FINAL REPORT

STATE-OF-THE-ART
OF
OFFENDER CLASSIFICATION
IN THE U.S.A.

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(FINAL REPORT)

ABSTRACT

This report is a state of the art survey which identifies
offender classification systems presently in use as they have
developed historically. Offender classification has evolved from
purely custodial to a rehabilitation orientation, although it is
still used primarily for management purposes. Most offender clas-
sification efforts have occurred in prisons, but new developments
in diversion and court related projects extend classification
from arrest to parole release. Most of the important classifica-
tion studies are reviewed as are the main offender typologies.
The major sources and problems of data useful for classification
are analyzed and suggestions made for improvement. The addition
of some inmate reactions to classification adds a note of reality
and implies that more offender participation would be helpful.
The monograph concludes that although there are operational,
ethical, legal, research, and technical problems that need resolu-
tion, classification is an important method for relating needs to
resources. Unfortunately, no large scale longitudinal research
has been done, which documents offender characteristics predic-
tive of success in treatment programs. There are indications that
screening offenders for correctional alternatives may not continue
to be a criminal justice system goal in the future.

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FOREWORD

The origins of this project lie beyond the research requested
by the National Institute for Law Enforcement (LEAA) and are found
in many efforts to expand knowledge. We trust that our assay of
the "state" of offender classification will produce an "art" better
than intuition, empiricism, or luck. Our report results from the
interactive aspects of our history and our aspirations for the fu-
ture of the criminal justice system. Many people contributed to
this enterprise, including some who said it couldn't be done.....
perhaps they were right.

We think our literature review was comprehensive, covering
over 5,000 entries; it certainly was exhausting to keyword over
600 documents for machine storage. We thank the Information Sciences
Division of IITRI for its electronic search and retrieval of MED-
LINE, SSIE, NTIS, ERIC, NIMH, DDC, ISI, CJIS, and Psychology Ab-
stracts. Manual searches were made of Sociology Abstracts, Index
to Legal Periodicals, Dissertation Abstracts, Exerpta Criminologica,
Crime and Delinquency Literature, and the International Biblio-
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editorial staff gave us more help than we deserved. Our reviewers
Don Gibbons, Leonard Hippchen, Arthur Huffman, Robert Smith, and
Leslie Wilkins made solid, substantive suggestions. We hope that
we were intelligent enough to implement most of them. After sev-
eral drafts we are not fully satisfied, but deadlines are inescap-
able, and we are left yet to wonder, not how but why ....

Thomas G. Eynon
Senior Project Scientist

SUMMARY

CHAPTER I

Although offender classification dates back to antiquity, it
emerged during the Golden Age of Penology (1870-1910 in the United
States) as a correctional technique. Prisoners were assigned to
"progressive stages" of treatment based upon their degree of com-
pliance. Early classification meant treatment, later it became
clinical diagnosis, and only much later (1930's) classification
evolved as a way of "solving offenders' problems and planning cor-
rectional programs." The discovery of offender pathology and the
medical model of treatment generated a clinical/correctional bu-
reaucracy of experts "finding and meeting needs." The introduction
of casework methods supported the myth of individualized treatment.
Case evalation of inmates elaborated into Reception and Diagnostic
Centers, correctional jargon, and rehabilitation programs before
theory, research, or behavior technology developed beyond the
primitive state of "super maximum segregation of bad actors."
Heavy emphasis has been placed upon community based programs such
as probation, work release, and furloughs as "treatment modalities".
Unfortunately, our classification and rehabilitation technology
has not kept pace with the demands placed upon them. Recent
disillusionment with the medical model which focuses on offender
life factors and relies upon "prescriptive program delivery systems,"
has led to virtual abandonment of rehabilitation rhetoric. The
emerging trend seems to be "systems analysis", with offender

classification being employed throughout the criminal justice continuum from screening and diversion programs to parole adjustment.

CHAPTER II

Classification, recognized or not, occurs at each point in the administration of justice. Police sort offenders into types as a way of simplifying police work and they hold different attitudes regarding each offender type. Race, age, sex, and social status have differential risk for arrest affecting "hidden classification" at the entry point of the criminal justice system. Police and prosecutors exercise considerable discretion as they screen offenders out of the system, their classification criteria remain informal and nonlegal assisting management rather than justice. Evaluation of the PROMIS project in the District of Columbia may illuminate classification for prosecution. Data from the Manhattan Court Employment Project and Project Crossroads will assist development of classification for court related diversion. Much work remains to be done in classifying offenders for probation. We have not moved very far from the standard presentence investigation and it is unclear how offenders are selected for sentencing alternatives. Caseload management is still an intuitive art. "Score sheets" using point scoring systems seem a simple way to classify offenders by problem areas considered by the probation officer in working out a supervision plan. So far, the bulk of formal classification has centered on the reception of

offenders into correctional institutions. Debate on the merits of Reception and Diagnostic Centers is warming considerably despite the Hellervik Report (1974) recommendation that central and separate centers be established in each of the fifty states. Our consideration of classification has expanded to distinguish four distinct functions: 1) custody (security and/or surveillance); 2) management (offender access to resources); 3) rehabilitation (offender potential for change); 4) treatment (basic approach to offender).

Chapter III

Offender information is collected at many points in the criminal justice system, yet the collection, processing, and reporting of this information is unsystematic and not standardized on basic data. Variations exist between agencies, jurisdictions, and governmental levels. Statewide criminal justice information systems have not improved or adequately analyzed the information now available. A summary of the information elements now collected shows that agencies collect and recollect much the same information. This chapter describes the aggregate information concerning offenders and the reporting forms used in its gathering. It discusses police arrest information, court and probation data, and information reported by local, state and federal correctional agencies. Data reliability and validity have been concerns in any information system, computerized or manual. Project SEARCH is examined for its relevance and potential for offender classification

Data categories which are vague or ill defined (e.g., "emotional health") are better left unreported unless careful specification can be assured. Reliable methods of information collection, including control and audit procedures, must be developed if we are to improve data based offender classification.

CHAPTER IV

This chapter analyzes classification relevant studies of parole prediction, offender outcome, "environmental inputs", interpersonal maturity, behavioral categories, and resource allocation. The Burgess experience table is analyzed as the prototype of later tables used in scoring probability of parole success. The present day base expectancy research, stemming from Mannheim and Wilkins Borstal studies represent statistical sophistication and conceptual simplicity. Predictive attribute analysis, association analysis, and multiple regression are the newer techniques. The Parole Decision Making Project is probably the most extensive and potentially useful approach. It will most likely provide the major direction for parole research and offender classification for the next few years. The Federal Board of Parole "salient factor" classification is described and its experience table is included. The work of the Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections in Alabama is reviewed and their instruments are felt useful for classification research. The Interpersonal Maturity Level studies, dating back to 1957, suggest a theoretical framework for classification based upon a personality theory. Extensive

research has been done along these lines, particularly matching offenders to staff and program alternatives. The emphasis upon behavioral categories and differential treatment at Morgantown, West Virginia has not been matched by research precision or careful documentation due mostly to institutional management problems (i.e., housing and bed space). The Federal RAPS system seems a neat device for classifying inmates in order to allocate resources in a "rational way", and provide management with program utilization data.

CHAPTER V

This chapter describes a wide range of offender typologies, including women and juveniles, and concludes that typology construction is a useful approach to the methodology of classification. Numerous offender types have been recognized since the time of Mayhew (1860) leading to descriptive studies using biological, psychological, and sociological dimensions. Lombroso, Hooten, Sheldon, and the Gluecks represent anthropological and physical type approaches; Hewett and Jenkins, Warren, Jesness, Quay and others provide psychological types; and Clinard and Quinney, Glaser, Gibbons, and Garrity give us social types of offenders. Flanigan and Kapture type by motivation; Schrag, Sykes and Irwin type by inmate role; and Roebuck explores types of black offenders in the District of Columbia. Women offenders have been types by Ward and Kassebaum, Heffernan and Giallombardo. Gibbons, Downe, Ferdinand, Cohen, Short, and Cloward and Ohlin have provided typologies

of delinquent youth. So far, we have not developed an offender typology which covers age, sex, race, and offense in a way satisfactory for research or further development of classification.

CHAPTER VI

Most efforts have ignored the role, perceptions and attitudes of offenders in the classification process. We have been caught in system concerns to the exclusion of offender participation. This exclusion has served to keep classification removed from the reality of the offenders everyday life whether on the street or in the institution. A very small number of interviews with inmates revealed not only institutional lack of concern but also offender ignorance of the main approach to his supposed rehabilitation. Although others said it years ago and it has become part of our vocabulary, the offender participation has yet to occur in decisions which affect the most crucial elements of his existence. It is apparent that classification has yet to help offenders and remains at the less relevant organizational levels as one of the "paper rituals" most bureaucracies have invented to expand "work".

CHAPTER VII

Many of the issues which emerged from our offender classification study can be grouped as operational, legal and ethical, or research and methodological concerns. Lack of universal and unambiguous consensus upon the approach, methods, and objectives of classification seems to be the main hurdle to progress. Inability to extend classification to the criminal justice system entry

point for offenders has also hampered our efforts to be more effective. Flexibility and commitment to changes in our ideas is also necessary. Problems of taxonomy in general have not reached a state of consciousness in criminal justice because we are still functioning with a primitive set of labels. We yet lack sophistication in seeing environment relevant offender data. We will abandon our "needs meeting syndrome" when we realize that needs are infinite but resources are finite. Classification for prediction will remain a technical enigma until we agree upon what we mean by "success". Practitioners of classification will be forced to defend their expertise as the trend toward accountability proceeds. The development of offense specific or treatment relevant classification has been called into question by those who have seen little or no progress. The legal and ethical issues involved with intervention into human lives in a democratically oriented free and pluralistic society staggers the imagination. Is it time to stop asking how and begin to wonder why?

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Classification is the most fundamental of techniques to
reduce confusion about people, places and things. Ever since
the Greeks, distributing people into groups according to system-
atic plans for treatment appropriate to their individual needs
has been the bedrock process of practitioners in the human ser-
vices. For instance, Greek medicine, while empirical (relying
upon experience or observation alone without regard for consider-
ations of system, science or theory), used classification for
treatment purposes. Hippocrates even observed the relationship
between nose form and criminality. However, unsystematic cate-
gories with no theoretical base or scientific verification gen-
erally lead nowhere.

Classification is not difficult; almost everyone does it.
But it should make sense, extend knowledge into practice, be
better than trial and error, and enable accurate predictions of
outcome in ways useful for program development. Although taxonomy
follows principles of scientific classification, when it is
isolated from the realities of everyday life, it is insufficient
by itself.

Penal classification dates from very early times when offenders
were categorized as "accused" or "condemned". Spain began sep-
arating men from women prisoners in 1518.[1] Classification
developed in England as a response to demands for reform of Gaols
during the Elizabethan period. The development of the Bridewell

for rogues, vagabonds and other misdemeanants in 1557 marked the
beginning of institutional separation by seriousness of offense.
Later citizen committees recommended that first offenders be
separated from recidivists and from dangerous, violent criminals
and that prisoners be segregated by sex, age, and type of offense.[2]
The opening of the Hospice of San Michele in Rome in 1704 under
the direction of Pope Clement XI marked the start of specialized
institutions for youthful offenders.[3]

In the United States, an embryonic form of classification
was used at the Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia in 1790. There,
women and children were separated from men offenders.[4] Balti-
more, also separated women and children in the early 1800's. In
1825, a House of Refuge for children opened in New York; the in-
sane were removed from the jails and sent to asylums beginning
in 1844;[5] and the first state training schools for juvenile
delinquents opened in 1847 in New York and Massachusetts.[6]
New York opened, in 1859, its first hospital for persons diagnosed
as "criminally insane." The beginning of the women's reformatory
movement was marked by the opening in 1873 of a separate facility
for women felons in Indiana.

> The classification of prisoners for treatment
> purposes began with the development of the
> "stage system of confinement" in England under
> penal legislation enacted by George III. Later,
> this system was called the Irish System and
> credited to Walter Crofton. All prisoners were
> classified by treatment stage: Intake Solitary
> Confinement, or Intermediate Prison, or Public
> Works, or Release on Ticket of Leave.[7]

The first American Prison Congress held in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1870 dwelt at length on the accomplishments of the Irish System and, in the declaration of the principles of prison reform, emphasized classification. Three principles in particular enunciated a philosophy which has endured for over 100 years in American corrections:

III.   The progressive classification of prisoners based on character and worked on some well-adjusted mark system, should be established in all prisons above the common jail.

XVIII.   The most valuable parts of the Irish prison system--the more strictly penal stage of separate classification, and the probationary stage of natural training--are believed to be as applicable to one country as another-- to the United States as to Ireland.

XIX.   Prisons, as well as prisoners, should be classified or graded so that there shall be prisons for the untried, for the incorrigible, and for other degrees of depraved character, as well as separate establishments for women and for criminals of the younger class.

The modern translation of these principles perhaps may be found in "behavior modification" (III), the remarkable similarity of correctional systems (XVIII), and the diversification of institutions (XIX).

Classification in its early form meant the movement of prisoners through treatment categories with activities designed for each class of prisoner. The best expression of these ideas came with the opening of the Elmira Reformatory in New York in 1876. Some irreverent commentators have observed that in prison management it's been downhill ever since. Warden Cassidy of the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia in 1883 remarked: "after

hearing so much of herding and grading, congregation and classi-
fication, I am the more fully convinced that the individual treat-
ment for people that have to be cared for in prisons for punish-
ment of crime, is the simplest and most philosophical and is
productive of better results."[9]

Concern about the inmate's ability to work at various enter-
prises within the walls, in the mines, or outside, led the Alabama
Penitentiary physician in 1883 to record the inmate's personal,
medical, surgical, and family history, in addition to physical,
special conditions, prognosis, and recommendations. This approach
later crystalized into statutes in some southern states which
classified prisoners as Class I (those who could do a good day's
work on the roads) or Class II (women or those who could not work
on the roads).[10]

The systematic measuring and classifying of individual
offenders began with Lombroso. His "Delinquent Man" published
in 1872 and later his "Criminal Man" appearing in 1889 were heroic
attempts to discover classes of criminals in evolutionary theory.

The development of special handling of young offenders is
the source of the "clinical" approach to classification. Early
laws in Illinois (1831) provided for differential punishment of
juveniles, and the Juvenile Court Law of 1899, which established
the first juvenile court in Cook County, was a logical extension
of this belief. In 1909 Dr. William F. Healy was funded to study
cases coming before the juvenile court. Healy's work on the in-
dividual delinquent, the development of intelligence tests, and

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the rise of clinical psychiatry during 1910-1920 were forerunners of formalized classification in Illinois. Healy's organization, known as the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute, became the Institute for Juvenile Research on July 1, 1917 with the passage of the Civil Administration Code of Illinois. The Division of the Criminologist within the Institute for Juvenile Research came under the control of the Illinois Department of Public Welfare which had responsibility for juvenile and adult penal institutions (among other things). In 1918, the Institute for Juvenile Research sent a psychologist to the Joliet Penitentiary one day a week to give intelligence tests. A psychiatrist visited for a few days once a month to make studies of selected cases; he produced documents known as Mental Health Reports.[11] By 1919, the staff of the Division of the Criminologist made routine examinations of all inmates being considered for parole.

Elsewhere, classification in an elementary form appeared at the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia in 1909,[12] but the first comprehensive efforts appeared in New Jersey soon after the 1917 Prison Inquiry Commission reports.

Two men are closely associated with the early development of classification in New Jersey, Edgar Doll and William J. Ellis. Dr. Doll became Director of Education and Classification in the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies in 1920, and he pushed his concept of classification within the state correctional institutions. Earlier legislation provided separate institutions for different types of offenders and had established a

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credit marking system method for determining parole eligibility.
Dr. Doll was assisted by Ellis who later became Commissioner of
Institutions. In a paper published in 1922,[13] Doll presented
the New Jersey system of classification which became a model for
American corrections. In his words:

> I like to think of correctional treatment
> in terms of an analogy drawn from medicine.
> When a person is afflicted with a contagious
> disease, or an ailment which is a menace to
> his neighbors, he is quarantined from the
> general social body, a physician is called in
> to treat the case. Before prescribing treat-
> ment the physician makes a thorough study of
> the individual, not only of his present symp-
> toms, but of his previous history and those
> influences which have contributed to the
> development of the pathological condition.
> He sums up this study in terms of a diagnosis
> in which he indicates the contributing causes.
> Generally speaking, diagnosis leads almost auto-
> matically to methods of treatment which are
> fairly well standardized for the several diag-
> nostic syndromes. It may be, however, that the
> circumstances call for specialized treatment,
> specifically designed to meet the particular
> conditions presented by the individual. Our
> plan of correctional treatment is founded on
> similar procedure. We study the individual
> prisoner himself from every possible angle.
> We cover his personal history with a view to
> understanding the predisposing factors; we
> study his environment to learn the immediate
> contributing causes of his crime. We make
> a diagnosis of the principal cause or causes
> and specify the contributing factors. We are
> then in a position to see exactly what the
> individual needs in order to be socially re-
> habilitated. We then make sure that our in-
> stitutions are provided with the facilities
> required for this purpose.(14)

From the above quotation we discover the introduction of
the medical model of treatment and offender pathology which gen-
erates "needs meeting activity of correctional experts". The
classification committee then determines into what category the
offender falls:

> As a result of the classification meeting
> and group determination, the individual will
> be classified in one or more of the following
> groups:
>
> A medical group, including the diseased, ill,
> crippled, disabled, aged, infirm, consitution-
> ally abnormal, and so on.
>
> A psychopathic, demented, epileptic, inferior,
> peculiar, maladjusted, perverted, syphilitic,
> drug addict, chronic alcoholic, and so on.
>
> A psychological group, including the gifted,
> bright, average, dull, inferior, feebleminded,
> deteriorated, unstable, verbal-minded, manual-
> minded, social-minded, unskilled, and so on.
>
> An educational group, including the non-English
> speaking, illiterate, borderline illiterate,
> classified literate, non-educable, scholastically
> educable, clerically skilled, and so on.
>
> An industrial group including unskilled, rela-
> tively unskilled, average, highly skilled,
> expertly skilled, vocationally educable, routine
> workers, and so on.
>
> A moral group, including the colored, native
> white, foreign born, foreign descent, chronic
> offenders, occasional offenders, environmentally
> unfortunate, economically limited, and so on.
>
> Each prisoner will ordinarily be found to be
> definitely classifiable in one or more of these
> groups and his inclusion therein will indicate
> the principal causes and contributing factors
> of his criminality. The inclusion in one or
> more of the groups makes the prisoner automa-
> tically eligible for the several lines of cor-
> rective treatment which are provided for them.(15)

In addition to etiological categories indicating the main reasons why a person became an offender, we also find in Doll's article classification for management because, for administrative purposes, prisoners were also classified:

1. The difficult class who are hostile to society and require close custody.

2. The better class who are good prisoners with reasonably good prognosis, but are serving for long terms and require close custody.

3. The simple feeble-minded whose condition is not complicated by psychopathic traits.

4. The senile and incapacitated class.

5. The psychotic and epileptic class who should be transferred to the hospitals for the mentally ill.

6. The defective delinquent class whose low intelligence is combined with high emotional instability and may need long periods of custody and training under an indeterminate sentence.(16)

Finally, in his article, Doll espouses two other ideas which find expression today, fifty years later. One is the naive suggestion that classification will force correctional managers to develop or discard programs:

This method of classification, as described, when put into operation in any correctional institution, immediately reveals the limitations of corrective treatment in an institution. Some facilities will be found preponderant and others totally lacking, and consistent efforts to classify systematically in these ways will force an institution to provide the facilities which it lacks and to curtail the employment of other facilities which are being used blindly.(17)

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The other, more ominous, idea is that permanent incarceration is the solution with offenders who cannot or will not "respond".

> A definite percentage of prisoners will be found not amenable to correction because of gross feeble-mindedness, psychosis, extreme anti-social attitudes, physical defects, and the like. In such cases the indeterminate sentence may be construed as permanent custody. (18)

The next step came quickly with the introduction of casework methods following the collection of case histories as the principal technique of social work. The early settlement house efforts produced social work textbooks which, in turn, influenced the development of classification.[19] Massachusetts began preparing case histories of prisoners in 1921, and soon New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, California, Indiana, and Illinois followed.[20]

In Illinois during 1924-25 intelligence tests, neuro-psychiatric examinations, and social histories were compiled before newly committed inmates were assigned to work details and cell houses. The Burgess system of parole prediction began in 1931 and the formal classification of prisoners by the Division of the Criminologist started on July 1, 1933.[21]

The development of the State Prison Colony at Norfolk, Massachusetts from 1927 to 1933 under the direction of Howard Gill marked the beginning of a recognizable classification for treatment system. How this classification system emerged from a five year experiment funded by a $55,000 grant from the Bureau

of Social Hygiene of New York City is an important although little known story. By September 1, 1929, two research workers were making field investigations and preparing case histories of inmates selected for transfer from Charleston to Norfolk. The 1931 annual report of the superintendent suggested that "Norfolk is not just another prison with a somewhat modified program combining security and treatment, but rather a different type of prison - a supervised community within a wall."[22] Community-based corrections waited another thirty years for elaboration but the community prison at Norfolk saw its mission as providing a decent routine (food, recreation, work, etc.), opportunity for constructive normal development (life in a normal community), and reduction of criminal tendencies. Gill notes: "As casework represents the individualization of the problem of the prisoner, so the work of the Community Service Division represents the socialization process in the prison program."[23] An advisory committee composed of Dr. Elton Mayo, and Professors Roethlisberger, Lovekin and Warner of Harvard University devised a plan of treatment classification and objectives. "Briefly these proposed that diagnoses for treatment be classified into five main groups: situational, medical, personality, asocial, and custodial."[24]

The situational treatment group was to be assisted by a social worker to relieve or remove the aggravating situation. The medical group would receive physical treatment. The personality group diagnosed as neurotic, psychotic or psychopathic would receive the services of a psychologist or psychiatrist. The asocial group (professional criminals, gangsters, or racketeers)

would receive re-education and disciplined living. The custodial group were considered hopeless and would receive only decent care. Of 209 cases analyzed 90 were classed as situational, 4 medical, 43 personality, 8 custodial, and 64 asocial.[25] It was much later that these early classification groups were translated into the SCAMP[*] system and integrated into the clinical and operational philosophy of Gill during his tenure at American University.[26]

The Federal Bureau of Prisons was created in 1930, and during its first four years, the deputy warden was responsible for inmate assignments. In 1934 a program of "diagnosis, training and treatment which could be coordinated and applied to the individual in an organized manner" was established. The classification report for each inmate contained the headings: 1) custody and discipline, 2) transfer, 3) social service, 4) medical treatment, and 5) training programs (employment, education, religion and recreation). These information categories have persisted today and appear frequently in case records. However, to gather information is one thing; to have recommendations followed is another, as Loveland points out:

> To assure that classification would function, it was essential to have the support of the warden. To ensure that classification committees had the support of the warden, he was made chairman of the committee. If the program was to permeate the institution, it was necessary that staff education be emphasized through participation. The classification committee had as one of its purposes the education of all types of personnel as well

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[*] SCAMP is the acronym for Situational, Custodial, Anti-social, Medical and Psychiatric classification categories.

as planning and placing into effect indivi-
dual programs.

The major functions of the classification
committee were to determine an inmate's
custody rating, so that it might be decided
where he could work and then assign him to a
job. Transfers between institutions were
provided for but were infrequently made.

We can assume that fundamentally the objectives
of the classification today are what they were
in 1934. These are: 1) the preparation and
integration of diagnostic material which points
up the problems presented by the offender, his
assets and liabilities; 2) the outlining of a
sound realistic program directed toward the
solution of these problems to the end that
he may be released better prepared to accept
his responsibilities as a socially and econo-
mically adequate individual; and 3) the faith-
ful execution of that program with modifications
made as necessary to meet changing needs and
goals.

In the program planning function, classification
committees have been criticized on occasion
for operating primarily as assignment com-
mittees, placing greatest emphasis upon ques-
tions of custody, work assignment and transfer,
rather than designing a total program to meet all
the requirements presented by the individual.

Classification operations can be more efficient
if there is a selective or screening process which
provides that less time be devoted to the rela-
tively simple cases and, conversely more time
to the challenging and more difficult cases.(27)

Ellis suggested many practical results of a classification

program for correctional administrators:

1. As a guide to custody,

2. As a measure to facilitate transfer,

3. As a measure by which to develop programs
   of work and employment,

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4. As a guide to the educational, training and recreational activities,

5. In the comparatively little used but challenging field of improvement of County jails,

6. As an aid to sentencing procedures,

7. As an essential requirement in connection with parole and release considerations,

8. As a contribution to research, looking toward the solution of problems of crime and delinquency.(28)

He gave an example of how classification was a guide to the construction of a new medium security institution in New Jersey, crediting F. Lovell Bixby, then Director of Classification for custody grading so that a differentiation of institutional security could be made. He believed that "the designation of maximum, medium, and minimum security to the several types of institutions" was advanced by Bixby. Further, "the classification material also indicated the approximate size that such an institution (medium security) should be, for it became clear that among the nearly two thousand men under the supervision of the prison there were six hundred who should be housed in a medium security institution, and this could be done without taking any undue risks."(29) (Is this where the magic number of 600 originated?)

In a paper presented in 1937, Baxt asserted that "medical classification in prison is the application of the findings of a physical and mental examination of the prisoner to the general classification program, which has as its aim the treatment and adjustment of the prisoner with a view toward his rehabilitation

and return to society as an acceptable member."[30] He went on
to say: "Since the assignment and disposition of the new prisoner
is governed entirely by his medical condition, it is necessary to
evaluate him with a view toward placing him in any one or more of
the following categories:

> 1. The physically and mentally fit who do
>   not require medical treatment.
>
> 2. The generally physically and mentally fit
>   who require periodic medical attention.
>
> 3. The physically disabled who are not entirely
>   unfit.
>
> 4. The physically unfit who do not require
>   hospitalization .
>
> 5. The prisoners who require hospitalization
>   in the prison.
>
> 6. The psychopathic sexual group.
>
> 7. The mentally unfit who require segregation
>   in specialized institutions.
>
> 8. Prisoners who have physical malformations
>   and deformities.[31]

The publication of the Handbook of Casework Classification
and Treatment Methods for Offenders by the American Prison Asso-
ciation in the early 1930's marked the beginning of intense in-
terest in classification among members of the correctional estab-
lishment. The 1937 and 1938 Prison Congresses devoted large
blocks of time to the presentation of papers on classification.
Frank Loveland remarked:

At last year's Congress, classification was critically described as primarily an aid to prison management, with the implication that it had little to do with the rehabilitation of the individual offender. So restricted a concept of classification is not held by those who have been active in its development and administration. It is true that classification has as one of its objectives the more efficient operation of the correctional institution. But if we conceive the fundamental purpose of the prison to be the protection of the public through rehabilitation of its charges, it is obvious that more efficient operation of the prison simply means a more effective program for the rehabilitation of individual offenders.(32)

This confusion of management with rehabilitation has remained over the years in spite of clarifying comments on the nature of classification, seen in its early days as a promising key to the solution of criminal behavior.

What is there, then, that classification has to offer that relates directly to the rehabilitation of the individual? Classification is not of itself a program of rehabilitation. It is rather the organization of personnel and procedures through which the rehabilitation facilities of the institution may be directed most effectively toward the solution of the problems presented by the individual. This it does by four steps; first, by analyzing the problems presented by the individual through the use of every available technique, i.e. through social investigation, medical, psychiatric and psychological examinations, educational and vocational studies, and the analysis of religious and recreational factors. Second, by deciding upon a program of treatment and training based upon these searching analyses. Third, by assuring that the program decided upon is placed into operation; and fourth, by observing the progress of the inmate under this program and by changing it when indicated.(33)

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This statement made in 1938 is probably still an article of faith among correctional practitioners today, although somewhat shaken and tentatively changing from a diagnostic and prescriptive approach.

Prison wardens were quick to see the advantages of classification, particularly as it shared responsibility without diminishing the warden's authority. In a discussion of how classification was used in Indiana in 1936, Griffin indicated:

> We find, that as a classification program is developed in an institution, it meets many of the immediate needs which are of day-to-day concern to the head of an institution.
>
> a. It is useful in connection with the ever present problem of custody. It provides a method of distinguishing maximum from medium, and medium from minimum security types. When there is a problem of selecting minimum security types for transfer to another institution or to outside farms, a better selection can usually be made if it is based on the judgement of a group of men each of whom has something to contribute in the way of knowledge about the inmate under consideration.
>
> b. It provides a method for bringing to the attention of the paroling authorities and those responsible for the supervision of parolees a great deal of knowledge about inmates which without some such system is often lost sight of, although we know that it is of primary importance. When the paroling authorities wish to have the help of the institution staff in the form of definite recommendations, to have those recommendations formulated in the classification committee meeting is the fairest way in which such recommendations can be made.

c. The services of social workers, psychologists and other trained persons employed in connection with a classification program can be used by the warden in helping him carry the heavy load of interview requests. This is not so great a problem in smaller institutions, perhaps, but for him to have their assistance in larger institutions is virtually necessary. In any event, the opportunity of expressing their problems which occurs in the course of their interviews with staff members serves to release a great deal of tension on the part of inmates in an institution, and thus indirectly to make some of the problems of inmate morale and discipline easier.

d. Traditionally difficult problems in the handling and discipline of inmates can be met best with the assistance of members of the professional staff. This is most obviously true of problems arising with inmates whose mentality or personality is abnormal in some ways.(34)

The prison administrator's concern for discipline and custody is mirrored in several sessions at the 1938 Prison Congress. King believed that the "value of classification procedure is often reflected in the level of discipline and morale. An adequate program is usually accompanied by a high standard of discipline and a poor program, or one improperly administered, by a correspondingly low degree of discipline."[35] The relationship between discipline (conformity to rules) and custody and control is spelled out by Ashe who saw classification as the way of helping inmates come to terms with authority.

> Inmates are usually classified in accordance
> with the sort of custody or security they re-
> quire. This form of classification roughly
> indicates also the form of program needed for
> rehabilitation. We are all familiar with the
> classification of security into maximum, me-
> dium and minimum. It is not anything new,
> nor is it a distinctive feature of the new
> movement of classification and casework. We
> have all used it in some form long before we
> heard of classification and casework. The
> difference is that now it is no longer con-
> sidered an end in itself, but only a means
> to an end; and secondly, the job is now done
> with the aid of professionally trained per-
> sonnel on the basis of a complete case study,
> rather than on the basis of hunches.
>
> Thus the work is done more intelligently,
> with the result of improvement in custody
> and control. The administrative advantages
> of such results are too obvious to require
> detailed discussion. If you will permit a
> personal reference, at our own prison we
> have evidence to indicate that the more in-
> telligent selection of inmates through clas-
> sification has resulted in a reduction of
> escapes at our farm prison. (36)

Ashe also thought that casework contributed to better inmate

morale, because it gave the inmate opportunities to discuss per-

sonal problems and thus release tensions. The function of the

caseworker then was to listen to inmates and help them (and by

implication, the overburdened warden).

> But you must not get the idea, from what we
> have said so far, that the function of case-
> work is merely that of playing nursemaid to
> the inmate body. While this type of activity
> is important in its place, the casework program
> has other angles. When properly coordinated,
> it includes such services as medical treatment,
> academic education and vocational training. No
> administrator would deny that these services
> make their contribution toward institutional
> morale and therefore, toward more effective

control. But in addition to these, case-
work has a definite disciplinary function,
regardless of how much professional case-
workers may dislike the word "discipline".
It is, in fact, one of the fundamental
duties of the caseworker to help every in-
mate to understand his relationship to con-
stituted authority, and to attempt to develop
in every inmate the proper attitude toward
that authority. At the same time, the case-
worker must make clear his own position, as
regards his relationship both to the inmate
and to authority, in and out of prison.
After all, the men we are attempting to reform
are where they are either because of open
rebellion against authority or at least for
neglecting to abide by the rules of that
authority. If casework does not contribute
toward the development of an attitude that
will increase the offender's respect toward
that authority accepted by the social order
at large, casework has little reason for a
place in a penal program.(37)

If Ashe was representative of correctional administrators of

the thirties, and he probably was, then the function of classifi-

cation and its consequent casework efforts was to promote a change

in offender attitudes toward a more positive view of authority.

This change is what was meant by rehabilitation.

Unfortunately, some misconceptions have grown
up about the meaning of the terms employed.
The word "classification" has misled some of
us into the belief that this newfangled form
of service is nothing more than a form of
glorified segregation of prisoners into a
number of different group to somehow make
their handling less difficult. This miscon-
ception has led some to regard classification
as an end in itself, when, in fact, it is but
a first step in a process that should ideally
continue until the individual offender is re-
habilitated or is permanently segregated as a
person beyond redemption.(38)

19

Part of the problem of maintaining good institutional discipline and morale lay in making the proper work assignments and the classification committee would contribute here also:

> Even in the hands of a responsive and a
> thoughtful person much of the information
> upon which assignments to work are made are,
> of necessity, limited. In determining the
> proper work program of a delinquent, its
> effectiveness begins only with a detailed
> study of the individual. No one man, re-
> gardless of his abilities, is capable of
> selecting men for their proper work with-
> out making many errors fatal to the indi-
> vidual and institution alike.... The
> hopelessness of shuffling such a conglomer-
> ate and heterogeneous group into their pro-
> per occupational outlets without the aid of
> a classification committee seems to present
> no argument.(39)

Classification was supposed to assist in pre-release planning, helping the inmate to bridge back to his community through parole. "In the program of classification, complete information is rendered to the paroling authorities with recommendations as to the inmate's eligibility for release. Parole is, of course, the logical sequence to a prison term if it is properly understood and administered."[40] Great emphasis was placed, in the Illinois system during the thirties, on the concept of "improvability" especially as it related to prediction of success or failure on parole.

> Prognoses are made on a clinical basis and
> are used in the classification program with
> the following meanings:

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A favorable prognosis indicates that the
offender has the capacity and disposition
to adjust in civilian life and will likely
succeed on parole with minimum supervision.

A problematic prognosis implies that the
offender has the capacity and disposition
to adjust in civilian life and may succeed
on parole if the circumstances are equable
and supervision is adequate.

A doubtful prognosis suggests that the offen-
der has limited capacity or disposition, or
both, to adjust in civilian life and may fail
on parole unless circumstances are favorable
and supervision is close.

A guarded prognosis signifies that the offen-
der does not have the disposition to adjust
in civilian life, regardless of capacity,
and will be prone to violate parole in spite
of circumstances and supervision.

