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Alienation and altruism among street level bureaucrats: a study of the Virginia victim/witness and crime assistance program

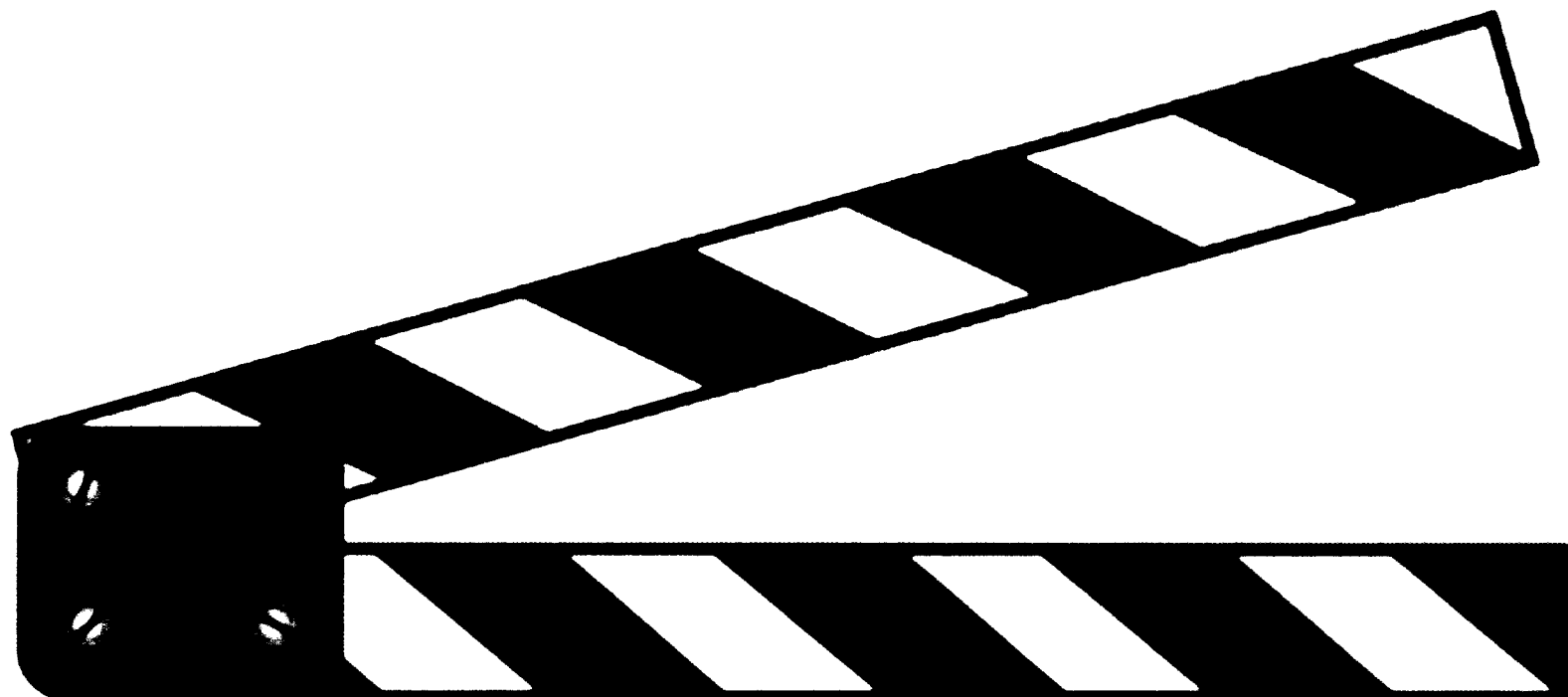
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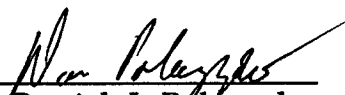
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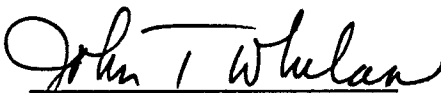
Abstract

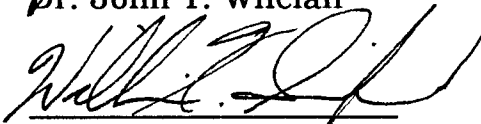
Author Michael Lipsky argues that street-level bureaucrats are unresponsive to clients' needs because of five conditions that characterize the bureaucratic setting. These conditions include a chronic lack of resources, an ever-increasing client load, ambiguous or conflicting agency goal expectations, goal measures that encourage impersonal service, and the lack of a client reference group for workers. One purpose of this paper is to determine if the five conditions of work that frame Lipsky's argument in a street-level bureaucracy exist for the Virginia Victim/Witness and Crime Victim Assistance (V/W-CVA) program. Another objective is to evaluate the implications of these conditions for worker alienation and worker altruism. The ultimate aim of the analysis is to test Lipsky's theory concerning the relationship between the conditions and the attitudes of street-level bureaucrats in the Virginia program.

The results of a questionnaire completed by ten local program directors of the Virginia Victim/Witness and Crime Victim Assistance program will be presented and analyzed. The study showed that Lipsky's theories concerning increasing client loads, goal expectations and goal measurements were present in the V/W-CVA program, but that those concerning inadequate resources and client reference groups were not present. Conclusions will suggest the possibility of a more diverse typology of street-level service delivery than Lipsky presents.

I certify that I have read this thesis and find that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.


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**ALIENATION AND ALTRUISM AMONG STREET-LEVEL BUREAUCRATS:
A STUDY OF THE VIRGINIA VICTIM/WITNESS AND
CRIME VICTIM ASSISTANCE PROGRAM**

By

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Introduction

In his book, *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*, author Michael Lipsky argues that the bureaucratic setting is not conducive to serving clients' needs. Street-level bureaucracy is unresponsive to clients because of the specific conditions of work within the organizations that influence the way in which street-level bureaucrats "perceive problems and frame solutions" (Lipsky 1980, 25). The conditions Lipsky offers include a chronic lack of resources, an ever-increasing demand for services, ambiguous or conflicting agency goal expectations, goal measures that encourage impersonal service, and the absence of a client reference group for workers. When present, these conditions lead to two results, the "myth of altruism" and worker alienation. By the "myth of altruism", Lipsky means that the bureaucratic setting forces service deliverers to abandon their altruistic intentions in order to conform to bureaucratic pressures. Worker alienation can result from the bureaucratic setting when workers become frustrated with their lack of control over clients' lives.

