

An Examination of Management Strategies and Attitudes Among Probation Officers

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The authors examined management strategy profiles in probation officers (POs; N = 57; African American = 96%; male = 53%) using Probation Practices Assessment Survey scores. Results of a cluster analysis yielded three profiles: compliance, therapeutic, and intensive. POs with a compliance profile were characterized by high frequency of deterrence and confrontation strategies and less frequent use of behavioral, counseling, and restorative strategies when compared to colleagues. Therapeutic POs reported to use deterrence and confrontation strategies infrequently. At the same time, therapeutic POs reported to use behavioral and counseling tactics, and to a lesser degree restorative approaches, on a slightly above average basis. The intensive profile was marked by the frequent use of all different types of probation approaches. Results also showed that management profiles were indicative of attitudes toward punitiveness, mental health rehabilitation, and response to probation in juveniles.

Crime waves in the 1980s and 1990s resulted in harsh responses to juvenile offenders in the United States, including a surge in arrests (Benekos & Merlo, 2008), an increase in transfers to the adult system (Bishop, 2000), and the introduction of life without parole (Hechinger, 2013). Unfortunately, the swing toward juvenile retribution was exacerbated by a simultaneous decline in community involvement (e.g., civic community service; Bazemore & Stinchcomb, 2013). Although a substantive portion of the public called for

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punitive responses to juvenile crime, civil rights advocates sought to protect juvenile offenders, and a third constituency championed their rehabilitation (Butts & Mears, 2001; Maloney, Romig, & Armstrong, 1988). The result was the emergence of a balanced approach to juvenile probation in the 21st century, and this movement included three mandates: (a) community protection, (b) accountability, and (c) rehabilitation/competency (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2009).

The social discourse and resulting policy changes regarding juvenile offenses had a large impact on probation officers' (POs') duties. When the juvenile justice system was pressured to increase punitive measures, POs were directed to implement punitive strategies such as taking formal actions on violations and recommending detention (Fulton, Stichman, Travis, & Latessa, 1997). When juvenile justice moved toward a balanced approach, POs were directed to balance punitiveness with rehabilitative efforts (Lopez & Russell, 2008). The shifts in PO directives have sparked scholarly interest in their attitudes toward probation, and the associations among POs' attitudes and probation outcomes. Because there is not a one-to-one correspondence between attitudes and probation management strategies, Schwalbe and Maschi (2009) recently encouraged more focused attention on the latter.

There is reason to believe that research on POs will have important implications. POs are the fulcrum of the juvenile justice system. POs provide evidence and case information on juveniles in hearings and advise judges on appropriate dispositions. POs also manage treatment opportunities for youth in the community and document juveniles' compliance with court mandates (e.g., curfews, school attendance, stay aways, etc). Most importantly, POs develop relationships with youth and their families to facilitate the probation process, including the fruitfulness of office and home visits.

In fact, data indicate that PO supervision in the community accounts for 60% of youth contact with the juvenile justice system (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Moreover, PO relationships with youth have been shown to have substantive effects on recidivism and other variables of consequence, such as probation compliance (Skeem, Loudon, Polaschek, & Camp, 2007). PO strategies are also associated with community protection and have been shown to decrease crime rates (Worrall & Gaines, 2006). What remains largely unknown is the association between PO attitudes and management strategies, and how these variables shape outcomes in the juveniles they serve (Leiber, Schwarze, Mack, & Farnworth, 2002; Schwalbe & Maschi, 2009; Ward & Kupchik, 2008).

PROBATION ORIENTATIONS AMONG POs

Most of the attention on attitudes in justice personnel has been allocated to the adult system (Leiber et al., 2002). However, studies on juvenile justice personnel are emerging, some of which have included POs. These studies

have focused on punishment and treatment orientations in POs (Ward & Kupchik, 2008), as well as the association between education level/specification and probation orientation (Leiber et al., 2002). More recent focus has been shifted to management strategies in POs (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2009), and the primary purpose of the present study is to expand upon this effort.

Leiber et al. (2002) were interested in how job roles and education affects correctional orientations in POs. Previous to the Leiber et al. study, there appeared to be a consensus that advanced and specified education prevented overly punitive orientations from developing among correctional personnel. Leiber et al. found that education level had a negative relationship with punitive attitudes too, but reported that education specialization was not a strong predictor of punitiveness. In practical terms, achieving a graduate degree is likely to reduce punitiveness, but the particular focus of study is not. Further still, functional role (i.e., job title and description) had a larger, more meaningful effect on punitive attitudes than education; and the association between functional role and punitive attitudes was not mediated by education. Analyses on functional roles showed that POs were less oriented toward punitive measures than personnel working in detention facilities (e.g., teachers and officers). These data point to the importance of job training and the definition of roles among juvenile justice personnel.