An unfavorable prognosis means that the offen-
der lacks both the capacity and disposition
to adjust in civilian life and would be an
unfit risk for parole under any circumstances.(41)

There was a recognition of the necessity to differentiate

programs and institutions and match them to special offender

groups. Classification was seen as helpful in screening prison

workers as to their suitability for the different kinds of pri-

sons. The seed planted in the thirties bore the fruit of offen-

der-staff matching in the sixties.

The existence of an individual or classifi-
cation program necessitates different types
of prisons such as: prisons for first offen-
ders, habitual offenders, psychotics, insane
criminals, defective delinquents, and hardened
criminals. Likewise, the diversity of types
of prisons demand different types of personnel...
the modern prison program, which is planned on
the basis of classification or individual treat-
ment, demands initial attention upon personnel.(42)

21

Finally, prison classification was to be supplemented by the assistance of court clinics and pre-sentence reports made by probation officers, as Stern pointed out:

> ... ... of our criminal courts have probation investigators, behavioral clinics, or other aides to assist and to advise them before passing sentence. Through their investigations and studies they get complete information about the mentality, personality, family and community background of the man up for sentence to help the judge determine the punishment and the type of institutions or other treatment to be meted out.(43)

Stern then goes on to report that court clinics existed prior to 1938 in New York City, Baltimore, Detroit, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, and Milwaukee.(44)

> The report prepared by the clinical staff is submitted to the judge with a diagnosis of the situation and a prognosis as to possible behavior in order that he may determine whether the individual should be placed on probation, be assessed fines and costs, be committed to a prison, a reformatory or to a mental institution. Should the offender be sentenced to a reformatory or prison, the complete findings of the clinic and the probation offices should be sent to the institution for the use of the classification service.(45)

There were, and are, many impediments to sharing pre-sentence reports with institutions, so the reports rarely arrive there. The quality of the reports is another matter.

Since 1935, "when a New Jersey judge felt a need for information of a type which local facilities were not equipped to furnish, he could order the offender to be sent to an appropriate institution within the state for 'diagnosis, classification, and

study."[46]   He was also able to obtain pre-sentence social investigations from local probation departments and clinical information from state and local mental hygiene clinics.   The New Jersey "plan" appears to be the first use of the institutional classification facilities to assist judges in pre-sentence studies. The temporary commitment for diagnosis seems to have been primarily used in juvenile cases.   "Four out of every five recent referrals have been children sent to the state homes for boys and girls for classification and study.   The number of adult classification and study cases has averaged fifty per year, since 1939 which is approximately one in every 100 adults found or pleading guilty in courts of general criminal jurisdiction."[47]

By 1940, Michigan and Pennsylvania had well developed prison classification systems.   In Michigan, "newly admitted inmates are kept in the 'quarantine block' for one month.   During this month they are interviewed and examined by the classification staff members whose work involves the analysis of inmates in preparation for the meeting at which will be decided institutional placement and type of institutional program."[48]   Very soon after the introduction of classification, the Michigan administrators were concerned about the research utility of the information gathered. "Presently we will begin using a very complete information blank for recording information to be tabulated by the use of the Hollerith machine.   This will afford the statistical data for research studies."[49]

By 1944, The Federal Bureau of Prisons' classification definition had wide acceptance:

> Classification, as defined by the Federal
> Bureau of Prisons and generally used in
> modern penology, means the systematic study
> and individual treatment of all offenders
> committed to penal or correctional institu-
> tions. The term 'treatment', with some
> deviations, is generally used to include
> every influence or action that is brought to
> bear upon an inmate as an individual. It
> includes his housing, feeding, discipline,
> work, recreation, and whatever is done for
> him in the fields of physical health, men-
> tal health, education, vocational training,
> religion and social service.(50)

Perhaps it was later that "treatment" became confused with

"rehabilitation" and/or that "treatment" would produce "rehabil-

itation". Although the question of relating "treatment" to

"outcome" was raised early, and some observers wondered about

evaluating the effectiveness of classification as a way to connect

offender needs to program resources to produce successful results,

questions remain today largely unanswered. "There is a need for

a study of the response of offenders to various kinds of handling

or treatment----What about the inability of certain groups of

offenders to take assistance or constructive programs? What sorts

of treatment situations are related to success or failure in later

outcome?"(51)

Post World War II activity in classification was ushered in

with publication of The Handbook on Classification In Correctional

Institutions by the Committee on Classifications and Case Work of

the American Prison Association in 1947. Reprinted in 1965, the

85-page handbook is the only comprehensive document (however out-

dated) available to correctional practitioners on the topic of

classification. The 1975 Standing Committee on Classification
and Treatment of the American Correctional Association is presently
revising the handbook. A comparison of topics covered in 1947 and
in 1975 underscores some interesting points.

Handbook on Classification in Correctional Institutions, 1947:

Chapter 1: Basic Principles of Classification

Chapter 2: State Organization of Classification

Chapter 3: Reception Centers

Chapter 4: Reception and Orientation at the Institution

Chapter 5: The Classification Committee - Admission
Classification

Chapter 6: The Operation of the Classification Program
- Subsequent to Admission

Chapter 7: Functions of the Personnel in a Rehabili-
tative Program

Chapter 8: Extending the Services of Classification.[52]

Handbook on Correctional Classification and Re-Socialization,
1975:

Chapter 1: The Background of Classification Systems

Chapter 2: Classification and Re-Socialization in
the Community

Chapter 3: Institutional Classification Systems

Chapter 4: Institutional Re-Socialization Programs
and Processes

Chapter 5: Institutional Programs for Release Prepa-
ration

Chapter 6: Reintegration into the Community

Chapter 7: Understanding Delinquent and Criminal
Behavior.[53]

It appears that re-socialization has replaced rehabilitation
as the main objective of classification; the contents of the hand-
book will indicate if more than a semantic shift has occurred.
The more interesting change appears to be the broadening of classi-
fication to include community-based corrections and more parts of
the criminal justice system. The movement away from purely in-
stitutional and _inmate_ perspectives to criminal justice system
and _offender_ classification, if it happens, will be a refreshing
re-appearance of the New Jersey system of 1935.[54]

1947 was also notable for the appearance of the _Handbook of_
Correctional Psychology,[55] which emphasized the psychiatric
approach to prison classification work. Foxe's delineation of
the "criminotic" individual along four dimensions has been largely
ignored by correctional experts. He saw administrative classifi-
cation distinguished but related to psychiatric, maturational,
and psychoanalytic classifications. The most interesting set of
categories for treatment purposes are the maturational:

    1 - The Developmental Criminotic (or criminal)

        As an example - the youth who steals a car, then
        commits a burglary, then a robbery and settles
        down about the age of thirty.

    2 - The Repetitive Criminotic

        The repetitive burglar, forger, pickpocket, or
        sex criminal whose activities often continue well
        into middle age.

3 - The Occasional Criminotic

    A - Situational

        I Economic Problems

        II Crises of Life - Economic, marriage,
            fatherhood, infidelity of marital
            partner, frustration in love, serious
            sickness in family, an insult or
            hostile act.

    B - Physical

        I Venereal and other diseases or injuries
            which are blows to pride, vanity or
            capacity.

        II Rare alcoholic bout

        III Curable or incurable mental disease,
            syphilis, sleeping sickness, etc.(56)

Brancale, in a review of psychiatric concepts in prison practice, distinguished three classification schemes: administrative classification, psychiatric classification, and therapeutic classification. He elaborates the three systems:

> About 1930, when psychiatric concepts were relatively new in prison practice, classification procedures were thought of and described in terms of custodial needs and safeguards. An example of this emphasis was the administrative classification used in the State of New York....This was a flexible type of classification, in that inmates moved from one group to another as their prison sentences became shorter.(57)

This administrative classification follows:

ADMINISTRATIVE CLASSIFICATION (1930)

I. Colony Group

    Type 1 Extensive privilege
    Type 2 Limited privilege

II. Restricted Group

　　　Temporary restricted
　　　Prolonged tractable
　　　Prolonged intractable

III. Psychiatric Group

　　　Ambulatory

IV. Hospital Group

V. Defective Delinquent

VI. Insane

As the psychiatric viewpoint began to infiltrate the thinking
and management of correctional institutions, this administrative
classification fell into disuse.[58]

PSYCHIATRIC CLASSIFICATION (1940)

I. Normal

　　a) Without significant deviation
　　b) With moderate personality deviation
　　c) With pronounced personality deviation
　　d) With intellectual inferiorities

　　　　1. Borderline
　　　　2. Asymmetric intellectual development

II. Feebleminded

III. Neuropathic

　　a) Psychopathic

　　　　1. Schizoid
　　　　2. Paranoid
　　　　3. Egocentric
　　　　4. Hysterical
　　　　5. Sexual
　　　　6. Others

b) Psychoneurotic

c) Alcoholic

d) Drug Addict

e) Epileptic

f) Post-encephalitic

g) Other brain-nerve abnormalities
   with psychosis

IV. Psychotic

V. Potentially Psychotic

By 1948, the classification committee was functioning in four major areas of institutional activity: "(1) the development of the initial program, (2) progress interviews and reclassification, (3) behavior problems, and (4) consideration for parole."[59] The author also concludes that "the minimum security situation calls for a more adequate and skilled classification committee than does the walled prison."[60] (Presumably due to the ease of escape from minimum security).

Loveland was able to write in 1951 that three general types of classification systems had emerged and were in operation in the United States:

> The first to be developed was the so-called classification clinic or bureau. In some instances, this type of clinic was well staffed and had a variety of professional services. Elaborate studies and analyses of individual inmates were prepared with recommendations regarding treatment and training programs. However, the functions and responsibilities of the clinic stopped at this point. It was diagnostic and advisory; it was in addition to the institutional

program and not an integral part of it.

The next and more usual type of organization is one in which both the professional and administrative personnel are involved in program planning. The professional personnel develops most or all of the diagnostic material, and the committee which makes the decisions on individual programming includes representatives of all institution departments. Usually the executive head of the institution is chairman of the committee. This might be described as the integrated classification system.

The third and most recent development in the field of classification is the reception and diagnostic center. Under this program, convicted offenders are committed originally to a central unit for intensive study and program planning. After completion of the studies they are sent on to appropriate institutions where classification committees take over. Only two states, New York and California, now have a fully developed reception-center program. Other states, including New Jersey and Pennsylvania are planning such centers. (61)

Throughout its development there has been confusion as to the meaning of classification, and Loveland once again addressed himself to clarification in 1951:

Classification is a method by which diagnosis, treatment planning, and the execution of the treatment program are coordinated in the individual case. It is also a method by which the treatment program is kept current with the inmate's changing needs. The major objects of classification are, therefore, the development of an integrated and realistic program for the individual, arrived at through the coordination of diagnosis, planning, and treatment activities; and an informed continuity in these activities from the time of commitment until release. It is not in itself the diagnosis, training, and treatment programs, but is the method, the procedures, and organization of the personnel by which these programs can be directed efficiently toward the treatment of the individual.(62)

He also underlines the problem of diagnostic clinics and why diagnosis did not get translated into treatment:

> The diagnostic clinics had developed as more
> or less autonomous units. They had been
> superimposed upon the prison organization
> and were not truly part of it. The result
> was that what they learned about individual
> inmates was not used, or was only partly
> used, by the officials who administered the
> institutions and directed the available
> training and treatment facilities and deter-
> mined the programs or activities of the in-
> mates. In many instances, excellent diagnostic
> studies were prepared, only to be pigeonholed.
> Diagnosis was not being used in the planning,
> or at least in the execution of a treatment
> program for the individual offender. (63)

The inability to translate classification into treatment was commented upon in a journalistic account of prison problems in 1954: "classification is a high sounding name and a paper program....little more than a weapon of security and an employment agency where the warden finds the men he needs to do his chores."(64)

A questionnaire survey by Coe and Shafter in 1958 of 108 prisons for men discovered that classification programs of some type were used in 90% of the institutions surveyed (71 institutions returned the questionnaire).(65) Coe and Shafter's findings reveal some of the reasons why classification had not lived up to its therapeutic expectations:

> From all outward appearances, it would seem
> that once an inmate is classified and period-
> ically reclassified, his treatment program
> should proceed without difficulty. This un-
> fortunately, is seldom the case as found by

responses to question six. There appear to
be two major reasons for the difficulties in
classification program experiences. First,
the paradoxical nature of the institution.
The second was reported by a number of insti-
tutions and may be summarized as overcrowding,
understaffing, and lack of trained and exper-
ienced staff.(66)

The point was made at the 1959 Congress of Corrections that
a classification committee is too formal and ritualistic to do
good referral and counseling work with inmates:

> I would suggest counselling and referral pro-
> cedures almost entirely by individual inter-
> view of one staff member. We waste huge amounts
> of administrative and professional time,
> making rather obvious case decisions. My
> thought is that the classification committee
> process should be almost completely decen-
> tralized and placed in the hands of indivi-
> dual caseworkers. The committee can then
> become a periodic meeting ground for dis-
> cussion of principle and policies, serving
> in this capacity as a classification and
> treatment council. (67)

Burdman saw classification with three main concerns:"(1)
Classification is the nerve center for assignment of inmate per-
sonnel; (2) Classification is a referral system for formal educa-
tion, counseling, therapy, and other forms of treatment; (3) Clas-
sification is a process for evaluating and reporting on case
progress."[68] The evaluation of case progress to which he draws
our attention is also frequently mentioned today as a major pro-
blem. The reason is not very obscure: "The major deficiency in
this functioning of the classification committee is the scarcity
of valid measures for evaluating real progress."[69]

32

Attempting to deal with this problem, the Federal Bureau of
Prisons developed the treatment team concept in 1958:

> The treatment team concept was initiated at
> the Federal Correctional Institution at
> Ashland, Kentucky, under Warden John Galvin
> in 1958. Simultaneously, it was used at the
> 3320th Retraining Group at the Amarillo Air
> Force Base in Texas. This system replaces
> the traditional classification committee in
> that a correctional officer, and educational
> person, and a classification person consti-
> tute a committee that performs the function
> of the classification committee. In most
> instances, the treatment team handles program
> changes, discipline, and other functions usually
> handled by the classification committee. The
> advantage is in the continuity and closer
> contact it affords over the more formal clas-
> sification committee.(70)

Since the beginning of classification in the United States,
in the 1920's, which Howard Gill characterized as "social case-
work by the case history approach,"[71] correctional administra-
tors have seen treatment in "programs of rehabilitation". These
programs have included work assignments, medical care, religious,
educational and recreational activities. After numerous tests,
interviews, and reports, a classification meeting gives the inmate
their expectations regarding his treatment. Although this approach
is still fairly common in the United States today, it is frequently
called into question:

> The medical model applied more generally to
> correctional clients was developed in the
> Auburn congregate tradition which focuses on
> criminogenic client life factors and utilizes
> a prescriptive program delivery system. Oper-
> ationally, there are major impediments with
> this model: (1) Diagnosis has not been inte-
> grated with program decisions,(2) Prescriptive

CONTINUED

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programming, by definition, affords only
minimal involvement of the client, (3)
Evaluation from a management stance is
virtually impossible because no standard
is used by which individual programs are
created, and (4) Prescriptive program has
tended to overemphasize causation, rather
than the individual's integration into the
community. (72)

The Declaration of Principles of the American Correctional

Association, revised and reaffirmed in 1960 show the beginning

of a shift from an institutional-based concept of classification:

VIII.   The variety of treatment programs corres-
        ponding to the different needs of the
        offenders suggests a diversification of
        correctional institutions resulting in a
        system of specialized institutions so
        classified and coordinated and so organ-
        ized in staff and program as to meet the
        needs of those offenders who present spe-
        cific problems. The spirit of continued
        experimentation with new types of insti-
        tutions and agencies which show promise
        of more effective results should be en-
        couraged and supported. (73)

XXXIII. The Correctional process has as its aim the
         reincorporation of the offender into the
         society as a normal citizen. In the course
         of non-institutional treatment the offender
         continues as a member of the conventional
         community. In the course of his institu-
         tional stay constructive community contacts
         should be encouraged. The success of the
         correctional process in all its stages can
         be greatly enhanced by energetic, resource-
         ful and organized citizen participation. (74)

Although the position is not clearly stated, community-based

treatment is also implied in the Manual of Correctional Standards,

published in 1966:

34

Classification is part of the program of the
correctional system as a whole. Upon the
basis of classification findings, the plan-
ning of the correctional system is assisted
through knowledge of what types of programs
and institutions are needed. Every state
correctional department should employ a high-
ranking member of the staff to be responsible
for supervising classification in the correc-
tional system as a whole, and for coordinating
the institutional program with parole planning
and treatment. Standards should be set for
the systemwide classification program with
provision for necessary variations in details
in the several facilities. (75)

There seems also to be a beginning recognition that treat-

ment resources may be organized at local levels in addition to

statewide facilities.

Informal discussions, during classification
meetings or thereafter, of questions of policy
or procedure raised by staff members, are
important for the advancement of the correc-
tional program. Suggestions from these dis-
cussions may assist in the long-range plan-
ning of needed local or systemwide facilities
and in developing policies and procedures,
both in the individual institution and in the
correctional system as a whole. (76)

Coordination between local and state agencies in the classi-

fication and treatment of offenders is not yet envisioned in the

Manual of Correctional Standards. However, it is suggested in

the Task Force Report on Corrections published by the President's

Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in

1967, especially in connection with the juvenile offender.

The Commission's report suggests several
procedural changes in the juvenile court
intake process to correct this tendency.
It also proposes the development of Youth
Services Bureaus - agencies outside the
criminal justice system that would receive
intake and nonofficial referrals and pro-
vide or arrange for others to provide neces-
sary services on a noncoercive basis. These
bureaus would hopefully compensate for two
present deficiencies in the juvenile intake
process: the frequent lack of adequate commu-
nity resources for alternative treatment of
those diverted from the criminal process, and
the labeling of delinquents that tends to re-
sult even from informal treatment by intake
staff who are part of the criminal justice
system.(77)

Diversion from the criminal justice system brings into the

discussion new areas of classification interest. The task force

report on corrections indicates that the question of bail is im-

portant particularly as offenders are screened and classified for

pre-trial diversion:

Bail and other prosecutorial reforms discussed
in Chapter 5 of the Commission's General
Report and in the report of the task force
on administration of justice would go far to
alleviate this situation by eliminating un-
necessary delays and obtaining release pend-
ing trial for a greater number of individuals
for whom detention is not necessary for com-
munity security. Corrections has an important
role to play in providing information for the
decisions which must be made in these programs.
Indeed, over one-third of the 42 bail projects
operating in 1965 utilized correctional per-
sonnel for screening. (78)

The Manhattan Bail Project which began in October, 1961,

pioneered release on recognizance or diversion from pretrial deten-

tion. Offenders were screened for release while awaiting trial

mainly on the basis of offense and residence.(79)

In addition to the Bail Project, the Vera Institute of Justice has been involved in other activities diverting offenders from the criminal justice system. The Manhattan Summons Project, begun in April 1964, substituted a summons for an arrest in qualified misdemeanor cases (now being operated by the New York City Police Department under the title of Desk Appearance Ticket). However, it was the Manhattan Court Employment Project, started in February 1968, which had clear classification criteria for the diversion of offenders:

> The Manhattan Court Employment Project (MCEP) is an experimental attempt to intervene in the usual court process just after a defendant's arrest, to offer him counseling and job opportunities and, if he cooperates and appears to show promise of permanent change, to recommend that the prosecutor (District Attorney) and the judge dismiss the charges against him without ever deciding whether he is guilty. (80)

Of every 1000 cases examined by the project staff, about 10 qualified for the program. The original criteria were:

1. The defendant must be male

2. He must be over 16 and under 46 years old.

3. He must be a resident of New York City with a verifiable address.

4. He must not be identified as a drug addict.

5. He must be unemployed or, if employed, earning not more than $70 a week, plus $5 for each dependent.

6. He must not be charged with armed robbery, homocide, rape, serious assault, first degree

burglary, or with a variety of other serious,
if rarer, crimes such as kidnapping and arson.

7. He must not be a full-time student.

8. He must not have previously served more than
six months in prison.

9. If on probation, he may participate only with
consent of his probation officer.

10. He must not have more than one other pending
case on a felony charge. (81)

With the movement away from a purely institutional approach
to the classification of the offender to consideration of other
stages in the criminal justice process, the problems of classi-
fying offenders have become more complex. This complexity is not
due to significant increases in our knowledge of offenders, but
rather to an increase in recognition of our reactions to offenders.
In short, we have discovered the criminal justice "system" and
perceived that offenders in one part of the process are not the
same offenders in another part. Offenders awaiting trial are
different from offenders seeking parole. In addition to time as
a variable in classification, we have discovered the significance
of place in the system. The President's Commission noted:

Academics and researchers in the delinquency
and correctional fields have become increas-
ingly interested in the development of
classifications and typologies of offenders
that can aid in explaining and predicting
delinquent and criminal conduct and in deter-
mining appropriate correctional dispositions.
Dozens of different classification systems
of widely different varieties have been for-
mulated, some based on type of offense, some
on psychological, sociological, physical, or
other characteristics of offenders. Some have

been based largely on theory, some on observation or case histories, some on empirical statistical data.

Classification systems have had quite different purposes. Some are of immediate relevance to corrections, either in determining treatment or enabling more efficient management of offenders in institutions. Some have less immediate implications, seeking out causes or explanations for criminal behavior that may bear on correctional treatment ultimately but are not framed in these terms directly.

Behind all of the attempts to classify is the recognition that criminal behavior has no single cause or common manifestation. To understand it and try to correct it therefore requires a diversity of approaches....a method that succeeds with one offender may have no effect with another, or worse, may do positive damage. From a management or treatment standpoint, it would be of great help to have some relatively simple screening process, capable of administration in general day-to-day correctional intake procedures, that would group offenders according to their management and treatment needs. To the extent that such screening procedures could be regularized, the errors attendant upon having a wide variety of persons make decisions on the basis of different kinds of information and presumptions would be reduced.

It has been pointed out more recently that the development of relatively uniform groupings and methods of classification would aid immeasurably in the comparative evaluation of different programs and might form the basis for more accurate predictions of the performance of a given offender under different correctional alternatives. The intake process would thus become one in which correctional screening produced dispositional recommendations based on previous empirical experience with like offenders under a variety of treatment alternatives. The establishment of typologies would open the way to a science of correctional intervention.(82)

However, the authors are not expecting the "science of correctional intervention" to appear in the immediate future. (Our inability to produce correctional intervention that works universally for all offenders may not be negative as we continuously redefine crime in a democratically oriented changing society). A standardized typology for all correctional purposes and the quantified science of corrections that it would make possible remain, for the present at least, merely theoretical possibilities. However, the value of classifications formed for specific management and treatment purposes seems much clearer.[83] Those words, written in 1967, still fail to convey the sense of classification as a continuous process from arrest through post-parole behavior. It remained for the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals to clearly state the position:

> In considering the significance of classification systems, it is important to recognize that the process begins in the community and that judges, probation officials, and intake workers of voluntary social agencies make decisions important to classification every day. In most cases, these decisions are made on the basis of subjective data, formulated within a framework that has little consistency with or meaning to the total correctional system. Any classification system must consider influences and input from the entire system and not just a single component such as corrections....For classification to have any real meaning, it should take place before the offender's commitment to a formal correctional agency.(84)

The National Advisory Commission, while reminding us that classification is useful and necessary for the management and treatment of offenders and that many offender-based typologies have been developed, brings to our attention, "It is one of the ironies of progress that just as the development of 'treatment' relevant typologies' at last appears likely, there is growing disenchantment with the entire concept of the treatment model."[85]

Summary

When viewed in historical perspective, we see classification beginning as a simple sorting of offenders according to legal status. Later, as institutions for offenders developed we found segregation of inmates by sex, race, and age. During the "Golden Age of Penology" (1870-1910 in the United States) classification meant the "progressive stage system" of prison management with prisoners assigned to programs based upon their level of compliance. After World War I classification meant individualization of treatment through casework. The general acceptance of casework methods became a powerful rationale for elaboration of the medical model emphasizing personal pathology of offenders. This clinical approach led to construction of reception and diagnostic centers. Throughout this history, classification techniques were embellished by more or less relevant academic research. Recent evaluation efforts seem to have produced disillusionment with classification for rehabilitation. Although classification has probably always been a management tool, the systematic use of classification

for resource allocation has found sophistication with the RAPS system, now used by the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

Today, we are on the verge of new insights and approaches to classification - based on and including both realization of a criminal justice system and community centered programs. In this new framework, classification not only measures the social and personal assets and liabilities of an offender, but also must predict his potential success within the community. Rehabilitation, then, has become a reintegration of offenders into the life of their communities as a joint process involving both offenders and communities. Furthermore, classification is now seen as no longer restricted to institutional usages, but also has expanded its relevance for the offender's total exposure to the criminal justice system from arrest thru post parole outcomes.

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KEYWORD GLOSSARY

Category	Any major fundamental general class.
Classification	A systematic assignment of people to a program of treatment appropriate to their individual needs after study and examination by a staff of specialists.
Rehabilitation	The process of restoring an individual to a useful and constructive place in society through some form of training or other reconstructive measure.
Taxonomy	The systematic distinguishing, ordering, and naming of type groups within a subject field.
Test	A technique for measuring objectively an individual's personal characteristics, potentialities, or accomplishments by comparing his behavior in response to standard stimuli or situations with the behavior of others against whom the particular technique is said to have been standardized.
Treatment	Conduct or behavior towards another person or group.
Type	A set of determinable, measurable qualities that on the average is held in common by members of a relatively homogeneous human group.
Typology	A system of constructed abstractions derived from qualities associated with types.

CHAPTER I

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CHAPTER II

OFFENDER CLASSIFICATION AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Although the criminal justice system appears to be a collection of disparate agencies and organizations, and some have said it is a "non-system" there is a continuity created by the offender who passes through the system. Beginning with apprehension by the police, through detention and court hearings, on probation or in prison, and finally on parole, the offender touches each of the parts of the process. Some drop out along the way, others return again and again.

Although largely unrecognized, classification occurs at each stage in the system. Policy statements on police discretion and the law of arrest notwithstanding, there are many hidden classification decisions made by the police. When a policeman decides to arrest a person, that person is classified as a suspected offender by the arresting officer. The policeman also sorts offenders into types and assumes different attitudes toward each. He holds one conception about sex offenders, another about "winos". He differentiates between "cat burglars" and "regular burglars." The policeman has notions of "normal crime" and crimes committed by "psychos." Offenders are lumped into common sense categories as a technique of work simplification.

The importance of the police is underlined by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals in their comment:

> Usually only a police officer makes the deci-
> sion to take a person into custody. In the
> absence of agency guidelines, the officer must
> rely on the language of the law as interpreted
> by the judiciary and refined by informal direc-
> tion from his agency and local prosecutors. His
> authority places the individual police officer
> among the most important decision-makers in
> society.(1)

If a policy exists, it focuses on the nature of crimes, legal

criteria constituting a crime, or enforcement priorities. Since

all "men are equal before the law", the personal characteristics

of suspected offenders are supposed to be kept out of the decision.

However, some police departments make routine "field investigation

reports" on people in their area who appear suspicious and "stop

and frisk laws" support this activity.

Studies of who gets arrested have been few, but some tenta-

tive conclusions appear warranted. The literature shows that

people arrested are not representative of the total population.

An analysis of race, social status and criminal arrest by Green

concluded:

> This investigation confirms the hypothesis
> that the higher official rate of crime for
> Negroes compared with whites resu_.s predom-
> inantly from the wider distribution among
> Negroes of lower social class characteristics
> associated with crime. These findings, based
> on an analysis of official police records,
> spanning the period 1941-1965 in a small in-
> dustrial community in the Great Lakes region,
> show, for both white and Negro, disproportion-
> ately high arrest rates for males, youths age
> 17 to 24, persons in low income occupations
> (semi-skilled and unskilled workers), the
> unemployed, and persons not native to the
> State, predominantly Southerners. The racial

variance in arrest rates does not reflect
differences between the races in the dis-
tribution of the sexes or age groups since
the races are about equal in sex ratio; and
whites have a somewhat higher proportion of
persons in the age category most vulnerable
to arrest, youths 17 to 24. The races differ
greatly, however, in the distribution of
occupational and natal characteristics; with
these variables controlled, the arrest rates
of the races tend toward parity and in several
instances a higher rate for whites.

Even for serious crimes of violence including
robbery, with a greater preponderance of Negro
over white arrests than any other major cate-
gory of crimes, migrant whites incur substan-
tially higher arrest rates than native-born
(Michigan) Negroes at each occupational level.(2)

Years ago, the concept of categoric risk appeared in the
criminological literature.(3) The notion was that by examining
arrest records, the actuarial risk for arrest could be computed
by comparing the proportion of those arrested in a category with
the proportion of that category in the total population. For
example, although women constitute over 50% of the population,
only 14.5% of those arrested in 1970 were women. Therefore, the
category woman is low risk and conversely the category male is
high risk.

From arrest statistics in a local police de-
partment, the best source of statistics on crime
one can usually get the age, sex, race, nati-
vity, marital status, occupation, and amount
of schooling of the doer (person arrested).
The information collected at arrest is not a
model of accuracy, but neither is it grossly
inaccurate and unusuable.(4)

The author goes on to say:

> Obviously certain categories of people have
> more chance of being complained about and
> being acted upon than other categories....
> All that can be said in the present state of
> reporting offenders is that in the United
> States, Males, younger persons, and Negroes
> are disproportionately arrested and imprisoned
> in comparison with females, older persons,
> and whites and that lower-class individuals
> as well as members of certain foreign nation-
> ality groups have more chance to be brought
> to the attention of police, courts, and pri-
> sons for offenses than native-born individuals
> who belong to the middle and upper-classes.(5)

Discrimination and prejudiced policemen will not explain the

differential arrest statistics, since the arrest figures may be

an accurate reflection of criminal activity. On the other hand,

the police do exercise discretion and the problems consequent to

this discretion may be resolved as the National Advisory Commission

suggests:

> Unnecessary discretion should be eliminated,
> however, and appropriate control established
> to provide flexible guidance. To eliminate
> unnecessary discretion, police agencies should
> identify situations where the individual
> officer's discretion to make physical arrests
> is restricted or eliminated. Alternatives to
> physical arrest might include citation, appli-
> cation for complaint, warning, or diversion
> to another agency.(6)

Providing alternatives to arrest increases rather than dimin-

ishes the problems of discretion, as Piliavin and Briar point out

in their discussion of police encounters with juveniles:

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It is apparent from the findings presented above that the police officers studied in this research were permitted and even encouraged to exercise immense latitude in disposing of the juveniles they encountered. That is, it was within the officers' discretionary authority, except in extreme limiting cases, to decide which juveniles were to come to the attention of the courts and correctional agencies and thereby identified officially as delinquents. In exercising this discretion policemen were strongly guided by the demeanor of those who were apprehended, a practice which ultimately led, as seen above, to certain youths, (particularly Negroes and boys dressed in the style of 'toughs') being treated more severely than other juveniles for comparable offenses.(7)

One of the consequences of differential arrest risk for certain categories of citizens is the operation of the "self-fulfilling prophecy", i.e. police look more closely at some people, hence arrest more of them, inflating the statistics, and thus "proving" the higher criminality among the selected categories. Do young, male, blacks have a higher "risk for criminal behavior?" or are they more likely to be "processed by the police?" Whatever the answers may be, they have profound implications for the classification of offenders at the entry point of the criminal justice system.

Despite the importance of police use of discretion at the arrest stage, it seems that little attention has been given it by criminal justice researchers. Involved at this stage are also (1) the decision to arrest for purposes other than prosecution; and (2) the decision not to take into custody.

A.   Classification for Diversion

Concern with the negative aspects of being processed through the criminal justice system and the effects of "labeling" on juveniles, led to early efforts to divert juveniles from the "system" with the establishment of a separate juvenile justice system with separate courts and correctional agencies.   Disillusionment with this separate and unequal arrangement led to the development of the "youth service bureau concept," which was one of the major recommendations of the President's Commission in 1967.

> Community Agencies; Youth Services Bureau.
> There should be expanded use of community
> agencies for dealing with delinquents non-
> judicially and close to where they live.
> Use of community agencies has several advan-
> tages.   It avoids the stigma of being pro-
> cessed by an official agency regarded by
> the public as an arm of crime control.   It
> substitutes for official agencies organiza-
> tions better suited for redirecting conduct.
> The use of locally sponsored or operated in-
> stitutions heightens the community's aware-
> ness of the need for recreational, employ-
> ment, tutoring, and other youth development
> services.(8)

It is important to distinguish between diversion and screening, as the National Advisory Commission noted:

> Screening is the discretionary decision to
> stop, prior to trial or plea, all formal
> proceedings against a person who has become
> involved in the criminal justice system. It
> must be distinguished from diversion.   Diver-
> sion involves a decision to encourage an
> individual to participate in some specific

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program or activity by express or implied
threat of further formal criminal prosecu-
tion. Screening involves no such effort;
it involves abandoning all efforts to apply
any coercive or semi-coercive measures upon
a defendant. Police screening occurs before
the accused enters the court system and be-
comes a defendant....diversion refers to
formally acknowledged and organized efforts
to utilize alternatives to initial or conti-
nued processing into the justice system. To
qualify as diversion, such efforts must be
undertaken prior to adjudication and after
a legally proscribed action has occurred or
is alleged to have occurred.(9)

Both screening and diversion are important in the classifi-

cation of offenders because both employ some sort of criteria and

categorize offenders as to the likelihood of further processing.

In screening, however, the bulk of the criteria is concerned with

community and criminal justice system values, goals, and objectives

and virtually ignores characteristics of the offender.

An accused should be screened out of the cri-
minal justice system if there is not a rea-
sonable likelihood that the evidence admissible
against him would be sufficient to obtain a
conviction and sustain it on appeal. In
screening on this basis, the prosecutor should
consider the value of a conviction in reducing
future offenses, as well as the probability
of conviction and affirmance of that convic-
tion on appeal.

