we do, and damned if we don't.	26.6	49.7	21.5	2.2
No matter how hard one tries, one feels no sense of accomplishment.	23.4	43.9	30.1	2.4
If a C.O. does good work, he gets recognition.	1.3	23.1	54.4	22.1

correlation between the final job enrichment scale and the alienation scale was zero (.09). Items in the estimate section were selected because officers' estimates on the pretest varied substantially from the distribution of their own responses on the items. The final questionnaire contained 25 alienation items, 25 job enrichment items, and 25 opinion estimate items as well as indicators of the respondents' demographic characteristics.

Administration of the Instrument

The final version of the instrument was administered to correctional officers in four maximum security prisons in Eaststate. The first (Backwood Prison) is located in a rural setting, and is one of few major sources of employment in the area. Smalltown Prison is located in a somewhat more populated area. Mid-City prison is located in a medium size city with a population of 35,000. Metro-access Prison lies on the perimeter of a large metropolitan area from which 78 percent of the surveyed officers commute to work. The racial composition of the respondents reflects the geographic distribution of the prisons. Almost all of the officers in three prisons are white. At Metro-access Prison, however, 68.8 percent of the officers are black and 15.6 percent are Hispanic. There are no systematic differences between the inmate populations of the four facilities.

At each institution the survey was jointly sponsored by local management and union representatives. Plans for the survey were announced dur-

ing lineup, and survey forms were distributed to all available officers, to be returned to training staff or union representatives. In all, a total of 1739 survey forms were distributed and 832 completed questionnaires, or 47.8 percent were returned. Officers were given the option of signing their name to their questionnaire, and most (77%) of the officers provided their names.

Survey Results

Reliability of the instrument is satisfactory, in that 23 items out of each 25 item scale yielded item to scale correlations ranging from .38 to .67 for Alienation and from .26 to .54 for Job Enrichment. Cronbach's Alpha equalled .92 for the Alienation scale and .85 for the Job Enrichment scale. Correlations between the two scales ranged from -.09 at Metro-access to -.34 at Backwood Prison.

Overall, it seemed clear that correction officers are disaffected. Table 1 illustrates their discontent, and points up its magnitude. Out of each 10 officers, seven agree with statements such as "we're damned if we do, and damned if we don't." One out of four hold such alienated views strongly. Three out of four officers feel that the average correction officer would change jobs if he could.

Fortunately, some responses point to remediable conditions. One can remedy the fact that "no one ever asks a C.O. for suggestions"; one can induce sergeants to be "concerned about their C.O.'s morale"; one can foster a "sense of accomplishment" and assure officers some recognition.

Moreover, officers are not equally alienated. The average scores in our four prisons ranged from 10.1 (Metro-access) to 17.2 (Backwood). As a group, the more urbanized the officers, the higher their level of discontent (figure 1), a trend that replicates

