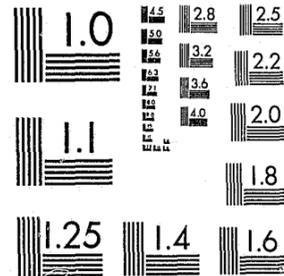


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Federal Probation

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Probation: A Skills Course—Interviewing Techniques and Parole: The Initial Interview (Part 2)	<i>Henry L. Hartman</i>

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DECEMBER 1979

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All phases of preventive and correctional activities in delinquency and crime come within the fields of interest of FEDERAL PROBATION. The Quarterly wishes to share with its readers all constructively worthwhile points of view and welcomes the contributions of those engaged in the study of juvenile and adult offenders. Federal, state, and local organizations, institutions, and agencies—both public and private—are invited to submit any significant experience and findings related to the prevention and control of delinquency and crime.

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This Issue in Brief

The War on Crime: A Thrice-Told Tale.—Parole as part of public policy is currently receiving mixed reviews—some bad and some terrible, asserts Nathaniel W. Perdue, vice chairman of the Virginia Parole Board. It has reached the slightly enviable position of being denounced by both liberals and conservatives; prosecutors and defenders; police officers and prisoners; professionals, nonprofessionals, and unprofessionals, he adds. Why all the fuss? This fable suggests the state of things past, things to come, and things to come again—as we continue our war on crime.

Assignment in Mexico: The Experience of United States Magistrates in the Mexican Prisoner Transfer Program.—In December 1977 a number of United States magistrates were named verifying officials to conduct hearings in Mexico at which qualified Americans serving Mexican jail sentences had the opportunity to consent to return to the United States to complete those sentences. This article by Richard W. Peterson, describes the treaty between the United States and Mexico by which this prisoner transfer was authorized and the implementation of the treaty. The roles of the Department of Justice attorneys, Federal Public Defenders, personnel from the Bureau of Prisons and Probation Division to the transfer program are explained. The article concludes with the history making elements of the prisoner transfer program and its importance as a precedent for future treaties with other nations.

The Development of the Federal Prison System.—This article by Gregory L. Hershberger presents a historical overview of the Federal Government response to those incarcerated for violating Federal law. Events discussed include the establishment of the first Federal prison

facilities in the late 19th century; the formation in 1930 of the Bureau of Prisons within the Department of Justice; the early attempts at programming and the subsequent development of those efforts; and facility acquisitions, institution closings, and mission changes of various institutions up to the present day.

Urinalysis: Issues and Applications.—Despite the wealth of material written about the various aspects of urinalysis, U.S. Probation Officer Philip

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J. Bigger asserts that there is a need to compile the pertinent highlights of that material into one general essay in order to provide the layman with a working knowledge of the subject. Hence, the purposes of urinalysis and the background issues are discussed, followed by a descriptive review of the types of analysis applied by toxicologists to specimens. Finally, the author provides a guide to the interpretation of test results for use in the field.

Community Interventions for Reluctant Clients.—The people with the greatest need for services are often reluctant to participate in community programs, write James D. Kloss and Joan Karan. Within corrections, a number of intensive probation programs have been developed to meet this need, but these have not demonstrated their effectiveness. The Complex Offender Project developed procedures to obtain and maintain the participation of persons with long histories of legal and psychological difficulty. The combined use of outreach, rapport building techniques, negotiated treatment contracts, and financial incentives proved effective in maintaining the involvement of this very difficult client group, and these procedures may be useful in other community programs working with reluctant clients.

The Development and Administration of a Correctional Internship Program: A Model.—Over the last decade and a half there has been a dramatic increase in the number of colleges and universities offering corrections-related programs, according to Dr. Jeffrey L. Schrink. Such curricula have focused student attention of corrections at an unprecedented level and consequently large numbers of students are now interested in serving internships in some type of correctional setting. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of publications in the professional literature aimed at providing detailed guidelines or blueprints to assist the correctional administrator in the establishment and administration of a correctional internship program. This article attempts to fill this void by proposing a model internship program which can be modified to reflect the unique circumstances of most correctional settings.