In another study on POs' attitudes toward probation, Ward and Kupchik (2010) examined the degree to which treatment and punishment orientations varied across court context, individual status characteristics, and attitudinal resonances. These authors found that treatment and punishment orientations were not mutually exclusive or inflexible. Instead, punitive and treatment orientations were found to coexist, and levels sometimes varied in POs case by case. Ward and Kupchik also reported that attitudinal resonances were the best predictors of treatment and punishment orientations. Interestingly, consideration of moral character, offense severity, and victims' rights had strong, positive associations with both treatment and punishment inclinations. In contrast, a significant effect on probation orientation was not identified for court context (e.g., rural vs urban), nor age or job tenure (i.e., individual status characteristics).

In terms of demographics, Ward and Kupchik (2010) showed differences in probation attitudes by gender, racial/ethnic group, and age. African American POs reported higher scores for both concern about moral character and for victim rights than their European American peers. Further, African American female POs were shown to be more treatment oriented than their European American and male peers. Males were more inclined to punish than treat, and male African American POs were more treatment-oriented than their male European American peers (Ward & Kupchik, 2008). However, punishment scores did not vary between racial/ethnic groups in POs. Also of note, younger POs reported higher scores for punishment but similar scores for treatment when compared to their more seasoned colleagues.

Findings on POs' attitudes and orientations have sparked an interest in the study of more nuanced management strategies in these personnel.

PROBATION MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

In the only known study of its kind, Schwalbe and Maschi (2009) examined case management and interpersonal strategies in POs using the Probation Practices Assessment Survey (PPAS). The PPAS is an index of 28 strategies and approaches used over the course of a specified period of time by a PO (e.g., 3 months). The PPAS includes three case management subscales (deterrence orientation, treatment orientation, restorative justice orientation), and four compliance practices (confrontation tactics, counseling tactics, behavioral tactics, and contact frequency). Schwalbe and Maschi (2009) used the PPAS to survey 384 members of the American Probation and Parole Association who were supervising youth with court contact. They found that POs used both accountability and rehabilitation tactics. No differences were found between implementation of deterrence and treatment strategies, but both were used more than restorative justice approaches. Equal use of confrontation, counseling, and behavioral tactics were also observed. However, PO approaches were shown to vary across youth with different needs/risk (e.g., school functioning, mental health, substance abuse, parental criminality, etc.).

For one, Schwalbe and Maschi (2009) reported that youth with high scores for cumulative risk were provided with more types of probation approaches than peers with lower cumulative risk scores. Younger offenders were provided with more accountability, more contact, and less confrontation/threat tactics than their older peers. Also of interest, POs' attitudes were shown to be good predictors of probation approaches. For instance, POs who endorsed high levels of punishment also endorsed high levels of accountability and low frequency of contact with youth. In contrast, POs with a treatment orientation reported high frequency of youth contact and a strong focus on rehabilitation. It should also be noted that the youths' race and gender were not good predictors of their POs' approaches to probation, and this finding was not in keeping with the extant literature. In fact, African American juveniles have been shown to be the most likely to receive punitive approaches from their POs (Graham & Lowery, 2004), as are females when compared to their male peers (Gaarder, Rodriguez, & Zatz, 2004).

Management Profiles Among POs

Another meaningful contribution of the Schwalbe and Maschi (2008) study was the identification of probation management profiles. These authors used latent class analysis to group POs together based on their similarity in scores for all PPAS subscales. Results included three profiles, and each profile

included flat, or consistent, scores. Scores increased (i.e., in intensity) across the PPAS subscales from Latent Class 1 to 2 to 3 with the lowest scores being reported by Profile 1 and the highest by Profile 3. For instance, POs with Profile 1 reported lower scores on the PPAS subscales than their peers with Profile 2 or 3. Further still, management strategy profiles were shown to be good predictors of attitudes about probation. POs with more favorable attitudes toward probation were the most likely to provide the highest intensity of probation (i.e., report a Management Profile 3).