Lipsky uses the work of several well-known scholars to substantiate his theories, yet Lipsky does not support his arguments with evidence from his own study. This work will present the results and conclusions of a questionnaire completed by ten local program directors of the Virginia Victim/Witness and Crime Victim Assistance program. The directors responded to questions that sought to

determine the presence of Lipsky's five conditions and to test for the effects of alienation and advocacy.

The results of the study showed that while some of Lipsky's conditions are present, others are not, and as a consequence, not all of the program directors fit the model that Lipsky asserts. Instead, the results give rise to a more diverse typology of street-level service: some directors show signs of alienation, yet are still advocates, while some do not appear to be alienated but are not advocates. We will begin with a brief overview of Lipsky's theory followed by a description of the research design, the results of the questionnaire, and a conclusion.

Chapter 1: Lipsky's Theory

The Five Conditions of Work

Lipsky argues that bureaucracies are rigid and unresponsive to clients' needs because of five conditions of work that influence street-level bureaucrats' problem solving abilities.¹ The first two conditions are the chronic lack of resources and an ever-increasing demand for services. Lipsky states that "resources are chronically inadequate relative to the task" (Lipsky 1980, 27). The nature of street-level bureaucrats' work requires them to process high levels of information which subsequently requires high levels of preparation time before a decision is made. Yet because workers are severely constrained by high client-to-worker ratios and lack of time, their decisions do not meet clients' needs. Even if workers are allotted fewer clients and allowed more time to make decisions, Lipsky points out that "the demand for services [will only] increase to meet the supply" (Lipsky 1980, 27).

Third, street-level workers are constrained by the ambiguous goals of the agency. Lipsky argues that the goals of bureaucracy (efficiency), society (eradication of societal ills), and clients (alleviation

¹ James D. Sorg (1983) created a different typology of street-level behavior as it pertained to the implementation of new policy. He suggested that the relationship between standards of compliance and the implementor's intention to conform to standards could be defined by four types of implementor behavior: intentional compliance, unintentional non-compliance, unintentional compliance and intentional non-compliance (Sorg 1983, 393).

of personal pain), are at odds with one another. As a result, street-level bureaucrats choose and apply one set of goals, regardless of whether it is appropriate. Lipsky claims that most workers choose to uphold the goals of the bureaucracy which encourage large case loads and discourage personal involvement. So, while bureaucratic goals may force workers to manage large case loads, the bureaucratic setting encourages workers to curb case loads by whatever means possible.

Fourth, bureaucracy creates standards of evaluation and measurement that may have little to do with the "appropriateness of workers' actions or fairness . . . " (Lipsky 1980, 50) and more to do with quantifiable measures. This, Lipsky argues, allows bureaucrats to skirt the issue of measuring true goal achievement and forces the organization to "drift toward compatibility with the way [the organization] is evaluated" (Lipsky 1980, 51) rather than what is best for clients. (For example, instead of measuring the effects of crisis counseling for a victim, the bureaucracy only measures the number of victims who received the counseling.) Finally, Lipsky claims that since street-level bureaucrats neither solicit their clients' approval, nor seek clients as a reference group, the true wishes of clients are unknown.

Implications of the Conditions

Two specific implications of the five conditions of work described above are the so-called "myth of advocacy" and worker alienation. Lipsky claims that most people enter social service work for altruistic reasons. They want to be advocates and "use their

knowledge, skill, and position to secure for clients the best treatment" (Lipsky 1980, 72). Yet advocacy or service ideals are nearly impossible to attain under the conditions that define the bureaucratic setting. In order to be a fair judge, a worker must have enough time to spend on individual clients, yet bureaucratic performance measures reward those who manage larger case loads. Furthermore, resource constraints and rigid procedures also restrict workers from access to the materials needed to assist clients effectively. Lipsky observes that it is difficult to be both a judge and an advocate simultaneously since the first requires impartiality and the latter requires partiality. Thus, he concludes that workers perceive that advocacy and bureaucracy are totally at odds, causing workers to abandon their altruism in favor of bureaucratic goals.

Worker alienation is the second result of the bureaucratic condition. Lipsky defines alienation as "refer[ring] to the extent to which workers are able to express, or need to suppress, their creative and human impulses through work activity" (Lipsky 1980, 75) and that this "summariz[es] the relationship of workers to their work, from which we may infer, attitudes arise" (Lipsky 1980, 75). Lipsky argues that street-level workers are alienated from their work in three ways. First, they are alienated because they cannot control the raw materials, second, they cannot control the outcome, and third, they cannot control the pace of their work. Because clients usually have other problems or negative factors affecting their lives, street-level bureaucrats who try to assist clients may become frustrated because

the workers have no control over these other factors. Second, because their work is segmented and focuses on only one problem at a time, workers cannot control the ultimate success or failure of a client. Finally, the constant influx of clients and the pressure to take on large case loads frustrates workers because they cannot control the pace of their work. Ultimately, Lipsky argues that this alienation leads to dissatisfaction with the job.