An accused should be screened out of the
criminal justice system when the benefits
to be derived from prosecution or diversion
would be outweighed by the costs of such
action. Among factors to be considered in
making this determination are the following:

1. Any doubt as to the accused's guilt.

2. The impact of further proceedings upon
   the accused and those close to him, es-
   pecially the likelihood and seriousness
   of financial hardship or family life dis-
   ruption;

3. The value of further proceedings in preventing future offenses by other persons, considering the extent to which subjecting the accused to further proceedings could be expected to have an impact upon others who might commit such offenses, as well as the seriousness of those offenses;

4. The value of further proceedings in preventing future offenses by the offender, in light of the offender's commitment to criminal activity as a way of life; the seriousness of his past criminal activity, which he might reasonably be expected to continue; the possibility that further proceedings might have a tendency to create or reinforce commitment on the part of the accused to criminal activity as a way of life; and the likelihood that programs reduce the likelihood of future criminal activity;

5. The value of further proceedings in fostering the community's sense of security and confidence in the criminal justice system;

6. The direct cost of prosecution, in terms of prosecutorial time, court time, and similar factors;

7. Any improper motives of the complainant;

8. Prolonged nonenfocement of the statute on which the charge is based;

9. The likelihood of prosecution and conviction of the offender by another jurisdiction; and

10. Any assistance rendered by the accused in apprehension or conviction of other offenders, in the prevention of offenses by others, in the reduction of the impact of offenses committed by himself or others upon the victims, and any other socially beneficial activity engaged in by the accused that might be encouraged in others by not prosecuting the offender.(10)

Diagnosis, classification, and testing of the offender are relevant and useful for criterion number four, where the screening agent makes a determination as to the offender's probability of future legal violations. Involvement in a criminal career is the main factor in not screening the offender out of the system.

One of the big problems involved in diversion of offenders is obtaining information on which to base decisions. The PROMIS case evaluation and management system is a tool which not only helps prosecutors handle their workloads but also provides information useful for diversion classification.

> In 1969, the then United States Attorney,
> Thomas A. Flannery, perceived an urgent need
> for new techniques to manage these cases.
> With a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, a special team of
> lawyers, management analysts, criminologists,
> statisticians, and computer science specialists worked to develop new case management
> tools. This effort led to an innovative,
> computer based information system for the
> prosecutor, known as PROMIS (Prosecutor's
> Management Information System). (11)

Since the project began, there have been over 30,000 cases in the District of Columbia which have been entered into the PROMIS system. With this size data base, it is possible to do research on cases and offenders classified as high or low priorities for prosecution. Research along these lines would assist the development of a model classification scheme incorporating the prosecution and court aspects of the criminal justice system. The criminal history data will illuminate offender characteristics important for classification.

> The gravity of the criminal history of the
> defendant is assessed by a modified version
> of a scale developed by another team of cri-
> minologists headed by D. M. Gottfredson.
> That scale examines factors such as the num-
> ber and density of prior arrests, the number
> of previous arrests for crimes against per-
> sons, the use of aliases, and the use of
> hard narcotics.(12)

The development of special diversion programs for selected
categories of offenders began in 1968 with the Manhattan Court
Employment Project and Washington D. C.'s Project Crossroads,
which dealt with first offenders. The criteria for inclusion in
the Project Crossroads program which sought to provide earnings,
education, diversion, and recidivism reduction were:

1. 16 to 26 years of age;

2. no prior conviction record in that court;

3. unemployed, underemployed and/or tenuously
    employed or school enrolled;

4. charged with a crime specifically de-
    fined and accepted by both the court
    and the project. (13)

For offenders who met the classification requirements and
participated in the program, it appears that "Project Crossroads
has succeeded in deterring recidivism and stabilizing employment
for the large majority of its participants."(14) Regarding the
differential impact of the program it was found that "those in-
dividuals who are most likely to be unfavorably terminated have
a work history of unsteady employment, poor work skills and low
wages prior to project intake, and an educational history of

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failure (non-high school graduate)."[15] A follow-up study of recidivism after termination (either favorable or unfavorable) found that:

> Perhaps the most dramatic positive finding related to the project's legal 'success' criteria is the reduction in recidivism for its favorably terminated participants.... Overall recidivism (defined in this study as rearrest) for the Faborables was 20.13%, while for the Unfavorables and Controls it was over twice as high. When we combine all project participants, we still find a difference of 14% between participants and Controls who recidivate within 15 months after initial arrest." (16)

The characteristics of the recidivists (as compared to non-recidivist project participants) are young, male, and black. The earlier an individual is arrested, the more likely he is to re-cidivate.[17] Analysis of the eligibility criteria used in pre-trial diversion projects reveals an emphasis on employment and counseling needs of the offenders selected for participation. Table 1 also shows the geographic spread of such projects.

TABLE 2.1

DESCRIPTION OF SELECTED PRE-TRIAL DIVERSION PROJECTS

YEAR		Participant Characteristics
1968	Manhattan Court Employment Project	16-45; a,b
1968	Project Crossroads (Washington D.C.)	16-45; a,b,c,d
1971	Boston Court Resources Project	17-26; b
1971	Baltimore Pre-Trial Intervention Project	15-17
1971	North Bay Human Development Corporation	18-45; a,b,c
1971	Operation Denovo (Minneapolis)	16 & up; b
1972	Atlanta Pre-Trial Intervention Project	17-28; a,b,d
1972	Dade County Pre-Trial Intervention Project	17-25; a,b,c,e
1972	Syracuse Court Rehabilitation Project	18-45; b,f
1973	Project F.O.U.N.D (Baltimore)	18-26; b,c
1973	Hudson County Pre-Trial Intervention Project	18 & up; b

CODE: a = under or unemployed; b = non-addict or alcoholic;
        c = no prior convictions; d = release on recognizance;
        e = consent of victim & arresting officer; f = can be
        ex-offenders or work releasees

SOURCE: Portfolio of Descriptive Profiles on Selected Pretrial Criminal
        Justice Intervention Programs prepared by National Pretrial
        Intervention Service Center, Washington, D.C., April 1974.

It appears that from a classification for diversion perspective, the important criteria are unemployment, non-addiction, and no prior record. Employment instability is, however, predictive of later recidivism; "the group most likely to recidivate.... included males, youths, the unemployed and non-school enrolled, blacks, singles, the unsteadily and unskilled employed."[18]

The increasing importance and number of diversion projects will have profound effects on the criminal justice system. They will keep people out of the system and act as a mechanism for changing the criminal justice system. The necessity for keeping people out is underlined by Smith who believes:

> The deeper an offender penetrates the existing criminal justice system and the more frequently he is recycled through it, the greater is the probability that he will continue his criminal activity. Implicit in this premise is the requirement to develop greater numbers of dispositional alternatives for each step in the justice system process. The availability of multiple alternatives for decision makers at every step in the process will increase the probability that an offender's penetration into the system will be minimized. It is probably in this area as much as any other that correctional agencies have the opportunity to exercise political, legal and administrative strategies to change the character of justice and correctional processes. (19)

The significance of developing a model classification system of offenders for diversion was emphasized by the National Advisory Commission.

Probably the most significant contribution
to the field of criminal justice today would
be the development of a schema that systema-
tically, and on a selected basis, effectively
screens subjects out of the criminal justice
system in terms of their real danger to so-
ciety rather than the prejudices of indivi-
dual members of the criminal justice system.
As we now operate, diversion is advocated in
the funding standards of the Law Enforcement
Assistance Prevention Administration, and the
American Correctional Association without
uniform methods, theories, or procedures being
given to describe specifically at what points
diversion should occur, who should be diverted,
under what conditions, to what programs, and for
what purposes. National standards to guide
the continuing development of diversion pro-
grams are essential. (20)

B.   Classification for Probation

One of the most important functions of the probation depart-

ment is the pre-sentence report given to the judge to be used in

deciding the appropriate sentence for the offender.

Consistent efforts have been made through the
years to improve the reports. Both private
and public agencies have published documents
setting forth what the contents should be. The
National Council on Crime and Delinquency ori-
ginally organized as the National Probation
Association, was the first private agency to
do so. The American Correctional Association
has focused on standards for the presentence
report. The American Bar Association Project
in 1970 also published presentence report
standards for social studies. The Probation
Division of the Administrative Office of the
United States Courts has published material
on presentence reports for the Federal Pro-
bation staff that has influenced probation
personnel nationwide. Many State agencies
also have published standards. (21)

The information contained in the pre-sentence report is useful for classification of offenders for treatment purposes, but has been used primarily to help in the process of caseload management. The designation of intensive, normal, or minimal supervision occurs as an evaluation of the report. An extensive history of criminal involvement would probably generate an intensive supervision effort on the part of the probation officer. The problems of caseload standards have not been resolved. The San Francisco Project results indicated that numbers in a caseload and levels of supervision do not predict offender outcome.

> The study indicated that the number of contacts between probationer and staff appeared to have little relationship to success or failure on probation. The conclusion was that the concept of a caseload is meaningless without some type of classification and matching of offender type, service to be offered, and staff. (22)

Information necessary for probation decision making varies widely by jurisdiction. Many feel that much unused or irrelevant data is collected on the individual offender.

> In a study about criteria for probation officers' recommendations on juveniles, an analysis was made of the data contained in the reports. The items most often recorded were objective, such as age, sex, religion, race, the delinquent act, family composition, school and church attendance, and economic situation. Missing were such subjective items as personalities of the child and parents as well as personal relationships within the family. Yet, according to the literature, that subjective material supposedly is the most important in understanding a child and his pathology in developing a treatment plan.

> The evidence suggests that written reports
> should contain only that information rela-
> tive and pertinent to the decision made by
> the judge. Thus, probation agencies should
> first ask the judges to identify that infor-
> mation needed by the court. The evidence
> indicates judges want to know the "here and
> now" of the offender, not a detailed life
> history. (23)

The Community Corrections Project in Des Moines, one of the
Law Enforcement Assistance Exemplary Projects has a comprehensive
community-based corrections program, organized into a single admin-
istrative framework of the county department of court services.
Probation officers assigned to pre-sentence investigations have a
workload of ten to fifteen reports per month.

> Following assignment of the pre-sentence re-
> port, an interview is conducted with the
> defendant to investigate facts about the
> defendant's employment record, family rela-
> tionships, prior criminal offenses, marital
> status, educational level, military record,
> physical and mental health, financial status,
> and interests and hobbies. All other salient
> information about client attitudes, interests
> and habits is noted on the initial interview.
>
> ....The information gathered in the pre-sentence
> investigation is transferred into typed copy,
> usually five to ten pages in length. The
> report concludes with the investigator's recom-
> mendation to the court on the appropriate sen-
> tence for the defendant, based upon the infor-
> mation gathered during investigation. The
> investigator may recommend any of four general
> types of sentences: (1) deferred sentence, (2)
> straight probation, (3) county jail sentence,
> (4) state prison sentence; or a sentence to a
> specific institution or agency. (24)

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Although unstated and unrecognized, a pre-sentence investigation which places offenders into dispositional categories for judicial determination is a classification system operating at the sentencing stage of the criminal justice system process. What criteria determine into which sentence category an offender is placed are unclear in probation decision-making throughout the United States. Yet, some information seems more important than other.

> Of paramount importance to the pre-sentence
> investigator is the defendant's home environ-
> ment. A great deal of effort is made by the
> investigator to personally investigate and
> evaluate the home environment as it relates
> to the defendant. If the investigator re-
> mains in doubt about the defendant, after
> investigating his background, he may consult
> with the judge in order to obtain a psychia-
> tric or psychological evaluation. (25)

Although a community-based probation project in Utah picked out Gibbon's "semi-professional property offenders" for treatment, [26] the use of classification for probation supervision has not been well developed. Little has been done beyond the presentence report or making recommendations for sentencing.

The San Francisco Project was supposed to assist development of probation classification, but focused primarily on offender profiles for supervision-level assignment.

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On June 1, 1964, the National Institute of
Mental Health awarded a $275,000 grant to
the School of Criminology, University of
California, Berkeley, for research on pro-
bation and parole. Funded for four years,
the project began September 1, 1964. As
then conceived, the main goals of the pro-
ject were:

1. Develop discriminating criteria for the
   classification of federal offenders.

2. Study the effects of varied intensities
   and types of supervision and caseload
   sizes.

3. Develop a prediction table for super-
   vision adjustment.

4. Examine decision making in pre-sentence
   recommendations.

Despite its unique aspects, the San Francisco
Project was more replicative than innovative.
As early as 1952, for example, the California
Department of Corrections commenced research
with variations in caseload sizes and super-
vision. (27)

Offenders with lower recidivism probability (as guessed by

an "expert judge") were assigned to minimum supervision.

Individual offenders were given profile num-
bers of 1, 2, or 3, in each of the categories
type of offense, age, and prior record, and
1 or 3 on the basis of the Socialization
Scale (CPI-So) from the California Psycho-
logical Inventory. There were 54 possible
profiles ranging from 1-1-1-1 to 3-3-3-3,
the higher numbers representing those be-
lieved to have a high recidivism probability. (28)

The point scoring systems used by the probation departments

in Dallas and Houston, Texas represent an innovative classifica-

tion approach which has been derived from the formats used by

the Texas Division of Parole. The "Probation Evaluation Score
Sheet" is divided into five areas: prior criminal history; nar-
cotics, drugs and alcohol; emotional and physical; employment
and education; and family ties. Individual items within each
area are weighed on a scale from 1 to 5--the weights representing
the importance of the items in achieving probation success. The
weights have been arbitrarily assigned on the basis of experience
shared by the members of the Dallas Adult Probation Department.
The main emphasis of the "Score Sheet" is on stability factors in
the offender's background so that "no narcotic use" is weighted a
5, as is "no prior arrest". The score sheet, a sample of which is
included at the end of this chapter, has not been evaluated, but
preliminary research on its predictive ability is now being con-
ducted by East Texas State University. Whether or not probation
success can be predicted on the basis of an offender's total score
is presently not as important for the probation officers as the
score sheet's utility in pinpointing problem areas to be consi-
dered by the probation officer in working out a supervision plan.
At some later date, using score cut-off points, a classification
system may develop which will predict probation outcome.[29]

Similar checklists are used elsewhere in the United States,
for example the Classification Checklist filled out by the proba-
tion officers in San Bernardino County, California. Their check-
list rates type of offense; danger to community; life support
problems; personality and psychological problems; and a summary
in degrees of low, medium or high seriousness.[30] However, so

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far, these checklists are not much more than a systematic expression of a traditional pre-sentence report.

There has been a scarcity of good prediction studies of probation success. One notable exception is a study of juvenile delinquents by Reiss in 1949.[31] In a paper published in 1951, he reports on his findings concerning 390 Negro male and 1,110 white male delinquent probationers in Cook County (Chicago)Illinois. He attempted to illuminate the theory of prediction:

> The central problem of the theory of prediction is to make the best prediction for each case. This paper examines the formal properties and dimensions of an actuarial prediction system which makes the best prediction for each case. Aspects of the theory of prediction are tested in predicting the recidivism of juvenile delinquent probationers. (32)

He discovered four significant stable and efficient factors which were able to predict mean violation rates significantly greater than the mean violation rate of the sample. The four factors are: truancy of delinquent; deportment record in school; adequacy of personality controls; and a treatment recommendation to institutionalize (which may have influenced the supervising probation officer in the direction of revocation.) Reiss does not discuss this source of biased outcome. However, eliminating treatment recommendation may result in a useful probation outcome classification system. It remains for practitioners to discover the merits of this approach.

One of the most common methods of classification for pro-
bation is through a system designed for a caseload management. The
Los Angeles County Probation Department has a highly developed
caseload management classification system as a result of the sub-
sidy program started in 1965.

> The Workload Determined by Plan classifica-
> tion concept grew out of the recommendation
> made by the management consultant firm of
> Cresap, McCormick and Paget following its
> study of the Probation Department in 1963-4.
> CMP found that the Department's predominantly
> subjective means of servicing cases under
> supervision created undesirable workload and
> staffing inconsistencies,hindered setting
> specific work standards, and provided little
> measurable data for evaluating staff perfor-
> mance or the Department's success or failure
> in meeting objectives....
>
> In 1965 the State initiated the State Aid to
> Probation Services Program. This provided
> a case maintenance subsidy payment to coun-
> ties for each commitment to a State Institu-
> tion per 1,000,000 population reduced from
> 1959-63 commitment rate. To qualify for the
> program the State required that counties im-
> plement..."a system of classifications,
> based on individual needs for probationers
> included in this program." Of the classifi-
> cation systems accessible to the Department,
> WDP was best suited to satisfy this standard.
> In 1966 WDP was designated by the County
> Board of Supervisors as the classification
> system to be adopted by all Subsidy Supervi-
> sion units. Though it is, therefore, most
> commonly associated with and suited to Sub-
> sidy Supervision units with limited caseload
> size and intake, WDP has been and is a valuable
> caseload management tool in non-intensive
> supervision units without controlled intake. (33)

The probation officer develops a case plan which intervenes
at three levels of offender functioning: overt behavior, external
conditions (family, job, community, etc.) and individual charac-
teristics (attitudes, etc.). The probation officer then determines

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how much direct service time is required to deal with the offender's case needs. For every 15 minutes given to a case, one unit is assigned. The officer then decides how many units he will give the case during the month. The average officer can execute at least 288 units of direct service a month. This is the time the officer can spend on his caseload. The number of direct service units the case receives will designate the case's numerical classification of supervision intensity.

Unit Range	Numerical Classification
17 or more	4
9 to 16	3
5 to 8	2
1 to 4	1
Less than 1	M (minimal)

Thus, a 4 level case will receive much more attention than a 1 level, and if the officer had a specialized caseload of 4 level cases, his maximum caseload size would be 17 cases. Unless careful consideration is given to the case plan, classifying cases by numerical formula can degenerate into depersonalized and mechanical rituals. The WDP system in Los Angeles must receive painstaking evaluation if significant contributions to probation classification are to be made.

C. Classification for Incarceration

The bulk of classification activity in the United States has centered on the post-sentence reception of offenders into correctional

institutions. Upon admission to prison, the offender is placed in quarantine while being oriented to his new status of inmate.[34] The admission process has involved interviewing and psychological testing to determine "the individualized treatment plan for the offender." Sometimes this process occurs in specialized facilities designated as Reception and Diagnostic Centers. The existence of Reception-Diagnostic Centers has become debatable with strong arguments for and against their continued operation. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals takes the position:

> While the reception center concept was progressive for its time, it has become obsolete. The system is administratively convenient and efficient in that a limited staff can provide services for a large number of offenders. However, this very administrative efficiency is largely accountable for its obsolescence.
>
> Traditionally, the reception and diagnostic center has provided summary reports including information on social background, criminal history, initial adjustment to custody, medical examination, psychological assessment, vocational skills, educational level, religious background and attitudes, recreational interests and abilities, and psychiatric evaluation. Today it is not necessary that any of these components of the diagnostic report be completed in a diagnostic or reception center. A number of the items usually are produced by probation and parole officers in the community. Although medical examinations and psychological and psychiatric evaluations require professional services, these services are also available in the local community through both contract and public agency programs.

> The reception center because of the ceaseless
> repetition in the nature of its work becomes
> even more institutionalized than other forms
> of the classification process. Schedules are
> adhered to rigidly, and offenders are kept too
> long in the centers waiting for the diagnostic
> skills or services of a limited number of per-
> sons. The process itself is uniformly extensive
> and thorough for most offenders, and more in-
> formation is produced than can be used effec-
> tively for classification purposes, considering
> the current lack of correctional knowledge and
> resources. (35)

In contrast to this position, other correctional practitioners argue that reception-diagnostic centers have not been allowed to function properly through limited budgets, staffing or organizational confusion. Lack of authority, and weak or little support from the central administration of State Departments of Correction have also been noted as reasons for lack of effectiveness. A study of reception centers by Chester Chiles and reported on June 12, 1974 concludes:

> It appears that reception centers are thought
> by those in the field to be doing their jobs "
> 'acceptably well' despite the severe handicaps
> of inadequate space and facilities, the need
> to accommodate their programs to the host in-
> stitutions, and an insufficient staff devoted
> exclusively to reception center work. (36)

A study reviewed by Hellervik in October 1974 of a "model assessment and classification system" recommends establishing separate and centralized reception and diagnostic centers in each of the fifty state correctional systems.[37]

Reception-diagnostic centers are again on the agenda for discussion at meetings of the Standing Committee on Classification and Treatment of the American Correctional Association convening in Louisville, Kentucky in August 1975.

The most common classification procedure employed in correctional institutions presently in the United States is a classification unit at the major institutions with some psychological testing and decision-making by a classification committee. The main emphasis of classification for decision-making is in the area of custody grading, job, housing, and program assignment of the inmate. If work release and furlough programs are available, classification material will be used to rationalize assignments there. The National Advisory Commission makes an important distinction between two kinds of classification.

> Classification systems useful solely for management purposes are distinguishable from those designated as useful for treatment. The term "management" means effective control of offenders to avoid further law violations while the agency is responsible. In contrast to management, the term "treatment" refers to attempts to change the individual offender or aspects of his environment to assure long-term lawful behavior, beyond the period of direct agency responsibility. Most, if not all, classification schemes in use today are geared in actual practice chiefly to assessing risk and facilitating the management of offenders. (38)

Attempts to relate delinquent and criminal types to treatment have not been frequent. Gibbon's nine delinquency role careers typology was evaluated for treatment purposes at the Stonewall Jackson Training School in 1968.[39]

Categorizing offenders by offense motivation is another way
to classify for treatment. Flanagan and Kapture at the Joliet
Reception Center classified each adjudicated offense in a sample
of 315 men admitted to the Illinois Correctional system in 1973.
They found that very few men (6%) are sentenced to Illinois pri-
sons for non-income producing, non-violent behavior. Only 30%
of the adult incarcerated offenders have prior histories as adju-
dicated juvenile offenders.[40]

An evaluation of the model classification program at the
Philadelphia prisons in August of 1974 revealed, that although
classification procedures were operating well, there was little
program development for inmates. Less than ten per cent of the
inmates participated in programs into which they had been classi-
fied.[41] Classification beyond custody requirements appears
meaningless for corrections when there is little or no service
delivery.

The latest word on a model classification system for correc-
tions appears in the Hellervik report mentioned above. Unfortu-
nately, his recommendations seem to be an elaboration of entrenched
present classification practices with some attention given to
offender participation in his own classification process. There
is also a vocational training emphasis in the twenty conclusions:

> 1. In our experience, classification com-
>   mittees have dealt solely with custody
>   classifications or have given only spo-
>   radic, haphazard attention to vocational
>   classification.

2. Because of lack of expertise and lack of confidence in psychological tools presently available, occupational classification decisions are most often made on the basis of offenders' past jobs or present statements of intent/interest, as reported by caseworkers to the classification committee. Unfortunately, both past jobs and present intent or interest are based on an inmate's inadequate knowledge of self and inadequate knowledge of the work world. Better methods of providing such knowledge are needed if there is to be an improvement in occupational classifications.

3. The usual data available for assisting offenders in making decisions--test data--is viewed with great suspicion or apathy by offenders themselves and, especially, by institutional staff. They tend to use the data haphazardly, partly because of lack of knowledge about the tests and partly because of lack of confidence in their validity--since the tests were administered too early in the offender's sentence.

4. There is typically a wealth of background information available on each inmate, and often extensive psychological tests and professional reports. However, there is usually not much emphasis on diagnosing ideal occupational placement and training.

5. There is no systematic approach to synthesizing data relevant to occupational training decisions. Thus, such decisions are made largely by persons with minimal expertise in career development or occupational decision making--case workers, who tend to be most interested in psychiatric adjustment.

6. Committee decisions should be based on synthesized versions of the mass of data available rather than forcing committee members to cope with too much information.

7. Greater commitment to classification according to offender need rather than institutional convenience must be achieved.

8. Increased offender involvement in the classification process must be sought.

9. Classification committees should consist of a custody representative, a treatment representative, and the concerned case worker to increase a felt sense of responsibility and knowledgeability of each.

10. A "pigeon-holing" classification process based on psychological tests alone will not permit the flexibility and inmate involvement required to make a classification process successful. Neither would such a system have face validity for those staff assigned to work with offender classification.

11. Because of the variety of correctional situations across the United States, whatever classification system is developed will need to be adaptive to a variety of structures, inmates, training programs, and staff.

12. Almost all vocational classification decisions are ignored until an appropriate time period that would permit completion of training by the termination of the offender's sentence. In the meantime (and, if necessary, throughout the sentence), the offender is placed on a job for purposes of institutional convenience. Thus, information gathering procedures for making classification decisions relevant to job training are best placed at a midway point in the offenders sentence.

13. A centralized Reception and Diagnostic Center, which is at least administratively independent from other institutions of the state, if not physically separate, should be established in each state's correctional system.

14. Only coarse screening and classification should occur at the centralized RDC. These classifications should be directed toward institutional placement, initial job and/or educational assignments, and initial custody determinations.

15. Assessment of inmate capabilities should be a continuing process, but the most valid single-point assessment results will be achieved after the offender has adapted to the institution to which he is assigned.

16. Increased emphasis should be placed on procedures that will reveal behaviors relevant to assessing vocational aptitudes, rather than relying solely on use of paper and pencil tests or background information.

17. Increased involvement in and commitment to vocational classification decisions by the staff is necessary--particularly on the part of custody representatives. Such involvement and commitment will best be obtained by presentation of data in which the staff has a high degree of confidence.

18. Reclassification is, and should continue to be, open to initiatives by offenders.

19. Increased involvement by offenders in the assessment process through integrating assessment with post-release planning will yield most meaningful results.

20. Continuing evaluation of classification and training results after inmates are released, while presently ignored, should be implemented in each institution. (42)

Summary

After this lengthy review of classification through the criminal justice system, it would be appropriate to suggest that we expand our consideration of classification to four kinds: classification for security, for treatment, for management, and for rehabilitation. Classification for security involves the protection of society from "dangerous offenders". This dimension will generate levels of custody and/or surveillance if the offender is supervised in the community. In classification for treatment, the basic approach and attitudes of the staff as they relate to the offender are of primary importance. Classification for management categorizes offenders in terms of their access to services and resources (i.e. placement into a

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vocational program.) Finally, classification for rehabilitation groups offenders by degree of change potential and/or susceptibility to therapeutic intervention. All these kinds of classification contribute to the objective indicated by the National Advisory Commission.

> ...perhaps the greatest contribution to corrections today would be development of a scheme or system that would effectively differentiate among offenders as to their risk of recidivism or their potential dangerousness to others. It is argued that such a scheme, applied at the time of sentencing, would greatly increase sentencing effectiveness, cost-effectiveness of correctional programs, and safety of the community. (43)

Furthermore, the classification system would not be specific to particular parts of the criminal justice system.

> One of the basic characteristics of an effective classification system is its potential usefulness as a communications device. No part of the correctional system is an end in itself. The goal of developing a continuum of assistance, care, and supervision cannot be accomplished until the various parts of the system are able to communicate intelligently. This statement is true within segments of an institution or parole operation. It is equally true of communication between probation departments and courts, courts and State correctional agencies, and correctional agencies and private organizations that have resources to meet offenders' needs outside the criminal justice system. (44)

CONTINUED

2 OF 6

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER II

...:_____ CAUSE NO.:_____ DATE:_____

OFFENSE:_____

	WEIGHT	SCORE
PRIOR CRIMINAL HISTORY		
1. No prior arrest (other than present offense)	5	
2. No arrest in past 5 years (other than present offense)	4	
3. No felony convictions, felony probation or misdemeanor probation	4	
4. No arrest for automobile theft	4	
5. Present offense not for checks, burglary, robbery, theft, or DWI	3	
6. No aliases or tatoos	3	
7. No more than 2 prior arrests	4	
8. Has not been to a juvenile training school	3	
9. Has not had prior jail commitments	3	
10. No assaultiveness in prior criminal history	3	
11. First arrest did not occur prior to age 20	2	
TOTAL: PRIOR CRIMINAL HISTORY	38	
NARCOTICS, DRUGS AND ALCOHOL		
1. No history of opiate use (opium, codeine, morphine, heroin)	5	
2. No history of heroin or cocaine use	5	
3. No history of marijuana, amphetamines, demerol, LSD, or barbiturate use	3	
4. No history of alcohol involvement in this or prior arrests	4	
TOTAL: NARCOTICS, DRUGS AND ALCOHOL	17	
EMOTIONAL AND PHYSICAL		
1. No history of psychiatric or psychological disorders	3	
2. No sex offense attributed to personality or emotional disorders	3	
3. Sexual adjustment appears normal	2	
4. Favorable physical condition (health)	2	
5. Favorable physical appearance	1	
6. Delinquent behavior not attributed to associates	4	
7. Has favorable attitude toward probation and future	2	
TOTAL: EMOTIONAL AND PHYSICAL	17	
EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION		
1. Employed at present (if housewife give credit same as employed)	3	
2. Has held present job six months or more	3	
3. Has a vocational skill	2	
4. Attending school, receiving a pension, social security, unemployment compensation or unemployed due to medical disability	2	
5. Veteran with Honorable Discharge	1	
6. Completed high school or has GED	2	
7. Has a job commitment (give credit if employed)	1	
8. If children involved, is suitable care arranged	2	
9. Has a favorable attitude toward work	1	
TOTAL: EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION	17	
FAMILY TIES		
1. No family criminal record	4	
2. Lives with spouse or family	2	
3. Parents neither separated nor divorced	2	
4. Supports spouse and children or self, if single	2	
5. Marital stability-no divorces or separations (give credit if single)	1	
TOTAL: FAMILY TIES	11	
TOTAL RATING:		

SCALE: Chance of successfully completing probation
Circle the number you feel is the appropriate rating in this case

5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90	95	100
	Very Poor							Poor			Average			Good			Very Good		

San Bernardino Probation Department.

CASE #: _____   DATE: _____

Degree of Seriousness

	INVESTIGATION			30-Day Review		
	L	M	H	L	M	H

Type of Offenses:

Offense against person:
Offense against property:
Manipulative offenses:
Victimless offenses:

Danger to Community:

Priors:
Violence potential:

Life Support Problems:

Agency contact: (Agency: _____
Housing:
Financial:
Vocation/School: - (Circle one)
Family relations:
Social relations:

Personality & Psychological Problems:

Personality problems:
Psychological problems:

Summary of Above Information:

Degree of risk to community:
Degree of workability:
Degree of problems:
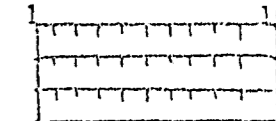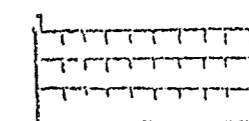
Therefore, this case is classified as: DEFFERED PROSECUTION PROBATION.

Plan of Treatment:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

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CHAPTER III

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CHAPTER III

CLASSIFICATION DATA

There is a frequently voiced complaint that more relevant information is needed concerning offenders, offender behavior and the effects of the criminal justice system on offender behavior if we are to formulate and assess meaningful treatment and rehabilitation programs. While there may be a need for more information, it is not clear that we have adequately analyzed currently available information's relevancy to classification of offenders for purposes of resocialization.

Information concerning offenders, offender behavior and factors potentially influencing offender behavior is collected at many points in the criminal justice process -- by police, prosecution, courts and corrections agencies. Yet, there is nothing systematic about the collection, reporting, and processing of this information. The kinds of information, means of collection, and uses of information (decision-making processes) vary across and within police, prosecution, courts and corrections agencies. Information collected and used at one stage of process does not generally accompany the offender to subsequent stages. The introduction of criminal justice information systems at the state level has done little so far to change the chaotic, disorganized and diverse nature of information collection and processing.

There is a lack of systematically gathered information about offenders, offender behavior and the complex interactions of and influences on that behavior resulting from different persons and conditions he may encounter in society and in the criminal justice system. However, much can be learned from the information that is currently collected independently, at least a determination of further information needs and suggested areas of analyses.

A. Information Collection and Reporting

As the offender proceeds through the criminal justice process, progressively more information is gathered concerning him, his behavior and potential influences on his behavior. As the offender moves from one agency to another, information already gathered is typically regathered. The agency then records additional information consistent with its goals, responsibilities, programs and procedures.

Table 1 indicates some of the information gathered, regathered, reported and rereported by police, courts and corrections agencies. This table is a summary of various forms and reports of federal, state and local criminal justice agencies.

From Table 1 we can see the progressive increase in information collection as an offender proceeds through the criminal justice process. Typically, there is more information within certain elements (e.g., emotional health, family conditions) gathered at the corrections stage than at preceeding stages in the process.

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INFORMATION ELEMENTS POTENTIALLY RELEVANT
TO CLASSIFICATION OF OFFENDERS COLLECTED
AND REPORTED BY CRIMINAL JUSTICE AGENCIES

INFORMATION ELEMENTS	POLICE		COURTS		CORREC- TIONS	
	C_a	R_b	C_c	R_d	C_e	R_f
Age	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sex	X	X	X	X	X	X
Race	X	X	X	X	X	X
Marital Status			X	X	X	X
Military History			X		X	
Family Conditions			X		X	
Criminal History	X	X	X	X	X	
Drug Use History	X		X	X	X	
Alcohol Use History			X		X	
Physical Characteristics	X		X		X	
Health (Dental & Medical)			X		X	
Emotional Health			X		X	
Psychiatric & Psychological Traits					X	
Education			X	X	X	X
Educational Evaluation (I.Q. etc.)					X	X
Employment History	X		X		X	X
Vocational Aptitudes					X	
Attitudes toward Family & Society			X		X	
Attitudes toward Offense			X		X	
Attitudes toward Agency			X		X	
Family (Community) Attitudes Toward Offender			X		X	
Offense	X	X	X		X	X
Characteristics of Victim	X				X	
Location of Offense	X		X		X	
Disposition of Case	X	X	X	X	X	X
Probation Behavior			X	X		
Counseling Received					X	
Treatment				X	X	X
Treatment Behavior					X	
Institutional Assignment				X	X	X
Institutional Behavior					X	
Security Recommendations					X	X
Parole			X	X	X	X
Parole Behavior			X	X	X	X
Release			X	X	X	X

C = Information Elements Collected

R = Information Elements Reported

a. Chicago Police, "Arrest Report", March 1973, Chicago, Illinois

b. "Uniform Crime Reports for the United States, 1972", U. S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C., 1973

c. "Adult Presentence Investigation Report", Probation Services Council of Illinois, Springfield, Illinois, 1974

   "Crime Analysis Worksheet for PROMIS (Prosecutor's Management Information System", United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, Superior Court Division, Washington D.C.

   "Juvenile Social History Report", Probation Services Council of Illinois, Springfield, Illinois, 1974

d. "Annual Report to the Supreme Court of Illinois, 1972", Administrative Offices of the Illinois Courts, Springfield, Illinois, 1973

   "Crime and Delinquency in California, 1969", Bureau of Criminal Statistics, Department of Justice, Sacramento, California, 1970

   "Federal Offenders in the United States District Courts, 1971", Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts, Washington, D.C.,1973

   "Persons Under the Supervision of the Federal Probation System, 1968", Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Washington,D.C.,1970

e. "Classification Review", Michigan Dept. of Corrections, Bureau of Corrections Facilities, East Lansing, Michigan

   "Inmate Information System", U.S. Dept. of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C.