The identification of management profiles in POs is a potentially interesting line of inquiry. For one, researchers in other fields (e.g., psychology, Andretta, Worrell, & Mello, 2014) have shown that bivariate relationships can be misleading, and that person-oriented approaches to inquiry better account for individual differences. Using the PPAS as an example, Schwalbe and Maschi (2008) reported a strong, positive relationship between punishment strategies and emphasis on accountability. But, we also know that the other six PPAS subscales have different associations with punishment. Therefore, the isolated, bivariate relationship between punishment and accountability has not accounted for the effect of punishment attitudes on the other, co-occurring types of probation approaches. Instead, examining differences in punishment attitudes across PPAS profiles might provide more comprehensive analyses.

Now that PPAS profiles have been identified, follow-up studies are needed. For one, it would be important to know if the PPAS profiles identified in the Schwalbe and Maschi (2008) study generalize in other PO populations. If probation management profiles are not generalizable or stable, then studies examining the relationships between these profiles and other variables of interest “are exercises in pure empiricism with no practical or clinical use” (p. 520; Worrell, Vanidver, Schaefer, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith, 2006). Second, more analyses are needed to determine if PPAS profiles predict meaningful differences in other variables of consequence for POs and the youth they serve (Worrell et al., 2006). For instance, it would be important to know if attitudes toward punishment (i.e., as opposed to the actual punishment strategies included in the PPAS) and rehabilitation differ across PPAS profiles. Further, it might be useful to examine how evaluations of youths’ responses to probation differ among POs with different management profiles.

THE PRESENT STUDY

Because POs have been shown to be influential variables in probation outcomes, the study of their management strategies is prudent (Skeem et al., 2007; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006; Worrall & Gaines, 2006). Research on these juvenile justice personnel has been largely focused on attitudes using bivariate associations (e.g., attitudinal resonances and punitiveness). Schwalbe and Maschi (2008) proposed the study of multivariate, co-occurring management strategies in POs, and the initial results of such inquiry were promising.

The purpose of the present study is to examine if the management strategy profiles identified in the Schwalbe and Maschi (2008) study generalize in another PO population. As identified by Schwalbe and Maschi, we hypothesized to uncover three profiles that differed in terms of management intensity, but with consistent and flat scores. As reported by Schwalbe and Maschi, POs with the highest levels of intensity in their management strategies also reported the most favorable attitudes toward probation. Therefore, we hypothesized that the profile marked by the most intense (i.e., highest PPAS) scores would also report the most optimistic attitudes toward rehabilitation in youth on probation.

We further hypothesized that the most intense group would report the most favorable scores regarding their youth's responses to probation in terms of accountability, competency, and community protection. Further still, punitiveness has been shown to co-occur with theoretically opposing variables (e.g., treatment). So, we hypothesized that PPAS management profiles would not be good predictors of punitiveness. We also aimed to examine differences in management profiles by job tenure and PO gender. However, these are the first attempts to answer these specific questions, so no hypotheses were developed in this regard.

METHOD

Participants

Participants included 57 POs working in the Court Social Services Division (CSSD) of a moderately sized, mid-Atlantic City. The majority of the participants were male (53%), and almost all were African American (96%). In terms of years of service, the group was evenly distributed: (a) 5 or less years ($n = 11$, 19.3%), (b) 6 to 10 years ($n = 10$, 17.5%), (c) 11 to 15 years ($n = 8$, 14%), (d) 16 to 20 years ($n = 5$, 8.77%), (e) over 20 years ($n = 13$, 22.8%), and (f) missing ($n = 10$, 17.5%). Over half of the sample declined to include their age ($n = 32$, 56.14%), and the ages of the remaining ranged from 28 to 62 ($SD = 10.3$). Court data supplied by CSSD showed that the youth these officers serve are mostly African American (98%).

Procedure

Data were collected as part of a larger program evaluation conducted in the CSSD of the city's superior court. Surveys were administered and collected in one session. Participation was requested from the POs. However, POs were informed that there would not be a systematic effort to identify those that chose not to participate in completing the surveys. Furthermore, participants were told that their identities would be kept anonymous and were assured that their answers would not be used for individual evaluation.

Measures

POs' APPROACHES

The POs' approaches (PPAS) is an assessment of juvenile probation strategies. Schwalbe and Maschi (2008) showed support for the structural validity and internal consistency of PPAS scores in a sample of POs. Results of the initial study on PPAS scores were previously discussed. The version used in the present study was revised by Schwalbe and Maschi and does not include contact frequency.