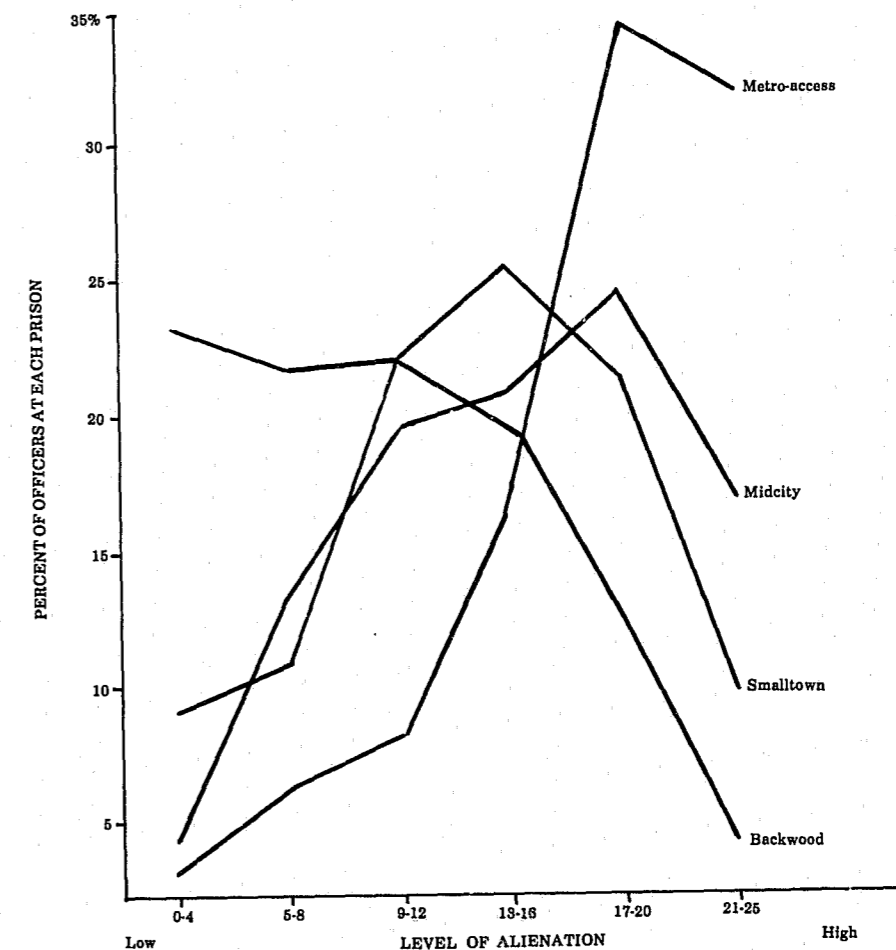


FIGURE 1
Distribution of Alienation Scores of Officers in Four Differently Located Prisons (N = 736) Showing Concentrations of Low-Alienation Officers in the Rural Prisons, and of High-Alienation Officers in the Urban Prison.

survey findings for blue collar workers in industry. The extent of differences one uncovers can be gleaned from table 2. Urban officers have strong feelings about bureaucratic indifference—the way officers are treated by supervisors. A majority of the men in Metro-access prison (as opposed to a minority at the Backwood facility), feel “officers are really treated worse than inmates” and “supervisors care more about the inmates than about the C.O.’s.” Such statements reflect strong views.

Alienation among officers also varies with seniority—with time on the job. The relationship follows a “U” Curve; officers of 5 to 19 years of experience are more alienated than those with less than 5 years and with more than 20 years on the force. Only one out of four mid-range officers feels that supervisors are concerned about officer morale; four out of ten less experienced and more experienced share the sentiment. Half the C.O.’s in the mid-seniority range think they are “treated

worse than inmates”; the statement is endorsed by one-third of the senior and junior groups.

The officers’ job enrichment (human service orientation) scores followed a normal curve in each prison. On many items (table 3) there was moderately high liberal consensus throughout the system. A few other items show contrasting agreement around the need to be suspiciously cynical. Only 17 percent of officers, for example, disagree with the proposition that “you can’t ever completely trust an inmate”; an equivalent proportion (20.4%) dissent from the view that “if an officer is lenient with inmates they will take advantage of him”; three out of four (77.3%) feel that a “good principle is not to get ‘close’ to convicts.”

Responses in the four prisons did not vary greatly, but where differences exist (table 4), the rural prison (Backwood) yields the most enrichment-oriented and inmate-oriented responses; the most urban prison (Metro-access) shows more custody orientation. Some may be sur-

TABLE 2. Responses of Correctional Officers to Select Alienation Items: Four Maximum Security Prisons in Eaststate