Perspectives of Lipsky's Theory

Lipsky supports his arguments by drawing from literature on bureaucracy and organizational behavior. For example, Anthony Downs (1967) introduces the "Law of Free Goods". The law states that "requests for free services always rise to meet the capacity of the producing agency," creating a constantly overloaded workforce (Downs 1967, 188). Peter Blau's (1963) study of an employment agency illustrates the evils of statistics, a point Lipsky maintains in his arguments against bureaucratic goal measurements based on statistics. "Social scientists are only too familiar with the fact that the process of collecting information on people's activities influences these activities (Blau 1963, 37)." Finally, Lipsky uses Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's (1976) study to support his ideas concerning bias toward clients. The book states that people are accustomed to categorizing or typifying others; ipso facto, people perceive that certain behaviors are derived from this typification and bias is perpetuated. This bias allows

street-level bureaucrats to control clients and the workplace in order to make their jobs easier.

Although Lipsky made his argument in 1980, the conditions he describes in his book are tested in more recent studies. Robert Agranoff and Alex Pattakos (1989) found that "with retrenchment in federal leadership and funding, . . . state and local governments have been called upon to develop resources and strategies for dealing with the human problems of their populations" (Agranoff and Pattakos 1989, 74). They find that "federal and state funding reductions have forced local governments, at a minimum, to maintain their service program commitments, and in a number of cases to serve many more citizens in need" (Agranoff and Pattakos 1989, 75). Thus, the problem of increased demand despite limited resources still affects street-level bureaucrats' work.

The Agranoff and Pattakos study also showed that while local governments are becoming more responsible for social service programming, they usually cooperate with other government units or outside agencies rather than take direct responsibility for programs. This means that the combination of more responsibility and less funding has forced localities to utilize alternate means for meeting their citizens' needs. These may include contracting for services, creating special districts that incorporate suburbs, and creating cooperative councils of government to coordinate policy (Kweit and Kweit 1990, 135). The collective effects of these methods are a blurring of the lines of authority and diffusion of accountability. Thus,

even more diverse goals and possibly contradictory methods of evaluation are created that affect the conditions under which street-level bureaucrats must work.

According to Lipsky's study, all street-level bureaucracies are controlled by certain influences that reward bias and make beneficial service impossible. In addition, he argues that all street-level bureaucrats are dissatisfied with their work because of the frustration of dealing with the bureaucratic forces that influence the workplace. We will now consider the extent to which these conditions affect a street-level bureaucracy as Lipsky suggests.

Chapter II: The Virginia Victim/Witness and Crime Victim Assistance Program

Lipsky (1980) does not utilize any specific case studies or other empirical means to support his arguments. The purpose of this study is to test Lipsky's theories using in-depth analysis of local directors attitudes in a specific street-level bureaucracy. The Virginia Victim/Witness and Crime Victim Assistance program was chosen for study. The program is administered by the Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS). Grants to states for victims services originate from two acts of Congress: the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, which created funding for direct services to victims and for administrative costs, and the Victims of Crime Act of 1989 which created funding specifically for direct services to victims.² The state of Virginia matches a portion of these funds. DCJS administers this grant program by distributing grant funds to localities and monitoring program performance at the local level. Presently, fifty funded programs exist in Virginia; some assist both witnesses and victims of crime, and others serve only victims.³ Each program is expected to

² For a history of the victims rights movement and the most comprehensive study of victim/witness and crime victim assistance programs in the United States, see Roberts (1990) or Smith and Freinkel (1988). Also see early documents of the now-defunct Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (Viano, 1979 a and 1979 b).

³ Roberts (1990) draws a distinction between "victim service programs" and victim/witness assistance programs, defining the purpose of the former as a source of crisis counseling, referral and advocacy and the latter as a means to reduce the stress of court appearances. The Virginia program does not differentiate between the two types but considers both to have the same goals.

meet three primary goals: reducing trauma for crime victims within the first twenty-four hours of victimization through counseling or referral, assisting victims in understanding the criminal justice process, and assisting victims with filing for compensation.⁴ Directors are instructed to achieve these goals by following twenty-four specific standards mandated by the state and based on the goals of the federal legislation (please see Appendix C.)

Because of conditions such as Lipsky describes, meeting program goals is challenging for the individuals involved in providing the services. On an average day, a Victim/Witness or Crime Victim Assistance program director may attend sessions of Juvenile and Domestic Relations court, General District court, and Circuit court, either to accompany a victim or to gain information on the status or final disposition of a victim's case. She/he may offer crisis intervention to a client who is being harassed, give short term counseling to a victim of domestic violence, explain the criminal justice process to several victims, make telephone calls in an effort to get court-ordered restitution from a defendant on behalf of a victim, and/or compile state-required statistics on clients. Clients may include a variety of crime victims, including recipients of bad checks, children who have been sexually assaulted, and families of homicide

⁴ Personal Interview. 12 May 1993. Mandie Patterson. Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services.

victims. All of these tasks typically are performed by a single full-time staff person and a few volunteers.⁵

Lipsky makes a disclaimer in his book which states that the voluntary or non-voluntary nature of a bureaucracy's clientele could effect the validity of his arguments. Non-voluntary clients are the type he believes are most affected by the apathy and alienation of street-level workers because the clients can be manipulated more easily. Clients who utilize the services of victim/witness programs can be voluntary or non-voluntary. Voluntary clients include those who use the services in desperation or in order to take advantage of free assistance. Non-voluntary clients are usually seen by victim/witness program directors who coordinate witnesses for Commonwealth Attorneys. Witnesses summoned to court must work with the victim/witness director. In another example, a domestic violence victim who files a complaint with a magistrate and then decides not to press charges may be forced to work with the victim/witness program director. This is because many Commonwealth Attorneys will prosecute the offender regardless of the victim's desire to prosecute. Such clients are non-voluntary.

Ten of the fifty program directors participated in the study. Time constraints and funding limitations prohibited me from conducting a systematic random sample of the fifty directors. While this quota sample allowed me to reach a reasonably good cross-section

⁵ These tasks are taken from personal observations made as an intern with the Augusta County Victim/Witness Assistance program in 1992. Roberts' (1988) survey describes similar responsibilities of directors nationwide.

of the population of service providers in Virginia, it is not a purely representative sample. Thus, my results are limited to the impressions of those who were sampled.