POs' PERCEPTIONS OF YOUTH

Lewis and Howard (2001) developed the Balanced and Restorative Justice Evaluation Screen (BARJES) to assess both PO relationships with, and perceptions of youth. The BARJES includes 15 items and three subscales: (a) accountability of offender, (b) competency of offender, and (c) protection of community. For each item, the PO endorses the frequency/degree to which they perceive a Balanced and Restorative Justice (BARJ) achievement in their youth to be true. Lewis and Howard examined the scores of 72 BARJES protocols in 15 POs. Internal consistency of BARJES scores were less than ideal (i.e., $\alpha \geq .74$), but BARJES scores were shown to predict overall probation success. That is, youth with the highest BARJES scores were also the most likely to complete probation successfully.

ATTITUDES TOWARD PUNISHMENT AND REHABILITATION

The Punitiveness scale includes six items. Each item is the description of a punitive attitude (e.g., Is the juvenile court too lenient?), and response options range from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) (Leiber et al., 2002). Leiber et al. (2002) developed the punitiveness scale, and these authors reported an internal consistency estimate in the moderate to low range: $\alpha = .76$. The Rehabilitation Attitude Index includes five statements about the efficacy of mental health intervention in probation (e.g., referring a juvenile for therapy is a waste of time; Andretta, Thompson, et al., 2014b). Respondents endorse the degree to which they agree with each statement: 1 (*not true at all*) to 5 (*very true*).

RESULTS

PPAS Scores

Preliminary analyses showed low levels of internal consistency for deterrence, confrontation, counseling, and behavioral scores (i.e., $.71 \leq \alpha \leq .73$). When two sets of theoretically similar scales were combined, internal consistency improved: (a) deterrence and confrontation and (b) behavioral and

counseling (see Table 1). Intercorrelations and descriptive statistics for continuous variables are provided in Table 1. Results showed positive correlations among PPAS (i.e., deterrence/confrontation, behavioral/counseling, treatment, and restorative) subscale scores and among BARJES (i.e., Accountability, Competency, and Protection) subscale scores. Correlations between punitive attitudes and both PPAS and BARJES scores were too small to interpret. Attitudes toward rehabilitation were only associated with punitiveness, and this association was small and negative. It was also noted that scores for restorative practices were far smaller than scores for the other PPAS approaches to probation.

Scores for continuous variables were not skewed. However, deterrence/confrontation, behavioral/counseling, treatment, rehabilitation, and the BARJES subscales' scores were all leptokurtic with scores consolidated around the mean. Internal consistency estimates were moderate for PPAS, punitiveness, accountability, and protection scores. However, internal consistency of competency scores was low, and scores for rehabilitation were not internally consistent.

Cluster Analyses of PPAS Scores

Before clustering, PPAS scores were converted into standardized *T*-scores. POs were clustered into groups based on their PPAS scores using a four-factor model: (a) deterrence/confrontation, (b) behavioral/counseling, (c) treatment, and (d) restorative. Ward's (1963) agglomerative, hierarchical clustering was applied using STATA 13 software (StataCorp., 2013). A dendrogram, along

TABLE 1 Intercorrelations Among Probation Practices Assessment Survey Subscales and Attitudes Toward Probation

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Deter/Confr	1.00								
2. Beh/Coun	0.53*	1.00							
3. Treatment	0.53*	0.75*	1.00						
4. Restorative	0.41*	0.72*	0.55*	1.00					
5. Punitiveness	0.13	-0.25	-0.24	-0.09	1.00				
6. Rehabilitation	-0.23	0.26	0.10	0.25	-0.37	1.00			
7. Accountability	-0.25	-0.01	0.01	0.03	-0.23	0.01	1.00		
8. Competency	-0.18	0.17	0.09	0.12	-0.28	0.10	0.83	1.00	
9. Protection	-0.08	0.25	0.22	0.28	-0.15	0.14	0.80	0.84	1.00
<i>M</i>	4.13	4.03	4.09	2.87	3.13	2.80	2.29	2.73	2.66
<i>SD</i>	1.02	0.88	1.29	1.43	0.90	0.43	0.79	0.77	0.81
Skewness	-1.03	-0.60	-1.25	-0.31	-0.10	0.13	0.85	0.49	0.41
Kurtosis	3.91	3.38	4.74	2.24	2.55	3.01	4.40	3.28	3.17
α	0.83	0.82	0.83	0.75	0.82	0.56	0.78	0.71	0.78
Missing	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	10.00	9.00	6.00	6.00	5.00

Note. Deter/Confr = deterrence and confrontation, Beh/Coun = behavioral and counseling.

