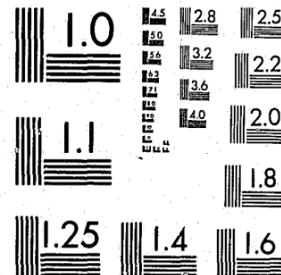


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CLASSIFICATION OF OFFENDERS ORDERED TO MAKE RESTITUTION
BY I-LEVEL AND BY SPECIFIC PERSONALITY DIMENSIONS

NCJRS

NOV 3 1980

Kathleen M. Heide

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

ACQUISITIONS

The present essay discusses the classification of offenders ordered to make restitution by Interpersonal Maturity Level¹ and by specific personality characteristics as an aid to studying the perceptions of offenders and to exploring further whether personality characteristics are correlated with restitution outcome. To date, restitution research has ignored personality characteristics of offenders. Identification of the offender variables, which are associated with the successful completion of restitution, has been largely limited to an analysis of demographic and social variables and prior criminal involvement.² There remains a pressing need to study the perceptions of offenders and to explore further whether personality characteristics of offenders are correlated with successful completion of the restitutive sanction. It seems naive, for example, to continue to assume that all offenders are equally capable of understanding the restitutive concept and of completing restitution obligations successfully.

One of the facts agreed upon in the field of corrections is that offenders are not all alike. That is, they differ from each other not only in the form of their offense, but also in the reasons for and the meaning of their crime.³ (Emphasis added.)

Kathleen M. Heide is a research analyst for the National Evaluation of Restitution Programs at the Criminal Justice Research Center, Albany, New York.

This research effort is a sub-study of the "National Evaluation of Adult Restitution Programs," supported by Grant No. 76-NI-99-0127, and awarded to the Criminal Justice Research Center, Albany, New York by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice. The evaluation is being co-directed for the Criminal Justice Research Center by Marguerite Q. Warren and Alan T. Harland and monitored for LEAA by Phyllis Jo Baunach. Points of view or opinions stated in this proposal are those of the author alone and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

FOURTH SYMPOSIUM ON RESTITUTION
AND COMMUNITY SERVICE SENTENCING

Minneapolis, Minnesota
September 24-26, 1980

Despite the empirical verification of differences such as these among offenders in nonrestitution-related research,⁴ the restitution literature continues to address offenders as though they were a homogeneous class of people. Proponents of restitution and many criminal justice agents responsible for its imposition and enforcement seem to assume that most adults will acknowledge responsibility for the consequences of their behavior and will understand the concept of paying back the victim. The criminal court, in addition to assuming that adults see themselves as personally accountable for their behavior, seems to make the further assumption that offenders recognize that behavioral alternatives are available to them.⁵ A number of theories of human development, however, do not equate the acknowledgement of personal accountability and awareness of behavioral choices with adulthood. Warren, using a theory of interpersonal maturity, for example, maintains that an individual is able to assume personal accountability for his/her behavior and to recognize different behavioral ways of dealing with certain situations only when (s)he has reached a certain stage along a continuum of personality growth.⁶

Acknowledgement of personal accountability for one's behavior and awareness of behavioral alternatives may be among the important personality variables differentiating restitution outcome. Interpersonal Level of Maturity theory (I-level) may provide a useful framework to understand why some offenders succeed on restitution and why others fail. The study of I-level and other personality dimensions may help to distinguish those offenders who are appropriate and inappropriate for specific types of restitution programs.

A study is currently underway to classify offenders ordered to make restitution by Interpersonal Maturity Level and by other personality characteristics to achieve several aims.⁷ These aims, which will receive more extensive discussion, following a review of available studies of offender characteristics associated with payment of restitution, can be summarized as follows:

- A. To assess the relationship of Interpersonal Maturity Level (I-level) and subtype to successful completion of restitution
- B. To assess the relationship of restitution program characteristics to success or failure on restitution for offenders by I-level
- C. To assess the relationship of specific personality characteristics of offenders to restitution outcome
- D. To assess the gains made by using personality data alone or in combination with demographic, social, and prior record data to predict which offenders will succeed in a restitution program and under what types of conditions

II. REVIEW OF OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH PAYMENT OF RESTITUTION

The findings of previous research into restitution have been extensively reviewed by Harland and are available elsewhere.⁸ Since the primary focus of the present study is the relationship of personality characteristics to success on restitution, studies reporting outcome data are particularly relevant to this research proposal. The current state of knowledge of the factors related to the discharge of restitution obligations is unfortunately no better than the information available on restitution in general. In fact, Harland concludes in his review, the situation is worse.