	Percent of Officers Who Agreed With Statement at			
	Metro-access Prison	Midcity Prison	Smalltown Prison	Backwood Prison
To work as a C.O. means to have no chance of advancement.	55.8	39.7	42.5	23.7*
You don't know from one day to the next how the department expects you to act.	85.5	75.1	78.4	55.6
The inmate rule book means nothing in prisons these days.	76.6	52.0	42.8	30.1
A C.O. is told what his job is only when he does something wrong.	83.1	57.1	69.0	46.9
Most sergeants and lieutenants are concerned about their C.O.'s morale.	10.2	25.2	31.0	49.1
When a C.O. takes action, he generally gets backing from superiors.	35.6	57.0	55.7	79.8
If it's an officer's word against an inmate's, they'll believe the inmate.	54.4	29.6	30.4	18.7
Officers are really treated worse than inmates.	71.2	46.0	41.6	28.3
Most supervisors treat their C.O.'s fairly.	55.1	76.7	77.7	92.8
Supervisors care more about the inmates than about the C.O.'s.	64.2	32.8	36.2	18.2
Management expects too much work from correctional officers.	51.1	44.9	31.1	19.6
100% totals approximately	139	205	168	320

*Chi square significant beyond .001 level for all variables in this table.

TABLE 3. Job Enrichment Items in Which Responses of Officers in Four Institutions Were Virtually Identical (N = 832)

Item:	Responses	
	Agree	Disagree
The best way to deal with inmates is to be firm and distant.	41.5	58.5
The way you get respect from inmates is to take an interest in them.	61.0	39.0
Any infraction of the rules by an inmate should result in disciplinary action.	40.1	59.9
With some inmates, an officer becomes a substitute father.	59.1	40.9
Improving prisons for inmates makes prisons worse for officers.	40.9	59.1
Rehabilitation programs are a waste of time and money.	43.4	56.6
It's important for a C.O. to have compassion.	75.2	24.8

TABLE 5. Level of Interest in Job Enrichment of Correction Officers, by Age of Officers.

	Interest in Job Enrichment			
	LOW	MIDDLE	HIGH	
Under 25 (N=28)	46.7%	43.3%	10.0%	100%
25-30 (136)	21.8%	64.6%	13.6%	100%
30-40 (261)	19.8%	58.2%	22.0%	100%
40-50 (156)	15.0%	55.6%	29.4%	100%
Over 50 (100)	17.3%	51.0%	31.7%	100%
Totals	142	409	163	

of liberal C.O.’s. Equally surprising is the finding (table 5) that officers tend to mellow with age. Very young officers (who are underrepresented in our prisons) are custody oriented; human service orientation increases steadily (monotonically) with age. Similar results appear, less dramatically, with seniority. Of officers with less than 5 years on the job, for example, 46 percent feel that “rehabilitative programs should be left to mental health professionals”; the view is held by only 30 percent of the 5-10 year group, 28 percent of officers with 11 to 19 years on the job, and 25 percent

prised by this fact, given the assumption that rural guards are custodially oriented, and that urban minority officers tend to constitute a “new breed”

TABLE 4. Differences Between Officers in Four Institutions in Their Responses to Select Job Enrichment (Custody Orientation) Items (N = c. 834)

Statement	Percent Agreement with Statement at			
	Metro-access Prison	Midcity Prison	Smalltown Prison	Backwood Prison
The C.O.'s only concern is with prison security.	29.4	19.0	17.4	17.4*
A C.O. should work hard to earn trust from inmates.	32.8	49.0	50.6	53.5***
Rehabilitative programs should be left to mental health professionals.	43.4	34.5	30.6	25.9**
Counseling is a job for counselors, not correctional officers.	38.2	25.4	26.8	19.1***
A personal relationship with an inmate invites corruption.	73.0	57.1	71.3	65.1**
You must keep conversations with inmates short and businesslike.	59.4	45.3	50.6	40.8**
Sometimes a guard should be an advocate for an inmate.	38.5	50.3	56.4	59.0***
If a C.O. wants to do counseling, he should change jobs.	38.2	31.2	29.5	25.5*

Chi squares,
 *** Difference significant beyond .001 level
 ** Difference significant beyond .01 level
 * Difference significant beyond .05 level.

of those with 20 years of more experience. Similarly, 85 percent of the over-twenty seniority group feels that "it's important for a C.O. to have compassion." This proposition is endorsed by 66 percent of the officers with less than 5 years experience.