   "Parole Candidate Evaluation", Ohio Pardon and Parole Commission, Columbus, Ohio, 1961

f. "Annual Statistical Report, Fiscal Year 1972-1973", Tennessee State Dept. of Corrections, Nashville, Tennessee, 1973

   "Colorado Division of Youth Services, 72-73", Colorado Dept. of Institutions, Division of Youth Services, Denver, Colorado, 1973

   "Crime and Delinquency in California, 1969", Dept. of Justice, Bureau of Criminal Statistics, Sacramento, California, 1970

   "Population Analysis of the Illinois Adult Prison System", Illinois Dept. of Corrections, Division of Research and Long Range Planning, Joliet, Illinois, 1972.

   "Semi-Annual Statistical Summary, Juvenile Division (July 1,1969 - December 31, 1969)", Illinois Dept. of Corrections, Division of Research and Long Range Planning, Joliet, Illinois, 1970

Another important characteristic of offender information is that while progressively more information is collected by criminal justice agencies, only limited, quite similar elements are reported by these agencies. As a result, we know a great deal about the age, sex, race and criminal history of offenders. These are unfortunately factors which are not subject to treatment and do not contribute to rehabilitation.

Following is a brief description of aggregate information concerning offenders and the reporting forms used to gather this information. These forms are available from police, courts and corrections agencies.

B. Police Arrest Information

The Uniform Crime Reports[1] are published yearly by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the United States Justice Department ostensibly to provide a nationwide view of crime, based on police statistics. A main feature of the Uniform Crime Reports is the Crime Index, based on seven crime classifications: murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny ($50 and over in value), and auto theft. In addition to these offense types, Uniform Crime Reports also report on other factors of potential use in the classification of offenders; these factors are outlined in Table 2.

Besides the factors included in Table 2, Uniform Crime Reports typically break down specific crimes into subcategories.

For example, murder is classified as to weapon used, and robbery is described in relation to the value of property stolen (and recovered).

For selected major offenses against persons (murder, forcible rape, aggravated assault and robbery) there are also classification categories dealing with: the relationship between offender and victim; the age, sex and race of the victim; and the circumstances or motives leading to the crime.

While the Uniform Crime Reports present some information about victimization, a new instrument for measuring levels of crime at the national and local level based on victimization has been developed by the National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service of LEAA.[2] Information contained in the report includes the victim's sex, age, race, marital status, family income, type of crime, the relationship between offender and victim, the time and place of the crime, the injury or loss of property suffered, and whether or not the offense was reported to the police.

TABLE 3.2

Information Reported by the Uniform Crime Reports

A. Type of Crimes

1. Criminal homicide
   a. Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter
   b. Manslaughter by negligence
2. Forcible Rape
3. Robbery
4. Aggravated Assault
5. Burglary - breaking and entering
6. Larceny - theft
7. Auto theft
8. Other assaults
9. Forgery and counterfeiting
10. Embezzlement and fraud
11. Stolen property; buying, receiving, possessing
12. Weapons; carrying, possessing, etc.
13. Prostitution and commercialized vice
14. Sex offenses (except forcible rape and prostitution)
15. Narcotic drug laws
16. Gambling
17. Offenses against family and children
18. Liquor laws
19. Drunkenness
20. Disorderly conduct
21. Vagrancy
22. All other offenses (except traffic)
23. Suspicion
24. Curfew and loitering laws (juvenile)
25. Runaways (juvenile)

B. Offender Characteristics

1. Age
2. Sex
3. Race
4. Criminal history profile
   a. Frequency of charges
   b. Frequency of convictions
   c. Mobility

TABLE 3.2 (Cont.)

C.   Geographical Factors (location of criminal offenses)

1. City of offense
2. State of offense
3. Urban vs. rural offenses

D.   Dispositional Factors

1. Disposition
    a.   Charged
    b.   Found guilty as charged
    c.   Found guilty of lesser offense
    d.   Acquitted or dismissed
    e.   Juveniles referred to juvenile court

An example of a police arrest report is shown in Figure 1.
The information contained in the arrest report is of much greater
detail than information reported through Uniform Crime Reports.
This does not mean that Uniform Crime Reports should necessarily
include the additional information contained on arrest reports.
Rather, the comparison is intended to point out that other infor-
mation of potential use to classification is available.

In terms of suspect characteristics the arrest report shown
includes such additional factors as occupation, place of employ-
ment, physical characteristics (height, weight, build, etc.) and
history of drug use. Factors related to suspect behavior in-
clude: behavior with respect to arresting officer; presence of
alcohol; weapon used; address and nature of premises at arrest;
name, sex, race and address of the victim. Factors related to
police and court handling of the suspect include: name of arres-
ting officer; date charged; approval of charges; designated court
date; date received at lockup building; final judge's name; name
of booking officer; court appearances and continuances (number,
date and branch); arrestee movement in and out of detention fac-
ility; and record of interview in lockup (date, time and name of
interviewer). Other information is collected for juveniles as
shown in Figure 1.

Most of the kinds of information may have implications for
classification. One section of the arrest report that has not

been mentioned but may have implications for classification is
the narrative portion of the arrest record. The kinds of infor-
mation reported in this narrative may be unique to a particular
police officer or police department. There is a study by Frank
Zimring at the University of Chicago Law School[3] which uses
arrest reports in an analysis of armed robbers. When the re-
sults of this study are made available, it may be possible to better
determine the relevancy of the narrative, as well as the entire
arrest record, to classification.

Figure 3.1

CHICAGO POLICE
ARREST REPORT
CPD-11.420 (REV. 3/73)

| 1. NAME (LAST) | (FIRST) | (MIDDLE) | 2. SEX | 3. RACE | 4. DATE OF BIRTH DAY MONTH YEAR |

| 5. ADDRESS OF ARREST | APT NO. | 6. AGE | 7. ALIAS (LAST) | (FIRST) | (MIDDLE) | 8. C.B. NO. | 9. NO. OF CHARGES |

| 10. NATURE OF PREMISES | 11. DIST./RES. | 12. RESIDENCE ADDRESS | 13. TIME PHOT'D. | 14. R.D. NO. |

| 15. RESISTED ARREST YES NO | 16. ASSAULTED OFFICER YES NO | 17. OFFICER INJURED YES NO | 18. SOBRIETY SOBER NBD INTOX | 19. PLACE OF BIRTH | 20. SOCIAL SECURITY NO. | 21. I.R. NO. |

| 22. WEAPON PISTOL REVOLVER RIFLE SHOT-GUN KNIFE OTHER (SPECIFY) | 23. HEIGHT | 24. WEIGHT | 25. EYES | 26. HAIR | 27. COMPLEXION | 28. FINGERPRINT CLASSIFICATION |

| 29. GLASSES YES NO | 30. BUILD SLENDER MEDIUM HEAVY | 31. MARKS, SCARS, DEFORMITIES, ETC. | 32. BEAT OF ARREST | 33. DATE OF ARREST DAY MONTH YEAR TIME | 34. FINAL CT DATE & BRANCH |

35. WHERE EMPLOYED

36. OCCUPATION

37. NO. ARRESTED 38. TIME FINGERPRINTED

| 39. REFERENCES CHAPTER — ARTICLE — SECTION | 40. OFFENSES | 41. DISPOSITIONS |

| 42. OFFICER NOTIFYING INVESTIGATIVE UNIT | 43. PERSON NOTIFIED | UNIT NOTIFIED | TIME | 44. DATE CHARGED DAY MONTH YEAR TIME | 45. APPROVAL OF CHARGES |

| 46. VEHICLE OF ARRESTEE | YEAR | MAKE | STATE LICENSE NO | DISPOSITION OF VEHICLE |

| 47. VICTIM-COMPLAINANT | NAME | SEX | RACE | HOME ADDRESS | PHONE NO |

| 48. ARRESTEE TRANSPORTED TO | BY | STAR NO | HOW TRANSPORTED | TIME |

NARCOTIC INFORMATION

| 49. (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY) SELLER MEDICAL ADDICT | NON-MED ADDICT | 50. STEADY SOURCE YES NO | 51. DRUGS USED OR SOLD HLR COC MORF COD MARJ DOLP DILD DEM BAR AMPH OTHER (SPECIFY) |

| 52. SOURCE OF SUPPLY | 53. ORIGINAL CAUSE OF ADDICTION | 54. CURES ATTEMPTED STATE FEDERAL | 55. VOLUNTARY YES NO | 56. YEARS AS ADDICT |

57. NARRATIVE

VOID

| 58. VEHICLE ASSIGNED 1 ONE MAN CAR 2 TWO MAN CAR 3 OTHER | 59. DESIRED COURT DATE | BRANCH | 60. COURT SGT. TO HANDLE YES NO | 61. DATE RECEIVED LOCKUP BUILDING | TIME | 62. FINAL JUDGE'S NAME |

| 64. ARRESTING OFFICER | STAR NO. | UNIT NO. | BEAT NO. | ARRESTING OFFICER | STAR NO. | UNIT NO | BEAT NO |

| 65. BOOKING OFFICER | STAR NO | UNIT | 66. PROPERTY RECEIPT NO | 67. INITIAL COURT DATE | BRANCH |

| 68. ARRESTEE SEARCHED BY | STAR NO | UNIT | 69. BONDED DATE | TIME |

| JUVENILE DATA | 70. Y.D. NO | 71. RELIGION | DETAINED 1 TEMP RELEASE 2 | 73. NO. ADULTS ARRESTED | 74. DATE OF OFFENSE DAY MO YEAR TIME | 82. COMM. AREA NO. | 83. JUVENILE CODE |

COURT SERGEANT/PERMANENT RECORD COPY

Figure 3.1 (Cont.)

| 75 LIVING WITH | | | 76 NAME | | PHONE NO | 77 NOTIFIED BY | | STAR NO | 78 DATE | | | TIME |
| PARENT | GUARDIAN | OTHER | | | | | | | DAY | MONTH | YEAR | |

JUVENILE DATA CONTINUED	79 LEGAL PARENTS (NAME)		(ADDRESS)		(PHONE NO)		80 PARENTS		81 MOTHER FATHER	
							SEP	DIV	DEC	DEC
					84 DATE TEMP REL OR SENT TO AUDY			TIME	85 DATE CT APPEARANCE		TIME
					DAY	MONTH	YEAR		DAY MONTH YEAR	
	PREVIOUS OFFENSE	DATE		DISPOSITION	PREVIOUS OFFENSE		DATE			DISPOSITION

CONTINUED TO

NO.	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	BRANCH	NO.	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	BRANCH
1					9				
2					10				
3					11				
4					12				
5					13				
6					14				
7					15				
8					16				

MOVING OF ARRESTEE IN & OUT OF DETENTION FACILITY

	DATE	TIME	TURNED OVER TO OR RECEIVED FROM	STAR NO.	REASON	LOCKUP KEEPER	STAR NO
IN							
OUT							
IN							
OUT							
IN							
OUT							
IN							
OUT							
IN							

RECORD OF INTERVIEWS IN LOCKUP

DATE	TIME	INTERVIEWER	STAR NO.	REASON	LOCKUP KEEPER	STAR NO

C.   Court Information

Information potentially relevant to the classification of
offenders is available from the U. S. Courts and from reports
published by the states on circuit and county court activities.
Information in these reports includes disposition, sentence, type
of counsel, prior record, demographic data, and offense for per-
sons coming before the courts.

At the federal level potential classification information is
available from the report entitled Federal Offenders in the United
States District Courts, published yearly by the Administrative
Office at the U. S. Courts. [3] These reports are summary analyses
of "offenders disposed of in the 89 district courts and in the
District of Columbia for violations of the United States Criminal
Code." Information elements reported are shown in Table 3, In-
formation Reported by the U. S. Courts.

At the state level information similar to that of the fed-
eral courts is available although it varies from state to state.
Using examples from Illinois,[4] the kinds of information avail-
able concerning offenders and what happens to offenders in courts
under state jurisdiction are shown in Table 4.

Information concerning offenders under probation from the
U. S. District Courts and State Courts is available from the
reports described above. In addition, the Administrative Offices
of the U. S. District Court issue yearly reports entitled, Persons
Under the Supervision of the Federal Probation System.[5] The

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report describes characteristics of probationers, their offenses, terms of probation, and probation behavior which may be relevant to the classification of offenders. Table 5 summarizes information reported by U. S. courts .

TABLE 3.3

Information Reported by U. S. Courts
(Excluding the District of Columbia)

A.   Type of Crime

1.   Immigration laws
2.   Wagering tax violations
3.   Federal regulatory statutes
4.   Fraud - Group A
5.   Embezzlement
6.   Obscene mail
7.   Income tax fraud
8.   Other fraud
9.   Liquor, Internal Revenue
10. Theft
11. Postal fraud
12. Forgery
13. Border registration addicts
14. Assault and homicide
15. Miscellaneous general offenses
16. Counterfeiting
17. Burglary
18. Interstate transportation of stolen property
19. Marijuana
20. Selective Service Act
21. Other national defense laws
22. Sex offenses
23. Auto theft
24. Narcotics
25. Robbery

B.   Defendant Characteristics

1.   Age
2.   Sex
3.   Prior criminal record
     a.   Juvenile record
     b.   Probation record
     c.   Other record
     d.   Prison record

C.   Geographical Factors

1.   Circuit and District Court having jurisdiction
2.   State within District

TABLE 3.3 (Cont.)

D. Adjudicatory Factors
    1. Type of counsel(assigned or not assigned)
    2. Disposition of offenders
        a. Defendants not convicted
            i.   Acquitted by courts
            ii.   Acquitted by jury
            iii. Dismissed
        b. Defendants convicted
            i.   Convicted by courts
            ii.   Convicted by jury
            iii. Initial plea of not guilty changed
                  to guilty nolo contendre
            iv.   Plea of guilty or nolo contendre
        c. Imprisonment (including sentence severity)
            i.   Regular sentence
            ii.   Indeterminate sentence
            iii. Mixed sentence
            iv.   YCA (Youth Corrections Act)
            v.   FJDA (Federal Juvenile Delinquency Act)
        d. Probation (including probation received)
            i.   Immediate
            ii.   Delay
            iii. Split sentence
            iv.   FJDA
            v.   No supervision
        e. Fine
            i.   Fine (Dollar amount)
            ii.   All others
    3. Availability of presentence reports
    4. Time required for disposition of criminal defendants

TABLE 3.4

Information Reported by the State Court Systems of Illinois

A.   Type of Crime

1. Law over $15,000
2. Law under $15,000
3. Juvenile
4. Felony
5. Misdemeanor
6. Ordinance violations
7. Traffic

B.   Characteristics of Offenders

C.   Geographical Factors

1. Circuit court having jurisdiction
2. County within circuit court

D.   Adjudicatory

1. Fine required for disposition
2. Disposition of defendants charged with
   misdemeanors or felonies
   a. Defendants not convicted
         i. Dismissed at preliminary hearing
        ii. Dismissed on motion of defendant
       iii. Dismissed on motion of state
        iv. Reduced to jail/fine misdemeanor
         v. Acquitted by court
        vi. Acquitted by jury
       vii. Convicted of jail/fine misdemeanor
   b. Defendants convicted
         i. Plea of guilty
        ii. Convicted by court
       iii. Convicted by jury
   c. Sentencing
         i. Imprisonment penitentiary
        ii. Imprisonment and fine
       iii. Jail
        iv. Jail and find
         v. Fine
   d. Probation
         i. With fine or jail or both
        ii. With restitution or costs or both
       iii. With other special conditions
        iv. With no special conditions
   e. Committed as incompetent before trial or as
      sexually dangerous

TABLE 3.5

Information Reported by U. S. District Courts
(Probation & Parole)

I.   Probation

      A.   Probationer Behavior

            1.   Violation vs. nonviolation of probation
                  a.   Property offenses
                  b.   Absconded or wanted for minor offense
                  c.   Use of alcohol or drugs
                  d.   Technical conditions
                  e.   Offenses against persons
            2.   Time under supervision before violation

      B.   Probationer characteristics

            1.   Age
            2.   Sex
            3.   Marital Status
            4.   Prior record
            5.   Education
            6.   Offense category (same as in Table 3.2)
            7.   Length of original term

      C.   Geographical Factors

            1.   Circuit and District having jurisdiction
            2.   State within District

      D.   Probationery Factors

            1.   Type of probation
                  a.   Direct from Court
                  b.   Indirect
                        i.   Split sentence
                        ii.   Mixed sentence
                        iii. Delayed sentence
            2.   Term of Supervision
            3.   Reinstatement (from violator status)
            4.   Return to Supervision (from temporary removal)

TABLE 3.5 (Cont.)

II.   Parole and Mandatory Release

    A.   Parolee behavior

        1. Violation vs. nonviolation of parole
           a.   violation of conditions
           b.   use of drugs
           c.   use of alcohol
           d.   offenses (as listed in Table 3.2)
        2. Time under supervision before violation

    B.   Parolee characteristics

        1.   Age
        2.   Sex
        3.   Marital status
        4.   Education
        5.   Prior criminal record
        6.   Original offense (as listed in Table 3.2)
        7.   Time served in confinement
        8.   Type of sentence

    C.   Geographical factors

        1.   Circuit and District having jurisdiction
        2.   State with District

    D.   Parole Supervision

        1.   Terms of parole (months)

At the state level, a limited amount of information concerning probation is available from courts as indicated in Table 4. In states where responsibility for probation is centralized at the state level (e.g., California)[6] more complete probation information is available. It seems that probation reporting at the state level is neither very complete nor detailed, and the potential usefulness of the information actually reported for classification is greatly limited.

Presentence reports are used in federal and state court systems to assist in determining whether or not a convicted offender should be recommended for probation. These reports are not completed for all convicted offenders, and vary in the kinds of information gathered within a particular court. Table 6 indicates the data elements generally included in presentence reports as determined by a 1974 survey of probation offices in the state of Illinois. The survey, conducted by the Probation Services Council of Illinois, indicates information elements generally used by probation officers and departments in Illinois. The results of a similar survey for juvenile presentence reports are shown in Table 7.

Information elements of special interest to classification include the defendant's emotional health; his attitudes toward the offense, family, community, courts and probation; and the probation officers' analysis of defendant problems and anticipated problems.

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TABLE 3.6

Adult Presentence Investigation Report-
Survey of the State of Illinois

(Reflecting 80% Agreement of
Responding Officers and Departments)

A. Face Sheet

1. Name
2. Address
3. Date of Birth
4. Birthplace
5. Sex
6. Marital Status
7. Children
8. Social security no.
9. Court no.
10. Judge
11. Date of sentence
12. Offense
13. Custody Status

B. Offense

1. Original offense charge
2. Date of offense committed
3. Date of arrest
4. Type of court hearing (bench or jury)
5. Plea or verdict
6. Names and status of co-defendant(s) if any
7. Official version of offense (police reports, State's
    Attorney reports, etc.)
8. Defendant's version of offense including attitude
    towards offense

C. Prior history of delinquency or criminality

1. Federal, state and local convictions and dispositions
    (F.B.I. records)
2. Previous probation (institutionalization) and
    parole - present status
3. Official juvenile court record

D. Family Information

1. Parents and/or guardian's names, marital status,
    address, ages, employment, economics and health
2. Siblings age, marital status and address.
3. Family attitudes towards defendant
4. Defendant's marital status and relationship to
    spouse and children

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TABLE 3.6 (Cont.)

E.   Defendant's Information

   1.   Physical health
   2.   Emotional health (psychological report if ordered
        by the court)
   3.   Education (special skills, disabilities and
        vocational training)
   4.   Employment (present employment, title, job description,
        salary, length employed, past five years' employment
        history, and reasons for leaving past jobs)
   5.   Attitude of defendant towards offense, family,
        court and probation

F.   Community Attitudes

   1.   Employer
   2.   Teachers

G.   Summary

   1.   P. O. analysis of defendant's problems
   2.   Anticipated problems.

H.   Available Community Resources

   1.   Community resources available if probation is granted
   2.   Sentencing alternatives

TABLE 3.7

Juvenile Social History Report-
Survey of the State of Illinois

(Reflecting 80% Agreement of
Responding Officers and Departments)

A. Face Sheet

    1. Name
    2. Address
    3. Date of Birth
    4. Birthplace
    5. Sex
    6. Race
    7. Social security no.
    8. Court no.
    9. Date of hearing
    10. Offense
    11. Custody status

B. Delinquency Offense

    1. Original offense charge
    2. Date of offense committed
    3. Date of apprehension
    4. Juvenile's version of offense, including attitude
        towards offense

C. History of Delinquency

    1. Local convictions and dispositions
    2. Previous probation and parole - present status
    3. Official juvenile court record

D. Family Information

    1. Parents and/or guardians name, marital status, address,
        telephone number, ages, education, employment, economics,
        health, court contacts and geographic movement
    2. Juvenile's siblings name and age
    3. Family interaction (discipline, decision making,
        conflict resolution, etc.)
    4. Family attitudes towards juvenile and probation
        services

TABLE 3.7 (Cont.)

E. Juvenile's Information

    1. Physical health
    2. Emotional health (psychological report if one
        is ordered by the court)
    3. Education (special skills, achievements, strengths,
        disabilities and vocational training)
    4. Attitudes towards delinquent act, self, family and
        probation
    5. Reactions towards authority and peers

F. Community Attitudes

    1. Teachers

G. Summary

    1. P. O. analysis of juvenile's problems
    2. Anticipated problems

H. Available Community Resources

    1. Community resources available if probation is granted
    2. Dispositional alternatives

In some cases prosecutors within the court system are required to maintain reports. One example for the District of Columbia is shown in Figure 2. This form contains a great deal of information concerning the purported offense and victims/witnesses involved which, to our knowledge, is not reported in any form to the criminal justice community.

Trial transcripts are another potential source of information especially concerning potential causes of offender behavior (e.g., family conditions, emotional health). Transcripts, however, are unwieldy to work with and analyze. Computerized transcripts, suggested by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals,[7] could reduce the time and effort required to extract information relevant to classification, but have high maintenance costs associated with their use. The costs and benefits of computerized transcripts must be determined before development is begun.
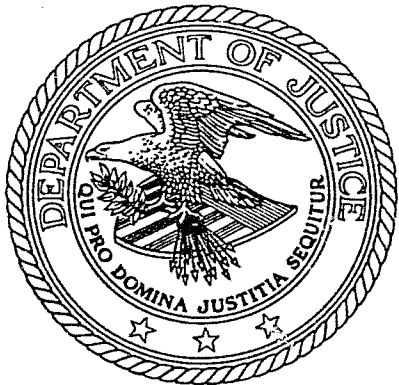
United States Attorney for the District of Columbia
SUPERIOR COURT DIVISION

Crime Analysis Worksheet

for

PROMIS

(Prosecutor's Management Information System)

Instructions

Complete one form for each defendant, including cases in which no charges are filed. When completing this form, please keep in mind that it is essential that the data be accurate and complete, since it is of vital importance in processing the case, answering queries, preparing reports, compiling statistics and conducting numerous analyses.

TRANSACTION TYPE	COURT CASE NO	PDID NO	AUSA CODE	DEFENDANT'S NAME	DATE
074					
1-3	12-19	20-27	28-32		

I - OFFENSE

1 Did the defendant possess a weapon at the time of the offense? (Answer without regard to charges)

33
(a) Yes, firearm or replica, e.g. gun starter pistol, toy pistol. ☐ 1
(b) Yes, other dangerous weapon, e.g. knife, baseball bat, tire wrench. ☐ 2
(c) No ☐ 3
(d) Unk ☐ 4

2 Did offense involve injury or death?

34
yes ☐ 1
no ☐ 2
unk ☐ 3

If "yes" complete all that are applicable

(a) Number receiving minor injuries but not treated 35 _____
(b) Number treated and released 36 _____
(c) Number hospitalized 37 _____
(d) Number killed 38 _____

3 Was victim(s) threatened or intimidated?

39
yes ☐ 1
no ☐ 2
unk ☐ 3

If sex offense go to question 4

If "yes," record number of victim(s) individually and deliberately threatened or intimidated for each of the following

(a) By physical force or verbal only 40 _____
(b) By display of weapon(s) 41 _____

4 Did offense include a sex crime? *Only include forcible rape, sodomy, carnal knowledge, indecent liberties, enticement for indecent liberties, and incest*

42
yes ☐ 1
no ☐ 2
unk ☐ 3

If "yes," complete all that are applicable

(a) Number of victims of forcible sexual intercourse 43 _____
(b) If any type of weapon was used in the intimidation specify the number of victims so intimidated 44 _____

5 Did offense involve theft, damage or destruction of property?

45
yes ☐ 1
no ☐ 2
unk ☐ 3

If "yes," complete all that are applicable

(a) Number of premises forcibly entered 46 _____
(b) Number of motor vehicles stolen 47 _____
(c) Dollar value of property stolen damaged or destroyed
(Exclude automobiles recovered intact and undamaged)

48
(1) Under 10 dollars ☐ 1
(2) $10 - $250 ☐ 2
(3) $251 - $2,000 ☐ 3
(4) Over $2,001 ☐ 4

6 Was defendant arrested at or near scene of offense?

49
yes ☐ 1
no ☐ 2
unk ☐ 3

II - DEFENDANT

1 Is defendant a resident of local area?

50
yes ☐ 1
no ☐ 2
unk ☐ 3

If "YES," how long?

51
(a) Less than one year ☐ 1
(b) 1 - 2 years ☐ 2
(c) Over 2 years ☐ 3
(d) Unknown duration ☐ 4

2 What is defendant's employment status?

52
(a) Employed (include part-time students that are employed) ☐ 1
(b) Student (full-time) ☐ 2
(c) Unemployed ☐ 3
(d) Unknown ☐ 4

If "employed," complete the following

53
(a) **Professional** (job usually requiring formal education or highly specialized experience, e.g. lawyer, nurse, doctor, executive) ☐ 1

SPECIFIC OCCUPATION _____

(b) **White Collar Administrative, Clerical, Sales** (office worker, bank teller, sales person): ☐ 2

SPECIFIC OCCUPATION _____

(c) **Skilled Craftsman and Foreman** (engaged in making, repairing products, e.g. carpenter, mechanic, typesetter). ☐ 3

SPECIFIC OCCUPATION _____

(d) **Unskilled or Semi-skilled Worker** (engaged in making/repairing products, e.g. laborer, factory or construction worker). ☐ 4

SPECIFIC OCCUPATION _____

(e) **Service Occupation Requiring Special Training, Expertise** (bus or truck driver, lab technician, police officer). ☐ 5

SPECIFIC OCCUPATION _____

(f) **Service Occupation, Unskilled or Semi-skilled** (elevator operator, domestic, watchman, cab driver). ☐ 6

SPECIFIC OCCUPATION _____

(g) **Illicit Occupation** (e.g., pimp, prostitute, gambler, hustler) ☐ 7

SPECIFIC OCCUPATION _____

3 What is the relationship of the victim to the defendant?

54
(a) Family ☐ 1
(b) Friend or acquaintance ☐ 2
(c) Complete stranger ☐ 3
(d) Unknown ☐ 4

Figure 3.2

III - SPECIAL FACTORS

Note: VICTIMLESS CRIMES include gambling (except confidence games); obscenity; crimes of soliciting, such as soliciting for prostitution or lewd and immoral purposes; consensual sodomy; narcotics offenses; perjury; bribery; prison break; Bail Reform Act violations; impersonation of a police officer; and, weapons offenses involving only possession or licensing.

1 Is there corroboration that crime was committed?
- yes ☐ 1
- no ☐ 2
- unk ☐ 3 (55)

1 Is exculpatory evidence present?
- yes ☐ 1
- no ☐ 2
- unk ☐ 3 (56)

2 Was there provocation by victim?
(Do not include victimless crimes)
- yes ☐ 1
- no ☐ 2
- unk ☐ 3 (57)

3 Was there victim participation?
(Do not include victimless crimes)
- yes ☐ 1
- no ☐ 2
- unk ☐ 3 (58)

4 Is the primary victim a corporation, association or institution?
(Do not include victimless crimes)
- yes ☐ 1
- no ☐ 2
- unk ☐ 3 (59)

5 Was the defendant only an aider or abettor?
- yes ☐ 1
- no ☐ 2
- unk ☐ 3 (60)

6 Does the defendant have an arrest record?
(Do not include drunk or disorderly, minor traffic or other petty offenses)
- yes ☐ 1
- no ☐ 2
- unk ☐ 3 (61)

If "yes," complete the following:

(a) Arrested in last five years
- yes ☐ 1
- no ☐ 2
- unk ☐ 3 (62)

(b) Has used alias or aliases
- yes ☐ 1
- no ☐ 2
- unk ☐ 3 (63)

(c) Number of previous arrests 64-65 ____

(d) Number of previous arrests for crimes against the person 66-67 ____
(e.g. assaults, rapes, homicides, robberies and all attempts to commit the same, and first degree burglaries which contain elements of the aforementioned offenses)

(e) Years of last three arrests (use last 2 digits, e.g. '72, '74)
- 68-69 ____
- 70-71 ____
- 72-73 ____

---

7 Does the defendant have a conviction record?
(Do not include drunk or disorderly, minor traffic or other petty offenses)
- yes ☐ 1
- no ☐ 2
- unk ☐ 3 (74)

If "yes," complete the following:

	Felony	Misdemeanor
(a) Convicted in last five years	75 yes ☐ 1 no ☐ 2 unk ☐ 3	76 yes ☐ 1 no ☐ 2 unk ☐ 3
(b) Numbers of previous convictions	77-78 ____	79-80 ____
(c) Number of convictions for crimes against the person	81-82 ____	83-84 ____
(d) Years of last three convictions (use last 2 digits, e.g., '73, '70)	85-86 ____ 89-90 ____ 93-94 ____	87-88 ____ 91-92 ____ 95-96 ____

8 Was defendant on conditional release or under suspended sentence for a previous crime at time of arrest?
(District Court or Superior Court)
- yes ☐ 1
- no ☐ 2
- unk ☐ 3 (97)

If "yes," specify type (98)
- (a) Pre-trial release ☐ 1
- (b) Probation ☐ 2
- (c) Parole ☐ 3
- (d) Halfway house or work release ☐ 4
- (e) Pre-sentencing release ☐ 5

9 Override?
Check "yes," if case involves serious racial overtones, assault on a public official, or a major violator
(overrides automatically puts this case on top of the priority calendar)
- yes ☐ 1
- no ☐ 2
- unk ☐ 3 (99)

Complete the following section only if the box to the right is checked ☐

IV - VICTIM/WITNESS

Omit associations, corporations, institutions or expert witnesses.

Note: VICTIM. In forgery, uttering, and false pretenses, the victim is the person or other entity deceived by the act. In shoplifting, the victim is the business entity (usually a corporation). The victim of burglary is either the lawful tenant of the premises, or if untenanted, the owner. (For example, the lessee and not the owner is the victim of a warehouse burglary.) The victim of arson is the person or other entity who owns the property which was burned.

COMPLETE THE QUESTIONS ON THE REVERSE SIDE

---

complete column 1 first; then column 2; then column 3 [Do not list the same victim/witness more than once]

	1 (28-29)	2 (28-29)	3 (28-29)
Victim/Witness Name (Last name first)	Name of primary victim 58-(1)	Name of most essential witness 58-(2)	Name of next most essential witness 58-(3)
Victim/Witness Status (a) Law Officer	59 ☐ 1	59 ☐ 1	59 ☐ 1
(b) Private Police (guard, special officer)	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
(c) Layman	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
Was this person also a victim of the crime? yes	60 ☐ 1	60 ☐ 1	60 ☐ 1
no	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
unknown	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3

Complete the following only for lay witness/victims

Is the victim/witness a resident of the D.C. area? yes	61 ☐ 1	61 ☐ 1	61 ☐ 1
no	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
unk	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
If yes, how long? (a) less than one year	62 ☐ 1	62 ☐ 1	62 ☐ 1
(b) 1-2 years	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
(c) over 2 years	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
(d) unknown	☐ 4	☐ 4	☐ 4
Victim/witness sex (a) Male	63 ☐ 1	63 ☐ 1	63 ☐ 1
(b) Female	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
Victim/witness age	64-65 ____	64-65 ____	64-65 ____
Victim/witness race (a) Black	66 ☐ 1	66 ☐ 1	66 ☐ 1
(b) White	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
(c) Other	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
Did the victim/witness possess a weapon at the time of the offense? yes	67 ☐ 1	67 ☐ 1	67 ☐ 1
no	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
unk	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3

Is the victim/witness presently employed?
(a) Employed (include part-time students that are employed)	68 ☐ 1	68 ☐ 1	68 ☐ 1
(b) Student (full-time)	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
(c) Unemployed	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
(d) Unknown	☐ 4	☐ 4	☐ 4

If "employed," check one of the following
(a) Professional (usually requiring formal education or highly specialized experience e.g. lawyer, nurse, doctor, executives)	69 ☐ 1	69 ☐ 1	69 ☐ 1
(b) White collar Administrative, Clerical, Sales (office worker, bank teller, sales person)	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
(c) Skilled Craftsmen and Foreman (engaged in making repairing products, e.g. carpenter, mechanic, typesetter)	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
(d) Unskilled or Semi-skilled Worker (engaged in making repairing products e.g. laborer, factory or construction worker)	☐ 4	☐ 4	☐ 4
(e) Service Occupation Requiring Special Training, Expertise (bus or truck driver, lab technician, police officer)	☐ 5	☐ 5	☐ 5
(f) Service Occupation, Unskilled or Semi-skilled (elevator operator, domestic, watchman, cab driver)	☐ 6	☐ 6	☐ 6
(g) Illicit Occupation e.g. pimp, prostitute, gambler, hustler	☐ 7	☐ 7	☐ 7
Does the victim/witness have an arrest record? (Do not include drunk or disorderly, minor traffic or other petty offenses) yes	70 ☐ 1	70 ☐ 1	70 ☐ 1
no	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
unk	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
Does the victim/witness have a conviction record? (Do not include drunk or disorderly, minor traffic or other petty offenses) yes	71 ☐ 1	71 ☐ 1	71 ☐ 1
no	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
unk	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3

What is relationship of the victim/witness (in Line 28) to the:

	DEFENDANT	PRIMARY VICTIM	DEFENDANT	PRIMARY VICTIM	DEFENDANT	PRIMARY VICTIM
(a) Spouse (include common law)	72 ☐ a	73 ☐ a	72 ☐ a	73 ☐ a	72 ☐ a	73 ☐ a
(b) Child	☐ b	☐ b	☐ b	☐ b	☐ b	☐ b
(c) Parent	☐ c	☐ c	☐ c	☐ c	☐ c	☐ c
(d) Other family	☐ d	☐ d	☐ d	☐ d	☐ d	☐ d
(e) Ex-spouse	☐ e	☐ e	☐ e	☐ e	☐ e	☐ e
(f) Co-habitating	☐ f	☐ f	☐ f	☐ f	☐ f	☐ f
(g) Girl or Boyfriend	☐ g	☐ g	☐ g	☐ g	☐ g	☐ g
(h) Acquaintance	☐ h	☐ h	☐ h	☐ h	☐ h	☐ h
(i) Neighbor	☐ i	☐ i	☐ i	☐ i	☐ i	☐ i
(j) Employer or employee	☐ j	☐ j	☐ j	☐ j	☐ j	☐ j
(k) Stranger	☐ k	☐ k	☐ k	☐ k	☐ k	☐ k
(l) Other (specify)	☐ l	☐ l	☐ l	☐ l	☐ l	☐ l

Victim/witness testimony problems

(a) Is victim/witness reluctant? yes	74 ☐ 1	74 ☐ 1	74 ☐ 1
no	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
unk	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
(b) Is victim/witness credible? yes	75 ☐ 1	75 ☐ 1	75 ☐ 1
no	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
unk	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
(c) Are racial complications present? yes	76 ☐ 1	76 ☐ 1	76 ☐ 1
no	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
unk	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
(d) Is victim/witness likely to arouse antagonism? yes	77 ☐ 1	77 ☐ 1	77 ☐ 1
no	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
unk	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3

Figure 3.2 (Cont.)