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

Home Supervision: Probation Really Works.—San Diego County has the most acutely overcrowded Juvenile Hall in California, reports County Supervising Probation Officer William G. Swank. In 1977 a new concept of Home Supervision became law and San Diego discovered that minors can successfully be detained under "house arrest" without committing further crimes. The key is intensive surveillance. Minors are personally seen 7 days a week: mornings, afternoons, nights (unannounced). If they are not where they are suppose to be, they are arrested. The County probation officers are also involved in crisis counseling and the program has proven to be highly therapeutic, rehabilitative—and it has reduced overcrowding.

Management Classification for Young Adult Inmates.—Since May 1977, the Federal Correctional Institution at Tallahassee, Florida, has used a system which assigns young adult males to one of three general categories of potential violence and is based primarily on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). Results comparing periods before and after introduction of the system showed a decrease in serious incidents and assaults, reports Dr. Martin J. Bohn, Jr., chief of the Psychology Department. This management classification system has the advantages of being economical of staff personnel and time, and it has categories related to extensive psychological research. The results from the Tallahassee study suggest that the system has contributed to making the institution safer and has facilitated management decisions.

Interviewing Techniques in Probation and Parole: The Initial Interview (Part 2).—In the final article of this reprinted series on interviewing techniques, Dr. Henry L. Hartman continues a discussion of the initial interview. Methods of converting a directive to a nondirective technique are discussed. In a recapitulation of the entire series of four articles, Dr. Hartman reviews those techniques which are of particular use to the probation and parole officer in his counseling relationships with the probationer and the parolee. He updates the article at the end with current comments.

Management Classification for Young Adult Inmates*

BY MARTIN J. BOHN, JR., PH.D.**

EFFECTIVE classification of inmates for management purposes can have positive effects on correctional institutions. In May 1977, the Federal Correctional Institution (FCI), Tallahassee, Florida, implemented a system which assigned young adult males to one of three general categories: (1) those most likely to act out aggressively, (2) those likely to be victims, and (3) those in neither of the first two groups. The primary instrument used in this classification system was the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), with groups formed according to profile similarity and studied with an earlier sample at the FCI (Megargee and Bohn, 1977). Classification was based on MMPI groups, behavior ratings on the Correctional Adjustment Check List (Quay, 1973), and review of records. Inmates were assigned to one of three open dormitories, with the two extreme inmate groups separated from each other. All inmates could later apply for a fourth unit featuring more intensive programs. Results comparing 9 months before introduction of the system with 9 months afterward showed no differences in the number of men sent to the maximum security section or in written reports of institution rule infractions. Serious incidents, however, decreased (315 v. 289) as did assaults (24 v. 13). This management classification system has the advantages of being economical of staff personnel and time, and it has categories related to extensive psychological research. The results from the Tallahassee study suggest that the system has contributed to making the institution safer and has facilitated management decisions.

* This research was supported by the Office of Research, Bureau of Prisons, and the Federal Correctional Institution, Tallahassee, Florida. The conclusions are not presented as official views and/or policies of the Bureau of Prisons. Portions of this paper were presented at the annual meetings of the International Differential Treatment Association, Denver, April 1978, and the International Association of Applied Psychology, Munich, July 1978.

** Dr. Bohn is Chief, Psychology Department, at the Federal Correctional Institution, Tallahassee, Florida. The author wishes to thank these colleagues for their careful reading of earlier versions of this paper and their assistance: Suzanne E. Bohn, R.D. Brewer, C.E. Fenton, E.I. Megargee, and W.A. Smith.

The Setting and Initial Population

The Federal Correctional Institution (FCI) at Tallahassee serves the Southeastern region of the United States as far north as North Carolina and as far west as Arkansas and Louisiana, housing men primarily between the ages of 17 and 24. The institution population varies between 550 and 600 men who have been convicted of violating the Federal Statutes. On the average, the men have five prior arrests, were age 17 at the time of their first arrest, have 10 years of education, and have estimated intelligence in the average range. The average sentence is between 3 and 5 years, and the average stay is about 20 months. At the time the new Management Classification System was introduced, the racial balance was 54 percent black and 46 percent white/other. The most common offenses were those dealing with the general areas of larceny (26 percent), robbery (14 percent), drug violations (11 percent), forgery (10 percent), and firearms (9 percent). Education is the primary program available to the inmates, with programs ranging from adult basic education through the first 2 years of college. Vocational training and apprenticeship programs are also available. Group and individual counseling are offered to most residents, and 10 to 15 percent of the men are employed in the Federal Prison Industries. In addition to education, virtually all inmates are assigned to a work detail which provides work experience while maintaining the operations of the institution.