In view of the pervasive shortcomings of research into restitution generally, ranging from an exasperating deficiency of basic descriptive information to an almost total lack of attention to many of the factors related to its use, it is perhaps unremarkable that even less information is available about the circumstances surrounding completion or nonfulfillment of restitutive obligations.⁹

Available studies can be divided into three overlapping categories: surveys of numbers and types of programs, evaluations of specific programs, and descriptive accounts of existing practices.¹⁰ Of the three, the latter two can reasonably be expected to provide data on the factors associated with restitution payment.

Three studies which attempted to assess the effectiveness of restitution programs within the last decade are currently available.¹¹ The kinds of outcome data that each of these studies reports vary enormously. However, all of the

studies are similar in their lack of attention to the characteristics of offenders associated with success or failure on restitution. The interim report of the Minnesota Experiment¹² does not analyze the characteristics of offenders associated with the payment of restitution. Its analysis of factors related to the unsuccessful completion of restitution is limited to reporting the percentage of forfeiture due to situational factors such as deaths in the program and returns to prison.¹³ The evaluation report of the Restitution in Probation Experiment, Polk County, Iowa¹⁴ takes a similar approach in its analysis of factors associated with restitution outcome. The Iowa study restricts its analysis of the "regularity of restitution payments" to "type of case." Type of case is categorized by offender involvement with victim, victim representative, counselor-victim.¹⁵ The evaluation summary report of the Georgia Restitution Shelter Program¹⁶ is equally narrow and nonilluminating with respect to offender characteristics associated with successful completion of restitution. Its analysis of restitution outcome is limited to the following statement: "Of all terminations in this program, 59 percent (241) were successful terminations."¹⁷

The descriptive accounts of existing restitution practices have been somewhat more attentive to the characteristics of offenders associated with success or failure on restitution. Two of the three available studies¹⁸ provide data on the factors related to the payment of restitution and include offender characteristics in their analyses of outcome data. Analyses of the relationship of offender characteristics to restitution outcome in both the British Magistrate's Court reported by Softley¹⁹ and the Minnesota Probation Study reported by Chesney²⁰ are almost exclusively limited to demographic and social variables, and prior record data. Although the attitudes of offenders were solicited in the Minnesota study, the interview questions were limited to the offender's assessment of the fairness of restitution and his/her approval of restitution as an alternative form of punishment.

This review of evaluation studies and descriptive accounts of existing restitution programs has revealed that virtually no attention has been given to identifying the personality or psychological characteristics of offenders associated with successful completion of restitution. The one study that did include the offenders' perceptions of the restitution sanction did not explore the impact of the offenders' perceptions in areas which may appear unrelated to restitution in the absence of an underlying theoretical framework. The need for a study to address the offender characteristics associated with restitution outcome in depth is apparent; the relationship of personality factors to success on restitution remains to be explored.

III. AIMS OF THE STUDY

A. To assess the relationship of Interpersonal Maturity Level (I-level) and subtype to successful completion of restitution

The Interpersonal Level of Maturity Classification System devised by C. Sullivan, M. Q. Grant, and J. D. Grant²¹ is a theoretically derived system that classifies people into one of seven categories, according to the complexity of their socio-perceptual framework. The assumption is made that all individuals, from infancy through old age, strive to make sense of the external world and over time develop a "relatively consistent set of expectations and attitudes" which becomes for them, "a kind of interpreting and working philosophy of life." The theory is essentially an ego development theory in which movement across an invariant stage sequence is determined by the resolution of a crucial interpersonal problem at each of the stages. Resolution requires that the individual become increasingly more involved with other persons and social institutions to make greater perceptual discriminations regarding his relationship to himself and the external environment.