D.   Corrections Information

Tables 8 and 9 indicate the kinds of information reported
by state adult corrections and state juvenile corrections. The
information reported for state corrections is only for a sample
of two states and, as such, does not adequately reflect the full
range of information available from state corrections. The kinds
of information potentially available from state corrections are
shown in the section dealing with criminal justice information
systems.

Information concerning corrections institutions at the local
level (jails) is available through a recent report conducted for
the National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service
of LEAA by the U. S. Bureau of the Census.[8] The report sum-
marizes data on the conditions of local jails and characteristics
of their inmates as of March, 1970. The report complements a
state-by-state summary issued in 1971 in that it breaks down on
a jail-by-jail basis, the data previously presented a follow-up
survey is currently underway.

The jail census reported on the following kinds of infor-
mation, potentially relevant to classification:

A.   Inmate characteristics
     1. Age group (adult or juvenile)
     2. Legal status of inmates
         a. Held for arraignment or transfer to
             other authorities
         b. Arraigned and awaiting jail
         c. Awaiting further legal action
         d. Serving sentence of one year
             or less
         e. Serving sentence of more than
             one year
B.   Geographical Factors
     1. County
     2. State

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TABLE 3.8

Classification Categories Reported by Adult Corrections Departments
from the States of Illinois and Tennessee

A.   Inmate behavior

        Not reported

B.   Inmate Characteristics

        1. Age (I T*)
        2. Age at intake (I)
        3. Sex (I T)
        4. Race (I T)
        5. Marital status (I T)
        6. Offense** (I T)
        7. Education (I T)
        8. Place of Birth (I T)
        9. Occupation (I T)
        10. I. Q. (T*)
        11. Medical status (T)
        12. Plea entered at time of trial (T)
        13. Type of sentence (T)
        14. Length of sentence (T)
        15. Parole date (T)

C.   Geographical Factors

        1. Circuit Court having jurisdiction (T)
        2. County within circuit court (T)

D.   Correctional Facotrs

        1. Counseling received (T*)
        2. Treatment (T*)
        3. Classification received (T)
        4. Institutional assignment (T)
        5. Security recommendations (T*)
        6. Release (T)

Code:	I = Illinois	T = Tennessee

Sources: Population Analysis of the Illinois Adult Prison System,
             Division of Research and Long Range Planning, Illinois
             Department of Corrections, Joliet, Ill., December 31, 1972

             Annual Statistical Report, Fiscal Year 1972-1973, Tennessee
             Classification and Diagnosis Center, Tennessee State Dept.
             of Corrections, Nashville, Tennessee, 1973.

 * For inmates at intake only
** Offense type vary by state and are not included in this table

TABLE 3.9

Classification Categories Reported by Youth Corrections Departments
from the States of Colorado and Illinois

A.   Delinquent behavior

   1.   Returned parole violators (I)
   2.   Recommitted from discharge (I)
   3.   Recommitted active cases (I)

B.   Delinquent characteristics

   1.   Age (I)
   2.   Sex (C I)
   3.   Race (C I)
   4.   Education (C I)
   5.   I.Q. (I)
   6.   Source of Family (I)
   7.   Family income level (C)
   8.   Place of Birth (I)
   9.   Time in state (I)
   10. Residence at time of commitment (I)
   11. Offenses (C I)
   12. Interpersonal Maturity level (C)

C.   Geographical Factors

   1.   Area of commitment (C I)
   2.   County of commitment (C I)
   3.   Suburban vs. rural (C)

D.   Correctional Factors

   1.   Movement of population (I)
   2.   Institutional length of stay (I)
   3.   Institutional assignment (I)
   4.   Program assignment (C I)
   5.   Treatment programs (C I)

Code: C = Colorado   I = Illinois

Sources: Colorado Division of Youth Service, 72-73, Division of
          Youth Services, Colorado Department of Institutions,
          Denver, Colorado, 1973.

          Semi-Annual Statistical Summary, Juvenile Division (July 1,
          1969 - December 31, 1969, Division of Research and Long
          Range Planning, Illinois Department of Corrections, Joliet,
          Illinois, 1970.

The follow-up survey will include information on basic demographic data, reasons for incarceration, time already served, time remaining to be served, bail status, and information on the physical aspects of the jails.

More detailed information concerning jail inmates is not readily available, although there is an expressed need, particularly in large cities, for such information. One study of jail inmates at the Cook County Jail[9] titled, Men in Jail, was carried out in answer to a request by the Citizens Committee for Employment for more information about inmates' job skills and problems of minor offenders. Information was gathered from a social history questionnaire, personality tests, a vocational aptitude test, and examination of the inmates criminal history.

In general, corrections institutions at the federal, state and local level collect a vast amount of information concerning inmates, their characteristics, crime and behavior in the institution, and what happens to them in corrections institutions (e.g., institutional and program assignment). Unfortunately, all of this information is only infrequently gathered and is not given widespread distribution.

The purposes of classification for corrections are generally to provide information for administrative decision-making and for ongoing study by departments of corrections and outside researchers. Information concerning offenders is also collected for offender accounting and responses to adhoc questions.[10] Within administrative decision-making, classification may be used to assign

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offenders to institutions and to jobs, housing, and programs within the institution, for determining offender performance (goal attainment scaling) and for parole recommendations. In some cases, the offender may be classified for assignment to or within community-based treatment programs, to predict post-institutional performance for offender based program agreements (contracting), and for program planning by administrators.

The forms used by corrections departments for classification are as varied as the means of classification, and any attempt to reproduce all the data elements included in classification forms would be presumptuous. In corrections, there seems to be three separate classification procedures which typically utilize different kinds of forms. These procedures are intake classification, classification review, and parole classification. Intake classification is typically used for the assignment of offenders to institutions within federal or state institutions, and for assignment to jobs, housing, and treatment programs within institutions. Classification review is generally undertaken at fixed or varying intervals to evaluate the progress of offenders and for recommendations or reassignment to and within institutions, jobs, housing and treatment programs. Parole classification is undertaken to evaluate candidacy for parole.

Some of the general categories of information gathered at intake are shown in Table 10, which describes the data elements included in the Illinois Corrections Information System. In addition, intake classification often includes information in narrative form on the social, psychological and personal histories of offenders. Classification review and parole classification often include summaries or some aspects of intake classification. In addition, information as to the institutional and interpersonal adjustment of offenders is generally collected at classification and parole candidacy reviews. Figures 3 and 4 are Classification Review Forms used by the Michigan Department of Corrections and a Parole Candidacy Evaluation Form used by the Ohio Pardon and Parole Commission respectively. Figure 5 is composed of some of the forms utilized by institutions within the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, including a reporting form for the RAPS II[11] system of classification.

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TABLE 3.10

Illinois Corrections Information System Data Elements

1. Address at time of arrest
   (including relationship of person living with offender)
2. Alias information
3. Complaining witness * (name and address)
4. Court information *** (offense, counts, commitment
   data, minimum sentence, maximum sentence, plea,
   judge, nature of offense, etc.)
5. Descriptive information (height, weight, etc.)
6. Educational information ***
7. Employment information ***
8. Entrance information ***
9. Father information
10. Hospital information *
11. Health code **
12. Previous arrest history ** (date of arrest, arrest
    disposition, court disposition, and offense)
13. Previous institutional information * (previous
    institution and previous commitment offense, sentence,
    admitting date, discharge date and name)
14. Correspondence/visitor information *
15. Military information *
16. Mother information ***
17. Law enforcement information * (IBI and FBI numbers,
    and number of prior Illinois and other commitments)
18. Previous juvenile commitments ** (number)
19. Problem - general information ** (interviews)
20. Personal information (birthdate, citizenship,
    religion, marital status, etc.)
21. Relative information (name, address, etc.)
22. Marks and scars information
23. Movement/status information (location, internal
    location, status, etc.)
24. Test scoring information * (arithmetic score, reading
    level, Beta I.Q. level, Beta I.Q. Code, GATB results,
    MMPI results, SAT results and 16PF results)
25. Drug/Alcohol information *

*   Adults only
**   Juveniles only
***   Information contained in data elements
      varies between adults and juveniles

Figure 3.3

MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS
BUREAU OF CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES

CLASSIFICATION REVIEW

INSTITUTION				☐ CLASSIFICATION REVIEW ☐ OTHER	
NAME			NUMBER	DATE	

1. Assignment or School Review	A. ABILITY TO HANDLE ASSIGNMENT: ☐ LACKS ABILITY	☐ HAS ABILITY LACKS INTEREST	☐ AVERAGE	☐ ABOVE AVERAGE	
	B. CURRENT WORK/STUDY HABITS: ☐ POOR	☐ FAIR	☐ GOOD	☐ EXCELLENT	
2. Social Adjustment	A. ADJUSTMENT WITH STAFF: ☐ NOT ADJUSTING	☐ MARGINAL	☐ AVERAGE	☐ ABOVE AVERAGE	
	B. ADJUSTMENT WITH INMATES: ☐ NOT ADJUSTING	☐ MARGINAL	☐ AVERAGE	☐ ABOVE AVERAGE	
	C. SPECIAL PROGRAMS NOTED: ☐ A.A. ☐ N.A. ☐ GROUP COUNSELING	OTHER:			
3. Custodial Record	☐ MAJOR PROBLEM	☐ MARGINAL PROBLEM	☐ AVERAGE	☐ ABOVE AVERAGE, NO PROBLEM	
4. Family Contact/ Correspondence	☐ NONE	☐ LIMITED	☐ REGULAR		
5. Overall Adjustment As Rated by Counselor	☐ NOT ADJUSTING ☐ UNSETTLED OR MARGINAL ☐ AVERAGE		☐ ABOVE AVERAGE, EXCELLENT		
6. Emergency Information	NAME AND RELATIONSHIP			PHONE NO.	
	COMPLETE ADDRESS				

Remarks/Further Programming

COUNSELOR'S SIGNATURE

See B.C.F. Regulation C-2 for Schedule and Instruction.

Figure 3.4

PAROLE CANDIDATE EVALUATION

OHIO PARDON AND PAROLE COMMISSION

INMATE		NUMBER	INSTITUTION		DATE
			OP LEB		
			OSR MCI		
			LON ORW		

CRITERIA   RATING

I. TYPE OF OFFENDER   1   2   3

FIRST	COURT MARTIAL	JUVENILE HISTORY
RECIDIVIST	FEDERAL	JUV. DEL.
HABITUAL	WORK-HOUSE	BIS
		OTHER

II. PAROLE EXPERIENCES — — — — PROBATION   1   2   3

NO PRIOR PAROLE EXPERIENCE	PROB. VIOL. CRIMINAL-ADMIN.
RECOMMISSION (CRIMINAL)	PROB. COMPLETED
TECHNICAL VIOLATION (ADMIN.)	
FINAL RELEASE	
REPAROLE	
SENTENCE EXP.	

III. INSTITUTIONAL ADJUSTMENT   1   2   3

DISCIPLINARY	VOC. TRNG.	ED. TRNG.	JOB ASSIGN.
INFRACTIONS	SHOP	ACADEMIC	HONOR STATUS
CORRECT. CELL	SCHOOL	REFRESHER	IDLE
W. A. W.	I.C.S.	H. S. COMP.	MENTAL RANGE
LOST HONOR STATUS	COMMERCIAL	I.C.S.	EARNED TIME
ASSESSED TIME			SUPV. RATING

IV. PERSONALITY EVALUATION   1   2   3

P.E. CODE RATING	I. Q.	PSYCHIATRIC EXAM.
PSYCH. PERS	INFERIOR	IN REMISSION
SCHIZ. PERS.	LOW	POOR PROGNOSIS
MALINGERER	AVERAGE	READINESS FOR PAROLE
INSIGHT	ABOVE AVERAGE	JUDGE'S STATEMENT
SEX-DEVIATE	ILLITERATE - SEMI	PROSECUTOR'S STATEMENT

V. MEDICAL FACTORS   1   2   3

PHYSICAL COND.	MENTAL ILLNESS HISTORY	TREATMENT REG.
EXCELLENT	LIMA S. HOSP.	SURGERY
LIMITED DUTY	V. A. -	DENTAL
CONVALESCENT	STATE HOSP.	PSYCHOTHERAPY
	L. S. H. - RECENT	MEDICATION

VI. PAROLE PLANNING   1   2   3   4   5

EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK
LIVING ARRANGEMENTS
AWARENESS & ACCEPTANCE OF PAROLE CONDITIONS
MARITAL - SINGLE - SEP. - DIV. - MARRIED - C.L.W.; NO. OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN_____ ILLEGITIMATE_____
UNFAVORABLE CONDITIONS EXISTING
     LIMITED WORK SKILLS
     EMPLOYED AT TIME OF OFFENSE - (YES) (NO)
     ALCOHOL PROBLEMS, _____ NARCOTICS_____
     SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS
     COMMUNITY CLIMATE

COMMISSION MEMBER	
	TOTAL
	X 5 = SCORE

REMARKS

ACTION

OPPC-1 7M—2—61—OPP

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Figure 3.5

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BUREAU OF PRISONS

CLASSIFICATION SUMMARY

REGISTER NO. 1317-141   NAME Gell, John   DATE November 11, 1970

OFFENSE

Gell burglarized the Standard Savings and Trust Bank of Columbus, Ohio, along with co-defendants Bill Ress and Sam Lowel, on 9-11-70. They obtained $3,855.00 and all but $1,211 was recovered. No weapons were used, and no one was injured. They were all apprehended 3 days later in a stolen auto, but state charges have been dropped on the car theft. There is no detainer.

CHARACTER TRAITS

Gell appears to have some self control, although he has not yet been confronted with any real stress here. In his interpersonal relationships he comes on weak and timid. His standards and values are consistent with others his age and, although aspiring to a home and family, he has no real knowledge on how to achieve them. He faces his situation well.

CASEWORKER'S ANALYSIS

The pre-sentence report is complete in all respects. It does not consider Gell's present emotional ties to his Mom who now rejects him, not to a father he vaguely remembers. He claims to have attempted an MDTA program while on probation, but dropped out as he felt ill-equipped educationally for it. He appears somewhat slow and has educational and vocational needs. He needs to identify with a strong male figure and appears to be wanting discipline which he has not had. Community services are needed upon release and he is an excellent candidate for release to the Alvis House when he qualifies.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BUREAU OF PRISONS

SOCIAL DATA

1. Register No. (1-9) 4217-141
2. Name (Last, First, Middle) (10-34) Gell, John
3. Date Prepared (Mo., Day, Yr.) (35-40) 11-17-70
4. Institution Name and Location: FCI Vilen, Mich.
6. Prepared By: M. Edmon

14. Military History
15. Length of Military Service
16. Type of Military Discharge
17. Selective Service Violator on Present Offense
18. Type of Selective Service Violator
19. Marital Status
20. Citizenship
21. Age at First Arrest
22. Total Number of Arrests
23. Age at First Commitment of One Year or Less
24. Age at First Commitment of More Than One Year
25. Total Number of Commitments for which 6 Months or More Were Served
34. Longest Time Free Since First Commitment (Months)
35. Longest Single Time Served on Any Commitment (Months)
36. Co-Defendants
37. Name and Location of Co-Defendants

Bill Ress - disposition unknown
Sam Lowel

38. Religious Preference: Protestant

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BUREAU OF PRISONS

EDUCATIONAL DATA

1. Register No. 4217-141
2. Name (Last, First, Middle) Gell, John
3. Institution Name & Location: FCI Vilen, Mich.

SAT SCORES
21. BETA SCORES
23. GATB SCORES
MMPI PART NUMBER SCORES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BUREAU OF PRISONS

MEDICAL & RELATED DATA

3. Date Prepared (Mo., Da., Yr.) 11-27-70
6. Prepared by: M. Cierpik

MEDICAL DATA
DENTAL DATA
PSYCHIATRIC & PSYCHOLOGICAL DATA

Figure 3.5 (Con't.)

BUREAU OF PRISONS
PROGRAM ANALYSIS SHEET

1. Register No. (1-5)	2. Name (Last, First, Middle)(10-34)	3. Institution	4. Inst Codes(35-37) (38-43)	5. Date (Mo, Day, Yr)
3317-141	Gall, John	Milan	141	12-18-70

6. Custody Assigned	1 – Min 2 – Med 3 – Close	2
7. Rating	1 – Poor 2 – Second 3 – Third	1
8. Age	1 – Under 30 2 – 30 to 45 3 Over 45	1
9. Prior Commitments	0 – None 1 – One 2 Two or More	1
10. Sentence	...	2
11. Program Category	1 Category One 2 – Category Two 3 – Category Three	1
Review Date		March 1971

HEIGHT: 71   WEIGHT: 184

QUARTERS: [X] Regular   [ ] Other _____ (Specify)

WORK: [X] Regular   [ ] Restricted

TYPE AND EXTENT OF RESTRICTION:

REASON:

DIET: [X] Regular   [ ] Other _____ (Specify)

FULL RECREATION ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING WEIGHT LIFTING:
[X] Authorized   [ ] Not Authorized

REMARKS:

Environment	12. Economic Status		02		001 Out 1.8
	13. Family Conditions		57 59		
Health	14. Mental Health		04		
	15. Physical Health		60		002 Out 1.8
Skills	16. Educational		50		
	17. Vocational		52 53		003 Out 1.8
Character Traits	18. Self Control		03		
	19. Interpersonal Relationships		08		
	20. Standards and Values		08		004 Out 1.8
	21. Aspirations		57 59		

CERTIFIED

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BUREAU OF PRISONS
PROGRAM PLAN

REG. NO. 3317-141   NAME: Gall, John   DATE: 12-18-70

CUSTODY: Medium   QUARTERS: Dormitory

Closing Issue   CATEGORY: I

STAFF EVALUATION
This second time offender has several needs, most of which he acknowledges. He needs to acquire a salable work skill and will participate in VT Automotive. He should obtain his GED. He has some character traits which counseling should improve upon. He will definitely need release through a 3 way house in order to receive full assistance in re-entry to the community with employment and family relationships. Institutional programs should take approximately one year.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS   1. GOAL To reestablish family ties and develop insight into his past behavior.

2. PROGRAM Individual counseling on a weekly basis. Relationship with older male father figure for identity. Release through 3 way facility for pre-release assistance with work and family.

3. REVIEW DATE 3-71

HEALTH   1. GOAL Improve appearance and health by dental work, examining

2. PROGRAM Complete dental program.

3. REVIEW DATE 3-71

SKILLS   1. GOAL To be equipped with proper education and vocational skills to obtain community employment.

2. PROGRAM Educational program leading to the GED and Vocational Training in Automobile Automatic transmissions, tune up and front end alignment.

3. REVIEW DATE 3-71

CHARACTER TRAITS   1. GOAL To be better equipped to handle stress situations and to develop future goals.

2. PROGRAM Individual counseling and informal guidance from different staff personnel.

3. REVIEW DATE 3-71

E. Criminal Justice Information Systems

In recent years there has been a proliferation of computerized information systems directed to the operations of particular criminal justice agencies and to the operations of the criminal justice system as a whole. The development and implementation of these systems has primarily resulted from recommendations of the President's Crime Commission Report of 1967,[12] which viewed "adequate statistical programs of enormous importance" to understanding criminal behavior and controlling crime. The report pointed out that except for police information, information on criminal justice activities is either lacking or non-existent. The uses of improved information that were cited include informing the public and government officials of the crime "problems", measuring the effectiveness and efficiency of criminal justice activities and new programs, facilitating comparative analyses among criminal justice agencies, determining the characteristics of offenders, and assessing the causes of crime.

In the wake of the President's Crime Commission Report, a large number of computerized information systems were developed for police, courts and corrections agencies, operating at the state and local level.[13] These systems, while typically developed for purposes other than classification, have the potential of providing a great deal of information relevant to classification. Tables 10 and 11 indicate the data elements included in

the Illinois Department of Corrections Information System[14] and the Project SEARCH information system.[15] Clearly these data elements, if publicly reported by the states involved, provide a great deal of information about the offender, his crimes and what happens to him in the criminal justice system.

In developing computerized information systems, little attention has been paid to classification of offenders. Part of the problem may be due to the thinking that classification is a responsibility of corrections agencies and not police, courts and other agencies. In the Illinois information system, developed under the state department of corrections, data elements reflecting psychological and aptitude test scores are reported. The Project SEARCH system, developed for statewide criminal justice activities, does not directly include such data elements.

TABLE 3.11

Project SEARCH Statewide Criminal Justice Information System Data
Elements

A.   Police/Prosecutor Data Elements

1.   State ID number
2.   FBI number (if available)
3.   Arresting agency (NCIC code) agency, county
4.   Date -- arrest
5.   Charged offense -- most serious (NCIC code, 2 level)
6.   Police disposition
7.   Birthdate
8.   Sex
9.   Race
10. Prosecutive disposition
11. Date -- prosecutive/police disposition

B.   Lower Criminal Court Data Elements

1.   Court ID number
2.   Date -- initial appearance
3.   Release action (initial opportunity)
4.   Date -- release action
5.   Charged offense -- most serious
6.   Date -- lower court disposition
7.   Final charge -- most serious
8.   Type of charge
9.   Type of trial
10. Plea
11. Disposition
12. Date of sentence
13. Type of sentence
14. Imprisonment sentence (days/months)
15. Probation sentence (months)
16. Type of Counsel

C.   Felony Trial Court Data Elements

1.   Court ID number
2.   Date -- filing
3.   Type of filing
4.   Felony filing procedure
5.   Charged offense -- most serious
6.   Date -- arraignment
7.   Initial plea

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CONTINUED

3 OF 6

TABLE 3.11 (Cont.)

8. Final plea (same code as initial plea)
9. Date -- trial commences
10. Type of trial
11. Date -- trial ends/disposition
12. Final charge -- most serious
13. Type of charge
14. Release action
15. Date -- release action
16. Disposition
17. Date -- sentencing
18. Sentence type
19. Prison (years) (min. and max.)
20. Jail (days/months)
21. Probation (months)
22. Type of counsel

D. Corrections Data Elements

1. Agency ID number
2. Receiving agency
3. Status
4. Date -- received
5. Date -- agency move/status change/exit
6. Exit

If one considers treatment as all those factors in the criminal justice system that can affect offender behavior then classification for treatment goes beyond corrections agencies and into police, prosecutor, and court operations. The people and situations with which the offender comes into contact in these agencies can influence behavior and should be considered in information systems, if these systems are to be relevant to classification for treatment purposes.

In addition, classification is a dynamic process. As new research or practical experience with classification refines and develops tests or defines factors of importance to offender behavior, information systems must be flexible enough to allow for the addition of new data elements to reflect program changes or to include factors heretofore not part of the system. The uses of information systems as a research and evaluation tool in offender classification are clearly many and important. Their full potential for research and evaluation, however, can be realized only if offender classification is explicitly considered as one aspect of developing information systems.

F.   Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics

Information concerning offenders, their crimes and victims, and disposition of offenders in the criminal justice process has recently been compiled from various sources by LEAA and published under the title Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 1973.[16]

The information, while national in scope, focuses on state and local data. Much of the information indicated in the preceding tables is reproduced and reported in this valuable document.

G. The Use of Currently Available Information in Classification

Two major areas of concern in the use of currently available information either for developing typologies for use in classification or for classification itself are the reliability and validity of this information. In terms of reliability, there is the question of whether information -- especially subjective information -- is accurately collected and reported by criminal justice agencies.

As the previous discussion indicates, currently available information goes well beyond the general descriptive categories of offender age, sex, race, criminal history and type of offense. However, information that is reported, with apparent reliability, is generally restricted to these general descriptive categories. Offenders can be easily typed on the basis of age, sex, race, criminal history and these characteristics related to type of offense.[17] Such typologies are relevant to only the most rudimentary of treatment programs (e.g., length of sentence, institutional assignment).

Information giving a more detailed picture of the causes of offender behavior, such as "emotional health", educational and vocational aptitudes, is collected by criminal justice agencies but is not generally reported. Even when such information is

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reported, there are questions as to its reliability. Definitions
of what can be termed "predispositions to behave" vary across
agencies and sometimes within agencies. Even with a somewhat
common definition of factors, methods of collecting information
can vary from self-report forms (questionnaires or tests) to
open-ended, semi-structured or structured interview schedules
and observational techniques. With each of these methods there
are potential measurement biases. Open-ended interviews, for
example, have been shown for police and youth corrections officers,
to represent the interviewer's perception of the offender and
offense, rather than an unbiased reporting of offender response
to the questions.[18]

Despite the obvious problems of reliability, it may be pos-
sible to use portions of existing data where standard tests or
multiple measures of a similar type are used to collect data on
potential causal factors of offender behavior to construct typol-
ogies for use in classification. The essential question of
whether information currently collected is sufficient and valid
for explanatory and treatment purposes would remain. Clearly,
information systems established generally for purposes other than
explanation of offender behavior and classification cannot be
expected to meet such purposes without modification.

The increasing use of computerized information systems
within criminal justice agencies affords these agencies the
opportunity to more fully utilize available information for

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classification. Thus far, however, little has been done to over-
come the problems of reliability and validity of information rel-
ative to classification contained in these systems. Project
SEARCH, funded by LEAA, has placed a great deal of emphasis on
defining information elements to be contained in information
systems. These elements (Table 11) however, are primarily for
management and evaluation purposes and have only limited direct
implications for classification.

Even for information elements relevant to management and
evaluation, little attention has been paid to how this informa-
tion should be collected and what procedures for controlling and
auditing the information should be developed.[19] As a result,
the reliability of information remains suspect.

If computerized information systems are to impact classifi-
cation, the following steps must be followed: Information ele-
ments, having explanatory power for offender behavior must be
determined and defined. These elements should be precise and
have an empirical base. Reliable methods of information collec-
tion, including control and audit procedures, must be developed.
At the initial stages, multiple methods of collecting information
may be necessary. Pilot testing of information elements and in-
formation collection methodologies must be undertaken to modify,
add, or delete elements and methodologies based on real-time ex-
perience. In some sense, information systems for classification
must be considered as being in a continual pilot test mode. These
systems must be capable of refinement over time as user experience
with the system increases and changes occur in the state-of-the-art
of offender classification.

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Experience with information systems in criminal justice agencies does not indicate that these requirements will be met. Abuses in the collection, reporting and uses of computerized information systems have tended to negate advantages realized from the systems.[20] Questions of the privacy of individuals, given the problems of the reliability and validity of information, have not been resolved within the criminal justice community. As a result, it appears that the courts or Congress will apply restrictions to the use of computerized information systems. As Beattie suggests,[21] we have not taken a very scientific approach in the application of information systems to criminal justice. Abuses may render such an approach difficult if not impossible.

CHAPTER III

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CHAPTER IV

CLASSIFICATION THEORY AND RESEARCH

In the United States, systematic classification research probably began about the time parole prediction studies came into vogue.

A.   Parole Prediction Studies

Parole prediction studies in the United States are usually considered to have started in 1923 with the work of Sam Bass Warner, [1] a professor of law at the University of Oregon Law School, and Director of the Committee on Criminal Records of the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. Although he did not actually attempt to predict parole outcome, he studied recidivism of 680 individuals released from the Massachusetts State Reformatory. He gathered over sixty items of information from the institutional records and found that there was little difference in percentage violators and non-violators for any of the information obtained except the report of the 'alienist'. The parole board at the time claimed to concern itself with a) the type of offense, b) conduct in the reformatory, c) prior criminal record, and d) length of time served. Warner suggested that since sex offenders were unlikely to commit a second offense, but since the board considered such offenses serious, they were actually holding those individuals who would lower their recidivism rates.

His data seemed to indicate that there was little relationship between prison conduct and parole success. On the other hand,

prior criminal record was related to parole success. Length of time in the institution was also related to parole success because the longer the individual is in the penitentiary, the less time he is on parole, and hence the less chance he has of breaking parole. According to Warner, the rest of the data "is worthless as a basis of parole."

Following the publication of Warner's paper, Hornell Hart[2] applied tests of significance to the differences found by Warner and discovered that thirty-five of Warner's items were not statistically significant in their ability to discriminate violators from non-violators. Hart suggested that a method could be found to assign a prognostic score to individuals appearing for parole that would be based on those items which discriminate. Prior experience would tell the board what percentage of individuals with specific scores were likely to return to prison. Unfortunately, Hart himself never attempted to develop such a table.

E. W. Burgess, produced the first experience table in 1928 in connection with a study done by himself and others on the Indeterminate Sentence Law in Illinois.[3] Taking a sample of 1,000 parolees from each of the Illinois prisons - Joliet, Menard and Pontiac - he determined their parole adjustment in terms of three categories: non-violation, major violation, and minor violation. He found that there were twenty-one factors which discriminated between men who succeeded and men who failed on parole. Burgess however, never used his "prediction" scale to predict. On the contrary, he specifically stated that it was illustrative of the possibility of the method, and was not in a form for immediate

use. He emphatically stated that it needed further refinement, and then application to 3,000 or 5,000 cases in order to obtain an adequate statistical basis. His instrument was first put to practical use by the Illinois Pardon and Parole Board in 1933.

In the Burgess method of constructing a parole prediction or experience table, items are looked at as having a higher or lower than average violation rate for persons possessing the characteristic. If the presence of a characteristic was associated with higher than average parole success, the individual possessing it was assigned a point. If the absence of the characteristic was associated with success, the item was stated negatively (e.g., no prior criminal record) and again scored one point when present. The sum of the points determined the total score, and a percentage recidivism table by score was provided for interpretation. The experience table given for the Federal Parole Board (Table 4.4) is an example of a table constructed in the Burgess manner.

Almost simultaneously with the publication of the Burgess tables came the first of the Glueck materials.[4] In 1930 they published their follow-up study of parolees from the Massachusetts Reformatory whose parole had expired in 1921 or 1922. They did not restrict their work to the use of prison and parole board records. Rather, they and their research staff followed-up the 510 prisoners and assembled data on fifty-three items for each prisoner. With this follow-up they found a failure rate of 69.6 per hundred parolees, during the parole period and a post-parole failure of 78.9. They set up tables for their factors in the

same manner that Burgess did, but instead of taking percentage differences they calculated the C for each item. If the value was less than 0.20 it was considered either slightly related or not related to parole success. If the value was between 0.20 and 0.39 the item was considered appreciably associated with parole success, and if the value was between 0.40 and 0.60 it was considered highly associated with parole success. They then selected the thirteen items with the highest C values to use for their prediction tables. A case was scored by adding up the violation rates for the sub-categories in which the case was classified. This produced directly a weighting of the factors. Then the percentage of men in similar score classes who succeed on parole was used to determine a man's chances of success by assigning the group rate of success. This weighting of factors was a major difference from the Burgess technique.

The Glueck's tables were never applied by the Gluecks to a group of offenders other than those from whose experience they were constructed. Thus, there was no external validation. Secondly, the tables do not show the probable outcome of various treatments. There is no data available from the work of the Gluecks showing the difference in outcome for persons with the same pre-reformatory factor scores who are sent to the reformatory compared to the outcome of those who are immediately given probation.

Vold in his work, Prediction Methods and Parole (1931),[5] compared the Burgess and Glueck scoring systems. His results showed that both systems produce about the same results. In other words, it makes little difference if percentages or points are added. Vold did his study on the records of 1,142 men who had been discharged either from the Minnesota State Prison or Reformatory.

Vold divided his sample into two groups, one the sample from which the prediction tables were constructed, and the other the validation sample, on which the tables were tried. In 1935, Vold published "Prediction Methods Applied to Problems of Classification with Institutions"[6] in which he showed for a group of 282 Minnesota prisoners the correlation between predicted and actual outcome to be about 0.4 and between the estimate of a parole officer and outcome not quite 0.3. In other words, estimations based upon his statistical techniques were better than predictions made by a parole officer.

One of the researchers who had worked with Burgess on the original Illinois study, Clark Tibbitts, studied the outcome of one-year parole experience for 3,000 youths paroled from the Illinois State Reformatory at Pontiac.[7] He found that there were essentially the same violation rates in the classes that Burgess had found. He did, however, add two new elements for a total 23 rather than a 21 item inventory. As a result, his study did not exactly duplicate Burgess'.

In 1935 Norman Fenton conducted a study "The Delinquent Boy and the Correctional School", using 400 boys who had been in the Whittier School in California.[8] After studying some 400 items, the author concluded that some general rating of social adjustment at the institution, and of school spirit may offer valuable data as to the probabilities of the boy's future adjustment.

Barker S. Sanders, argued that data which could predict parole at one point in time might well be inadequate a short time later.[9] He constructed an experience table following the techniques

of Burgess and using a group of 5,683 federal parolees released
from July 1, 1933 to June 30, 1934. He then followed-up 2,838
parolees released from July 1, 1934 to December 31, 1934. He
scored the cohort using the table constructed from the period
immediately passed. His data showed that the violation rates of
the various groups in this cohort were erratic and quite possibly
the result of chance fluctuation. It unfortunately happens that
the research of Sanders is seldom referred to in the parole pre-
diction literature, and the point he was attempting to make is
seldom discussed. It should be noted that the use of a construc-
tion sample and a validation sample chosen in the same time period
do not address the question which he has raised. Only temporally
separate samples will adequately do this.

A more theoretically oriented study was published by Jenkins
(1942)[10] in which he tested the relative contribution of intra-
psychic and social historical variables in the prediction of parole
adjustment. He studied 221 boys who had been paroled from the
New York State Training School for Boys, and found that the addi-
tion of psychological variables to his basic social, historical,
or actuarial variables did not significantly improve the ability
of his prediction tables to predict.