Originally designed in the 1930's for nonviolent, obedient inmates (mostly "moonshiners"), the FCI was constructed with four open dormitory buildings and no fence. The original inmates were typically adults and they were sentenced for short stays. Being somewhat responsible, these inmates carried on the work of the institution with minimal supervision and there was little violence in the background or institution behavior of these first inmates. Since then, the first clientele has been replaced by younger, more aggressive, more violent and less responsible inmates who are more often urban black rather than rural white. These

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newer inmates require more security, so the fences and gun towers have been added and the tension level of the institution has increased markedly.

There is an extensive history of psychological research at the FCI. Being only four miles from Florida State University (FSU), the institution staff has had the advantages of interaction with behavioral scientists in university departments such as psychology and criminology. A major research project, conducted by psychologists from FSU and supported by the National Institute of Mental Health and the Bureau of Prisons, gathered information on each commitment to the institution between November 1970 and November 1972. These men were followed within the institution until 1974 and through their post-institutional records in 1976 (Megargee et al., 1971, 1972, 1978). This project developed baseline data to be used in comparisons in later years and more importantly, the project fostered within the institution a tolerant and relatively informed attitude toward research. This attitude was instrumental in the introduction of the new classification system.

The Initial Population

In May 1977, the institution was comprised of four relatively comparable units, three of which were general treatment units and a fourth which was a Drug Abuse Program (DAP) unit. Typically, an incoming inmate was assigned to one of the three general units so that each general unit received every third commitment. Men who expressed an interest in treatment for drug related or alcohol problems were transferred after classification to the Drug Abuse Program unit, according to the space available there. Thus, the general units were virtually identical in terms of inmate characteristics such as race, type of sentence, length of sentence, prior record, personality characteristics, intelligence, and education. Offenders with all levels of offense seriousness were found in all dormitories, as were inmates of every custody level and propensity toward violence. The units were similar in program involvement, incidence of violence, and numbers of men who were discipline problems.

Classification of the Initial Population

As one aspect of efforts to provide a safer and more humane institution for both inmates and staff, it was decided to separate the more predatory inmates from those who were most likely

to be victimized. If the troublesome inmates could be separated from the others, two results could occur: (1) The special needs of the extreme groups could be met better and (2) those inmates who do not require special attention, but were hampered by the less well adjusted men, would be able to pursue their programs with less distraction. To test staff reaction to such a classification system, staff were asked to nominate inmates for inclusion in either a group that had a history of acting out or a group seen as being acted against. Of the 563 men in the institution, approximately 40 were nominated for the first group and 30 were nominated for the second group by both custodial and program staff. The agreement among staff was taken as an indication that the general categories were understandable to the staff and that reliable discriminations could be made.

To classify the initial population formally, a system was developed drawing upon the experience of other Federal institutions as well as the unique features of the Tallahassee institution. A number of institutions had achieved success in the classification of inmates based on behavioral ratings; the Federal Correctional Institution at Oxford, Wisconsin, and the U.S. Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, had both implemented classification systems which were seen to be helpful in management decisions (Smith & Fenton, 1978). At Tallahassee there was a history of psychological research not available to the other institutions, specifically in the study of inmate characteristics and their relationship to past histories, educational and vocational accomplishments, and criminal records.

Components of the Classification System

For the initial population, decisions were based primarily on the inmates' behavior as rated by staff members who knew them and secondarily by their performance on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). From data on these two aspects of the person, decisions were made as to whether a man belonged to either one of the extreme groups or to the middle group with no marked predilection toward either extreme.