Table 6 displays the officers' responses and their estimates of other officers' responses at Smalltown prison. We see that the officers tend to overestimate their peers' alienation, and consistently assume that the majority is more custody oriented (less job enrichment oriented) than they are. The most dramatic finding relates to those of officers (one out of five) who assume that C.O.'s

agree *completely* on a cynical, custody-oriented stand—a stand that is rejected by the officers. Closer analysis reveals that the same officers *repeatedly* assume (over many different items) that there is imaginary consensus of fellow officers taking an alienated, custody oriented stand. The officers in question tend to be alienated, and they are very custody oriented themselves. They are also young and (relatively) inexperienced.

To be sure, there are also officers who are in tune with their peer climate. These are *invariably* professionally oriented, and they tend to be older and more experienced officers. Such men are professional, but aren't held back by imagined opposi-

TABLE 6. Actual Officer Responses and Officer's Estimates of Officer Responses at Smalltown Prison (N = c. 168)

Statement	Actual Responses		Percent Officers Who Estimated That			
	Agree	Disagree	Almost all will agree	Most will agree	Most will disagree	Almost all will disagree
I'm proud of being a correctional officer.	61.8%	38.2%	3.7%	31.9%	45.4%	19.0%
The inmate rule book means nothing in prison these days.	42.8	57.4	25.0	36.6	32.9	5.5
Officers are really treated worse than inmates.	41.6	58.4	19.5	42.1	33.5	4.5
Management expects too much work from correctional workers.	31.1	68.9	13.5	43.6	38.0	4.9
The C.O.'s only concern is with prison security.	17.4	82.6	14.7	38.0	40.5	6.7
The best way to deal with inmates is to be firm and distant.	36.7	63.3	19.6	49.7	28.8	1.8
Rehabilitative programs should be left to mental health professionals.	30.6	69.4	19.6	37.4	35.6	7.4
It's important for a C.O. to have compassion.	73.8	26.2	5.5	41.7	41.7	11.0
Any infraction of the rules by an inmate should result in disciplinary action.	34.5	65.5	19.3	44.1	32.3	4.3
Counseling is a job for counselors, not correctional officers.	26.8	73.2	21.7	34.8	32.8	10.6
Improving prisons for inmates makes prisons worse for officers.	40.4	59.6	28.0	34.8	32.3	5.0
Sometimes a guard should be an advocate for an inmate.	56.4	43.6	3.1	23.7	61.9	11.2
If a C.O. wants to do counseling, he should change jobs.	29.5	70.5	19.6	38.7	34.4	7.4
Rehabilitation programs are a waste of time and money.	43.7	56.3	36.2	42.9	17.8	3.1

tion. The term "liberated professionals" may describe them. In our sample, the largest type (30 percent of officers) fell into this category.

Discussion

One feature of our survey was the inclusion within the same instrument of measures of alienation and of desire for job enrichment. Many work design experts contend that alienated workers—particularly blue collar workers in urban areas—have little desire for job enrichment because they are excessively alienated, and that the combination (alienation and low internal work motivation) makes most of the urban workers poor candidates for job redesign programs. In our data set this assumption is questionable because there is no correlation between the two survey instruments among urban officers. These officers, as predicated, are highly alienated, but we find their job enrichment motivation on the average in the same range as that of other officers.

Our instrument measures work-related alienation, whose prevalence varies with degree of urbanization, a variable which often (as in Eaststate) is inseparably linked to ethnicity. It is thus clear that the majority of city-based officers, who are also minority officers, feel circumscribed, poorly supervised, unappreciated, arbitrarily managed and haphazardly informed, while white farm-based officers are relatively acceptant of organizational

constraints, and therefore nonalienated. Without prejudging the legitimacy of either view, the difference has implications for the targeting of intervention efforts designed to dilute (or minimally, to "sell") conventional styles of management. Our own suggested approach would be to try to increase the vertical loading of the alienated worker's job through participatory involvement. This is a different conclusion from the one conventionally drawn by consultants, who are put off by the inhospitality of the alienated worker's stance.¹³

In making this recommendation, we do not imply that correction manager's job ends with the appeasement of his urban officers. Some of our data (table 1, in particular) suggest that officers generally feel autocratically managed, in the sense they do not feel that their contributions are solicited and they see themselves quickly condemned and rarely appreciated. It also appears that this malaise is slow to dawn and simmers for years, but that veteran officers (those who remain through retirement) become reconciled to their fate, or—as some younger officers assert) "give up because they don't give a damn." The sequence is slower and more reversible than the postulated "burnout" cycle of human service workers.