Laune in 1936 took the approach that the individuals who knew
a prisoner best were other prisoners.[11] For this reason he got
two prisoners to rate the likelihood of success on parole for 150
other prisoners. In 1950, Ohlin and Lawrence were able to follow-up
110 of the 150 that Laune had rated, and found that this technique,

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at least as Laune presented it, did not do quite as well as the
Burgess technique. Furthermore, neither technique improved much
on the overall rate.[12] It should be noted, however, that Laune
used only two informants. What results this technique would pro-
duce if one used a much larger number of informants and summed
scores, is not, of course, known.

Ohlin working with the Burgess tables that had been used in
Illinois for years, showed clearly that an experience table based
on 12 items gives just as good a prediction as the original 21
item table that Burgess had developed. Ohlin's table was, as a
result, adopted by the Illinois State Prison.[13]

Glaser, taking the approach that the degree to which a person
identified with crime as a way of life would be associated with
success on parole, scored parolees on seven items thought to be
indicative of "differential identification" with criminality.[14]
He showed that this produced an experience table somewhat better
than that produced by Ohlin.

Two of Glaser's students, Thomas Duggan and Charles Dean,
developed a more general theoretical approach to parole prediction
including three major areas of concern: the situation into which
the parolee is released, identification, and value orientation.
They argued that parole prediction must take into account the
interaction between the variables, rather than simply summing the
material.[15] They suggest that parole prediction could be tre-
mendously improved if this were done. Unfortunately, they did
not build a formal base expectancy table and test it with data

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over time. This should certainly be done, especially since the Goodman and other newer methodological techniques for handling interaction in tables such as these have been developed.

B. Base Expectancy Studies

Another major area of research in the California Youth Authority is that of base expectancy. The term refers to tables used to predict the likelihood that within a specified period of time, a person released from a correctional institution will commit a new offense sufficiently serious to cause his being reinstitutionalized either in the releasing institution or another institution. In general, base expectancy scores are based on social information and not on such information as psychological test scores or opinions of psychiatrists or social workers. Using what is known about persons released from the institution in the past, percentage recidivist tables are developed for various ranges of scores. Examples of base expectancy and similar tables can be seen in Table 4.1, Table 4.2, Table 4.3 and Table 4.4 (pages 150, 151, 152, 153). The latter two tables contain the appropriate recidivism rates for scores.

The research on base expectancies done in California and reported had much of its origin not only in the American Parole prediction studies reported here, but also and especially in the English research of Herman Mannheim and Leslie J. Wilkins, reported in <u>Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training</u> (1955).[16] This research resulted in the introduction of new and more sophisticated techniques in the analysis of the data and construction of prediction tables.

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Starting with the research of Beverly in 1959,[17] the California Youth Authority has developed two important base expectancy approaches. The first, used in the research of Gough, Wenk, and Rozynko, utilizes seven items that are broadly "face sheet" or general background information (See Table 4.1, page 150). That is, they are items of information that are likely to appear in any institutional record and do not require special knowledge or a special interview either with the subject or with others.

This study found the base expectancy score in the original sample for parole violators (N = 183) was 36.08 and for non-violators (N = 261) was 40.29, a difference that was significant at the .01 level. In the period under investigation, using a cross-validation sample of 130 violators and 165 non-violators, 56% of the subjects were successful on parole. If one uses a cutting point on the base expectancy scale of 35 and below for violators, the scale predicted correctly 75 violators and 100 non-violators or 59%. This is an improvement of 3%, or a percentage improvement in prediction of 8.4%, over random selection.[18] This latter figure represents the coefficient of relative predictability by subtracting the percentage of errors obtained by the second method from the percentage of errors obtained by the first method, and dividing by the percentage of errors obtained by the first method. Obviously the B-E scales are not extremely impressive.

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Beverly produced a second version of this table in 1964 which was based not just on face-sheet data, but also, and chiefly, on material gathered from an Initial Home Visit research schedule. The new base expectancy tables permit one to use either 12 or 5 variables.[19] The variables and their weights are listed in Table 4.2, page

The research projects of the California Youth Authority which use recidivism for a criterion of evaluation almost without exception will control on base expectancies, although they do not usually tell the reader which version is being used. That is, group results will be compared in terms of subgroups of like base expectancies.

In addition to the base expectancy scales developed by Beverly for the California Youth Authority, Gottfredson and others working at the Vacaville facility developed base expectancy tables or parole prediction tables using predictive attribute analysis[20] and association analysis.[21] From their work, they concluded that association analysis was less vulnerable to certain statistical errors and produced subgroups that were not statistically different in non-violation proportions from the construction sample to the validation sample. However, the tables finally adopted were those developed by the multiple regression method, one major version of which is presented in Table 4.3 and called Form 61B (page 152). This is, perhaps, the form most frequently cited.

When the United States Parole Board first looked at parole prediction tables, it was the California Form 61B that they considered. However, they considered the table too static in that it did not take into account the development of the person and the changes that might have occurred in him while in prison. To meet this objection, the research group produced the base expectancy table given in Table 4.3. This table was constructed on the Burgess model with each item weighted the same. This type of table construction gives lower correlations, but shows less shrinkage from construction sample to validation sample. That is, there is less difference in results from construction sample to validation sample than in the earlier tables.

The study that developed this experience table is part of the extremely large Parole Decision Making Project directed by Dr. Donald M. Gottfredson and Professor Leslie Wilkins. This project is supported by a grant from the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice of the LEAA and administered by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency Research Center in cooperation with the U. S. Board of Parole. It started July 1, 1970, with a general aim to develop, test and demonstrate programs of improved information for decision making.

TABLE 4.1

CALIFORNIA YOUTH AUTHORITY BASE EXPECTANCY TABLE
FOR PREDICTING SUCCESS ON PAROLE

VARIABLE	WEIGHT
1. Offense	
Crimes against persons	9
Crimes against property	0
2. County of commitment	
Group 1	10
Group 2	5
Group 3	0
3. Age of admission to last birthday	
16 or older	12
15	6
14 or younger	0
4. Age at release to parole	
18 or older	10
17	4
16 or younger	0
5. Court of most recent commitment	
Juvenile	6
Adult	0
6. Admission status	
First admission or new commitment	8
Return without new commitment	0
7. Record prior to Youth Authority commitment	
No prior commitment and no more than two prior delinquent contacts	13
No prior commitment and three or more prior delinquent contacts	5
Prior commitment	0

TABLE 4.2

CALIFORNIA YOUTH AUTHORITY BASE EXPECTANCY SCORES,

12 VARIABLE OR 5 VARIABLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS

(1965)

VARIABLE	WEIGHT	VARIABLE	WEIGHT
To		To	
1. Age at first admission x46	———	1. Age at first admission x48	———
If	Add:	If	Add:
2. Commitment offense		2. Commitment offense	
Crimes against persons	127	Crimes against persons	139
Other	0	Other	0
3. Prior record		3. Prior record	
No prior commitment, no more than two delin-quent contacts	91	No prior commitment, no more than two delin-quent contacts	108
Other	0	Other	0
4. Current attitude to school		4. Mental Rating	
Markedly dislike	0	Normal or above	40
Other	75	Dull normal or below	0
5. Number of foster homes		5. Race	
None or unknown	68	Mexican-American or Negro	0
Other	0	Other	46
6. Number of offense partners			———
None, one, or two	0	Total	
Other	62		
7. Race		1316 - Total = Base Expectancy	
Mexican, American or Negro	0		
Other	46		
8. Number of rooms exclusive of bath, kitchen			
Four or five	45		
Other	0		
9. Number of households of which a member			
One	44		
Other	0		
10. Supervision by mother			
Adequate or better	41		
Other	0		
11. Number of evenings a week spent at home			
One or two	40		
Other	0		
12. Mental rating			
Normal or above	36		
Dull normal or below	0		
Total	———		

1473 - Total = Base Expectancy Score

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TABLE 4.3

BASE EXPECTANCY SCORE   (FORM 62 B)

	IF	ADD	
a.	Arrest free 5 or more years	16	_____
b.	No history of any opiate use	13	_____
c.	No family criminal record	8	_____
d.	Commitment offense not checks or burglary	13	_____
e.	Age at commitment times 0.6		_____
f.	Add 21 for all cases		_____
g.	Subtotal (a + b + c + d + e + f)	subtotal:	_____
h.	Aliases, three times the number		_____
i.	Prior incarceration -- 5 times the number		_____
j.	Subtotal (h + j)	subtotal:	_____
k.	Base expectancy score = g + h	B.E.	_____

Base Expectancy Score	Percentage of group with favorable outcome after two years:
92 - 100	87%
73 - 91	76%
63 - 72	64%
44 - 62	53%
34 - 43	49%
15 - 33	29%
0 - 14	14%

The findings to date are contained in thirteen supplemental report volumes, a film, and a summary volume by Gottfredson, Wilkins, Hoffman, and Singer: The Utilization of Experience in Parole Decision Making: A Progress Report, June 1973. They point out that the California Adult Parolee Base Expectancy Table works equally well with adult federal offenders, but not with a federal youth sample. They also discuss the base expectancy tables or experience tables developed for the Parole Board. One interesting finding emphasized is that the information which goes into such tables is sufficiently unreliable that unsophisticated statistical techniques work better than the more sophisticated ones. That is, the data have sufficient error built into them that techniques appropriate for well-measured data simply do not work with this material.

It is not unlikely that this parole decision-making project will provide the major directions for both parole research and parole policy for the next quarter of a century.

C.   Federal Parole Studies

The hearing panels for the Federal Board of Parole examine three factors when deciding whether or not to release a prisoner on parole. The first factor is based on the seriousness of the commitment offense. Severity can be rated low, moderate, or high. Second is the prognosis score from the experience table. This score is termed on the parole form "salient factors", and will be found at length in Table 4.4. These two factors determine the

length of continuance or indicate immediate parole, unless the individual is having problems with institutional discipline or has an institutional program which he must complete. Setting a formal standard for parole continuance has the effect of making parole considerations much more uniform and more equitable than previously experienced in the federal prison system.

In addition to this type of classification which determines whether or not to parole, the Federal Probation and Parole Board expects the probation officer and his supervisor to classify the parolee. In general, there are three levels of parole supervision: maximum, average, and minimum. Individuals are placed on maximum supervision in terms of the following criteria:

1. Type of crime: crimes of violence, organized crime, crimes with high recidivism rates like burglary, auto theft, and narcotics.

2. Prior record of extensive or serious crimes.

3. Social and personal history that includes the following: instability of residence, employment, marriage, marginal income, history of mental illness, history of alcohol or drug abuse, lack of community ties, inadequate occupational skills, chronic ill health, functional illiteracy, or a negative attitude toward authority.

Individuals on maximum supervision are supposed to be seen by the parole officer a minimum of three times each month, in addition to another contact by phone or in a similar fashion.

A parolee will be placed on minimum supervision on the following criteria:

1.	Type of offense: liquor law violation; selective service law violation, excluding those who advocate or engage in violence or anarchy; embezzlement, fraud, or income tax laws.

2.	Prior record shows absence of extensive or serious criminal history or absence of physical violence.

3.	Social and personal factors will include a demonstration of stability in residence, employment and marriage, and an absence of problems with drugs or alcohol.

Cases which do not meet the criteria for either maximum or minimum supervision, receive medium or average supervision, which supposedly includes two contacts a month, one of them personal.

TABLE 4.4

EXPERIENCE TABLE (FORM PDMIA) ADULT OFFENDERS

Salient Features

	If	score 1, otherwise 0
1.	No auto theft convictions	———
2.	Present offense: homicide, theft except vehicle, alcohol law violations, counterfeiting, selective service	———
3.	Not property offense	———
4.	Victimless offense	———
5.	No burglary conviction	———
6.	New court commitment (not parole violation)	———
7.	No probation, or parole revocation	———
8.	First commitment or more than 5 years free from first	———
9.	No prior commitment of more than 6 months	———
10.	Not more than two prior sentences	———
11.	No prior incarceration	———
12.	No prior juvenile delinquency convictions	———
13.	Employed in last two years of civilian life more than 25% of the time, or student, or unknown, or physically unemployable	———
14.	Employed more than one year or unknown	———
15.	Minimum custody, work release, or unknown	———
16.	No escape history	———
17.	No known prison punishment	———
18.	No prior mental hospitalizations	———
19.	Plans to live with a wife or children	———
20.	Parole advisor obtained	———
	Total Score: 156	———

TABLE 4.4

(cont.)

Base Expectancy Computational Chart

Raw Score:	% Favorable Outcome:	Raw Score:	% Favorable Outcome:
0	9%	9	56%
1	14%	10	62%
2	19%	11	67%
3	25%	12	72%
4	30%	13	78%
5	35%	14	83%
6	41%	15	88%
7	46%	16	94%
8	57%	17^+	98%

In addition to parole oriented classification studies, there have been numerous theoretical and research efforts aimed at the offenders environment and/or personal characteristics.

D.   Experimental Laboratory for Corrections Studies

Under grants from the Manpower Administration of the U. S. Department of Labor, the Experimental Laboratory for Corrections, located at the Alabama Industrial School, Montgomery, Alabama, has produced a series of research reports and instruments extremely relevant to classification. However, the instruments do not seem to have been used by any prison system in this manner.

The first instrument is the Environmental Deprivation Scale (EDS).[22] This scale attempts to deal with--to use the language of the authors--the environmental input to the individual. It is basically a checklist of significant environmental events that are scored"0" (indicating appropriate environmental support) and "1" (indicating deprivation). The total score on the scale can range from 0 to 16. The environmental deprivation scale has the following items:

Employment	Church
Income	Other organizations
Debts	Friends
Job Participation	Relatives
Job Status	Parents
Hobbies and avocations	Wife
Education	Children
Residence	Fear

In two studies with a combined N=229, it was shown that the environmental deprivation scale has a high association with degree of law violation. Breaking the scale at a score of nine and above, the phi coefficient was .53, with a chi-squared of 63.2, which is significant at the .001 level. Seventy-three percent of the no-violations group, 32% of the minor violations group were in the lower half of the scale.

The second instrument developed by this research group is the Maladaptive Behavior Record (MBR).[23] Like the EDS, this is also a sixteen item checklist which attempts to gain a picture of how the individual is responding to his environment. The check-list is scored "0" if the behavior concerned is adaptive, and "1" if the behavior concerned is maladaptive. The interviewer is supposed to enter into the schedule the specific behavior reported that called for the coding of "1". The items on the MBR include the following:

Income	Fighting
Working conditions	Verbal abusiveness
Coworkers	Maladaptive associates
Employer	Money management
Work attendance	Physical condition
Alcohol	Psychological Adjustment
Drugs	Legal Processes
Gambling	Other maladaptive responses

There are certain items on this list that require comment. An individual whose income is below the level required to meet his needs, and who is not actively seeking other employment or a

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salary adjustment from his employer, is scored 1. A person is scored 1 if he has significant or continuing problems interacting with his "employer" either by virtue of his own behavior, or by his failure to respond appropriately to his employer's behavior. Associates are considered maladaptive if they are having problems in such areas as crime, drugs, alcohol, sex, money management and employment. Other maladaptive problems on the part of the subject include any behavioral problems not included above, such as sexual deviance, maladaptive dress, hygenic problems or consistent failure to maintain a residence.

In the study mentioned above, the association of the MBR with law violation was shown to be .31, with a chi-square of 22.4, lower than the findings for the EDS, but still significant at the .001 level. Breaking this instrument at 4 or above, a high score includes 39% of the non-law violators, 81% of the minor law violators, and 60% of the major law violators.

The third scale developed by this group is the Weekly Activity Record, (WAR).[24] In this scale, the interviewer attempts to establish the number of hours a week spent by the subject in the following five areas:

1. Occupational Activities: hours working (single item).

2. Physical Activities: sleeping, eating and drinking, sex, elimination, cleaning and grooming, exercise, and health care (seven items).

3. Leisure Time Activities: shopping, hobbies, social, antisocial, intellectual, watching and listening, family, and time spent with ex-offenders (eight items).

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4. Organizational Activities: time devoted to civic
    organizations and religious activities (one item).

5. Other Activities: travel and waiting time, day-
    dreaming, and other activities (three items).

The research of this Alabama group showed that the non-law
violators spent significantly more hours working than the law
violators. The non-law violators also devoted significantly more
time to physical exercise and health care, to hobbies, intellec-
tual pursuits and family affairs than the law-violating group.
The non-law violating group spent significantly less time than the
law-violating group watching, listening, daydreaming, cleaning,
grooming and in sexual and antisocial behavior.

The three scales mentioned above provide independent variables
for classification of offenders, although the research group has
not really done much more than scale individuals on the separate
scales as high or low. It does, however, seem entirely possible
to develop specific classifications of offenders from these instru-
ments applying them either at the start of the correctional process,
or when the individual is on probation or parole.

In addition to the scales given above, the Alabama research
group has also developed a standard scale for studying criminal
behavior to serve as the dependent variable in research on reci-
divism and similar subjects.[25] The name of the scale "The Law
Encounter Severity Scale (LESS): A Criterion for Criminal Behavior
and Recidivism" gives a rather good description of its function.

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Besides two other status categories (dead and subject moved out of study, or spent less than a total of three months in follow-up study) there are thirty-eight items grouped into five categories. Category I has a single item: no law encounters. Category II has a series of arrested or picked-up-but-released items. The only exception to this is item 4, which is traffic violation(s) fined and/or sentenced (not including DWI). Category III (13 items) includes trials for misdemeanors and felonies with no conviction, and various misdemeanor sentences. Category IV (15 items) are felonious activities, including absconding while on parole and killed during the commission of a felony. Category V (4 items) scales felony convictions for which the sentence is more than a year.

This type of scale makes it possible to study recidivism or the "law violation" aspect of a general population study without having to use the oversimplified recidivism or non-recidivism dichotomy which frequently is based on little more than whether or not the individual returned to prison. On simple examination, it appears as if this scale would be suitable in all places using the general American system of justice with its distinction between misdemeanor and felony. It does not, however, allow for a "Scotch" verdict of unproven or for the French process before the juge d'Instruction. It would be interesting to see this scale used in studies in several states, widely distributed throughout the country, to see if this first impression holds up in field trials.

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E.   Interpersonal Maturity Level Studies

In 1957, Clyde E. Sullivan, Marguerite Q. (Warren) Grant and J. Douglas Grant published a paper in Psychiatry entitled, "The Development of Interpersonal Maturity: Applications to Delinquency."[26] This essay emphasizes the theory of socialization from the viewpoint of T. R. Sarbin's self psychology,[27] and the structure of personality developed by Harry Stack Sullivan.[28] The authors used interpersonal maturity levels to develop a theoretical framework for an explanation of delinquency and a typology of delinquents. This framework contains seven principal levels of integration that are basically differences in the way one perceives and reacts to the environment. The person at level one starts to discriminate between the self and the non-self. When an adult is operating at this level, he sees the whole world as existing for his satisfaction. He does not perceive the difference between persons and things and, as a result, uses them simply as agents to satisfy his needs. An adult at this level would, presumably, be hospitalized.

At level two, the individual is able to distinguish between objects and persons and is aware that interactions between the two involve different responses. Since he does not have the capacity to anticipate the reactions of others, he is unaware of their feelings. As a result, he reacts to rebuff by anger or running away.

The person on level three is aware of rules governing relationships between people. He realizes the existence of a norm of

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reciprocity and has learned that violations of rules bring punish-
ment. He feels controlled by rules and reacts by wishing to con-
trol others by rules. This individual often becomes a confidence
man, trying to manipulate others.

When a person reaches level four, he becomes aware of others
as psychological figures and aware of himself as one small atom in
the huge social world. He attempts to see himself as others see
him to be able to anticipate their reactions to him. In govern-
ing, at least to some extent his life by others, he views himself
as being able to function as both stimulus and response to other
people. There is continually an overwhelming feeling of shame
and inadequacy; because of this he attempts to fill the unattain-
able roles of heroes. As a result, unlike people at levels one,
two and three, the person at level four can have real internalized
guilt and its related symptoms.

At level five, the individual has developed an ability to
see his own stable patterns of actions and those of others. As
a result, he is able to shift roles naturally at appropriate times
and circumstances. He may, however, worry about what roles form
"the real me". At level six, he realizes his own selfness and can
distinguish it from the various social roles he undertakes. From
this level the person can develop at level seven, a realization of
the integrating processes in himself and others. As a result,
there is the ability to establish relationships with other people.

This framework, according to the formal statements of
Marguerite Q. (Grant) Warren, is intended as a general theory of
psycho-social development, not a causal theory of delinquency.

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It should be noted, however, that treatment methods and the delinquent subtypes in Table 4.5 developed by the authors, strongly imply that youths at I-levels 2, 3 and 4, get into trouble with peers and adults and ultimately with the law, because they do not respond to social situations in a socially acceptable manner. As a result, treatment is oriented to helping the individual reach a high maturity level. Surely this is a "smuggled in" causal theory of delinquency.

The research of Warren,[29] Palmer,[30] Jesness[31] and others for all practical purposes, restrict delinquents to levels 2, 3, and 4. However, there are different types of specific delinquent reactions to the world that should be distinguished at each level. These distinctions with their code names are given in Table 4.5.

TABLE 4.5

Code	Name	Delinquent Subtype
I_2	Aa	Unsocialized, Aggressive
	Ap	Unsocialized, Passive
I_3	Cfm	Conformist, Immature
	Cfc	Conformist, Cultural
	Mp	Manipulator
I_4	Na	Neurotic, Acting Out
	Nx	Neurotic, Anxious
	Ci	Cultural Identifier
	Se	Situational Emotional Reactor

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It must be noted, however, that this research is based
chiefly on populations of adjudicated delinquents. What is really
needed is to have a large population of youths classified into
I-levels by clinicians who are unaware of the delinquent status
of the youths. The I-levels should then be associated with the
behavior of the youths. Only when this is done will we know if
I_2, I_3, and I_4 youths are more likely to be delinquent. Further-
more, if in a population of several thousand, from 12 to 20 years
of age, there turn out to be few I_5 youths and no I_6 and I_7 youths,
one might well question the adequacy of the definition of the levels.

There is another related but more academic problem with I-
levels. Although the I-level theory and technique has been around
for almost fifteen years, it has made little if any impact on general
developmental psychology. Only persons working in the area of
corrections are cognizant of either theory or the classification
technique. This may well lead one to wonder if I-level theory is
not a current fad in juvenile corrections. Perhaps it is gaining
popularity because of a new in-group jargon it provides for treat-
ment personnel which in turn helps them to feel professional.

Sullivan, Grant and Grant formulated the initial impetus, at
least at the theoretical level, from which many important research
activities developed. The first was the Community Treatment Pro-
ject,[32] part of the California Youth Authority (CYA) program whose
research component was funded by the National Institute of Mental
Health. Youths were randomly assigned either to the Community
Treatment Program (CTP) or the regular treatment program, based
on whether they were involved in assaultive offenses against the
person, or whether his behavior had been considered unpardonable
by the community. Youths chosen for the Community Treatment Pro-
gram were interviewed and classified into one of the Sullivan,

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Grant and Grant interpersonal maturity levels (I-levels). They were assigned to parole agents who were chosen on the basis of their ability to meet the treatment needs of the wards. Case levels were kept to no more than twelve per agent. The control group was sent through the usual Youth Authority correctional process. This involved normal incarceration time and a parole assignment based on a geographical location. Each agent's caseload was much higher than that of the CTP agents.

This program was initiated in the Stockton and Sacramento area in 1961, and in San Francisco in 1965. The published results on the period from 1961-1969 on the Sacramento-Stockton sample are as follows:

Offender Types	% of Sample	24-month Recidivism		60-month Favorable Discharge	
		Cont.	Exp.	Cont.	Exp.
Neurotics (Na, Nx)	53%	66%	45%	40%	77%
Power Oriented (Cfc, Mp)	21%	68%	40%	53%	43%
Passive Conformists (Cfm)	14%	(Data not given)			
All Others	12%	(Data not given)			
Total Experience (All Groups)	100%	63%	44%	50%	69%

It should be noted that Lerman[33] in his article in the Social Service Review argues that the differential results obtained are due to differential treatment of offenders by parole officers. The agents dealing with experimentals were less likely to parole than those dealing with controls. Of course, a more basic research problem is the differential resulting from the fact that officers knew, perforce, of the experiment. It was not double-blind. As a result, experimenter bias is not controlled at all and has an unknown and unmeasured effect on the results.

The cost per ward of the program in the period since 1971 was about $253 more for those in the experimental program than for the whole CYA career of those in the more traditional program, or about $66.00 per year. This makes it clear that in the long run, the Community Treatment Program with small parole caseloads costs little more per year (per ward) than the standard institutional program followed by parole to an agent with a relatively large caseload.

This research program was expanded in 1969 to take youths committed from the Sacramento area whose offenses were of either a disturbed or aggressive sort, or where personality type, e.g. the power-oriented delinquents, was such that the CTP program did not seem to be the appropriate placement. Youths defined as needing special treatment are cared for in a special dormitory at the Northern California Reception Center and Clinic. The dormitory normally houses 23 to 25 youths at any one time. It is staffed by

specially selected group supervisors. In addition, the parole
agents are assigned to youths at the onset so that there is joint
involvement in both the residential and community-based aspects
of the treatment program. This helps improve relations between
the institution and field in the planning and implementation of
the treatment process.

Like other Youth Authority innovations, this program is being
carefully researched. The problem of its being researched by
individuals involved mainly in theory, with little means of con-
trol for experimenter effect must be considered. In general, the
current published results show that if these offender types are
immediately released to the community, they will have an offense
rate 112% higher than if they first go through the new institu-
tional treatment program. Furthermore, as a second type of con-
trol, a small group of youths who did not seem to need institu-
tional treatment received it. They had a slightly higher offense
rate than similar youths released immediately to the CTP, although
the difference in rates was not statistically significant. In
other words, the experiment demonstrated rather clearly that cur-
rent diagnostic techniques seem to make it possible to distinguish
those youths who need and will benefit from an institutional treat-
ment program from those who do not need and may be injured by such
a program.

The classification by I-level of Youth Authority wards in
the Community Treatment Project and the related residential project
is basically being done by techniques that require extensive interviews.

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The procedures are those developed by Warren and her co-workers over the period from 1958-1966.[34] The interview techniques make the test-retest reliability problematic.

F. The Jesness Studies

Another Youth Authority group around Carl F. Jesness was working on another set of projects. Jesness started work on the Fricot Ranch School Study in 1957. This study was designed to determine whether or not boys at the school (ages 8-14) would be better helped in small living units (20 boys each) than in the larger standard units of 50 boys. One variable to be considered was the type of boy involved. To construct the typology, discussed in Chapter V, Jesness developed the Jesness Inventory. The original form (1962) was designed for this specific age group but was later (1963) extended to include all adolescent ages.[35] As the Community Treatment Project developed its theory, Jesness came to accept the I-level approach to the description of personality and developed scoring for the Jesness Inventory to provide for the I-types. A discussion of the procedures he used to develop these objectively scored techniques for typing will be found in Jesness and Wedge, Sequential I-Level Classification Manual, 1970.[36] The current statement is in Jesness, Sequential I-Level Classification Manual, 1974.[37]

This technique for typing has been used not only in the Fricot Ranch School Study mentioned above,[38] but also in the Preston Typology Study.[39] In the Fricot Ranch Study, the neurotic

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delinquent type did much better in the small living unit than he did in the large living unit. There was a difference in recidivism rates of 31.2% after 12 months, with the small living units having a recidivism rate of 21.7% and the large living units having a rate of 52.9%. The non-neurotic group, however, had only a 5.7% difference with the small living units having the smaller rate.

In the Preston Typology Study, subjects were placed into six experimental living units according to their I-level type. Control subjects were also types, but randomly assigned to five different units. An attempt was made to match treaters to treated in accordance with the personality, interests and natural working ability of the staff members. The Mp, Cfc, and Ma experimental lodges began and ended the study with the highest percentage of compatible staff assigned. Although the staff felt an increase in professionalism and enthusiasm for work, and there was a significant decrease in unit management problems, use of confinement, and reports of serious rule infractions, the 15 month and 24 month parole violation rates showed no difference between the experimental and the control groups. This would seem to indicate that although this approach of assignment to unit by I-level with appropriately matched staff makes life easier for staff and, perhaps, inmates, it makes little difference in long-term behavioral changes. This might well lead one to question the idea that classification into living groups by I-level will solve all problems of treatment of delinquents.

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This inventory of Jesness is also being used in the Cooperative Behavior Demonstration Project to study the types that come into a probation caseload.[40] The project is intended to provide training and experience for county probation offices in the use of learning theory principles and behavioral management techniques, to compare the effectiveness of this approach with other intervention strategies, and to develop an effective method of meeting the needs of the various probation departments. Of course, to evaluate effectiveness requires some knowledge of comparability of caseloads. The Sequential I-Levels from the Jesness Inventory are being used to do this.

G.   External Studies of the Jesness Inventory

Three studies of the Jesness Inventory in addition to the California Youth Authority provide significant insights to the I-level technique. In 1966, Butler and Adams gave the 1963 version of the Jesness Inventory to 139 girls coming into a Los Angeles County Probation treatment facility.[41] Originally, girls were classified by a staff member previously trained by Dr. M. Warren in techniques. The I-level typology quickly spread through the institution and the staff was full of enthusiasm for the new typology. Experience showed, however, that after about six months, 20% of the girls were misclassified. For this reason, they decided to use Jesness' Inventory (1963 version) to obtain objective I-level assignments. The researchers did a Q analysis of the data and found three types which accounted for 72.6% of

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the girls: disturbed neurotic, immature impulsive, and covert manipulators. In addition, 17.3% were mixed types and 10.1% were unclassified. They also found that there was no association between I-levels and Q-type. This does, of course, call seriously into question the objective reality of the I-levels.

In 1969, Cowden, Peterson, and Pacht published a comparison of the Minnesota Counseling Inventory (MCI) to the Jesness Inventory.[42] The tests were given to 106 delinquent boys consecutively admitted in 1964 and 1965 to the Wisconsin School for Boys at Wales. The authors reported that the Jesness Inventory functioned more effectively than the MCI in discriminating among groups of boys showing differential prognostic ratings based upon clinicians' reports. In addition, they reported that the Jesness scales consistently discriminated among the subgroups of delinquents more significantly than the MCI scale. They did not, however, extend the Jesness Inventory into a non-delinquent or non-institutional population.

Zaidel, in her 1970 doctoral dissertation, showed inter alia that the I-levels were strongly correlated with verbal intelligence and thinking.[43] Werner, in a Youth Authority (CTP) research project, showed that there was a significantly higher proportion of the white subjects in higher maturity diagnostic groups than non-white. In addition, there was a significant relationship between non-language intelligence scores and I-levels, and between ethnicity and non-language intelligence. Both mean and medium scores for whites were above non-white scores. He

linked these findings into the general I-level theory.[44] He did not, however, collect data to indicate how much I-level classification was at least in part a consequence of interviewer expectations by case.

In a review article, James Robison and Gerald Smith make the point that the California Youth Authority Community Treatment Project managed the recidivism rate in such a way as to make the experimentals look favorable.[45] They quote Lerman's article in Social Work, July, 1968, to substantiate this point and conclude "the important point, however, is that an ideological belief in the effectiveness of community treatment apparently altered the experimental result." Robison and Smith's conclusion may be correct but the authors did note that one class of delinquents, the power oriented (cfc, Mp), who represent 21% of the sample, did more poorly in the sixty-month period than their controls. An experimenter who can selectively bias results in this fashion certainly has more skill than most in his ability to manipulate his data!

H. Behavioral Category Studies

The Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center at Morgantown, West Virginia, uses a classification typology developed by Dr. H. C. Quay. However, it is also used to provide different treatment for different types of offenders.[46] This classification technique provides for five different types of delinquent youths from a 44 item checklist of behavioral problems completed by the staff, a 100 item true-false questionnaire filled out by the subject, and a 36 item life-history checklist filled out by a counselor.[47]

The five types of delinquent youths that are defined include the following categories:

Behavior Category (B-C) 1: Inadequate, immature -- comprises those shy and inattentive youths who behave childishly and irresponsibly. Staff selected to work with these youths will be patient, reassuring, and supportive in their manner. The objective of the program for these youths is to establish a secure, non-threatening environment within which the youth can mature.

B-C 2: Neurotic, conflicted -- comprises those with feelings of anxiety, depression, inferiority, and guilt. This type of youth verbalizes his problems and has some insight. Staff working with this type must be individuals who are perceptive and sensitive and able to provide understanding support during the resolution of the youth's emotional conflicts. The treatment objective is to give the youth self-understanding and a realization of his limitations, strengths, and potentials.

B-C 3: Unsocialized aggressive or psychopathic -- those aggressive, untrustworthy, manipulative individuals who have a high need for excitement and reject authority. This type frequently become troublemakers in the institution. Their staff workers are those who can be toughminded, direct, and avoid being manipulated while enforcing the rules strictly and uniformly. The treatment objective is to teach them to conform, to accept responsibility for their own acts, and to develop meaningful relationships with others.

B-C 4: Socialized or subcultural delinquents -- those who were involved in gang activities and adhere to the values and code of their delinquent peer group. Such persons have no serious personality problems. They will, however, side with the group in any confrontation with authority. The treatment agent for such individuals must be a person with a strong personal moral code, who will exercise firm control and be alert to any group attempts to manipulate. The treatment objectives are to help the youth replace the gang value system with a more socially acceptable one, and to learn how to meet status and material needs in a socially acceptable manner.

B-C 5: Subcultural immature -- those youths who are socially inept, inadequate and childish, while needing the support of their gang. On the other hand, such a youth will have little real loyalty to the gang. Persons who work with this group should be strong and flexible adults, who will see the boy as an individual and help him set limits to his conduct. The objective of the treatment program is to develop positive, trusting, friendly relations with adults and from this point overcome social deficits.

The institution makes a serious attempt to develop programs suitable for the needs of each of the types. There is also an effort made to match the treatment staff to the type of youth.

It is important for progress in this field that the program actually undergone by the youths be carefully documented and the outcomes carefully researched. It is important that the correc-

tional practitioners know the relative merits of the B-C types
and the I-levels. It is possible that neither one really im-
proves outcomes, and it is also possible that they both improve
treatment outcome significantly; or it could be that each provides
about the same improvement. It is hoped that the research com-
ponent in the federal system can provide data for these questions.