Behavioral ratings were scored using the Correctional Adjustment Check List that had been developed by Dr. H.C. Quay (1973) under contracts with the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Staff members were asked to indicate which statements

were descriptive of the man, and from these responses the inmate's scores on the scales were derived. The inmates were known to the program team members for as little as one month or as long as 18 months and in some cases longer, so that the staff were able to make informed ratings of the inmates. The men obtained scores on the four factor-analytically derived scales: I. Aggressive-Psychopathic; II. Immature-Dependent; III. Neurotic-Anxious; and, IV. Manipulative.

Men who had elevated scores ($t \geq 65$) on the Correctional Activities Check List Scale I (Aggressive-Psychopathic) were classified in the first extreme group. Men with elevated scores on Scale II (Immature-Dependent) and/or Scale III (Neurotic-Anxious) were classified into the second extreme group. Men with an elevated score on only Scale IV (Manipulative) or no elevated scores were assigned to the third, nonextreme group.

The MMPI has a long and well-documented history of use in the area of personality measurement. Originally developed as a measure for psychiatric disturbance, recent evidence indicates that it is useful in the description of strengths and weakness in nonpsychiatric populations. As a personality measure, it has been the subject of studies in colleges and universities, outpatient clinics, mental institutions, and prisons. Applications of the MMPI to prison work have involved inmate classification, adjustment to prison, and aggressive behavior (Dahlstrom, Welsh, & Dahlstrom, 1975).

Based on the similarity of the MMPI profiles, a classification system was developed using an earlier population of the institution at Tallahassee. Dr. E.I. Megargee and his associates (1977) at Florida State University developed the system, and with collaboration of Dr. Bohn of the Federal Correctional Institution the characteristics associated with membership of the MMPI types were described (Megargee and Bohn, 1977). The MMPI groupings reflected personal differences in past histories, family backgrounds, educational and vocational accomplishment, and motivation. To avoid the surplus meanings that often accompany the labels given in the classification system, the groups were designated according to the letters in the alphabet with the phonetic call names: Able, Baker, Charlie, etc.

The MMPI types in the Tallahassee system can be arranged according to their average elevation and therefore their average extent of pathol-

ogy. Group Item had the lowest average scores and thus was seen as the best adjusted group. The most disturbed group as indicated by their MMPI profiles is How. From the least elevated average profile to the most elevated profile, the MMPI types arrange themselves in this order: (1) Item, (2) Easy, (3) Baker, (4) Able, (5) George, (6) Delta, (7) Jupiter, (8) Foxtrot, (9) Charlie, and (10) How. The first four types (Item, Easy, Baker, Able) are comprised of relatively stable individuals; the last two MMPI types (Charlie, How) are the most disturbed.

Implementing the Classification System

In order to implement a classification system within the institution, several coordinated steps were required. First, the initial population had to be classified systematically, as described. Secondly, a centralized admission and orientation (A&O) unit for the identification and classification of incoming inmates had to be established. Thirdly, a series of orderly moves would be required to rearrange the existing population into units that reflected the classification. These steps are presented in a logical order and in an abstract situation, one step would be completed before the next would be undertaken. In actuality, the steps were interdependent and efforts were made to begin work on at least the first two issues simultaneously.

After the initial population had been classified, the admissions program was set up on one-half dormitory to classify new incoming men. The program also provided an opportunity for staff to present a new frame of reference for the incoming residents, a frame of reference which included the expectation of certain appropriate behaviors on the part of the inmate as well as an explanation of the classification goals and operation. One-half dormitory was essentially cleared of residents, and all new commitments after the starting date in May were assigned to the new admissions unit.

In the other half of the dormitory housing the admissions and orientation (A&O) unit, the Voluntary Program Unit was established. This offered a more intensive series of program activities designed for self-help, and men in this program were selected from the other general units. Thus, every individual coming through the new A&O program and being assigned to a general unit would have a chance to be accepted into the

Voluntary Program Unit and to leave the dormitory of his initial assignment.

Following the establishment of the A&O program and the Voluntary Program Unit, the extreme groups in the general treatment dormitories were isolated. At the outset, men from both extremes were living in all the dormitories so that in each dormitory any given caseload had examples of the more aggressive inmates mixed with the less aggressive ones. Thus, from the dormitory designated for the aggressive men, all of the less aggressive men had to be moved, and vice versa. Only those men who were undoubtedly in the wrong living unit were moved, so that of the 563 men in the initial population, 105 moved from one unit to another.