As these discriminations are made and assimilated, a cognitive restructuring of experience and expectancy takes place. A new reference scheme is then developed; a new level of integration is achieved.²²

Every person does not advance to equal points along the developmental continuum and very few individuals, if any, reach the ideal of social maturity associated with level 7. The characteristics of the individual's present socio-perceptual integration partly determine the "potentiality for change and the direction, intensity, and character of reorganization." If the developing child is presented with an extremely stressful or threatening experience at any of the stages, the theorists proposed that (s)he will develop "a real resistance to change" and may make desperate attempts to maintain the only security (s)he has known by rigid adherence to his/her present level of development.²³ Research has established that the range of maturity levels found in an adult offender population is from Integration level 2 (I₂) to Integration level 5 (I₅).²⁴ The main perceptual and behavioral characteristics of individuals classified at these levels of personality development can be summarized briefly.²⁵

Integration Level 2--The individual classified at this level is primarily concerned that the world and everyone in it respond to his/her needs. Since this individual's emotional involvement with others is limited to whether they give him/her what (s)he needs, (s)he neither appreciates the feelings of others nor can explain, understand, or predict their behavior. In addition to lacking an appreciation of the reasons for other's behavior, the person at this integration level is unaware that his/her behavior may have an effect on others and frequently behaves impulsively. (S)he does not experience remorse for any of his/her past or present behavior. Instead (s)he is likely to feel that (s)he has been wronged, "the victim of an unreasonable, inexorable, hostile, and confusing world."

Integration Level 3--The person classified at this level is primarily concerned with identifying who the powerful people are in any given situation. Unlike the individual at integration level 2, the person at level 3 at least is aware that (s)he must do something to bring about a giving response from others and searches for rules and formulas that will help him/her manipulate the environment in order

to get what (s)he wants. The person at level 3, however, does not yet appreciate that other people are unit personalities with needs and feelings different from his/her own. Instead (s)he sees them in stereotypic ways and relates to them to the extent that they are useful to him/her. (S)he may try to manipulate others by conforming to the demands of whoever has the power at the moment or by controlling others through attack or intimidation. The person at integration level 3 frequently denies that (s)he has strong feelings about things or deep emotional involvements. Since (s)he perceives people as objects to be manipulated and lacks an internalized value system, (s)he feels no internalized guilt or need to make amends for his/her behavior.

Integration Level 4--The individual at this level of personality development is concerned with making something of himself/herself and being recognized for his/her ideals or interests, his/her potentialities or accomplishments by those (s)he admires. (S)he is capable of making long range plans and of delaying his/her response to immediate stimuli. The person at level 4, unlike individuals at earlier stages, is able to evaluate his/her behavior and that of others against an internalized set of standards. In addition to recognizing the influences of others and being sensitive to their expectations, (s)he has some perception of the role that needs and motives in self and others play in behavior. The person at this level is aware that behavioral choices are available to him/her and may experience guilt when (s)he fails to behave in accordance with the values (s)he holds. (S)he is capable of entering into a reciprocal relationship with another person whose needs, feelings, ideals, or standards of behavior are similar to his or her own.

Integration Level 5--The person at this level continues to perceive himself/herself as personally accountable for his/her behavior. (S)he is increasingly more aware of different ways of behaviorally coping with events than individuals whose personality development is less advanced. Instead of rigidly adhering to a role and/or its accoutrements, (s)he begins to distinguish roles for self and others

which are appropriate for different occasions. Although the individual at this level may wonder which of the roles is "the real me" on occasion, (s)he is aware of continuity or stable action patterns in his/her own life and in the lives of others. Unlike individuals at earlier stages of development, the individual classified as I_5 is able to appreciate people who are different from him/her and to understand what they do and how they feel. (S)he is truly capable of empathizing with others because (s)he can compare his/her impressions of events and activities as a subjective observer with those of others.