The ten directors were chosen based on the results of an unpublished telephone questionnaire given to thirty-six V/W-CVA directors in June-July, 1993.⁶ While this questionnaire originally was intended to prove a different set of hypotheses, the results provided data about the programs that was useful for choosing a representative sample. For example, programs were chosen for the number of years the program had been in existence and the length of time the director had been in his or her position. Other factors included the amount of funding received from the state, the number of volunteers a program used, and the type of courts a director worked with most often. Finally, the location of a program in an urban versus a rural setting and the type of local sponsoring agency (i.e. a Commonwealth Attorney versus a sheriff) were used. Programs that represented a wide variance across each of these characteristics were chosen, then the directors willingness to share his/her opinions was taken into consideration for the final sample.

The sample included the following characteristics. Directors worked an average of 4.5 years while their programs were an average of 8.1 years old. Eight out of ten programs received 90% of their program funds from the state and the average number of volunteers

⁶ See O'Donnell (1993).

used was two. Circuit court was the most widely used court. There were seven rural and three urban programs. County governments were the most prevalent sponsoring agency.

The Questionnaire

The program directors completed a written questionnaire designed to solicit in-depth responses to questions concerning Lipsky's five conditions and to test for the two hypotheses (see Appendix A for the questionnaire). In order to assess resource needs and increasing client loads, the directors were asked if their funding had increased, decreased, or stayed the same since he/she had become the director and if this change had affected his/her ability to serve clients. The same questions were asked about the case load. To determine the influence of conflicting or ambiguous agency goal expectations, the directors were asked to summarize their responsibilities and to choose the most important program objectives from a list provided to them.

The directors were asked what statistics they provided to DCJS and whether they believed the reports to be an adequate representation of the service provided by their programs. This was asked to determine if statistical reporting influenced the program's priorities. Toward the same purpose and to assess worker alienation, the directors were also asked to choose a philosophy which best represented their view of the program. The survey asked if their philosophy was to treat all clients equally regardless of circumstances,

take circumstances into account and give more attention to those who need it, or something else.

To determine the presence or absence of a client reference group and the myth of advocacy, the directors were asked how they determined the success of their program and if they were a member of a victim advocacy group. The degree of worker alienation was also ascertained by asking the director his/her reason for becoming a program director and whether or not his/her personal career goals had been met in the job.

Chapter III: Results

Results of the questionnaire indicated the presence of some of the conditions of work that Lipsky describes. Concerning the variable of inadequate resources, nine out of ten directors reported that their funding from the state had increased since the job began. Six out of ten claimed that this increase did not affect their ability to provide services to clients. One director said she was able to add positions to the staff because of the increased funding. Resources in terms of funding appear to be adequate but had no discernable impact on service provision.

All the directors reported an increase in client load since taking the job. Considering that funding increased, we might be seeing some evidence of Lipsky's hypothesis that client demand increases to meet the resource supply. Three directors voiced frustration with the increase in client load, stating that they were forced to work longer hours, hire more staff, or prioritize services. Two directors said the increase in client load actually resulted in more time for provision of direct services. These directors had been spending part of their time marketing their services to the public; for them, the increase in client load reflected their marketing efforts. The five remaining directors said that the increase had not affected service delivery.

Lipsky argues that bureaucratic agencies force workers to choose to uphold the objectives and goals of the bureaucracy itself in order to lower work loads. The objectives of the V/W-CVA program

are specifically detailed by the state of Virginia and provided to program directors. To ascertain the influence of this factor in the study, the directors were asked which objectives from a list of 24 they believed to be most important and also to describe their responsibilities. Three objectives were mentioned by all ten directors: offering counseling and referral within twenty-four hours of a crime, helping the client understand the criminal justice process, and assisting victims in applying for victims compensation. Despite the amount of time on the job or the location of the program, all the directors mentioned these three as important. As for responsibilities, several directors used specific program objectives when describing their duties, but two directors from urban areas also described their roles as "administrative" or "supervisory" and de-emphasized provision of direct services. Since all the programs have the same objectives, these responsibilities are added on by the directors themselves. In addition, these urban directors hired more staff and spent additional time on the job or curtailed services. In comparison, rural programs required directors to become more personally involved with clients and provide services normally provided by other agencies in urban settings. Some of these services include transportation, emergency housing, or protection.⁷

Lipsky claims that ambiguous agency goals force workers to abandon personal involvement in order to reduce work loads. It is

⁷ Statistics on crime such as those found in Gibbs (1979) show that rates of personal victimization in urban areas are greater than rural or suburban areas.

apparent that the V/W-CVA directors uphold the goals of the program as delineated by the state. The questionnaire did not show that the directors chose to uphold the goals in order to decrease work loads, however. In fact, by upholding the objectives set by the state for the program, theoretically, work loads should increase. One director wrote that she was unable to provide all the services necessary because she did not have enough staff to support the influx of clients that providing all the possible services would create; she was forced to prioritize services and provide only those that were feasible. Overall, however, directors did not complain about the objectives.

The fourth condition states that the standards of evaluation and measurement used by bureaucracies are designed to uphold the goals of bureaucracy and force workers to conform. The V/W-CVA survey asked the directors what statistical information they provided DCJS and whether they felt it was an adequate representation of the services provided by their programs. Because the computerized reporting program used by all the directors corresponds directly with the specific objectives of Victim/Witness as created by the state, directors only report on the number of clients who receive each type of service provision and not the amount of time each provision requires. Two directors said that because the reports do not reflect the amount of time spent on individual cases, they do not adequately reflect the needs of the local programs. The survey does not show directors' motivations for reporting. It could be that directors report what is required by DCJS but go beyond reporting requirements if necessary

to meet clients' needs. Or it could be that directors provide their clients with only those services reported to the state.

Finally, Lipsky argues that bureaucrats are severed from their clients needs because there is no client reference group for workers. Eight out of ten directors belong to a victim advocacy group; six out of the eight are active. In addition, four directors used a survey method to measure client satisfaction. These factors indicate the presence of a client reference group for workers.