These movements within the institution produced three general treatment units with distinctive populations. In one dormitory (Unit B), those men who were seen as likely to be aggressive or to act out against others constituted the extreme minority. The remaining residents in that unit, and in fact the majority of residents in that unit, were seen as belonging to a relatively well adjusted, unremarkable group. The MMPI types that were overrepresented in Unit B were the types of Charlie, Delta, and Foxtrot.

In the dormitory housing the other extreme group (Unit C) those men who were considered likely to be acted against for a variety of reasons constituted the minority of residents. The remaining men assigned to that unit were taken from groups who were thought to be able to live with this somewhat disturbed minority and not become upset by their presence or take advantage of them. The MMPI groups most notably overrepresented in this second dormitory were types Charlie and How. It can be seen that type Charlie, one of the more disturbed MMPI types, is overrepresented in both dormitories receiving difficult inmates. The differences between Charlies sent to one unit and those sent to another is a topic of further study.

The third general treatment unit received no inmates who were identified as belonging to an extreme category. This dormitory (Unit O) had an initial population in which the MMPI groups overrepresented were those of Item, Able, Easy, and George. Referring to the MMPI Typology, it can be seen that these are the least elevated profile groups, and they would be expected to be among the best adjusted inmates. It cannot be overemphasized that the majority of all inmates within

the institution qualify for acceptance into this third, nonextreme, general treatment unit. With more flexible architecture, the composition of the units could be kept less mixed. As it was, the unremarkable, nonextreme inmates filled the third general treatment unit and in addition made up the majority of inmates in both of the units housing the two extreme minorities.

Inmate Management Classification as an Ongoing Process

It is one accomplishment to classify an existing institution on the basis of staff ratings and test scores when the inmates are well known to their program teams, and it is an entirely different accomplishment to be able to classify men in a similar system after only a short time within the institution. For this management classification system to be operational, there had to be the capability of making classification decisions after a short period of time. The revised A&O program was established to achieve classification after 2 weeks within the program.

Basic Elements in the System

The primary elements in the classification system as implemented through the A&O program remained the same; that is, Behavioral Ratings and MMPI Types. Staff members were not able to make distinctive behavior ratings on inmates after the 2 week period, so that these scores became less distinctive for the inmates and were of less use in the decisionmaking. The MMPI scores maintained distributions similar to those found in the earlier studies, so that the MMPI Types gradually became the primary source of classification decisions. For these new inmates, a review of the record was also added, following the Check List for Analysis of Life History Records developed by Dr. Quay. This check list is based on the man's Presentence Investigation (PSI) which is available on approximately 40 percent of incoming commitments at the time of classification. Other items of information added to the procedure were physical size, estimated intelligence, educational functioning level, and age.

Two institutional considerations that remained a basic part of the classification procedure were the efforts to make equivalent assignments to the general treatment units and efforts to maintain a racial balance in each unit. Typically each unit would receive the same number of assignments

each week. This could be accomplished because the majority of incoming residents were categorized in the unremarkable majority, so that no inmate belonging to an extreme group was ever sent to an inappropriate dormitory. The racial balance in each unit was kept somewhat close to the overall institution racial percentage.

The Classification Procedure

The classification decisions were the result of reviewing several factors in each individual case in addition to the institutional considerations already discussed. The information used was examined in the order of significance to the procedures, so that the first data taken into account became the MMPI Type. From this first fact, a man was tentatively categorized as likely to be in one of the extreme minority groups or in the unremarkable majority. The second factor examined was the information in the Behavioral Ratings and the comments made by the staff in conjunction with the ratings. The ratings tend to be below the cutting points used in the initial population; the added comments sometimes made up for the lack of distinctiveness in the behaviors checked. Information from the ratings was compared with the tentative decisions made from the MMPI Type. The data were seen as confirming or refuting the first tentative classification. Thirdly, the record review scores were studied to determine whether or not the record indicated a definite direction for the man.