By examining the characteristics associated with integration level 2 through 5, it is apparent that individuals do not see things in the same way and do not react similarly across levels of personality development. I-level theory would predict that the requirement to pay restitution would not be equally meaningful to all offenders. For the restitutive concept to make sense to the offender, it would seem necessary for the offender to perceive the nature of his/her relationship to the victim, to have some awareness of the victim's needs, and to appreciate the notion of paying back the victim for damages caused by the offender. Interpersonal level of maturity theory suggests a way to identify offenders who are likely to succeed in paying restitution or performing community service and those who are likely to fail.

The foundation on which the notion of restitution seems to rest is that most adults will acknowledge responsibility for the consequences of their behavior.²⁶ To the extent that this statement is an accurate portrayal of the restitutive theme, one can hypothesize that offenders who assume some accountability for their behavior and that of others will be more likely to complete successfully the restitutive sanctions under various types of conditions than offenders who do not see themselves as accountable for their actions. Individuals for whom personal accountability and responsibility are generally meaningful dimensions are

classified as I_4 and up in the I-level scheme. Thus, interpersonal level of maturity theory would predict that offenders classified at I_4 and higher would be more successful in completing their restitutive obligations successfully than offenders classified at I_3 and lower.

If the I-level classification system is employed in studying offenders who are ordered to make restitution, prediction of success and failure in completing restitutive obligations does not need to be restricted to level of socio-perceptual development. In working with offender populations, Warren found that juvenile delinquents and adult criminals had characteristic ways of behaving in and coping with the external world. These behavioral styles were related to the offender's level of integration or I-level but not exclusively defined by it because there were two or more behavioral styles empirically associated with each theoretically defined level. Thus, Warren identified two behavioral subtypes at I-level 2, three at I-level 3, and four at I-level 4, the levels which comprise most of the juvenile delinquent population.²⁷ The four subtypes found at I-level 4 have also been found to encompass the behavioral styles of offenders classified at I-level 5. No further subtypes have been identified at this level of integration. From these behavioral descriptions, it is possible to predict the subtypes, as well as the I-level groups, which are more likely to be successful on restitution.

At levels 4 and 5, for example, two neurotic or "conflicted" subtypes and two nonneurotic subtypes have been identified. Individuals who comprise the neurotic subtypes generally feel anxious and conflicted due to guilt and feelings of inadequacy dating back to childhood and characteristically behave in ways that are self-defeating. Although these types of offenders may say that they want to change in order to improve themselves and their relationships with others, they seem to have invested in maintaining their neurotic response pattern. Instead of trying to resolve longstanding anxieties and pressures, the neurotic subtypes

deal with their difficulties by ruminating upon the same events or by trying to outrun their problems. For the neurotic subtypes, criminal behavior has some private meaning and is part of the neurotic pattern of coping.

In contrast to the neurotic subtypes, the non-neurotic subtypes have a positive self image and appear relatively more in control of their lives. For one of these types, the Situational Emotional Reactor (Se), criminal behavior is an atypical emotional response to a crisis situation. It is not part of a negative life script. Because this subtype tends to judge his/her behavior severely and sincerely wants to make up for the difficulty that (s)he has caused others, the Se offender would seem more likely to pay restitution than the offender with a strongly neurotic behavioral pattern.

The other non-neurotic subtype, the Cultural Identifier (Ci), would also seem more likely to meet his/her restitutive obligations than the neurotic subtypes. Even though criminal behavior is an act deliberately undertaken to achieve some well-defined end in accordance with a deviant value system, this subtype would seem to be a better candidate for restitution than a neurotic individual with a more conventional value system. The Ci offender, unlike the offender whose behavioral response is extremely rigid and self-defeating, is capable of assuming new modes of behavior and of finding new solutions when the present ones no longer seem adequate.

B. To assess the relationship of restitution program characteristics to success or failure on restitution for offenders by I-level

I-level's utility in the restitutive context is not limited to predicting the level and types of offenders who would seem minimally capable of grasping the purpose of the restitutive sanction and of successfully completing restitution with little or no trouble. The theory also suggests ways by which offenders, who perceive the world less complexly and who respond less maturely than offenders

classified at I₄, could be helped to succeed in making restitution or in performing community service. By considering the relationship of ego development to structural characteristics of restitution programs, it seems possible to predict those offenders who are likely to succeed in paying restitution or in performing community service under varying degrees of program structure, those who are likely to succeed under certain types of conditions, and those who are unlikely to succeed under the most favorable of conditions.