The urban-rural job enrichment need differences are undramatic, but the direction of the difference is important, because it supports the notion that black officers must be hired for reasons other than their presumed propensity to relate more closely to black inmates.¹⁴ The content of the items displayed in table 4 is especially revealing, because all these items reveal a reluctance on the officers' part to reduce inmate-officer social distance.

The data call into equal question the premise that "old line" officers should be replaced with a liberal "new breed" who are inmate-oriented.¹⁵ Mellowing with seniority is revealing because recruit training has increasingly emphasized human relations content over traditional custody-oriented curricula. The myth that "hardnosed older officers" will neutralize the liberality of "liberal young turks" with custodial war stories is clearly inapplicable; if anything, the influence should be a softening, tolerance-inducing and liberalizing one.

We have confirmed the conclusions of prior research suggesting that officers over time arrive at a comfortable definition of appropriate inmate-officer social distance and constructive levels of relatedness.¹⁶ There is no evidence of "role conflict" among officers, of unendurable strain,

¹³ Job enrichment research has examined the moderating effects of individual differences on the relationship between levels of enriched work and job satisfaction. A common finding has been that enrichment and satisfaction are positively related among rural factory workers but are negatively related among workers in urban plants. See A. Turner and P. Lawrence, INDUSTRIAL JOBS AND THE WORKER (1965); also C. Hullin and M. Blood, Job Enlargement, Individual Differences and Worker Responses, 69 PSYCHOLOGICAL BULLETIN 41 (1968). Based on such findings, Hullin concludes that "the argument for large jobs as a means of motivating workers, decreasing boredom and dissatisfaction and increasing attendance and productivity is valid only when applied to certain segments of the work force." (C. Hullin, Individual Differences and Job Enrichment—the Case Against General Treatments, in J. Maher, NEW PERSPECTIVES IN JOB ENRICHMENT (1971).)

¹⁴ Workers' interest in job enrichment is often seen as the key variable determining the outcome of job enrichment programs. (D. Cherington and L. England, The Desire for an Enriched Job as a Moderator of the Enrichment-Satisfaction Relationship, 25 ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR AND HUMAN PERFORMANCE 139 (1980).) Also, J. Wanous, Who Wants Job Enrichment?, 41 S.A.M. ADVANCED MANAGEMENT JOURNAL 19 (1976). Many authors have linked alienation of urban workers with reduced interest in job enrichment. Among others, Wanous (supra) argues that enrichment programs have lower chances of success and are less appropriate among urban blue collar workers. A different perspective is proposed in H. Toch, Alienation as a Vehicle for Change, 7 JOURNAL OF COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY 3 (1979). We suggest that the alienated may be the most plausible targets for change programs because they have strong change-relevant feelings and because they already play key roles in informal organizations that influence peers, which makes them "ideal change-disseminators."

¹⁵ This is the conclusion reached by Jacobs and Kraft, supra note 6. In their survey, Jacobs and Kraft found no support for the popular belief that, by virtue of similarity of background, minority officers are concerned about treating inmates more humanely and relating to them more effectively than their white counterparts.