I.   Federal Bureau of Prisons RAPS Studies

One problem with an acronym is that it has a tendency to
become popular and its meaning forgotten. This happened to RAPS,
a system used by the Federal Bureau of Prisons since 1969. [48]
The acronym stands for Rating, Age, Prior commitments, and Sentence.
RAPS is a system that, from the point of view of the inmate, can
be considered a "systematic method of classifying inmates in order
to allocate resources in a rational way." Needs of the inmates
are identified, and activities or programs are planned in the
light of these needs. Constraints that keep an individual from
participating are also entered into the system. From the point
of view of the system itself, RAPS can be considered a management
information system about the inmates in the prisons. The system
contains an immense amount of data on each individual -- some of
this material will be reviewed later. It is not only possible to
get information about the individual, but also possible to obtain
easily readable summary statistics by institution for the whole
Bureau of Prisons population, or for various subgroups within
the population. The data are stored and processed in the Bureau
of Prisons computer, and access to the information is through
local computer terminals.

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The data for each prisoner include his age, prior commit-
ments, sentence, priority, and custody. Ten correctional factors
are then entered: economic status, family conditions, mental health,
physical health, educational, vocational, and so forth. For each
of these factors, a need level (none, low or high) is entered,
along with specific planned activity or activities, ranging from
education to psychotherapy to study release, which can be used to
assist the individual in these areas. The institution also enters
constraints preventing fulfillment of the plan, including custo-
dial considerations, lack of program, and so forth.

These program analysis sheets contain two items of informa-
tion that are important for the understanding of RAP II as a
classification system. The first item, Rating (the R of RAPS),
is a number -- 1, 2 or 3. The classification committee of the
treatment team reaches a consensus as to whether the prisoner
has a high likelihood of change (1),average likelihood (2), or
no likelihood of change (3).

To obtain the priority level, the age level is determined
(under 30 is coded, 1; 30 to 45 is 2; and 45 or over is 3). Then
the number of prior commitments is coded (none=0, one prior=1,
two or more=2). Finally, the type of sentence is coded (Federal
Juvenile Delinquency Act, Youth Corrections Act, or Narcotics
Addict Rehabilitation Act = 1, 18 months to 15 years or 4208A (1)
or (2) commitments = 2, less than 18 months or more than 15 years =
3, and income tax, liquor law, immigration law, selective service
law, and breach of trust = 4). These items determine the indivi-
dual's RAPS code. An individual who has only average likelihood

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of change, is 40 years of age, with one prior commitment, and has a sentence of 5 years would be coded RAPS 2 2 1 2. To find the priority code requires the proper table (cnf. Table 4.6). The table shows that a RAPS 2 2 1 2 has a priority III. The planning of activities for the individual is determined by his priority number. Thus, if two people have a high need for a specific activity and one has a high priority and one a low priority, the high level priority person will enter the activity first, all other things being equal.

The second report on the prisoners is the inmate activity form. This form identifies subject and institution, activity in which he is enrolled, department responsible for the activity, title of program, status of counselor, and custody. Upon withdrawal, the form is again submitted, indicating when the subject withdrew from the program, custody, amount of time involved, and the reason why the subject withdrew.

It should be obvious that these reports make it possible to provide almost real time reports on those participating in any given activity based on the number and percentage of subjects by age, custody status, and so forth. In addition, it is possible to show which activities are considered appropriate for specific subjects that were unavailable either because the activity was not provided at the institution or because of inadequate staff or equipment to care for the number of subjects who required the activity. It should be evident that this type of system provides the Federal Bureau of Prisons with excellent statistical material for documenting budget requests. That is, the computerized treatment categories which are needed and not presently available can quickly be tabulated and need, in terms of numbers of prisoners, can quickly be determined.

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TABLE 4.6

C O D E / P R I O R I T Y

R A P S / PRIORITY	R A P S / PRIORITY	R A P S / PRIORITY
1 1 0 1 / I	2 1 0 1 / I	3 1 0 1 / I
1 1 0 2 / I	2 1 0 2 / I	3 1 0 2 / II
1 1 0 3 / I	2 1 0 3 / II	3 1 0 3 / III
1 1 0 4 / II	2 1 0 4 / III	3 1 0 4 / III
1 1 1 1 / I	2 1 1 1 / I	3 1 1 1 / I
1 1 1 2 / I	2 1 1 2 / II	3 1 1 2 / II
1 1 1 3 / II	2 1 1 3 / II	3 1 1 3 / III
1 1 1 4 / II	2 1 1 4 / III	3 1 1 4 / III
1 1 2 1 / I	2 1 2 1 / I	3 1 2 1 / I
1 1 2 2 / II	2 1 2 2 / III	3 1 2 2 / III
1 1 2 3 / III	2 1 2 3 / III	3 1 2 3 / III
1 1 2 4 / III	2 1 2 4 / III	3 1 2 4 / III
1 2 0 1 / I	2 2 0 1 / I	3 2 0 1 / I
1 2 0 2 / I	2 2 0 2 / II	3 2 0 2 / III
1 2 0 3 / II	2 2 0 3 / III	3 2 0 3 / III
1 2 0 4 / II	2 2 0 4 / III	3 2 0 4 / III
1 2 1 1 / I	2 2 1 1 / I	3 2 1 1 / I
1 2 1 2 / II	2 2 1 2 / III	3 2 1 2 / III
1 2 1 3 / III	2 2 1 3 / III	3 2 1 3 / III
1 2 1 4 / III	2 2 1 4 / III	3 2 1 4 / III
1 2 2 1 / I	2 2 2 1 / I	3 2 2 1 / II
1 2 2 2 / III	2 2 2 2 / III	3 2 2 2 / III
1 2 2 3 / III	2 2 2 3 / III	3 2 2 3 / III
1 2 2 4 / III	2 2 2 4 / III	3 2 2 4 / III
1 3 0 1 / I	2 3 0 1 / I	3 3 0 1 / I
1 3 0 2 / II	2 3 0 2 / III	3 3 0 2 / III
1 3 0 3 / II	2 3 0 3 / III	3 3 0 3 / III
1 3 0 4 / III	2 3 0 4 / III	3 3 0 4 / III
1 3 1 1 / I	2 3 1 1 / I	3 3 1 1 / I
1 3 1 2 / II	2 3 1 2 / III	3 3 1 2 / III
1 3 1 3 / III	2 3 1 3 / III	3 3 1 3 / III
1 3 1 4 / III	2 3 1 4 / III	3 3 1 4 / III
1 3 2 1 / I	2 3 2 1 / I	3 3 2 1 / II
1 3 2 2 / III	2 3 2 2 / III	3 3 2 2 / III
1 3 2 3 / III	2 3 2 3 / III	3 3 2 3 / III
1 3 2 4 / III	2 3 2 4 / III	3 3 2 4 / III

CHAPTER IV

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CHAPTER V

THEORIES OF OFFENDER TYPES

For centuries, men have been intrigued and concerned about
the broad and rather vague category of behavior labeled "cri-
minal". Defined as an explicit form of behavior set apart from
all others as somewhat different, laymen and scientists alike
have attempted to construct theories of criminality. Crimi-
nality is a behavior which seems to demand an answer to such
questions as "Why do they do it?" "What makes a man a criminal
and what can we do about it?" and "How do they differ from me?"
An initial step in theory formulation is the construction of
meaningful typologies of criminal behavior to simplify and
order the subject matter into manageable form. Criminality is
manifest in extremely diverse behavior, and it is vital to
identify, classify and describe various types of behavior con-
sidered criminal. The one factor that such acts have in common
is that they have been designated as criminal behavior by those
in authority. The potential contribution of typologies to the
explanation and understanding of criminal behavior has been
outlined by Clinard and Quinney, [1] Ferdinand, [2] Warren [3]
and others.

Clinard and Quinney, [4] and Sutherland and Cressey, [5]
based on Merton's idea of theory construction, maintain that the
major contribution of typologies is to develop middle-range

theories applicable to specific behavioral types rather than to a general theory of criminal behavior. Thus, typologies can play a crucial role in the development of an understanding of criminal behavior, hence in the development of offender classification.

> As a discipline, criminology has been inundated with a veritable torrent of typologies...(which) instead of convergence...present a patchwork of typologies that are either incomprable or contradictory. (6)

The most notable early attempts at typification in crimilonogy were made by Lombroso, Ferri and Garofolo, a group known as the Italian school. Lombroso's classification identified five categories: the born criminal, the insane criminal, the criminal by passion, the habitual criminal, and the occasional criminal.[7] As Clinard and Quinney point out, only the last category includes social characteristics of the offender.[8] Ferri developed a scheme similar to that of Lombroso;[9] the same five categories are used. Garafolo typed criminals into four groups: the murderer or typical criminal, the violent criminal, criminals lacking in probity, and lascivious criminals.[10]

Mayhew, in nineteenth-century England, developed a table of the classes of criminals that had five major headings, 20 minor headings and over 100 different categories.[11] Whereas it is not possible to present it all here, the following list of "those who plunder by manual dexterity, by stealth, or by breach of trust" gives some indication of the tenor of the types:

1. Mobsmen, or those who plunder by manual dexterity--as light-fingered gentry.

   a. Buzzers, or those who abstract hand-kerchiefs and other articles from
   g gentlemen's pockets.

      i. Stockbuzzers, those who steal handkerchiefs.

      ii. Tail-buzzers, those who dive into coat pockets for 'sneezers' or snuff-boxes, skins and dummies (purses and pocketbooks).

   b. Wires, or those who pick ladies' pockets.

   c. Prop-nailers, those who steal pins and brooches.

   d. Thimble-screwers, those who wrench watches from their guards.

   e. Shoplifters, those who purloin goods while examining articles.

The author goes on and on and includes such types as "resurrectionists," those who steal bodies, and "shoful" men, those who plunder by means of counterfeits.

In 1910, based on the work of Drahms, Ellwood proposed a "thoroughly scientific" classification of offenders.[12] He attacked the work of Ellis and Ferri as lacking any scientific guiding principle for the construction of their typologies. He acknowledged the interplay of heredity and psychosocial factors in human behavior and proposed three types of criminal based upon a combination of these two factors:

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(1) The instinctive criminal with hereditary defects.

(2) The habitual criminal influenced by his social environment.

(3) The single offender who commits only one crime.

The insight into the interplay between hereditary and psychosocial factors is the significant element in this scheme.

A new approach came with the appearance in 1941 of an article by Lindesmith and Dunham, who suggested that criminals could be placed on a continuum from the _social_ to the _individualized_ criminal.[13] The polar types were based on "...the degree and manner in which their crimes are related to, or spring from cultural definitions..."[14] While the social type acts according to the subcultural prescriptions, the individualized type had no such patterned support for his behavior. They suggested that the former type might easily be broken down into subtypes because "...the cultures which support their criminal activity impose certain uniformities upon them."[15] Lindesmith and Dunham emphasized the fact that their scheme was only preliminary and much work remained to be done in this area.

Clinard and Quinney offer a criminal typology based on the "criminal behavior system" approach suggested by Lindesmith and Dunham.[16] Such an approach acknowledges that similar

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acts can be caused by diverse circumstances and that similar
circumstances can have quite different consequences. However,
it is possible to identify related factors of similar constel-
lations. Four underlying dimensions based largely on the con-
text of the crime and societal reaction to it make up their
typology: (1) the criminal career of the offender, (2) the ex-
tent to which the behavior has group support, (3) the corres-
pondence between the criminal behavior and legitimate behavior
patterns, and (4) the societal reaction to the crime. [17] These
dimensions were then used to classify types of criminal behavior,
each type showing a distinct configuration of the original four
underlying dimensions:

    1. violent personal crime   5. public-order crime
    2. occasional property crime 6. conventional crime
    3. occupational crime   7. organized crime
    4. political crime   8. professional crime

Several points should be recognized about this scheme.
First, it is not a typology of criminals, but rather of crimes.
As Gibbons has clearly pointed out, these two approaches to
typologies must be clearly distinguished. A single criminal
can be involved in several types of crime. A single type of
crime can be committed by several different types of criminals.
It is not clear that the social profiles of the offenders who
committed the types of crimes characterized by Clinard and
Quinney are similar. Although the system appears rather com-
plete, many possible combinations of the underlying dimensions

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are not included. More importantly, their exclusion is given no explanation. This gives the reader the impression that the types were developed and only then related to the dimensions. In addition, even though the types make good sociological sense, it is not clear how the types lead to research on criminals. If used to guide research, this system would classify the shoplifter with the con man (professional crime), the auto-thief with the vandal (occasional property crime), the traffic violator with the homosexual (public-order crime).

A comprehensive typology of criminal offenders devised by Morris is based on the principal of "...the degree of their apparent commitment to the violation of the norms represented by the criminal law." [18] Within this rather broad category, he identifies several dimensions of commitment but offers no suggestion for ranking them. He then suggests five categories of offenders:

1. The legalistic or technical offender
2. The situational offender
3. The pathological offender
4. The avocational offender
5. The career offender

Arranged from minimal to maximal commitment to violation of
law, the system resembles what may be called a Guttman scale:
A person in category 4 may also be in 1 through 4, whereas an
offender in category 1 will be included in no other. Morris
acknowledges that the system can be improved with additional
research into a clarification of types.

Sandhu posits a dual classification system, both of which
he maintains are treatment typologies. [19] The first of these
is composed of special administrative categories designed to
meet the requirements of the present criminal justice system:

1. women offenders
2. juvenile offenders: girls
3. juvenile offenders: boys
4. psychotic offenders;
    organic disorders
5. psychotic offenders;
    functional disorders
6. neurotic offenders
7. psychopaths
8. skyjackers

The second classification scheme is based on the offender's
treatment needs and treatment responses and has three dimensions:

1. The offender's containment
    (degree of socialization)

2. A continuum of treatment response

3. A continuum of treatment intensity

Three major groupings each with several subgroupings are listed
below:

Offenders Requiring Maximum-Intensity Treatment	Offenders Requiring Medium-Intensity Treatment
1. Career Criminals	1. Exhibitionists
2. Robbery Offenders	2. Child Molesters
3. Auto Thieves	3. Rapists a. vs. minors b. vs. adults
4. Violent Sex Offenders	
	4. Homicide Offenders
	5. Offenders charged with Aggravated Assault

The third grouping, Offenders Requiring Minimal-Intensity Treatment, includes a diverse population such as middle-class delinquents and white collar and political criminals. He suggests that this category is of little concern because the offenders will "straighten themselves out."

This typology, so closely linked to treatment, is perhaps better considered a classification scheme. As a typology oriented to research and the development of a scientific understanding it seems to be quite lacking. If, for example, women offenders, form a single type, then obviously they cannot be psychotic offenders of either type 4 or 5, nor can they be neurotic offenders or psychopaths. A specific typology must provide mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories to be of use.

Another and very different approach to the typologies found in the literature is that the prisoners themselves develop or see as extant in their world. These types are a result of the roles which the criminals see as relevant within their own society. Perhaps the first of these in contemporary literature,

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was described by Schrag, who suggested four major configurations of prisoners' roles and two minor ones as seen by the prisoners.[20]

The major roles attached have the labels "square john", "right guy", "con politicians", and "outlaw". The square john or prosocial prisoners, to use Schrag's term, is the one who defines the prisoner's role in terms of the prison's social system as officially given. That is, he defines his role as prisoner as the prison staff defines it. The right guy defines his prison role in terms of the social system of the prisoners. Schrag terms this role, antisocial. The con politican shifts his role definitions from staff to inmate definitions according to the problems of the moment. Hence, he is termed by Schrag psychosocial. The outlaw rejects both the normative orders and is, apparently, against effective involvement in general. Schrag terms him asocial. Schrag's two minor types are the "ding" and the "rapo". The ding is the offender shunned by others because they consider him a little crazy, hence unpredictable. It is not really possible to predict his behavior. The rapo is the nonviolent sex offender.

Garabedian in an attempt to see if these terms actually covered all prisoners, showed that about one-fourth of the subjects he studied did not fall within Schrag's types.[21] Garabedian however, advanced Schrag's methodology by constructing a questionnaire that made possible the identification of those characteristics that Schrag defined as the basis for the types.

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Sykes in his frequently quoted work, The Society of Captives,[22] presents a number of roles that are identified by the prisoners in a New Jersey Institution. He uses the language of the prisoners to identify such roles as rats, gorillas, merchants, ball-busters, and hipsters. Although the names are different, these roles are about the same as those found by Schrag.

Glaser in his work, Adult Crime and Social Policy,[23] developed a typology of criminals that seems to be relatively speculative, although it is based on his extensive experience in prison research. He develops ten criminal types:

1. Subcultural assaulters
2. Addiction supporting predators
3. Adolescent recapitulators
4. Vocational predators
5. Addicted performers
6. Organized illegal sellers
7. Avocational predators.
8. Crisis vacillation predators
9. Quasi-insane assaultors
10. Private illegal consumers.

Although it is not realistic to cover all the typologies that have ever been developed in the field of adult male corrections, several rather important typologies must be included because they are frequently referenced and have formed the basis of significant research. The first of these is that developed by Irwin, in his work The Felon.[24]   The basis of this research was developed from the Irwin-Cressey article "Thieves, Convicts and the Inmate Culture."[25]   The typology has the following elements: [26]

1. The thief
2. The hustler
3. The dope fiend
4. The head
5. The disorganized criminal
6. The state-raised youth
7. The lower class man
8. The square john.

As should be evident from these titles, this categorization is not simply the names of roles as defined by the prisoners, but rather a combination of offense and life histories. In his own term, it is classification according to criminal behavior systems.

Gibbons and Garrity have constructed a typology of offenders based on the two dimensions of offense patterns. The total system for adults contains 14 types divided into two

general categories of property offenders and personal offenders. [27] In 1965, Gibbons expanded this typology into a total of 15 adult offender types, [28] using the dimensions (1) offense behavior, (2) interactual setting, (3) self-image, and (4) attitude:

1. Professional thief
2. Professional heavy criminal
3. Semiprofessional property criminal
4. Property offender -- "One-time loser"
5. Automobile thief
6. Naive check forger
7. White-collar criminal
8. Professional fringe violator
9. Embezzler
10. Personal offender -- "One-time loser"
11. "Psychopathic" assaultist
12. Violent sex offender
13. Nonviolent sex offender -- "Rapo"
14. Nonviolent sex offender -- Statutory rape
15. Narcotic addict -- heroin

This typology was developed with specific implications for treatment associated with the various types. In 1972, Gibbons [29] further developed his typology adding to it:

1. Amateur shoplifter
2. Aggressive rapist
3. Incest offender

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4. Male homosexual

5. Organized crime offender

6. Skid row alcoholic

In addition to adding the six extra types, he also changed the order slightly. It is however, evident that the typology is merely expanded and its essentials remain unchanged.

The original 15-item version of this typology was used in a research project reported by Harjen and Gibbons. [30] Persons on probation to the San Mateo County Probation Department were used as subjects. The probation officers were able to classify 312 of a sample of 655 offenders. They did, however, find that they required two new types; the alcoholic and the marijuana hippies. One of these types, the alcoholic, was added to the 1973 version of Gibbons typology. Most of the individuals not assigned to a type were formally classified by at least two of the three judges as not falling into any type in the typology but, on closer examination, about a quarter of the offenders were actually "non-support" law violators.

Another typology developed by Huffman is based on groupings of behavior patterns. [31] The criminal typology is a result of his observations of offenders over several decades of experience in the Illinois Penitentiary System:

I. No Apparent Criminal Pathology

A. Deprivational
B. Provocational
C. Accidental

II. Personality Demoralization

    A. Highly Advanced
    B. Marked
    C. Occasional

III. Personality Disorganization

    A. Personality Pattern Disturbance

        1. Inadequate Personality
        2. Schizoid Personality
        3. Cyclothymic Personality
        4. Paranoid Personality

    B. Personality Trait Disturbances

        1. Emotionally Unstable
        2. Passive Aggressive
        3. Compulsive

IV. Sociopathic Behavior Reaction

The author acknowledges that the categories are not mutually exclusive, i.e., an individual can belong to more than one, and the system is not inclusive, i.e., does not include all offenders. As a result, it does not seem particularly useful for research purposes, or for development of criminology theory.

Perhaps the most recent typology is that of Flanagan and Kapture, based on offenders entering the Joliet Reception Center of the Illinois prison system.[32] The typology is based on the criminal behavior history patterns, with behavior classified as

    1. Income-producing

    2. Addiction-supporting

    3. Non-income-producing violent behavior

The patterns and percentages of the sample involved are as follows:

	PATTERN	PERCENT
1	Income-Producing	23
12	Income-Producing followed by Addiction-Supporting	03
123	Income-Producing followed by Addiction-Supporting followed by Violent	03
13	Income-Producing followed by Violent	26.5
132	Income-Producing followed by Violent followed by Addiction-Supporting	02.5
2	Addiction-Supporting	08
21	Addiction-Supporting followed by Income-Producing	00.5
213	Addiction-Supporting followed by Income-Producing followed by Violent	00
3	Violent	05.5
31	Violent followed by Income-Producing	20
312	Violent followed by Income-Producing followed by Addiction-Supporting	02.5
32	Violent followed by Addiction-Supporting	03.5
321	Violent followed by Addiction-Supporting followed by Income-Producing	00

100%

Of the 50 cases involving addiction, 27 or 54% had violence in their pattern. If cases where income-producing behavior preceded addiction-supporting behavior (12/132/312/123) are compared with cases where the criminal career began with addiction-supporting behavior (2/23/21), one finds that income-producing criminal behavior preceded addiction in 22 cases, and the criminal career began with addiction in 21 cases. In the other seven cases, violent behavior was followed by addiction.[33] Seventy-five percent of the wanton torture behavior was attributed to the 30% of the subjects who had juvenile offenses. This agrees with Irwin's observation that State-raised youths are violent.[34]

The technique used by these authors to develop this typology is based on criminal history. In many ways this method is reminiscent of Roebuck's work and appears to be a very promising approach. It is to be hoped that the approach will be refined and used to predict behavior in institutions and careers subsequent to release.

Vital additions to the general offender types discussed are several special typologies developed from basically male populations. Perhaps the single most important of these is that of Roebuck.[35] This typology is based upon the analysis of the records of black offenders from the District of Columbia. He first looked at the arrest patterns: the single pattern, the multiple pattern, the mixed pattern, and no pattern of arrest. He then looked at the specific offenses involved. From this he developed his typology:

1.   The black armed robber

2.   The black drug addict

3.   The black drinker and assaulter

4.   The black numbers man

5.   The short con man

6.   The jack-of-all-trades offender

He was able to show that the types differed from each other
not only in offense, but also in age, family background, and
ability to get along with other people. Of course, the principal
problem with this typology as it stands is that there is no a
priori reason why the black armed robber should be different
from the white armed robber. To put it another way, there is
no intrinsic reason why the Jewish armed robber should not be
a specific type, distinguishable from the Mexican Catholic armed
robber, the Irish Protestant armed robber, and the Old American
Protestant armed robber. There is no specific logic in the
system developed by Roebuck that makes the typology limited.
It seems logically possible to go on developing offender types
forever.

Bates and Crowther offer a collection of types of opiate
users. [36] The types were identified by ethnic, age and sex
characteristics then used as indicators of the different sub-
cultures within the opiate-using community. Each type was iden-
tified as representing a certain behavior pattern distinct from
the others. The types identified and discussed were as follows:

1. The older white addict

2. The Puerto Rican addict

3. The Mexican American addict

4. The black addict

5. The female addict

6. The professional addict (physicians, etc.)

7. The student addict.

The authors voiced the opinion that with the exception of one additional group, these types are a reasonably comprehensive typology of addicts within the United States.

Peterson, Pittman and O'Neal have developed a specific study of assaultive behavior as a specific type of criminal activity. [37] Their research seems to indicate that there is a specific group of offenders whose basic offense is assault. Assaultive acts, in other words, are not randomly distributed through the criminal population, neither the assaultive offender is a specific type.

Women Offenders

Although Lombroso wrote The Female Offender and Pollak saw a distinct women offender type, most of the literature has been oriented to the male offender. In their work, Women's Prison [38] Ward and Kassebaum distinguish two solidarity role, the "regular" (the person who does not carry tales to the staff) and the

"snitch" (the person who carries tales). The "regular" corres-
ponds more or less to the "right guy" in the male prison. Since
the prison allows women prisoners to buy a much greater variety
of goods and personal items than a male prisoner, there is lit-
tle place for the role of the merchant. The tough or the gorilla
described by Sykes is also rarely seen in the women's prison. In
effect, the only solidarity roles really relevant are those of
the snitch and the square john.[39]

There is, however, another set of roles that is quite
salient to the women's prison -- the sexual roles of the women.
The basic division is between the true homosexuals and the
"jailhouse turnouts." The latter is a person who started her
homosexual experience in prison and is expected to cease when
she leaves confinement. There is also a distinction made be-
tween the "butch," the individual who acts and dresses like a
man and plays the role of a man in the pairing off of couples,
and the "femme" who acts like a woman and plays the women's
role in the pairing process.[43]

Heffernan, in her study of the D. C. Women's Reformatory,[44]
distinguished three types: the square, who is an accidental and
noncriminally oriented offender; the habitual offender, who
commits high visibility crimes like drugs and gambling offenses
and is said to be in the "life" and the cool, the professional
criminal, who adheres to the criminal normative order and earns
her living by crime.

Gialombardo, in her study of the Federal Women's prison
at Alderson found a series of social roles defined by the women
much more extensive than that identified by the first two authors.[42]
The first role is identical with that found by Ward and Kasse-
baum, that of the snitch.[43] The first norm of the institution
is "see and see nothing, hear and hear nothing". The violation
of this norm by repetition of what one sees and hears within
the institution, to the institutional staff, results in a person
obtaining the label of snitch, with a consequent isolation from
the affairs of the rest of the prisoners. The second role is
that of the "inmate cop" or "lieutenant".[44] This is the term
for a prisoner who is assigned authority over other prisoners
on a work assignment and acts in an officious manner, causing
the other prisoners to define her as one who plays at being a
guard. "Squares" are those who are considered accidental cri-
minals, those who do not fit in because they do not identify
with the others.[45] Anyone who does not fit into the homo-
sexual activity is automatically assigned the title.

A "jive bitch" is the inmate who causes trouble by her
willingness to carry tales between inmates, by her inability
or unwillingness to keep her word, and in other ways by her
ability to do things that upset the other prisoners. "Rap
buddies" are a pair who can speak freely and easily with each
other. A "homey" is an individual who comes from one's home-
town or nearby community. In general, one never is involved in
homosexual activity with a homey, and it is expected that homeys

will be mutually supportive and protect each other in the home community. The "connect" is a woman with a good job within the institution who is able to obtain various small items from her job for the other prisoners. The "booster" gets the same material by stealing from the stores. [46]

There is a whole cluster of homosexual roles, including the penitentiary turnouts, lesbians (those who prefer homosexual activities), femmes and stud broads (the butch). [47] These parallel the roles found by Ward and Kassebaum. Gallienbardo does identify seven other homosexual roles: tricks, commissary hustlers, chippies, kick partners, cherries, punks and turn-abouts. The "trick" is a girl who acts as a secondary wife for a "stud broad" and supplies her with goods to keep in her good graces in hopes she will replace the "wife". The "commissary hustler" exploits other women to get commissary goods. "Chippies" are girls who move from partner to partner too quickly. "Kick partners" are engaged in homosexual activity for release only, and not to establish permanent relations. The "cherry" is an inmate who has not yet been "turned out", but who knows what the score is. A "punk" is a female who assumes the female role when she is expected to act the male role. The "turnabout" moves from male to female role alternately. [48] The single most important reality of prison life in the women's prison is the development of an alternative universe where women serve the functions of men, and a pseudo-family structure develops. As with so many of these studies, there are no follow-up data to determine how these prison types are predictive of post-prison behavior.

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Typologies of Delinquents

Perhaps the first typology of juvenile delinquents is that of Hewitt and Jenkins.[49] In two works these authors suggest that there are three major types of delinquents:

1. The unsocialized aggressive delinquent
2. The socialized delinquent
3. The over inhibited delinquent

The first type is most likely to develop into the adult criminal whereas, the last type is more apt to develop into a neurotic adult. The typology developed by these authors is important because many other researchers within the field seem to agree that these types pretty much coincide with those they have developed.

On the basis of data obtained from the official course records of 1110 white male juvenile probationers, Reiss has identified three psychological types of delinquents: [50]

1. The relatively integrated delinquent
2. The delinquent with relatively weak ego control
3. The delinquent with defective super ego

The first group was identified by psychiatric social workers, whereas the other two were identified by psychiatrists. Reiss found the social correlates of each type differ significantly

on many factors. Although the number of categories is rather
small and heterogeneous, the system has the advantage of being
treatment-oriented yet developed from a systematic theoretical
base. No indication is given as to whether the schema was
actually used to classify the offenders. There does not seem
to be any work in the literature that attempts to use the typo-
logy to continue research into the future history and effects
of treatment on the members of the various types.

Cloward and Ohlin have suggested that delinquent sub-
cultures arise in response to specific types of illegitimate
opportunities available to the youths in lower-class areas. [51]
Where an organized criminal element is visible in the area, the
youths will develop a delinquency pattern organized around cri-
minal activities. If, however, opportunities to engage in "pro-
ductive" illegal activities are not easily available, the youth
may develop street gangs oriented around street fighting, what
is termed "conflict-oriented", or "bopping" gangs. Those youths
who find this avenue barred to them because they are unable to
cope with the violence may develop into "retreatist" gangs who
orient their activity around drug-seeking behavior. This typo-
logy of gang-behavior is oriented to lower-class youths, hence
not a general typology useful for accounting for delinquency in
general. In addition, it is a typology of gangs and not directly
of delinquents, even lower-class delinquents.

Cohen and Short have suggested that there are five major types of delinquent subcultures.[52] The first is that of the parent male subculture, which is dominated by values like short run hedonism or pleasure-seeking, and group autonomy, and is found chiefly in the working class areas. The second is the conflict-oriented subculture, i.e., the culture that emphasizes toughness and fighting, and is oriented to its own "turf" or geographically defined area. The drug addict subculture is the third and is chiefly oriented to finding and using drugs. The fourth is that of the thief. This is the group of young people who have at a relatively early age started to obtain an income by stealing from others. The fifth and final major type is the middle-class delinquent subculture, which is oriented to the problems of establishing a masculine identity in a middle-class female-dominated environment. This again is a typology of gangs, not directly of delinquents. It is, as was that of Cloward and Ohlin, at least applicable to some delinquency.

Gibbons in 1965 developed a delinquency typology using the same general approach he used in developing his adult types:[53]

1. Predatory Gang Delinquent
2. Conflict Gang Delinquent
3. Casual Gang Delinquent
4. Casual Delinquent, nongang member
5. Automobile Thief, "joyrider"
6. Drug User - Heroin
7. Overly Aggressive Delinquent
8. Female Delinquent
9. Behavior Problem Delinquent

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The typology seems promising, with the exception of the female delinquent, which presumably should be broken down further. Unfortunately, there does not seem to be an attempt to break down a relatively large group of delinquents into these types to see how good the fit is. This is, of course, crucial before the adequacy of the typology can be evaluated. The two published studies seem too cursory to provide an adequate test of Gibbons' material. [54]

A psychiatrist, William Downe, developed a typology based on what appeared to be the major contributing factor in the delinquent behavior of 130 delinquent boys: [55]

1. Reactive depressive
2. Repeatedly rejected
3. Schizoid and latent psychotic
4. Organic disorders
5. Family-centered delinquency
6. Others

No objective rationale is given as to the criteria used for the selection of subjects. Suggestions were offered for treatment of the first five types. Again there seems to be nothing in the literature to suggest that the typology of Downes has been used by others, nor that he himself followed up the long-term history of these types.

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A synthetic typology using both sociologically and psycho-
logically relevant variables has been developed by Ferdinand. [56]
The sociologically relevant typology utilizes the underlying
dimensions of the "...cultural themes of social classes and
structural characteristics of cliques and gangs..." and identifies
six patterns of delinquent behavior:

1. Mischievous -- Indulgent
2. Aggressive -- Exploitive
3. Criminal
4. Fighting
5. Theft
6. Disorganized Acting Out

These are, of course, reminiscent of the typology of gangs
presented by Cloward and Ohlin and Cohen and Short. In the psy-
chological typology, he identifies three general classes of
delinquents based on quite distinct psychological processes:

1. The impulsive delinquent
2. The neurotic delinquent
3. The symptomatic delinquent

He then makes suggestions as to how these two typologies might
be developed into a synthetic typology. Again, the typology
suggested seems never to have been developed and used for re-
search by others in the field.

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One of the most promising of the typologies was that presented by Jesness in the Fricot Ranch Study done by the California Youth Authority.[57] Using an N of 281, the author studied 103 psychological behavior and sociological background items and developed eight types labeled tentatively:

1. Socialized Conformist
2. Immature-Passive
3. Neurotic Anxious
4. Immature Aggressive
5. Cultural Delinquent
6. Manipulator
7. Neurotic Acting Out
8. Neurotic Depressed

His research showed that different types responded differently to the treatment types. Jesness does not seem to have continued to develop and refine his typology; rather, he moved into the I-level theory as an approach to classification that is discussed in Chapter IV. It is hoped that, in the future, Jesness and other researchers will follow the leads they have developed.

This section on delinquency typologies will present as the last typological study some quotations from an undated study entitled "A Borstal Typology Study" based on data gathered in the English Borstals and analyzed during the period from 1965 to 1972.[58] After discussing the data, including the fact

that the analysis included a matrix of 2,485 correlation co-
efficients from data on 1,100 subjects, the authors state that
"...in no case was a large correlation found between a criminal
variable (e.g., type of offense, number of previous convictions,
age at first conviction, etc.) and any other of the noncriminal
variables." They give as their conclusion the following:

> The main conclusion arising from the fore-
> going analysis is that the kind of data
> already utilized in the Allocation Center,
> together with a range of further accessible
> information, is insufficient in itself to
> provide a basis for the segregation of
> Borstal Trainees into different establish-
> ments. The human material represented
> thereby is simply too heterogeneous. Any
> divisions of this population must be based
> therefore on a priori notion of what is
> appropriate, alongside the usual adminis-
> trative considerations, of course.
>
> There are certain statistical caveats to
> this conclusion. It is not possible in
> the manner described above to disprove
> the existence of delinquent-types, but
> only to find no evidence for their exis-
> tence on some range of data. (59)

These negative findings from one of the most recent and
extensive studies attempting to generate a typology of delin-
quents is cause for concern. A typology satisfactory for re-
search, or at least sufficiently satisfactory to commend itself
to a relatively large number of researchers has not been developed.
This may well mean that researchers need to reassess the theore-
tical and methodological assumptions on which they are working.

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During the last 15 years or so, new approaches to taxonomies have appeared in the literature. Developed chiefly from the biological sciences, they have been applied to criminological research. These include predictive attribute analysis [60,61] and association analysis. [62] They have not, however, yet been used to develop general typologies of criminals and delinquents It may well be this is the direction in which this type of work must proceed if it is to achieve any results other than those quoted from the Borstal study.