* = statistically significant using Bonferroni's adjustment (i.e., $p < .008$).

with two stopping rules were used to identify an initial cluster solution: (a) Caliński and Harabasz (1974) pseudo- F index and (b) Duda and Hart's (1973) $Je(2)/Je(1)$ index with associated pseudo- T -squared. Results indicated a four-cluster solution, and results of subsequent K -means iterative partitioning validated the solution with 88% similarity in cluster assignments. Last, homogeneity of management strategy scores was calculated within each cluster using Bergman, Magnusson, and El-Khoury's (2003) algorithm: $EV = 100 \times (Et - Ec) / Et$. These authors suggested the cutoff for adequate cluster homogeneity is 67% of explained variance: (a) Profile 1, $EV = 59$, $n = 6$; (b) Profile 2, $EV = 74$, $n = 13$; (c) Profile 3, $EV = 80$, $n = 19$; and (d) Profile 4, $EV = 87$, $n = 17$. Two cases were dropped due to insufficient data. Also, Profile 1 was dropped due to the small amount of POs with this profile: 11%.

Management strategy profiles are shown in Figure 1. When compared to peers, POs with the second profile reported high scores for deterrence/confrontation and comparatively low scores for behavioral/counseling, treatment, and restorative strategies. Therefore, the second profile was labeled *compliance*. The third profile was named *therapeutic*, as this cluster was characterized by higher than average scores for behavioral/counseling and treatment interventions, and lower than average scores for deterrence/confrontation. The last cluster reported high scores for the frequency of all PPAS management strategies, and this was the only profile identified by Schwalbe and Maschi (2009) as well: *intensive*.

Among and Between Management Profile Differences

Analysis of variance were used to examine differences in PPAS scores across management profiles. Large differences in deterrence/confrontation scores were shown across the three groups: $F(2,46) = 35.29$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.61$. Substantial differences across profiles were also shown in behavioral/counseling, $F(2,46) = 32.51$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.58$; treatment, $F(2,46) = 13.12$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.36$; and restorative strategies, $F(2,46) = 41.96$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.65$. In terms of demographics, gender did not have an effect on PO management cluster assignments, $\chi^2(2) = 1.06$, $p = 0.59$, *Cramér's V* = 0.15.

To examine differences by job tenure, POs were split into groups, those that have served equal to or less than 15 years ($n = 25$, 59%; i.e., 15 missing responses), and those that have served more than 15 years ($n = 17$, 40%). When using the 15-year differentiation, results of cross-tabulation showed that job tenure had a moderate effect on management profiles, $\chi^2(2) = 1.83$, $p = 0.40$, *Cramér's V* = 0.21. Specifically, representation in the three management strategy clusters were even in POs with 15 years or less experience. However, few POs with over 15 years of experience reported a compliance (18%) profile as compared to therapeutic (47%) and intensive (35%) profiles.