¹⁶ Changing Structure of Mens' Prisons, in D. Greenberg (ed.) CORRECTIONS AND PUNISHMENT (1977).
¹⁶ A great deal of evidence to this effect emerges in exhaustive interviews conducted by Lucien Lombardo, which are summarized in GUARDS IMPRISONED; CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS AT WORK (1981). Similar lines are drawn in Jacobs' survey, supra note 6, in which it was found that 70 percent of the officers agreed that "most inmates are decent people" but 80 percent also agreed that "inmates try to take advantage of officers whenever they can." In a study of Indiana prison guards it appeared that the officers "wanted to have personal associations (with inmates), but not personal enough to encourage friendships, mutual obligations, and/or reciprocity. . . . Personal expectations of the perceived prison guard's role would tend to enhance everyday harmony between guards and inmates. However, if carried to intimate associations, then these contacts might lead to the negation of certain guard duties, conflicts between guards and inmates and corruption of the guard role." P. Peretti and M. Hooker, Social Role Self-Perception of State Prison Guards, 3 CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND BEHAVIOR 187 (1976).

cognitive dissonance or experienced pressure of conflicting goals. Nor is there evidence of "hack" definition of the officer's role in opposition to a "reintegrative" stance of his superiors. On the contrary, correction officers—with the exception of the very youngest officer—seem to favor role definitions that expand and enrich involvement with inmates.

Although there is no evidence of a "hard nosed" officer subculture, the belief in such a culture is wrongly shared by many officers (table 6) and it is particularly subscribed to by officers who fit the stone age mold. Corrections officers talk volubly of "negative peer pressure," but the data suggest that "peers" exerting such "pressure" are few and wildly unrepresentative, and that their volubility is based on the intensity of their feelings, and that they are cheered on by a delusion of peer consensus. The existence of a reactionary minority *does* pose problems for job enrichment programs,¹⁷ but such problems may not survive feedback of data

¹⁷ The impact of a vocal minority of workers was demonstrated in a simulation study (S. White and T. Mitchell, Job Enrichment Versus Social Cues: A Comparison and Competitive Test, 64 JOURNAL OF APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY 1, 1979) which showed that "gripping" co-workers contributed significantly to perceptions of whether a clerical task was enriched or not.

such as those presented above.

Our work draws on job redesign literature and on research about correctional officers as an occupation. We have tampered with the job redesign model by translating alienation and job enrichment into correctional content; we have also tampered with the prison literature by translating correctional content into job design variables. The import of this sort of merger is that it (1) builds a bridge from industrial research to thinking about prisons, and (2) links prison-related concerns to more broadgauged social science concerns. In this connection our tentative conclusion is that urban officers stand in particular need of morale-boosting and "job expanding" interventions. At least one relevant force in the urban worker's force field is the cafeteria-like opportunities they (rightly or wrongly) perceive in their environment which gives them bargaining power. We suspect that workers are often relegated to the realm of the "unenrichable" because they are suspicious of—and resistant to—top-down change. Such a preclassification is risky because it invites further alienation and aggravates an obviously serious problem.

BARS in Corrections

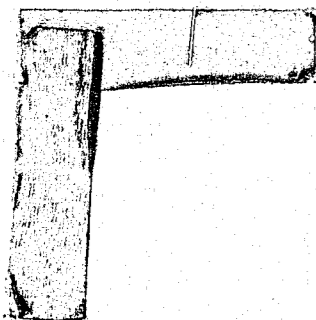
BY WILEY HAMBY AND J. E. BAKER*

THE SEARCH for a fair method of evaluating employee performance is age-old. In the East, the first known system is attributed to the Wei Dynasty of China in the 13th century A.D. Some 300 years later, in the 16th century, Ignatius of Loyola founded the Jesuit Order and developed a combination reporting and rating system which provided a comprehensive and accurate picture of each Jesuit's activities and potential. In some form or other, most organizations in both the

public and private sector evaluate employee performance. Almost without exception the method used has been or is being modified. It is rare to find agreement on or satisfaction with whatever method is used, on the part of either the evaluator or the evaluatee at any level in the organizational hierarchy.

Too often employees perceive the performance evaluation system as some sort of a management game in which players are periodically told the score but given little or no information on either the rules or expectations of performance. As an illustration, imagine a golf course with no par ratings. At the same time, management personnel are frustrated by performance evaluation systems whose chief characteristics are subjectivity and lack of specificity. Too often the performance rating form is applied systemwide to evaluate practically everyone doing almost everything,

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