To summarize, contrary to Lipsky's expectations, the survey showed that resources were not inadequate and that the directors have a client reference group. Yet the results showed the presence of increasing client loads, conformity with agency goals, and skewed reporting methods.

Lipsky hypothesizes that two implications will result from the presence of the five conditions. The first is the "myth of advocacy" which states that altruism is only a myth in the bureaucratic workplace because it is not permitted into being. The survey results suggest that the "myth of altruism" is certainly not universal among V/W-CVA program directors. While only about half of the directors said they played an active role in victim advocacy groups, eight of ten are members of such groups. In addition, six out of the ten directors reported altruistic motivations for becoming program directors. They said they became directors because of "a desire to help others", "[because] I have been a strong advocate for victims rights for many

years", or because " I wanted to help those 'left out' of the criminal justice system, i.e. victims".

In addition, when choosing the most important objectives met by their programs, a few directors were passionate about their choices. One director wrote: "I feel that all of the objectives are important, but the first six listed are most important in the order that they are written. Serving the immediate needs of the victims in a timely manner should be the first priority of a victim assistance program. This includes crisis intervention, protection from harm, and direction in terms of restitution or compensation". Another wrote: "Any objective that requires informing the victim. I feel that at a time of disruption, educating and informing the victim is more beneficial than all the other services put together. An informed victim is better able to cope with the situation at hand than an uninformed victim." Thus, Lipsky's expectations can be challenged by the attitudes of the directors surveyed in this study.

The second hypothesis concerns worker alienation. Lipsky believes that the conditions of the bureaucratic setting alienate workers from their clients because the workers "do not control the outcome of their work, they do not control the raw materials of their work, and they do no control the pace of their work" (Lipsky 1980, 76). Because the V/W-CVA directors are often the only staff for their programs, they are involved in that part of the "product" which they control, i.e. providing direct services such as distributing information, referral, counseling, and so forth. They cannot control

the judge's decision, however, so in that sense they might be considered alienated from the final "product".

Concerning raw materials, Lipsky is correct in arguing that directors cannot control the outside influences on their clients that may affect the success of the program's intervention. The directors were asked to summarize the philosophy of their program by choosing from three choices: equal treatment for all clients, equal treatment in general but special treatment for those who required it, or a philosophy of their own description. All but one director chose the second philosophy, equal treatment in general with special treatment for those who required it. Requirements for special treatment fell into two categories: those whose victimizations were especially violent and those who could not read, had no transportation, or were destitute or handicapped. These groups generally were evident based on geographic setting; the first group was evident in urban areas and the second in rural areas. Several directors said these groups required more time, attention, and resources. (Three were especially frustrated by the extra attention needed.) One said her city's crime rate was "out of hand" which greatly affected her job and another said the crimes had becoming increasingly violent in her locality, increasing her client load. Overall, the factors affecting clients lives have an affect on the services they will receive from V/W-CVA.

Finally, only some of the directors can control the number of clients their programs receive. Two directors seek victims through police reports and magistrate referrals; the rest assist all victims that

are referred to them or that come of their own volition. This latter group of directors cannot control the pace of their work but are at the mercy of fate to determine their work loads and deadlines. This reality has forced some directors to hire more staff or prioritize services in order to manage the program effectively.

Lipsky states explicitly that "alienated work results in dissatisfaction with the job" (Lipsky 1980, 79). Six directors said they had met their career goals to a satisfactory or even "great" extent but two added qualifications. The first said that he had become disillusioned with the criminal justice system and the second said that she knew she should "move on". Two directors did not answer the question and one said that she had not achieved her career goals yet, because she "need[s] to overcome some budget issues first and need[s] more staff." These responses indicate the presence of worker alienation for three out of ten directors and three out of eight directors who responded to the question. In summary, it seems that alienation is present as far as Lipsky defines it but that only a few, not all the directors, are openly frustrated.

Chapter IV: Conclusion

Michael Lipsky creates an argument which provides specific characteristics of street-level bureaucrats and defines general implications for the behavior of these workers. The V/W-CVA study shows, however, that these characteristics and implications are not as black and white as Lipsky asserts. Based on the responses of this survey, we could hypothesize that the attitudes of street-level bureaucrats are not uniform. Further research should consider two questions: 1) the type of people attracted to the Victim/Witness program may be more resilient to the effects of the conditions that affect bureaucrats in other organizations, and 2) that the type of client the program serves might affect the reaction of directors toward their work. Let us consider both points here.

The study did not begin by looking for a different model of bureaucratic behavior than the one Lipsky provides, but the results lead us to posit a typology of service delivery more diverse than Lipsky's model. This typology would have four categories: the non-advocates, the optimistic advocates, the realistic advocates and the disaffected.⁸ The V/W-CVA study was not designed to define this typology but it offers a general description for further study.

⁸ In comparison to Sorg's typology, my typology concerns the presence of alienation and altruism among the V/W-CVA directors as determined by Lipsky's criteria. Sorg's typology concerns the behavior street-level bureaucrats might engage in when implementing a new policy. It is a general schema applicable to many types of street-level work and varying implementation criteria.

The Non-Advocates (Cases 1 and 6): The non-advocates are most like Lipsky's model. They have been in the job five or more years, their reasons for taking the job were not altruistic but more for practical reasons. Both directors who fell into this category reported that their case load had increased but had provided more time for service delivery.

The Optimistic Advocates (Cases 2 and 8): The optimistic advocates are new to the job, they have no other outside duties from those required by the state, they are open and forthright about their desire to be victim advocates, and their client loads have not increased.

The Realistic Advocates (Cases 4,5,3,and 7): The realistic advocates have outside duties that demand their time, or they serve only part-time as program directors. Three out of four took the job in order to help people and all four have met their personal career goals. Nevertheless, only two of the four are members of victim advocacy groups. Case loads increased for all four.