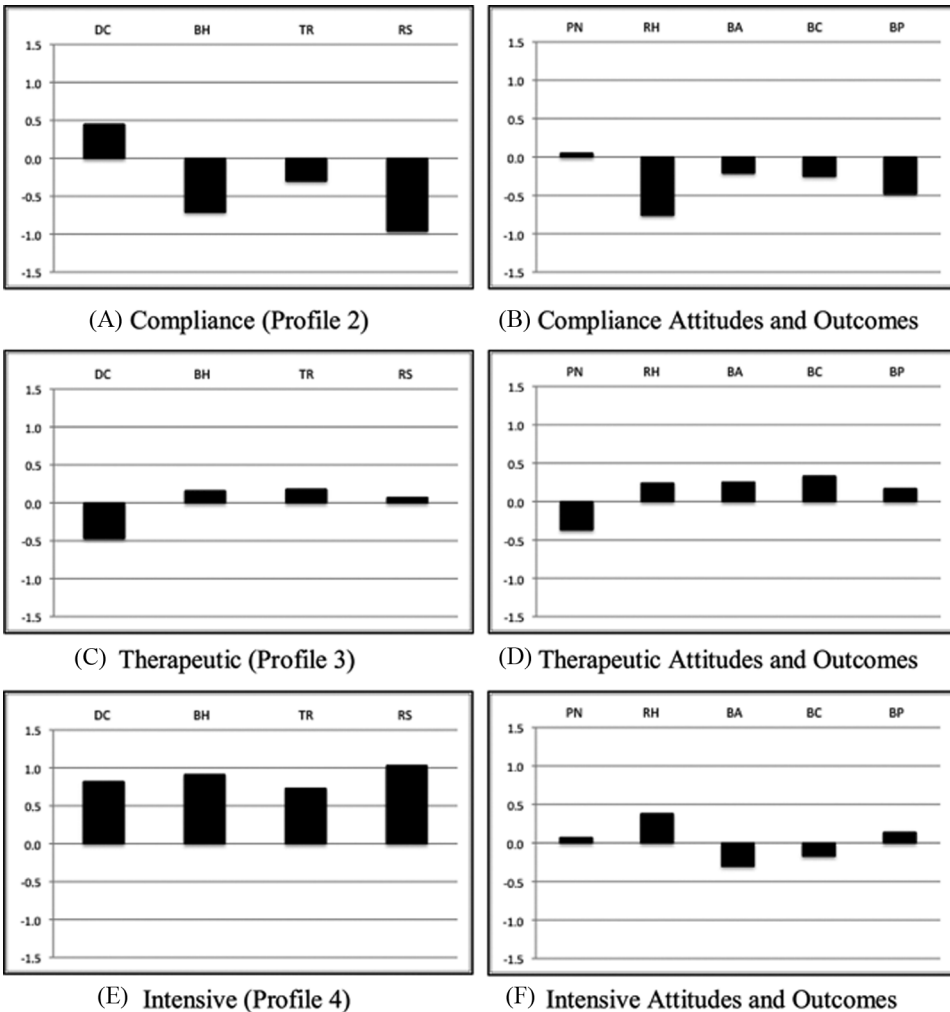


FIGURE 1 Profile 1 was dropped due to small cell size. Probation officer management strategy profiles are shown using Z-scores, where 0 is the mean and 1 (84th percentile) and -1 (16th percentile) denote scores that are 1 SD above and below the mean. DC = deterrence/confrontation; BH = behavioral/counseling; TR = treatment; RS = restorative; PN = punitiveness; RH = rehabilitation; BA = accountability; BC = competency; BP = community protection.

MANAGEMENT PROFILES AND ATTITUDES TOWARD PROBATION

Differences in punitiveness across management profiles were too small to interpret (see Table 2). However, not in keeping with our hypotheses, substantive differences in punitiveness were found between profiles using effect sizes. POs with therapeutic ($M = 2.80$, $SD = .24$) profiles reported substantively lower levels of punitiveness when compared to colleagues with intensive ($M = 3.20$, $SD = .18$, Cohen's $d = 1.93$) and compliance profiles ($M = 3.17$,

TABLE 2 Differences in Attitudes and Youth Outcomes Across Probation Officer Management Profiles

Variable	<i>F</i> (<i>df</i> , <i>n</i>)	η^2	<i>p</i> value
Punitiveness	1.11 (2, 38)	.56	.34
Rehabilitation	7.30 (2, 38)	.28	.002
Accountability	1.29 (2, 41)	.06	.29
Competency	1.45 (2, 41)	.07	.25
Protection	1.80 (2, 42)	.08	.18

$SD = .23$, Cohen's $d = 1.62$). No differences in punitiveness were shown between POs with therapeutic and intensive profiles.

As can be seen in Table 2, a practically and statistically significant difference in rehabilitation scores was observed across management strategy profiles. Large differences were also shown between profiles. As hypothesized, intensive POs reported the most favorable attitudes toward the potential to rehabilitate in adolescents with mental illness. Specifically, POs characterized by a compliance ($M = 3.13$, $SD = .15$) profile reported the lower scores for rehabilitation than peers with therapeutic ($M = 3.74$, $SD = .14$, $t(25) = 2.96$, $p = .99$, Cohen's $d = 4.14$) and Intensive ($M = 3.83$, $SD = .12$, $t(25) = 3.60$, $p = .99$, Cohen's $d = 5.10$) profiles. Rehabilitation scores among intensive POs were higher than among POs characterized by a therapeutic approach, $t(26) = 0.46$, $p = .67$, Cohen's $d = .69$.

MANAGEMENT PROFILES AND YOUTH RESPONSE TO PROBATION

Three ANOVAs were calculated to examine differences in youth responses to probation in terms of accountability, competency, and community protection (see Table 2). Very small differences in youths' responses to probation were identified across management strategy profiles. The highest levels of youth accountability were reported by POs characterized by a therapeutic ($M = 2.49$, $SD = .23$) approach. In fact, youth accountability scores were substantially higher in POs with a therapeutic profile when compared to their colleagues with compliance ($M = 2.12$, $SD = .19$, Cohen's $d = 1.74$) and intensive ($M = 2.05$, $SD = .20$, Cohen's $d = 2.04$) profiles. Further still, compliance POs reported meaningfully higher scores for accountability than intensive peers, Cohen's $d = .36$.