Degree of structure has been used generally to refer to the amount and diversity of informational components present in the environment which the individual could use in evaluating or formulating responses to that environment. The higher the structure, the more these elements could be thought of as "prepackaged" in some organized, coherent ways.²⁸

Research in educational settings²⁹ and in various psychotherapeutic situations³⁰ using conceptual level, an ego development theory which is equally concerned with personality and environmental dimensions,³¹ has shown that an individual functions more optimally when the organization of the environment in which (s)he is presently operating is matched to the complexity of his/her personality. Recently Brill has demonstrated that the reactions of delinquents to environmental factors in a single residential unit varied by ego development level.³² Subsequent research using conceptual level has confirmed that delinquent subgroups function quite differently in residential environments which vary in program structure.³³

From I-level theory, one would predict that offenders who assume personal accountability for their behavior and who recognize different ways of behaviorally coping with the world could function well in different types of restitution programs. Research comparing the differential effectiveness of two treatment programs, which varied in degree of program structure, for delinquent youths has suggested that the perceptions of individuals at I-level 4 are sufficiently complex that they can adapt comfortably to the environmental conditions inherent in different types of treatment programs.³⁴

Interpersonal maturity theory would suggest that offenders who are concerned with identifying power and who function comfortably when the external structure is clearly defined would be more likely to complete restitution when the supervision by the probation officer is extensive. These offenders would also be more likely to complete restitution if their participation in a restitution program is contingent upon meeting the rules than when the external structure is poorly defined and/or the enforcement lax. Thus, theory would lead one to predict that offenders classified at I₃ could succeed in making restitution/performing community service, even though the notion of accountability for one's behavior is not salient, provided the external structure of the program supervision was clearly defined.

The behavioral subtypes which would seem likely to succeed in restitution programs under certain types of environmental structure can also be identified by I-level theory. Behavioral characteristics associated with the I₃ passive conformist subtype (Cfm), for example, suggest that this type of offender would succeed in a restitution program in which the program structure was clear. This subtype, more than the other subtypes at level 3, is particularly receptive to cues from others as to how to behave in order to gain their approval.³⁵

For individuals who are almost completely unaware of the external structure, of the consequences of their behavior, and of their impact on others, and who see others only in terms of their own needs, the picture is more bleak. From theory one would be led to predict that for these offenders who are classified at I₂, successful completion of restitution or community service will be unlikely under the most favorable of conditions.

C. To assess the relationship of specific personality characteristics of offenders to successful completion of restitution

A psychological inquiry into the reasons for offenders' success or failure on restitution need not stop at the examination and thorough analysis of the relevance of socio-perceptual development to restitution performance. In the process of assessing interpersonal maturity level, the relationship between specific personality characteristics and the offender's completion of the restitution sanction can be profitably explored. Inherent in Interpersonal Maturity theory are two types of personality characteristics which can be studied independently of I-level: one type is concerned with structural dimensions and the other is oriented to content dimensions.

The difference between the two types of dimensions is reflected in the definitions associated with the words, "structure" and "content," and can be readily illustrated in the context of I-level and subtype dimensions:

structure--the arrangement or interrelation of all the parts of a whole; manner of organization or construction³⁶

content--all that is contained in something; everything inside³⁷

I-level dimensions, on the one hand, focus upon structural aspects of the developing organism in order to describe qualitatively different patterns of perception across levels. The subtypes, on the other hand, essentially reflect differences in the content of behavioral responses made by individuals whose styles of perceiving things will be quite similar if they are classified at the same integration level. For example, if a group of offenders are asked to describe themselves, their self-definitions will reflect both structural and content dimensions. Structural dimensions, on the one hand, may include the complexity of the offender's perceptions and the internal-external orientation of his/her thought processes. Content dimensions, on the other hand, may include an assessment of whether the subject feels positively or negatively about himself/herself.

Some merit would seem to exist in studying the relationships of these dimensions to restitution outcome, independent of their relationship to I-level theory. Some of these dimensions when examined alone may be found to be significantly related to successful completion of the restitution sanction.