The Disaffected (Cases 9 and 10): The disaffected voiced the most frustration with their jobs. They both had extra duties not in their job descriptions and both voiced frustration with the increase in client loads. The pair complained of crime increases, unmet personal career goals, and the necessity to prioritize program objectives rather than meet all of them.

These four categories show that while frustration exists and has led to alienation for a few directors, advocacy is not always at odds with the bureaucratic setting of this program, either in rural or urban locations.

Lipsky writes at length about street-level bureaucrats' bias toward clients and the means by which they condition clients in order to control receipt of benefits. He argues that because street-level bureaucrats are human, inherent biases will be displayed in their work and that some clients will receive better treatment or more services than others because of this bias. Interestingly, one of the biases he mentions is the evocation of workers' sympathy (Lipsky 1980, 108). For many people, innocent victims of crime evoke more sympathy than criminals. It could be that the directors in this program are sympathetic to victims, and as Lipsky says, the "workers find greater gratification in interacting with [these] clients" (Lipsky 1980,108). That is to say that Victim/Witness directors may not be alienated from their work because, although they are biased, their bias results in a positive response rather than a negative response, (i.e. sympathy rather than frustration or contempt). This could motivate them to maintain their altruistic intentions. Perhaps those directors who are less satisfied with their work are simply less sympathetic to victims or have lost sympathy over the years. Director sympathy may still be influenced by the factors Lipsky suggests, such as resource constraints, or by other factors that differ for each program.

This study has raised questions as to the validity of Lipsky's claims about street-level bureaucracy. It offers an alternate description of street-level workers to the one Lipsky provides by identifying the presence of a typology more diverse than Lipsky's. The most important conclusion, however, is that, for V/W-CVA, advocacy and

bureaucracy are not completely at odds and therefore altruism is not mythical for the respondents of the survey, as Lipsky seems to suggest. In addition, the study proposes that further research may prove that positive results can occur from bias that is based on worker sympathy.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire

Questionnaire

This questionnaire is designed to elicit objective observations and impressions of local directors of the Virginia Victim/Witness and Crime Victim Assistance program. All answers will be used for academic purposes only and will remain confidential. Please write or type your answers in the space provided or on separate sheets if necessary. Thank you for your assistance in this project.

1. In what year was your program established?
2. How long have you served as the director of the program?
3. Briefly describe your responsibilities as the local program director.
 - 3a. Do you perform any other administrative tasks outside of your responsibilities as a victim/witness or crime victim assistance program director? (For example, does your sponsoring agent require a certain percentage of your time?)

4. Who sponsors your grant program at the local level?
5. What percentage of your funding comes from the Department of Criminal Justice Services?
6. Since you have been the director, has the amount of state grant funds for your program increased, decreased, or stayed the same?
 - 6a. To what extent have any changes in funding levels affected your ability to serve clients?
7. Since you have been the director, has your client load increased, decreased, or stayed the same? (Please explain.)
 - 7a. If you have experienced a change in client load, how have these changes affected your ability to meet the needs of clients?

8. In which court, (Circuit, General District, or Juvenile and Domestic Relations), are the majority of your clients' cases heard?

9. How many volunteers work in your office ?

9a. Please describe the tasks they perform.

10. Why did you become a victim/witness or crime victim assistance program director?

11. To what extent have you been able to achieve your personal career goals as a program director?

12. Are you a presently a member of a victims' rights group outside of work? (Do not feel obliged to name any specific groups.)

12a. If you are involved in a group, do you consider yourself an active participant in the group?

12b. If you currently are not, have you ever been a member in the past? If so, why did you discontinue your membership?

13. Which of the following philosophies best describes the relationship between your office and its clients? (Please indicate by circling one or commenting.)

1. We treat all clients equally, regardless of circumstances.

**2. We generally try to give equal treatment, but in some circumstances, those who need more help, receive it.
(Please identify the circumstances under which a client would receive special treatment.)**

3. Neither philosophy adequately describes our office. A better description of our philosophy would be (please describe):

14. What criteria do you use to evaluate your program's success?

15. What kinds of information (e.g. statistics) do you provide to the Department of Criminal Justice Services to evaluate the performance of your program?

16. To what extent do you think that information adequately measures the services your office provides to victims and witnesses?

Attached is a list of program guidelines established by the state in 1992 which describe the specific duties of local victim/witness programs.

17. Which of these objectives are the most important to you as a program director, and why?

Thank you again for your participation in the survey. Please enclose the completed survey in the stamped, self-addressed envelope I have provided. If possible please return it by January 30, 1995.

Appendix B: Case Studies

Case 1: This program director has served for five years in her rural victim/witness assistance program. She was unemployed prior to taking the position and feels she has reached her potential in the job and should probably "move on". She is a member of a victim advocacy group but is not active. The program has existed for five years and is sponsored at the local level by the county government. Two volunteers work in the office. The majority of her cases are heard in Circuit Court.

The director referred to the attached list of objectives as an accurate reflection of her responsibilities. Of this list of objectives, she believed providing information, assisting in filing for victim's compensation, providing support services, providing written materials, assisting in obtaining restitution, informing clients about their cases, assisting with victim impact statements, providing support during the court session, and providing courtroom tours to be the most important objectives. Her program's philosophy is to generally treat all clients equally but to give more attention to those who need it taking into consideration the severity of the crime.

Since becoming the director, funds have increased for this program and the director feels they are adequate to serve the needs of clients. The client load increased the first two years then remained static, but this situation has created more time for the director to provide direct services (rather than spend time marketing services). The director uses an advisory council review and victim exit surveys to measure the success of her program. She feels the quarterly reports required by DCJS do not adequately reflect the amount of time spent on complicated cases.

Case 2: The director of Case 2 has served for 3 1/2 years; her program has existed for eleven years. Her urban program is sponsored at the local level by the Commonwealth Attorney and two volunteers work in

the office. She says she became a program director because of her strong belief in victims rights and has met her personal career goals to a great extent. She is an active member of a victim advocacy organization.