As can be seen in Table 2, across group difference in youth competency were small, but between profile differences were meaningful. Specifically, POs with a therapeutic ($M = 2.99$, $SD = .87$) profile reported the highest level of competency in their youth when compared to colleagues with compliance ($M = 2.54$, $SD = .77$, Cohen's $d = 2.09$) and intensive ($M = 2.60$, $SD = .18$, Cohen's $d = 1.93$) profiles. Also, intensive POs reported higher levels of competency in their youth than compliance POs, Cohen's $d = .31$).

As with the other BARJES scores, only small differences in protection were found across management profiles. On the other hand, therapeutic POs reported the highest scores for protection. Furthermore, compliance ($M=2.78$, $SD=.21$) POs reported substantially lower scores for protection when compared to therapeutic ($M=2.80$, $SD=.21$, Cohen's $d=2.48$) and intensive ($M=2.78$, $SD=.21$, Cohen's $d=2.38$) colleagues.

DISCUSSION

Schwalbe and Maschi (2009) studied management strategy profiles in POs using the PPAS. These authors identified three management strategy profiles, only one of which was identified in the present study: intensive. Cluster analyses in the present study also resulted in the identification of POs characterized by compliance and therapeutic approaches to probation supervision. Differences in attitudes and youth outcomes were shown between POs with different management approaches, though differences across the three clusters were small.

Management Strategy Profiles

Compliance POs were characterized by high frequency of deterrence and confrontation strategies, and less frequent use of behavioral, counseling, and restorative strategies when compared to colleagues. These POs reported similar attitudes to peers toward punitive measures in juvenile justice. Compliance POs also reported substantively pessimistic attitudes toward the usefulness of mental health interventions. Further still, the most glum evaluations of youths' responses to probation as it pertains to accountability for their charges, competency, and community protection were reported by POs with compliance profiles.

Therapeutic POs reported to use deterrence and confrontation strategies infrequently when compared to other POs with different management strategy profiles. At the same time, these POs reported to use behavioral and counseling tactics, and, to a lesser degree, restorative approaches, on a slightly above average basis. In terms of attitudes toward probation, therapeutic POs reported to disagree with punitive measures in juvenile justice. These officers also reported comparatively high levels of optimism with regard to the utility of mental health rehabilitation of youth. As for youth outcomes, therapeutic POs were reported the most favorable scores for their youths' development of accountability and competency. Therapeutic officers were also the least likely to see their youth as a continued threat to the safety of the community.

The intensive management strategy profile was marked by the frequent use of all different types of probation approaches. That is, their scores for the frequency of using deterrence/confrontation, behavioral/counseling, treatment, and restorative approaches were all well above average (Z -score

$\geq .7$; i.e., Z -score ≥ 78 th percentile). Given the data reported by Schwalbe and Maschi (2009), we hypothesized that the most intense group would report the most favorable responses to probation in youth. However, results of the present study were quite the opposite with intensive POs reporting the least favorable scores for their youths' responses to probation. Intensive POs did report favorable attitudes toward mental health rehabilitation, which is consistent with their use of treatment and behavioral/counseling tactics. Attitudes toward punitive measures were average among intensive POs.

BIVARIATE VS. MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

Results of the present study contribute to the growing body of evidence that isolated bivariate relationships should be read with caution (Andretta, Thompson, et al., 2014; Bergman et al., 2003; Worrell et al., 2006). For instance, intercorrelations among PPAS scores, punitiveness, and youth responses to probation were too small to interpret (i.e., $r < .3$). However, examination of differences in these variables across management strategy profiles were substantive and meaningful. Therefore, future consideration of POs' strategies should include multiple, co-occurring variables and the PPAS appears to be a useful tool that accounts for management strategies.

DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES IN MANAGEMENT CLUSTERS

Demographic analyses were included in the present study. Gender was not a good predictor of management strategy profiles. However, job tenure did predict probation approaches. That is, POs with tenures above 15 years were more likely to report therapeutic and intensive approaches than their colleagues with less years of service. In a previous study, Ward and Kupchik (2010) reported that younger POs reported higher levels of punitiveness than older colleagues. Results of the present study were consistent. That is, POs with less experience were more likely to engage in deterrence and confrontation and report punitive orientations tactics than their more seasoned peers.