This chapter fittingly concludes by reflecting on a passage written by Don Gibbons:

> The real world may stubbornly resist our
> efforts to simplify it by means of offender
> typologies. After two decades of work in
> this tradition, relatively little progress
> in typological directions can be discerned. (63)

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CHAPTER V

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CHAPTER VI

CLASSIFICATION FROM THE OFFENDER'S VIEWPOINT

The presentation of the state-of-the-art of offender classification has thus far been from a system viewpoint. The role, perceptions and attitudes of the offender have been neglected. The chief concerns of an offender are:

- What is going to happen to me?
- Whom can I trust?
- What's happening to "my profile" outside?
- What's expected of me?

The primary concerns of the system are related to his length of sentence, his security classification and institutional assignment, his work assignment and in some instances, his rehabilitation program. These diverse concerns obviously do not readily mesh and thus dysfunction is introduced into the system at the onset. The dysfunction is heightened by the attitude of offenders that they don't need "help" and thus any rehabilitation or resocialization program begins on a negative note.

Since classification occurs usually at institutional intake, it presumably has the responsibility of providing the necessary orientation to the inmate's future institutional life and the purposes of the institution. Both his concerns and the system concerns must be met if the inmate is to be helped to understand what is expected of him during his confinement as well as how he can

use this time to improve his chances of "making it" on the outside. For classification to provide this orientation it must be understood by the inmate and be participatory. By "participatory" is implied that not only is a test administered, but that the test is introduced to the inmate as to its purpose and the results are explained in simple terms after the test is completed. By "participatory" is also meant that the offender can freely express his private concerns and is encouraged to do so in both group sessions and in private consultations. It is the opinion of this study that classification, as presently practiced, generally is not understood by the inmates, is not participatory nor does it provide the necessary orientation to institutional life.

In order to conduct a simple test regarding offenders' attitudes toward and understanding of classification, arrangements were made to interview a small, representative group of offenders at a midwestern prison, selected as an average for its type. Offenders, all males, were to be randomly selected by the prison's statistical staff for interview purposes. While an effort was made to obtain a random sample for interviewing purposes, no representation is made as to the statistical significance of this small sample. It is hoped that this unassuming beginning inquiry into the offenders' awareness and attitudes regarding classification will encourage more studies of greater significance.

A. Sampling Plan

Twenty-five names were selected by prison officials on a supposedly random basis from the 1600 total offenders contained in the prisons' computerized data bank. Fifteen of these were submitted to the consultant for interviewing. No variables i.e., parole status, race, type of offense, age, religion, length or type of sentence were to be considered in the selection process. However, of the thirteen finally interviewed, twelve had either been recently reviewed by the parole board, expected to be reviewed by the parole board, or were being granted a parole within the next months' time. It is, therefore, highly questionable, due to the 12:1 ratio of parole eligibles selected, that the sample is representative of the prison population.

B. Offender Characteristics

Prior to the interview, no offender information was given to the interviewer. The following data was solicited from the offenders during the interviews: eight of these thirteen were black, four white, one of latin extraction. The largest age bracket was between 24-27 (8), between 32-39 (3), 47 (1) and 58 (1). Twelve considered themselves married, one divorced and living common law prior to imprisonment. Only one of the four who stated specific religious affiliation claimed to be an active participant in his religion.

The subjects stated the following in response to type of offenses. One subject refused to discuss his offenses.

CONTINUED

5 OF 6

1. Aggravated battery

2. Arson

3. Burglary

4. Impersonating an officer

5. Intent to murder

6. Interstate car theft

7. Intimidation (extortion)

8. Involuntary manslaughter

9. Murder

10. Possession & sale of drugs

11. Rape

C. Prison Official Cooperation

Prison policy regarding admittance of women within prison confines and safety concerns caused considerable delay in approval of interview scheduling by prison administrators. These officials were, however, courteous and once approval was confirmed turned the situation over to the Records Officer. Cursory searches of possessions and person of the interviewer were carried out as a daily routine.

D. Situational Aspects

Scheduling of interviews by the Records office was not well coordinated. On the first day twelve subjects were sent to the interviewer at one time -- causing most of them to sit and wait all day. Each succeeding day, with the exception of the first person interviewed, all offenders waited in the corridor outside the office from 1-1/2 to 5 hours before being interviewed. The

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chairs and benches on which they waited were not comfortable and it became apparent that, though they seemed resigned to waiting without complaint, the effects of this waiting increased their anxiety and produced fatigue.

No information had been given to those being interviewed: why they were being sent to the Records Office, why they were being interviewed, who the interviewer was and whom she represented, or what would be expected of them. As a result, each interview began with considerable suspicion as to the actual purpose of their being questioned. They each indicated that they felt the interview pertained to parole, either in the capacity of a pre-parole hearing or psychological testing, and thought the interviewer was using the identity of a researcher as a cover-up to get parole information. The interviewer attemped to correct the misunderstanding by showing IITRI identification and explaining her role as a researcher.

A portion of the interview time was therefore spent reducing suspicion, and establishing some degreee of acceptance and trust between the interviewer and interviewee by discussion of the offenders personal life history, sharing of similar insights and experiences, clarification of terms, and the interviewer's response to the inmate's emotional tones.

E.   Offender Responses to Interview

The interview, consisting of a series of questions suffi-
ciently flexible for an informal interview, allowed the respon-
dents to provide considerable personal input. Questions were
geared to encourage open-ended responses regarding classification
and testing, especially relating to the inmates' awareness of the
process and his understanding of the intent behind these activities.
The results of these interviews are summarized in the following
pages.

Ten of the 13 inmates were not aware that they had been
classified. None of them knew what was meant by classification.
They guessed that it related to work experience, past record and
(criminal) charges; however, 9 of the 13 knew their security
status. 6 were maximum, 1 medium, 2 minimum and 4 didn't know.
Only 1 inmate thought he had an "official" label while 8 acknowledged
one or more unofficial labels. These included "super-duper
manipulator, inmate, resident, escape risk, Crank (name of an
inmate black gang), rapist, scared, deep emotional problems,
mad-dog-cop-killer, and Pops."

When asked how they felt about all of this (questions,
answers and labeling), 8 said they didn't like it, 3 said it was
alright and 2 said it made them angry. In general, the inmates
felt that classification for aiding goal-setting, understanding
of an individual inmate and security precautions could be
beneficial, but they did not believe they should be labeled. They

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felt that it limited the perception of the prisoner as a human being, that it frequently was invalid or untrue, and that it limited possibilities of being rehabilitated.

When further questioned about their awareness of classification, 10 of the inmates said they had taken tests when they first came to prison; 3 said they were not tested while 1 of these later admitted to limited testing. They identified several types of tests; e.g., psychological, personality, I.Q., vocational and manual dexterity. When asked of the results of their testing were made available or interpreted to them, 10 said "no", while 1 said "yes". It turned out that the 1 who said "yes" had succeeded in making a surreptitious examination of records which he claimed to understand. Ten or 11 inmates felt that the tests made little difference in how they were treated or in what happened to them later.

When asked how they felt about tests and testing, 1 said he liked to take tests, 6 said it was okay, 5 didn't like tests nor testing and 1 had no opinion. The prisoner who had no opinion was unable to relate to any of the above questions. The interviewer suspected him of being socio-culturally retarded and extremely fearful of giving an opinion on anything. The prisoner who liked to be tested felt that few people suspected him of having a high degree of intelligence, due to the fact that he had dropped out of highschool in his second year, but had continued on and claimed to have sufficient credit hours in college level courses to have the equivalent of two college degrees. When he took I.Q. exams, it was a kind of "ego trip" for him to watch the disbelief and incredulity in the examiner's reactions.

Positive insights of the inmates included:

Tests are good:

- if the prisoner is told the results, and these results would help a prisoner reach constructive goals while he is in prison (if they would do good).
- to determine whether a person can adapt to educational classes and cell situations.
- if they would provide some way of determining whether or not a man will commit a crime again.
- because they are necessary to find out what a person knows.
- because they are necessary to determine individual characteristics and abilities.
- if the results are explained to the taker and he is given some values along with the results.

Mixed insights include:

- Tests are good if the results are used for constructive purposes; i.e., prison job placement. But they are bad because they are used to place a person in a job because of his skills and not because he may need or want to learn something else: they "use" the man.
- If they want to know something about a person, it's necessary, but he should know something about it too. "Nobody tells anybody anything around here, and you're not supposed to ask."

Negative insights include:

- Because prison staff doesn't pay any attention to tests.
- Because he fears failure, and fears he will be discriminated against as a result of the results of the tests.
- Because they won't make any difference in the type of assignment a man gets. Whatever they decide to assign you to, you get. They use you for what you can give them. If they don't like you, they'll give you bad jobs.
- Because they made him nervous, and he feels he's not up on schooling as he'd like to be.

The interviewer asked several questions relating to the inmates' ways of classifying other inmates and how these classifications relate to outcome. When asked "What people should know about an offender?" 4 said "nothing"; 5 said guards should not have information; 4 said "everything"; 3 said basic personality, mental and physical characteristics and capabilities; and 3 said know the person himself as an individual.

When asked, "How can a person tell of an offender will break the law again?" 4 said there was no way to tell; 7 said by their behavior, attitude and actions in prison; and 4 said by negative talk, such as bragging about past crimes.

When asked,"What kind of offeners make the best parole risks?"
7 said the offender who has shown positive values by his actions
and behavior in prison; 4 said the offender who has looked into
himself and has set positive goals for accomplishment in prison;
3 said "lovers" make it; 2 said murderers will probably make it
because the circunsta... won't happen again; 2 said habitual
criminals won't make it because crime has become their life style;
and 2 had no concept.

In response to the question "What would you do to reduce the
number of men committing new crimes when they get out?" more than
half of the inmates said they'd have realistic and improved
vocational programs. Most of these suggestions had to do with
actual prison conditions. The inmates related these to the degree
of frustration, hostility and feelings of dehumanization which
inhibit positive growth and goal setting. Other responses which
were stated by 25% of more of those interviewed follow.

- Provide more activities that require participation.
  (things to do and entertainment)
- Provide more flexibility in rules.
- Decrease the time an inmate is locked in his cell.
- Increase the number of warden contacts with inmates.
  (talk to them)
- Screen new guard officers for racism, bad attitudes,
  superiority and illiteracy.

- Provide individual relationships with qualified
  staff personnel in which the inmates can have
  trust and acceptance.
- Enforce discipline based on one man's offenses,
  not punishing the whole group which may not be
  involved.
- Provide greater visitation privileges.
- Improve food quality, especially preparation.
- Improve sanitary conditions.
- Improve sanitation, service and care in
  medical facilities.
- Screen inmates for interest and participation
  in programs.

When asked,"What is the most important thing to know about a
person?" the chief responses were the person's attitudes and
general outlook on life, how he relates to you, and whether you
can trust him. When asked how to predict if an ex-offender will
hurt someone, 60% said either its not possible to predict or its
hard to tell. When asked "What would it take to help an ordinary
guy while in prison to go straight when released?" the chief
responses were:

- Attitude and general outlook on life.
- A job waiting for him.
- Individual relationship in prison
  (Someone who can be trusted and accepts him)

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In order to determine awareness of himself, the inmates were asked,"Has anyone in prison helped you understand yourself?" 11 of the 13 said "no" and 2 stated they were in group therapy, but couldn't say "yes" to this question. When asked "Do you feel you have a problem?" 9 of the inmates said "yes" and 2 said "no". Eleven of the 13 volunteered that they couldn't get help because they had no trust in the staff.

When asked, "What should be in the official records of the offender?" 4 of the inmates said "nothing", 2 more said the records should be destroyed after parole fulfillment. The other responses covered what is normally included in an official record except that they thought positive growth and change whould also be a matter of record. More than 50% thought that permission to see such records should be given only by the ex-con. It should be explained that the inmates' concepts of "the official record" was mostly from hearsay since 9 of the 13 had never seen their records.

F.   General Impressions, Observations and Conclusions

Not one of the inmates was aware that he had been classified, nor did he have any awareness of the methods (i.e., testing), content and results, or use to which the information garnered in the process was being put. Many of the guesses concerning the classification process were paranoid suspicions of information being used for sadistic discrimination or for "using" the man's skills and abilities for prison needs, and not his, by the prison staff and officials.

The inconsistencies and ineffectiveness of the classification process are not only seen in the fact that it had no impact on any of the prisoners; they didn't remember it, but also in the type of testing. No pattern is apparent of why certain tests for some were used and none for others.

If classification is being used to determine the type of institution to which an offender is to be sent, there are, in this small sampling, obvious errors in judgement and placement. One inmate was, at best, a borderline retardate. Two other individuals, an arsonist and a murderer, were in need of psychological treatment, not to mention the rapist who was there on a second charge. Such psychological pathologies aren't effectively treated or altered by waiting out time, nor necessarily by learning to conform to prison expectations, whatever they might be.

Whether or not the tests that are used are tools in the correction of criminal behavior is questionable, as a number of inmates stated that their records took from anywhere from 6 weeks to 5 months to arrive at the prison.

Various processes of categorization, labeling and classification have been formulated and used by professions, research groups and large institutions and administrations. The results of these can be seen in the consistent, progressive dehumanization and debilitating effects they have on the individual in the isolation he feels, and the impersonal and inadequate human services he is given. He becomes the label. The label is frequently used in discriminating ways against him, no less painful than

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ethnic, racial or religious labels have been and continue to be.
In prison, he is a number, a crime, or a behavioral response. He
is a non-person.

One wonders if classification has become a paper-shuffling
aspect of the bureaucracy of the prison system. However, many
of the inmates thought classification would be of considerable
benefit if it were comprehensive and based on psychological,
educational and socio-cultural tests that would help to determine
rehabilitative needs and constructive programs. Such a classifi-
cation process would help the prisoner achieve new ways of life
and new insights and abilities to achieve a successful and crime-
free life when he returned to society.

Perhaps as a result of the dehumanizing effects of the
society in which he lived prior to imprisonment, and the prison
system itself, there seemed to be an obvious need for one-to-one
positive relationships between the inmate and a qualified profes-
sional staff person. Each described himself as a loner through-
out his life and in the prison. No one had ever gotten close to
any one of these men.

An individual learns much about himself in relationship to
others, immediate family, friends and associates. With little
concept of themselves as individuals with specific life goals,
little trust in others whether authoritative figures or not, they
have a genuine need to communicate, as indicated in their hyper-
verbal behavior in the interview situation. They have learned
to accomodate, be accepted and approved in the prison by saying

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the right thing, through manipulation and deception, and by "being there, but not there" in the eyes of the prison guards. There is no or little integration of societal values or expectations. They have entered the prison, pay for their crimes with indignities, insults and dehumanization and time, and they leave the prison with little changed except the degree of their personal frustration and hostility. Their loneliness, aimlessness and lack of perception of others and insight into themselves had an overwhelming unconscious osmotic effect on the interview situation.

Punishment has no social or personal significance unless it changes the behavior of the individual. Yet the prison itself is teaching the inmate that he is not an individual who counts. He is a non-person. What role models are there within the prison available for him to learn about himself? or the expectations of society? What efforts are being made to encourage him to develop confidence in his own positive ideals? What guidelines are set for him to know how he is to behave in his imprisonment that will result in his being paroled? The inmates questioned saw the prison as a self-perpetuating system with no intention of diminishing crime or rehabilitating the individual inmate. In fact, they saw the dehumanization of imprisonment, the loss of even minimal identity, and the herding quality of treatment in their being called a number and not a name, in new inmates being thrown together in a room without staff contact, in the line-ups for meals or the yard, in the punishment of all prisoners for one prisoner's bad conduct, in the 17 to 23 hours a day in a prison cell, in the

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lack of genuine interest and concern by guards and counselors, and they saw these aspects of prison life as abortive to growth and change.

More than one inmate stated that if he had entered prison with good intentions, he soon lost them. The "treatment" usually began in county jail, and was refined in the prison itself. At the center of most of the criticism were the prison guards, described as illiterate and subtly sadistic. They harrassed inmates with gutter language curses, vivid accounts of sexual conquests, excessive "ticket" writing for petty offenses, delays in receiving mail and library books, decisions on who would get prescribed medications, and the use of past-life information for discriminatory purposes. Most of the inmates questioned felt the guards should have no information on them at all, but wanted the guards to get to know them as individuals and to respect them as human beings: a contradiction?

Little wonder that destructive subgroups or racially segregated prison gangs develop, and that they have a contagious quality that is difficult to cure. With no one they felt they could trust to talk to or who would do anything about their specific problems except for isolated individuals not specifically designated for this responsibility, they either chose total isolation from all inmates and staff or joined the gangs whose intent resembled adolescent street gangs: harrassment of authority figures, manipulation of the system, petty destructiveness and vandalism, and power gain through roughing each other up and

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gaining new converts. In fact, each of these men felt an inmate couldn't make a successful rehabilitation unless he remained separate from the gangs and played it cool. For this he was often labeled a snob and various other derogatory terms, and was frequently the recipient of gang beatings and discrimination. The same action would occur if he chose to relate or pass even minimal pleasantries with prison guards or staff members.

Some inmates spoke about the prison grievance committee. Grievances _were_ heard, but no action was taken on them. They were simply filed. In order to effect any change, it was necessary to continually appeal their requests before anyone came to decision that the prisoner was in earnest about his request. Others were opposed to _any_ changes, feeling it would be for the worse. There was a kind of hopelessness to reform to good ideas and values, as if they, as individuals with the ability to perceive needs and show concern, didn't matter.

Of major concern were the conditions of parole. Either a vague or nonexistent, parole board expectations were not known, but were usually found out when the inmate appeared, too late to make additions or corrections to his prison performance. At that time, unless he was receiving a mandatory parole, and if he hadn't "psyched-out" what the parole board wanted to hear, he was given "set time", which meant 6 months to a year before he was seen by the parole board again.

Conformity to prison expectations may not be a realistic approach to rehabilitation. Seldom is conforming behavior adaptive to or rewarded by society. Aggression, initiative, individual responsibility and concern, creativeness, even individuality of dress and behavior are rewarded in society.

The hopelessness of prison is further deepened by the facts of release, an inmate is discharged from prison with $50 and a suit of clothing. With the current job market, with the stigma of being an ex-con, seldom with any family contacts, and with few friends or no friends who are not some way connected with his past life's crimes, there are few chances of his making it straight on the street.

Many of these conclusions and observations seemingly have little to do with the classification process itself, unless the whole process of criminal justice and rehabilitation or resocialization are looked upon as interrelated and interdependent efforts of society to combat and decrease recidivism and crime. The validity of the inmate sampling's responses, naturally, is colored by their own experiences and needs, but in fairness to a group often considered in a most negative context, examination of the suggestions of what they would do if they were in charge of the prison, shows considerable objectivity and positive thinking. All but one of the inmates felt prison was necessary. All talked about their crimes without rationalization, fully admitting that they were responsible, and the nature of their responsibility. Most of them saw prison, ideally, as an opportunity to change

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themselves into better, more productive persons, and were disappointed that this opportunity was not available to them at this particular prison. The classification process did not apparently help these inmates to a proper assignment nor to treatment modalities congruent with their needs. Yet these offenders, when classification procedures were explained to them, felt that its proper employment could have been of great value to them as persons.

CHAPTER VII

ISSUES IN OFFENDER CLASSIFICATION

There are several major issues in offender classification
that have emerged from our study. While numerous other concerns
that would probably be uncovered if all classification experts
were polled, we feel that we have identified most of the basic
arguments that are debated in the field today.

A. Operational Issues in Offender Classification

A universal and unambiguous definition of offender classifi-
cation does not exist. Our historical survey revealed the ante-
cedents of current confusion. Classification has been thought
to be a graded treatment program, evaluation and diagnosis of
offenders, statistical analysis of records, labeling for treat-
ment purposes, matching offenders to resources, meeting the needs
of offenders, giving differential care to offenders, and "treat-
ment relevant typologies." Given this range of conceptualization,
it is not hard to understand why offender classification has not
developed to the point of utility for criminal justice decision
making. Furthermore, most classification efforts have been
limited to the corrections part of the criminal justice system.

Sustained conscious classification efforts have not occurred
soon enough in the criminal justice process. Evaluation has
occurred after the offender arrives in prison, rather than at
point of intake to the system. Classification has not begun at

the apprehension, diversion, conviction or sentencing stages. The community based classification team is one answer to the problem of involving a wider range of resources and personnel in classification efforts. The emerging issue, therefore, is the question of whether or not it is necessary to wait until offenders are sent to prison before they are screened and programmed. The trend toward probation and other community alternatives demands classification at offender intake. Does classification necessarily involve an elaborate clinical setting such as reception and diagnostic centers? Or can offenders be classified for their risks to the community, their management program, and their rehabilitation potential before they are sentenced or perhaps before they become serious felons? Lurking under this issue is another one; why must the presentence investigation be repeated at the prison, or why don't all offenders get presentence classification?

Although as offenders penetrate the criminal justice system, their classificatory categories may change, their basic classification starts at conviction. Many practitioners wonder if classification can serve the criminal justice system or if it is limited to just the correctional process? It seems unfortunate that classification has not been used to assist decision making at crucial points in the total justice system, points which are more important than prison job assignment, points such as whether or not to divert, to prosecute, or to incarcerate. That this has not occurred raises the important question of why not? Are

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there fundamental problems with offender classification? We think there are.

1. Classification may take all the complexity of human beings and sum them up in one or two phrases. Then we act as if those phrases or labels explain the offender, and we relate the labels to some sort of treatment. While we get the advantage of shorthand communication (and classification is a communication system) unfortunately, the label may obscure more than it communicates.

Our analysis of the offender has not divulged the main dimensions of criminality. As we add new information we compress more and more substance into smaller labels or categories. So, is classification meaningful? We have thirty-five pieces of information about an offender which we compress into a label calling him an XYZ. And by compressing multi-dimensional information into one classification category we have suppressed too much information. Does it really make sense to classify in terms of understanding the offender and do these categories relate to any sort of resources for treatment, or prediction system? Do we have a technology developed for dealing with XYZs?

Perhaps the most important problem is relating people to their environment. For most of the offenders, environment may be too difficult for them to manage. Some offenders have a subculture in which their actions are acceptable and they have been

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conditioned, much in the same way as other kinds of behavioral
or operant conditioning, to live in that subculture and survive,
whereas people from the outer world would have survival problems.

In classifying environments in which people function, we
have what might be called immediate social environments. Then
we also have what might be called political/legal environments,
where they get into trouble. Distinguishing between these two
areas would shed light upon how we can classify offenders.
People who have learned to live in their subculture have demon-
strated that they can be conditioned to socially acceptable but
different norms. They have no personality problem. But there
is a problem of acculturation, where it is necessary to substi-
tute one set of norms for another.

We have to think of the possibility of a multiple classifi-
cation system -- the offender in his neighborhood is not the same
as the offender in court, is not the same as the offender on pro-
bation, or in prison, or on parole. And, the offender beginning
his career is not the same as the offender in the latter stages
of his career, and the offender in one situation is not the same
as the offender in another.

Some experts believe that classification is a way to begin
meeting the needs of offenders. Needs are inexhaustible, and
needs are personally psychological to one's self, and we really
can't afford to develop a system (and we haven't really developed
one, either) where needs will be met. There are scarce means to
fill unlimited needs. If we discover the factors or the variables
which reduce the risk for recidivism, we can focus on reduction

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of risk, rather than meeting needs. Reduction of risk is more objective. It can be handled mathematically and is subject to evaluation.

We would like to move away from the treatment/pathology model. Everyone has needs. A lot of them are never going to be met. But we can reduce risks. We will try to develop a way of determining the risk factors for each kind of case, and then to determine what things will reduce that risk factor. The insurance companies have been doing this for years, determining the risk for automobile accidents, the risk for heart attacks, the risk for life insurance. And if an offender has certain problems, he can be rated. If we can look at the offender in terms of an actuarial computation of risks, then we can figure what things will reduce that risk. Some of the things are what the offender will have to do, and others are what the community is able to do. Then our game is no longer meeting needs, or treating sick people, but reduction of risk. And risk includes the personality or the offender, and the environment surrounding him.

Classification could be more useful for predicting than it has been for recommending treatment modalities. Predicting outcomes for people who get fined, for people who get probation, and even for people we send to prison. Can we identify those variables needed for a prediction system? Does it really make a difference?

We may develop a point system, and provide help to increase the offender's points. We can refine that system as we get longitudinal data on risk measurement, risk projection and risk

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evaluation or performance, until we finally have reduced the number of variables to a significant core group.

We will need feedback constantly, because a system for the City of Chicago may not work in Houston, Texas. It may be the population is different, the types of crimes may be somewhat different, the characteristics of the criminals may be different, and there may be different reactions from the communities. When we face variability across the nation, one of the easy solutions will be to press for conformity, so that laws will be administered the same for New York, as they are in Texas, as in North Dakota, etc. This pressure for conformity should be resisted.

2. The practitioners of offender classification have been called into question regarding their expertise, credentials, and accountability. In the case of the Richey Opinion, the judge in the District of Columbia took the position that classifiers must have a certain amount of expertise which can be proven. Otherwise, the legal rights of the client take precedence over the treatment needs of the system. What constitutes expertise from the legal standpoint? Most offender classification is administered by non-professionals.

The notion of professional certification is interesting, because it implies that there is a standard body of knowledge which is learned and monitored by professionals, who then certify the practitioner as competent. Offender classifiers are not professionally certified.

What are the certifiable skills of people who classify offenders? What is the standard body of knowledge that is peculiar to offender classification? Are the core skills to be psychological, social case work, psychiatric, legal, or administrative? What professional association gives accreditation? Until these questions are resolved, the notion of "expertise" seems unreal.

Accountability, a long neglected topic in criminal justice, raises some more interesting questions. If a judge, on the basis of a presentence report, puts an offender on probation, and the offender later commits a murder, is the judge accountable? Is the person who made the presentence report responsible? Is anyone who classified the offender as "non-dangerous" accountable for their judgement? Where is the accountability for bad decisions? Is it possible that because of the kinds of legal interpretations we have had in recent years that there could be a personal legal liability here eventually? And if there is, will it inhibit the release of offenders?

Increasing responsibility and accountability, may increase the number of offenders who will be incarcerated because they are false positives. Can the risk of release of offenders at any state in the criminal justice system now be determined? Current classification techniques haven't been proven an acceptable way in which to make these decisions.

One of the purposes of classification was to relate diagnosis to treatment and this has not been demonstrated as effective in reducing crime.

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3. Can we, or should we, relate offender categories to treatment methods? Many practitioners believe that we have not reached the level of knowledge sufficient for these kind of linkages. In the course of our study we have discovered unclarities in the meanings of "treatment." For some it means rehabilitation, for others it means offender management, and a third group sees treatment as merely custody or supervision. Since it appears that treatment means all of these, and also includes a wide range of "therapeutic modalities", it will be impossible to relate offender categories to "treatment" until concensus is reached on meanings and activities. The problem of defining treatment categories however, is not as pressing as the problem of developing a basic offender classification system, universally accepted and employed throughout the criminal justice system and capable of assessing risks.

4. The development of a treatment relevant classification system will involve searching inquiry into the behavior models underlying the system. Will the model remain medical, i.e., seeing illness and sorting individuals into categories of sickness? Will it remain case work oriented, finding needs and repairing liabilities? Will it come from learning theory, social class analysis, psychiatry, law, or the philosophy of punishment? If it focuses on psychometric techniques can it demonstrate that offenders have characterological disorder problems? Do character traits predict offender behavior? If so, what traits will predict? Can classification of these traits be related to "successful treatment"?

5. Concern with character analysis has led some psychiatrists to believe that they can make a clinical judgement of offender dangerousness. Looking into the offender is only part of the equation, the other part being the reactions of others interacting with the offender. Who is dangerous? Who will be repetitively violent? In what sense are they dangerous and violent - to whom, under what conditions? Are they dangerous only to children - women - middle-aged white males? Dangerousness is a social perception rather than a clinical entity, along with such ideas as "hardened criminals, sex perverts, and homicidal maniacs."

6. Most offender classification research is based upon data related to offenders who have been caught. Multifactor theories of behavior have emerged from correlational studies of offenders in the criminal justice system. We know little or nothing about offenders not in the system. Instead of continuing to ask why things happen, perhaps we should now ask how things happen. Willmer suggests a new way of classifying offenders on the basis of how they commit their offenses rather than on the basis of why.

> In this book I am not concerned with the causes
> of his becoming a criminal, but essentially with
> the manner in which he commits a crime, the deci-
> sions and choices which confront him, and the
> information that he can emit during the various
> phases of the crime. (1)

7. Offense specific classification holds promise if we follow Willmer's lead and focus on how rather than why and keep in mind the shifting labels in official record keeping at the police, prosecution and corrections stages. Legal nomenclature varies by jurisdiction and it is not an accurate reference to the offender's behavior before-during-or after the offense. Differential treatment of categories of offenders such as juveniles, women and legally insane, obscure issues. Classification by degree of risk to the community (custody) or access to programs (management) or potential for change (rehabilitation) is made more complex by legacies in the criminal code such as distinctions in offense seriousness (felonies/misdemeanors).

B. Legal and Ethical Issues in Offender Classification

There are many tangled knots in the evolution of our thinking about offenders in a democratically oriented free society. When value conflicts appear, we turn to our legal institutions to help us find a working concensus within a slowly changing framework of social change.

1. At what point in the criminal justice system should classification occur? Can offenders be classified before conviction or must they wait for their legal status to be clearly established before any "treatment" can take place? Release on bail or jail detention implies some sort of classification; is there any legal basis for who gets what? Can the determination of who gets what be made on any basis other than legal/constitutional

grounds? Intervention into the offender's life raises a number of concerns surrounding legality of actions taken by criminal justice functionaries.

2. Due process has always been a concern since this country was founded. Recent court decisions re-emphasize the need for care to be taken in criminal matters. Gideon vs. Wainwright, for instance, might suggest that an attorney should be present when an offender may have the right to refuse information to classifiers. What constitutional safeguards remain after conviction? Will correctional practitioners also become court officials, thus giving them the "legal power" to treat the offender? The separation of executive branch from the judicial raises some interesting questions about the legality of certain executive actions. For example, is the paroling authority of the executive subject to judicial restraints and considerations of due process? Is classification of an offender as a "good parole risk" a legal status?

3. The legality of treatment has been called into question and this certainly includes classification for treatment. The criminal code does not include group therapy as a sentence, nor does a judge sentence an offender to minimum probation supervision. Legal scholars may find an answer someday to the question of where the executive gets its legitimization for doing anything to inmates other than receiving them from the court for confinement. Does the offender have a right to refuse "treatment" and by implication, classification?

4. The offender's right to privacy is another interesting area for discussion, especially when balanced against other social values such as community safety or maintenance of public order. Can an offender give informed consent to correctional practitioners when it is obvious the offender is in an unequal power relationship? How much information must an offender give about himself to the police, or to a person evaluating him for diversion, for probation, for work release, for parole?

5. There has been much debate about offender participation in decisions which affect him, and his classification certainly affects him. Some officials believe that offenders should be allowed access to their own records. From a realistic treatment viewpoint this makes sense, otherwise how is the offender going to know what the "experts" think about him. Another more practical concern is to ensure that the records are accurate. If the offender is able to contest erroneous information and have it purged from his file, we may learn to be more accurate and less subjective in our evaluations. The problem of keeping the client mystified, helpless, and information poor, is also found in most other fields of practice. There are some practitioners who believe that no problem solutions can occur without the participation and cooperation of the involved parties. In this sense, no meaningful classification can happen without the informed cooperation of offenders. In many instances confidentiality has meant "everyone knows except the client," and this is no longer a satisfactory state of affairs.

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C. Research and Methodological Issues in Classification

Although there have been many classification schemes and incredible amounts of data collected in the classification of offenders for the past 75 years, very little evaluation has been done. It seems that there are many "pet" classification systems and numerous typologies produced by academics, but no systematic evaluation.

1. The use of classification for prediction of offender outcome has been suggested frequently, on the grounds that if a classification system can predict outcome it will then be more scientific or more useful or better than one that cannot.

Prediction studies have been made with parole experience tables which have classified offenders as likely "successes" or "failures." This approach has been seriously questioned by many who argue that they have little significance for correctional practice.

> Finally, the most unfortunate result of this concern with prediction formulae in parole selection lies in its influence on the direction and content of research in the field of criminology. More than anything else this preoccupation with prediction formulae has kept criminological research on an academic level and blocked more useful operational research....screening tests and prediction tables are poor substitutes for the courage of exploration and new discovery...despite the number of impressive and expensive prediction studies published during the past twenty-five or thirty years and the exaggerated claims of some of their proponents, most of these studies have produced results of little operational value. (2)

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On the other hand, many argue that unless classification systems can predict differential program impacts, there is little reason to classify. Perhaps longitudinal studies which avoid the ambiguities of recidivism and carefully specify what is meant by "success" and "failure" in realistic terms will be made. So far there are none.

The work of validating classification instruments, methods, and procedures remains to be done. Until a valid classification system is linked to offender outcomes, decision-making will remain primitive. Although it has problems, the base expectancy approach may prove to be the winner in this regard.

2. Classification as the arrangement of objects into groups based upon observable properties dates back a long time. For most of its history it has been based upon human perception, intuition, or grasp of what seemed similar. More recently, empirically derived and theoretically informed classification research has produced advances in taxonomic efforts. Reduction of attribute space, typology construction, algorithmic procedures and the use of computers have provided breakthroughs. Unfortunately, we have yet to see their application to offender classification. A number of researchers are working with new automated classification methods utilizing computers. The question for criminal justice is whether or not its data is of sufficient quality to be massaged by the new methods. As Sokal recently said:

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There is an intimate interrelation between
principles and procedures in classification,
and modern work in this field has been pro-
foundly affected by the development of elec-
tronic computers. Besides the delineation of
natural systems and the achievement of economy
of memory and ease of manipulation, the primary
purpose of classification is the description of
the structure and relationship of groups of
similar objects.

Successful classifications generate scientific
hypotheses, although much classificatory work
has applied practical goals. The acceptance
of polythetic taxa is a major conceptual ad-
vance and has directly led to classifications
based on many equally, weighted characteristics.
The specification of data for classification by
computer will enhance objectivity but not eli-
minate cultural and subjective biases. (3)

How far should we allow "objectivity" to encroach on the
operation of the criminal justice system? Should we remain sub-
jective in our efforts to classify offenders? Is it better to
ignore mathematical and technological advances? However we
answer these questions, we know that the definition, description,
and simplification of a valid classification system for offenders
will remain a challenging task.

CHAPTER VII
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