Case 2 reported that her responsibilities include developing program policies and procedures, developing inter-agency protocol, writing grant proposals, compiling financial reports, and providing direct services to victims of robbery, abduction, and homicide. She also attends various task force and committee meetings. The program objectives she feels are most important include: protection against further harm, return of stolen property, provision of written materials, restitution acquisition, client updates, final case disposition, victim-impact statements, parole in-put, support during court sessions, and courtroom tours. She believes in treating all clients equally regardless of the crime against them.

Funding for this program has stayed the same during this director's tenure. The client load has increased but the director does not believe her ability to serve clients has been affected. She conducts a bi-annual survey on client satisfaction to measure program success. She feels the information reported to DCJS adequately reflects the services she provides.

Case 3: The director of this rural program has worked for nine years, part-time, since the program began in 1986. The program is sponsored at the local level by the county; most of the clients appear in Juvenile and Domestic Relations court or Circuit court. The director took the position because she wanted to assist crime victims. She says she feels good about her work but regrets not having benefits. She is not a member of an advocacy group.

The director did not detail her responsibilities. The objectives she believes to be most important include assisting in filing for victims compensation, providing support to victims while in court, providing written materials about the court process and providing courtroom

the office. She says she became a program director because of her strong belief in victims rights and has met her personal career goals to a great extent. She is an active member of a victim advocacy organization.

Case 2 reported that her responsibilities include developing program policies and procedures, developing inter-agency protocol, writing grant proposals, compiling financial reports, and providing direct services to victims of robbery, abduction, and homicide. She also attends various task force and committee meetings. The program objectives she feels are most important include: protection against further harm, return of stolen property, provision of written materials, restitution acquisition, client updates, final case disposition, victim-impact statements, parole in-put, support during court sessions, and courtroom tours. She believes in treating all clients equally regardless of the crime against them.

Funding for this program has stayed the same during this director's tenure. The client load has increased but the director does not believe her ability to serve clients has been affected. She conducts a bi-annual survey on client satisfaction to measure program success. She feels the information reported to DCJS adequately reflects the services she provides.

Case 3: The director of this rural program has worked for nine years, part-time, since the program began in 1986. The program is sponsored at the local level by the county; most of the clients appear in Juvenile and Domestic Relations court or Circuit court. The director took the position because she wanted to assist crime victims. She says she feels good about her work but regrets not having benefits. She is not a member of an advocacy group.

The director did not detail her responsibilities. The objectives she believes to be most important include assisting in filing for victims compensation, providing support to victims while in court, providing written materials about the court process and providing courtroom

tours. She believes some clients need more assistance than others depending on the crime against them or their economic status.

Funds for this program have increased during the director's tenure but have had no discernable effect on service provision. The client load has remained constant. The director stated she used a supervisor evaluation and a random sample survey for victims as measures of her program's success.

Case 4: The director of this urban program has worked for seven years as a director; the program began in 1979. The majority of the funds for her program come from city government, not from DCJS. She has two to three volunteers that work in her office plus a variety of clerical and support staff (five total). Her work involves all three courts. She took the position because it was a good combination of her skills and she has achieved her goals to a "good extent". She is an active member of two victim advocacy groups.

This director's responsibilities are mostly administrative, including budget management and work with prosecutors. The program only provides services to victims of felonies and to victims and witnesses summoned to court. Therefore the objectives she sees as most important are information provision, victim's compensation, support services while in court, provision of written materials, keeping victim's updated on their case, parole in-put, and informing victim's of the disposition of their case. Because the program does not serve all types of victims, it cannot serve all equally.

State funding for the program has decreased but local funding has increased affording the program more employees. The client load has increased "300%" which has forced the program to cut back on the types of victims it serves and to employ more clerical staff. This director uses reports to DCJS, citizen surveys, citizen input, and her staff's input to determine the success of the program. She believes the quarterly reports to DCJS are a poor reflection of the services her program provides.

Case 5: This program director works part-time and has been in the job for two and a half years. The rural program began in 1991 and is sponsored at the local level by the county and the United Way. The program has one volunteer. The majority of clients are heard in General District court. The director took the position because he wanted to help people understand the criminal justice system. He says his career goals have been achieved but he has become disillusioned with the criminal justice system. The director is not a member of an advocacy group.

Responsibilities of the job include contacting victims after they are located through magistrate referral and police records, assistance with crime victims compensation and reporting to DCJS. The objectives the director felt were most important include offering crisis intervention, emergency assistance, protection, information on services and crime victims compensation. The director believes that although all victims generally receive the same treatment, some victims need more assistance due to the severity of the crime against them.

Since becoming the director, funding for this program has increased but not affected services. The client load has also increased but required no changes in service provision. The director relies on feedback from Commonwealth Attorneys and judges to measure the success of the program. He feels that the reports to DCJS adequately represent the program's activities.

Case 6: This program director has served for 8 1/2 years since the program began in 1986. His rural program is sponsored by the local sheriff and he is a deputy sheriff. The program usually has one to three volunteers and clients generally appear in Juvenile and Domestic Relations court. The director took the position because of his age and his background in law enforcement; he has achieved his career goals. He is a member of an advocacy group but is not active because of the group's stance on gun control.

The responsibilities of the job include contacting victims, informing them of the services provided, meeting with victims before court and escorting them to court, assisting with victims compensation and providing follow-up protection and information on the case. He believes all victims should be given equal treatment but that some need more attention depending on their financial and emotional circumstances.

Funding for this program has increased but the director can also use resources from the sheriff's office. The client load increased for a few years but has decreased in the last two years which has allowed the director to spend more time with those victims who need it. He uses feedback from co-workers to measure the success of his program and feels the quarterly reports submitted to DCJS adequately reflect the program's services.