Another demographic issue to consider in the present study pertains to racial/ethnic variables. PO participants were almost all African American, and the youth these officers serve are almost all African American as well. It is possible that cultural variables affected both the cluster assignments, as well as scores on probation attitudes and youth outcomes. Previous research has shown that African American POs are more treatment-oriented than their colleagues with different racial/ethnic backgrounds (Ward & Kupchik, 2008). However, we also know that African American youth tend to receive higher levels of punitiveness from their POs than peers from other racial/ethnic groups (Graham & Lowery, 2004).

What remains unknown is the interaction between the racial/ethnic group of the PO and youth with court contact, especially in court contexts that include disproportionate arrest rates in African Americans. Among others,

two variables might be particularly salient in this dynamic. Specifically, researchers might do well to consider how racial identity attitudes (Worrell et al., 2006) in POs and race-based rejection sensitivity (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002) in youth are associated with management approaches and probation outcomes. It is possible that African American POs' attitudes toward stereotypes about their racial/ethnic group are associated with their responses to African American court respondents. It is also possible that the degree to which African American youth expect negative judgment based on their racial/ethnic group status shapes their POs' management strategies.

Implications for Hiring and Training

Previous research has shown a balanced approach to probation in POs. That is, POs have reported similar levels of accountability-based and rehabilitation-based approaches (Schwalbe & Maschi, 2009; Ward & Kupchik, 2008). However, results of the present study were not in keeping with this hypothesis. For one, data showed a negative relationship between attitudes toward punitiveness and attitudes toward the usefulness of mental health intervention. Second, two management strategy profiles emerged in the present study that were characterized by a lack of balance between accountability-based and rehabilitation-based approaches: compliance and therapeutic.

Differences in POs' inclinations toward accountability and rehabilitation-based approaches has important implications for hiring and training. Because POs that are new to juvenile justice might be more inclined to use accountability-based approaches, these POs might benefit from education around the utility of a more balanced approach to probation. Knowing the management strategy profiles of POs might also be useful to their supervision. For instance, a PO with a compliance profile may gain from training on the efficacy of mental health intervention (e.g., Sawyer & Borduin, 2014), as well as data on the frequency of mental illness (Abram, Teplin, McClelland, & Dulcan, 2003; Andretta et al., 2014), in youth with court contact. POs with a compliance profile might also benefit from supervision around probation expectations, as these POs tend to harbor unfavorable evaluations of their youth. Leiber et al. (2002) showed that functional role had a strong relationship with punitive attitudes in POs. Therefore, it is possible that concerted efforts to define the role of a PO as a balance between accountability and rehabilitation-based approaches could lead to shifts in management strategies among POs with compliance profiles.

BALANCED AND RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

One finding in the present study that was consistent with previous research (i.e., Schwalbe and Maschi, 2009) was that POs were not inclined to use

restorative approaches, also known as Balanced and Restorative Justice (BARJ). BARJ is not a structured program, but instead includes a set of guidelines for repairing harm incurred through wrongdoing (Zehr, 2002). Howard Zehr provided a description of BARJ, and many have used his philosophy to address various social paradigms (Bazemore, 2001; Zehr, 1995, 2002). Of particular note, BARJ has been used to shift juvenile justice systems from retributive to restorative. Restoration has been achieved in some settings by broadening the once narrow focus on the offender(s) to a more balanced focus on the offender, the victim, and the community (Bazemore, 2001; Zehr, 1995, 2002). The lack of restorative approaches used by POs reported in the present and previous studies might be accounted for by a lack of knowledge on this topic. It would be important to know how BARJ training would affect management strategies in POs as well as their youths' outcomes.

Limitations

Cluster analyses resulted in three distinct profiles. However, cell sizes indicate that the results of the present study should be read with some caution. Having that said, more research is needed to examine the generalizability of these profiles across PO populations. The less than ideal psychometric properties of the scales used in the present study were another limitation. Third, the present study was without youth report and data on actual youth outcomes. It would be important to know if the management profiles identified in the present study are predictive of recidivism and successful completion of probation in the youth POs supervise. It would also be important to know how predictive management profiles are of POs' careers in terms of job satisfaction, tenure, and promotion. Fourth, the present study did not include qualitative analysis of PO or youth perspectives on probation attitudes and strategies, and therefore important data might have been missed by the limitations of quantitative survey design. The aforementioned limitations provide fruitful avenues for future research.

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