Structural dimensions which may be valuable to explore in the context of research on restitution outcome include complexity, perceptual differentiation, internal or external orientation of thought patterns, and internalization of a value system. Complexity will be used to illustrate the ways in which structural dimensions may be related to successful completion of restitution.

Complexity may be defined as the degree to which offenders are able to perceive and to integrate the relationships between two or more events. Offenders whose perceptual style is complex would seem more likely to succeed in making restitution than offenders whose way of perceiving is less complex. Understanding of the restitutive concept seems to require that the offender integrate the perception of the relationship of self to the victim with the perception of the relationship of the payment of restitution to his/her behavior in the criminal incident. In addition to identifying the structural dimensions which are associated with success on restitution, the degree to which these dimensions must be developed to make a difference in restitutive outcome warrants study.

The relationship of offender perceptions to successful completion of restitution can be explored in many areas. Content areas that may be hypothesized to relate to restitution outcome range from the incident and subsequent involvement with criminal justice agents and agencies to the offender's family and friends, his/her feelings and self-description, work and school involvements, and future plans. The offender's perceptions of his/her family, friends, work, school, and future orientation on the surface might not seem to be related to the offender's performance on restitution. However, the offender's perceptions in some of these areas, despite their low face validity, might be more strongly correlated to

success or failure on restitution than his/her perceptions of the incident, the victim, and processing through the criminal justice system. Hirschi has found that attachment to teachers, parents, and friends and commitment to school were negatively correlated with delinquency.³⁸ Control theory would predict that perceptions in some of these areas might be related more strongly to successful completion of restitution than perceptions of variables in areas more closely related to the imposition of restitution.

D. To assess the gains made by using personality data alone or in combination with demographic, social, and prior record data to predict which offenders will succeed in a restitution program and under what types of conditions

A re-examination of the first three aims of the study reveals the logical culmination of this study:

- A. To assess the relationship of Interpersonal Maturity Level (I-level) and subtype to successful completion of restitution
- B. To assess the relationship of restitution program characteristics to success or failure on restitution for offenders by I-level
- C. To assess the relationship of specific personality characteristics of offenders to restitution outcome

If the findings of the study reveal that interpersonal maturity level and other personality dimensions are related to restitution outcome, the question becomes whether knowledge of personality data makes an appreciable difference in our ability to predict which offenders will succeed in a restitution program and under what types of conditions. Personality data are more difficult to collect than demographic, social, and prior record data. Collection of personality data can be expected to increase the cost of processing offenders through the criminal justice system due to the utilization of staff time and other programmatic resources. In addition to increased system costs, the collection of personality data would seem to increase the intrusiveness of the offender's experience with the criminal justice system.³⁹ The offender would be required to provide more information to restitution staff, some of which would seem to be of a more personal nature than

the demographic and social kinds of data typically collected.

Given the likelihood that the utilization of personality data will increase the operating cost to the criminal justice system and the intrusiveness of the offender's experience with the criminal justice system at least in the short run, a frank assessment of the gains made by using personality data alone or in combination with demographic, social, and prior record data must be made. The first three aims of the study are designed to address whether the utilization of personality data makes a difference in our ability to predict restitution outcome. The fourth aim asks quite fittingly, how substantial is that difference?

IV. IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

A recent review and assessment of research in restitution revealed the unfortunate fact that "most commonly, the research on restitution has not concerned itself with theory."⁴⁰ The present study, in contradistinction to many others before it, proceeds on a sound theoretical basis. The proposed research unites, for the first time, psychometric methods with theoretical constructs in a restitution field setting. It contrasts sharply with earlier empirical approaches that have restricted their analysis of offender characteristics to the identification of variables that are predictive of success or failure on restitution without any theoretical basis for the finding.

The present research is designed to encompass two broad objectives. It combines a construct validation of Interpersonal Maturity Theory with an empirical scientific inquiry into the personality characteristics of offenders that are related to restitution outcome. Thus, the implications of this study will be of interest to theoreticians, researchers, and practitioners.