Case 7: The director of this rural program has only been in the position for five months. The program began in 1990 and the county sponsors it. One or two volunteers assist in operations. Most clients appear in Juvenile and Domestic Relations court. The director said she took the job because she wanted to help victims. She believes the job will fulfill her career goals. She is a member of an advocacy group but has not yet become active.

The director states her responsibilities to be those listed in the state and federal guidelines for the program. She also works with witnesses summoned to court and is the manager of a "protocol team" with other social service agencies. She believes providing counseling or referral within twenty-four hours to be the most critical program objective. She tries to treat all victims equally but gives more attention to those who need it.

The director has not been in the position long enough to determine if funds have increased or decreased, but she adds that they are not adequate because she's paid for only part-time work. The client load has increased, however, which has required her to work more hours. She uses community feedback to measure program

success and does not think the quarterly reports to DCJS give an accurate picture of the number of hours required to fill clients' needs.

Case 8: The director of this rural program has only been in the position for three months; the program began in 1986 and is sponsored by the Commonwealth Attorney. No volunteers work in the office. The majority of clients appear in General District and Juvenile and Domestic Relations court. The director specifies advocacy as her reason for taking the position. She is an active member of an advocacy group.

The director's responsibilities include contacting victims, providing needed services, advocacy, and supervision of staff. She believes the most important program objective is giving victims information about services provided. The program's philosophy is to treat all clients equally unless they require more time due to the severity of the crime against them or some other handicap.

Funding for this program has remained the same and caused no changes in service provision. The client load has also remained the same. The director measures program success by "client satisfaction" and believes the quarterly reports provided to DCJS only moderately reflect the program's service provision.

Case 9: The director of this rural program has been in the position for four years. The program began in 1990 and is sponsored locally by the county. No volunteers work in the office. Clients generally appear in Juvenile and Domestic Relations or Circuit court. The director says she took the job because of her interest in the criminal justice field. She is an active member of an advocacy group.

Responsibilities of the director include providing all direct services to victims and witnesses of crime and to oversee and perform all administrative tasks such as grant writing and budget requests. The director believes all the objectives to be important except repairing broken locks and doors, referral to crime prevention agencies, returning stolen property, providing child care, and

providing an "on-call" system. It is the policy of the program to treat all clients equally except in cases of child sexual abuse or homicide which require more attention.

Funding for this program has decreased but has not affected service delivery. Client loads have also increased because of an increase in public awareness. This increase has required the director to reduce her appearances in lower courts and prioritize services. She says she does not provide any information to DCJS to evaluate the program.

Case 10: The director of this program has served for one year. This urban program has existed since 1990 and is sponsored locally by the city. Three volunteers work in the office. The director took the job because of "a need to help others". She is a member of an advocacy group, but is not active. Her career goals have not been met because of her frustration with budget issues.

The responsibilities of the position include assisting victims of violent crime, "primarily homicide", and to oversee staff and interns, and other administrative tasks. She is required to work after hours if there is a witness in protective custody. She believes providing crisis intervention and counseling, and protection from harm to be the most important objectives because of the program's protective custody services. The director must give more attention to these individuals but generally tries to treat all equally.

Funding for this program has stayed the same but more money is needed to hire staff due to the crime rate in her city. The client load has also increased because of the crime rate and the city's indigent population. She said she must assist those who cannot read or who have no transportation which requires more of her time. She considers the satisfaction of victims and the response of the community to be indicators of her program's success. The director feels the quarterly reports are satisfactory in terms of statistical information on the program's activities.

Appendix C: Program Objectives

- 1) Provide crisis intervention services and counseling or referral to such services on a 24-hour basis.**
- 2) Provide to victims, either directly or by referral, emergency assistance, such as food, clothing, and shelter, if necessary.**
- 3) Offer assistance to victims in obtaining repair of doors, locks, and windows to prevent immediate re-burglarization of the victim's residence.**
- 4) Assist in the protection of victims from harm and threats of harm arising out of their cooperation with law enforcement or prosecution efforts . . .**
- 5) Provide information to victims describing victims' compensation, direct program services available, and how to obtain the program's assistance.**
- 6) Inform victims about compensation available to them as a result of their victimization, and advise them on how to apply for it.**
- 7) Provide intercession services in order to minimize an employee's loss of pay and problems resulting from the victimization or court appearances, to ensure that victims will be able to cooperate with the criminal justice process.**
- 8) Direct victims to law enforcement agencies for the purpose of obtaining crime prevention services.**
- 9) Assist in the prompt return to victims of any stolen property held for evidentiary purposes, unless there is a compelling law enforcement purpose for retaining it.**
- 10) Provide support services such as follow up counseling, short-term counseling, or victim support groups.**
- 11) Provide written material to victims which must contain information about victims' compensation, restitution, victim impact statements, and an explanation of the steps in the criminal justice process.**

- 12) Advise victims of what they are entitled to under the restitution provisions of the Code of Virginia. In cases where restitution has been ordered, inform victims of that fact and monitor payments as needed.
- 13) Provide to victims information on any significant developments in the investigation and adjudication of the cases in which they are involved.
- 14) Provide, within thirty working days of the disposition of their cases, information about the dispositions to all victims assisted by the program.
- 15) Coordinate with probation officers for the preparation of victim impact statements.
- 16) Provide information about the parole process and assist victims in completing and filing Parole Input Forms.
- 17) Counsel victims about their options with respect to participating or not participating in the criminal justice process.
- 18) If appropriate, provide a support person, upon the victim's request, to be with the victim throughout the criminal justice process.
- 19) Provide child care services, when necessary.
- 20) Provide courtroom tours for victims and explanations of the judicial proceedings in which they will be participating.
- 21) Provide payment of all reasonable costs of a forensic medical examination of a crime victim, to the extent that such costs are not otherwise reimbursed or paid by third parties.
- 22) Develop an "on-call" system for victims to minimize unnecessary trips to court.
- 23) Develop and maintain a directory of social services and community resources available to crime victims.
- 24) Provide a separate waiting area during court proceedings in order to afford victims privacy and protection from intimidation.