As the procedures evolved, before a final decision was reached, the physical size of the man in question was considered. Age, intelligence level, and educational functioning level were noted to see if these factors added anything critical to the understanding of where the man was likely to get along the best within the institution.

Classification of the First 6 Months

Within the first 6 months of operation, information was collected on 377 men who were committed to the FCI. These men were assigned to the three general units almost equally with 112 (30 percent) going to Unit B, 107 (28 percent) going to Unit C, 114 (30 percent) to Unit D, and 17 (4 percent) being Study and Observation cases and assigned to remain in Unit A. Unit D, as would be expected, received in its assignments the highest percentage of minimally elevated, non-disturbed types. Specifically, the MMPI Types of Item, Able, and Easy were overrepresented in the

men sent to Unit D directly from A&O. On the other hand, the more elevated and disturbed groups of How, Charlie, and to a lesser extent George were underrepresented in the men sent to that unit. In keeping with one of the aims of the system, Unit D was sent those men who were expected to be able to live without the special attention required of those sent to the units housing the more extreme men, Units B and C.

The extreme minority assigned to Unit C were those men who for one reason or another were thought to be less aggressive and acting out towards others. The MMPI Types overrepresented in that unit's assignments were How, George, and Baker. How is the most elevated MMPI group and this group probably included the highest percentage of MMPI's considered to be of questionable validity. More and more men whose profiles resemble this group are being asked to retake the test, with the explanation that their scores raised questions about the way they took the test the first time.

Unit B received a group in which the overrepresented MMPI Types were Able, Foxtrot, Charlie, and Delta. Unit B was the dormitory to which the aggressive minority were sent. Able types were sent there because of presumed survival skills, while the other three MMPI Types were sent there on the assumption that they were more likely than most inmates to act aggressively within the institution.

Evaluation of the Classification System

In research situations, one ideal is to isolate the effects of an independent variable with measures before and after introduction of the variable. The implementation of the classification system at Tallahassee approximated this situation in that many of the institution variables remained essentially the same before and after the classification system was begun. The institution count remained approximately the same, the target population did not change, programs were not changed significantly, staff size was constant, the administrative organization of the institution was not changed markedly. The single major change was the classification system and the resultant issues that it forced. The institution, of course, continued to make efforts to improve existing services, accountability, sanitation, operation of the maximum-security unit, and other aspects of the institution. These efforts were primarily carried out through the refinements of existing pro-

cedures rather than sweeping changes in operations.

Management Information System

As part of the program to evaluate the classification system and its effects on the institution, a data retrieval system was developed following earlier efforts at the institution to monitor administrative measures of performance. Information on various aspects of institution operations were tabulated and compared with the activities of earlier periods. This reporting system was based on a variety of data collection procedures, gathering information from the functional units and from several centralized offices within the institution. Results were published weekly as the institution "Management Information System."

The six general categories of information were these:

- I. Caseload
- II. Management Classifications
- III. Releases
- VI. Incident Reports, Assaults
- V. Escapes, Furloughs, Other
- VI. Education Enrollments

Before and After Comparisons

Because information had been systematically collected before the introduction of the Management Classification System, it was possible to compare institution performance before and after the system was introduced in May 1977. Measures on the Management Information System for the 9 months preceding the quarter in which the system was begun (July 1976-March 1977) were compared with 9 months afterward (July 1977-March 1978). The experimental units in this study were B, C, and D because these units remained essentially the same in both periods, except that their populations were later determined by Management Classification decisions. Unit A was divided between the A&O program for new commitments and the Voluntary Programs Unit which selected men from Units B, C, and D.

Four primary measures in these before and after comparisons were average cell house count, number of incident reports, number of referrals to the Institution Discipline Committee, and number of assaults. Briefly summarizing, the average cell house count within the institution showed an increase. As expected, the number of men from Unit B in the cell house increased. With respect to incident reports, that is, written reports of

institution rule infractions, there was no difference in the overall level of reports, but there was a highly significant difference in the distribution of reports in the three experimental dormitories. Referrals to the Institution Discipline Committee are made on those incident reports that are deemed to be too serious to be handled at the unit team level. There was an overall drop in the number of cases referred to this committee, with the largest number of these referrals coming again from Unit B.

Number of assaults is the most easily understood measure in the evaluation of the Management Classification System. A major impetus for initiating this program was the level of violence in all dormitories, and a primary goal of the system was to make at least some of the institution safer. Comparing the before and after periods there was a 46 percent decrease in assaults within the institution (24 v. 13). Within this general decrease in assaults, the patterns for the experimental units show statistically differences in distribution. This decrease is most remarkable in Unit D which had 11 assaults in the Before period and none in the After period. Unit C showed a slight decrease in assaults (6 v. 4), and Unit B showed a definite increase in these figures (5 v. 9). In the last quarter of the period being presented, the only assault within the entire institution was attributable to Unit B.

Conclusions and Implications

Level of violence decreased.—One of the stated objectives of this program was to make the institution safer for both staff and inmates. It seems evident that the absolute level of violence within the institution was lessened after the introduction of the classification system and assignments to living units. As expressed by one administrator, a serious assault has become a rare event rather than an expected occurrence in the institution.

Differential reduction in violence.—Although the total institution experienced a decrease in violence, this was not equally true across units. The experimental unit receiving the least troublesome men, Unit D, showed the most dramatic improvement on this issue, with no assaults after the system was introduced. This record was matched by the Voluntary Programs Unit; however, that unit accepted only those men who had agreed to participate in an intensive program designed for self-help and the unit included a

smaller number of men. The personal characteristics of the men assigned to Unit D, the developing positive peer culture which attempted to remove violence as an acceptable problem-solving approach, and the expectation of success within the institution that was promulgated by both staff and inmates all seemed to have positive effects.

Within the unit where the aggressive types were assigned, Unit B, the initial reaction was in the opposite direction. The amount of violence and the number of assaults increased immediately after the classification was introduced, representing a deterioration of unit performance. In spite of the fact that this unit was being sent the men most likely to act out against others, in the last reporting quarter assaults were almost as low in that unit as in the other units.

Inmate morale.—From inmate report, the classification is well understood by the inmate population. Many of the incoming men can make a reasonable appraisal of their own circumstances and the likelihood that they will be assigned to a particular unit. One quantifiable aspect of inmate morale is the number of Administrative Remedies filed by inmates. These remedies represent the last formal step in the complaint process before a matter is submitted to the U.S. Courts. The number of remedies filed before and after the classification system began increased slightly (120 v. 143). At face value, this would suggest that there has been no gain in this area. Using national statistics, however, the number of remedies has at least doubled in the typical institution as inmates become more adept at using the process. Maintaining a constant level of remedies in the face of great anticipated increases is taken as a measure of progress and a reflection of improved inmate morale.

Staff performance and morale.—Effects of the system can be seen in measures other than those focused on inmate performance. Recent evaluations by personnel from outside the institution have commented on the attitude, communication level, and performance of the staff in the present arrangements. The functioning of unit management in the institution, long a subject of disagreement and some tension, seems to have been made more understandable and acceptable to evaluators from outside the institution. Unit management audits have reflected this optimistic, forward looking outlook expressed by the performance of the staff. In another area, audits of the custodial

staff have reflected their increased capacity to work on issues particularly relevant to their job, within the explicit frame of reference of the more homogeneous groupings.

Staff utilization.—With the segregation of troublesome inmates from those not likely to be troublesome, it was hoped that institution staff could be utilized more efficiently. This was borne out in the experience of the institution in this study because the remarkable decrease in assaults noted in the nonextreme unit was actually accomplished with a lessened amount of staff coverage. This reduction in need for staff in that unit permitted extra coverage in the other units housing the inmates predicted to need more support and security. These results support the differential use of institution custodial staff in response to differing inmate requirements.

In summary, the classification system has implications for inmate classification, institution management, and resource utilization. The MMPI types as described can provide a strong beginning base for classification, although there is a need for further research and perhaps refinement of some groups. Assignment of men with compatible types to the same living unit can contribute to the improved functioning of an institution and the desired effects of lessened institutional violence. With respect to resource utilization, inmate groups most likely to experience difficulty can receive the increased staff attention that is needed, and thus staff can be assigned more efficiently.

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