The present study will assess the validity of using I-level theory in a field setting. The earlier discussion of the aims of this study revealed that it is possible to predict from I-level theory those offenders who are likely

to complete their restitution obligations and to identify the conditions under which certain types of offenders can succeed in a restitution program. To the extent that the data allow, the utility of Interpersonal Maturity Theory in identifying the types of offenders who are appropriate and inappropriate for participation in restitution programs under varying conditions will also be addressed in this study.

The proposed research also has implications for practice since an assessment of the relationship of personality characteristics of offenders to restitution outcome will increase our knowledge of restitution experiences in areas previously unexplored. Furthermore, if Interpersonal Maturity level and other personality dimensions are found to be related to restitution outcome, the types of offenders who are likely to succeed on restitution and those who are likely to fail will be identified. Beyond the identification of personality characteristics associated with success on restitution, the importance of other findings that may result from this study are far reaching. If the characteristics of restitution programs are found to be related to restitution outcome for certain I-level subgroups, the conditions under which certain types of offenders are likely to succeed on restitution will be identified.

Identification of the program conditions under which certain types of offenders are likely to succeed and those under which they are likely to fail has direct implications for practitioners and program planners. I-level theory, alone or in combination with other personality dimensions, may offer a coherent theoretical basis for assigning different types of offenders to different types of restitution programs which are more suited to their level of personality development. When the program structure needs of the population of offenders ordered to make restitution are known, new restitution programs or strategies may be planned to meet the needs of different types of offenders.

FOOTNOTES

¹Clyde Sullivan, Marguerite Q. Grant, and J. Douglas Grant, "The Development of Interpersonal Maturity: Applications to Delinquency," Psychiatry 20(1957):373-385.

Restitution is used throughout this essay in the broad sense of "reparation." Thus, the term or variations of it, such as the restitutive concept or restitutive sanction, are intended to include both financial restitution and community service obligations. These concepts, however, are clearly distinguishable from the standpoint of the victim.

Financial restitution involves the payment of monies by an offender to the victim of the offense for losses, damages, or injuries that were incurred as a result of the criminal incident.

Community service involves the rendering of service by an offender to a designated third party, such as a local charity organization or government agency, rather than to a victim directly involved in the crime, as a compensation for any harm caused by the offender's behavior. In some cases in which the latter sanction is used, the crime is "victimless" unless the state or community is defined as the victim.

This study is designed to assess if offenders who share the same personality characteristics are equally likely to understand the meaning of financial restitution and community service, and to complete these obligations successfully.

²See Steven Chesney, "The Assessment of Restitution in the Minnesota Probation Services," Summary Report: Minnesota Department of Corrections, 1976; and Paul Softley, Compensation Orders in Magistrates' Courts (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1978).

A study is currently underway to identify some of the offender, victim, offense, and criminal justice processing characteristics correlated with success completion of restitution in several jurisdictions. Forthcoming research report, National Evaluation of Adult Restitution Programs (Albany, New York: Criminal Justice Research Center, 1980).

³Marguerite Q. Warren, "Classification of Offenders as an Aid to Effective Management and Effective Treatment," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 62(1971):239.

⁴See, for example, T. B. Palmer, The Youth Authority's Community Treatment Project: Recent Findings and Overview, California Youth Authority, Summer, 1973: "Patterns of Adjustment Among Delinquent Adolescent Conformists (Six Subgroupings of Middle Maturity, Immature Conformists)," Community Treatment Project Report Series: 1971, No. 1, California Youth Authority, Spring 1971; Carl F. Jesness et al., The Youth Center Research Project (Sacramento, California: American Justice Institute, 1972); Carl F. Jesness, Comparative Effectiveness of Behavior Modification and Transactional Analysis for Delinquents (Sacramento, California: California Youth Authority, 1974).

⁵Marguerite Q. Warren, "Intervention with Juvenile Delinquents" in Pursuing Justice for the Child, ed. M. Rosenheim (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

⁶Sullivan et al.

⁷Forthcoming research report, National Evaluation of Adult Restitution Programs (Albany, New York: Criminal Justice Research Center, 1980).

⁸National Evaluation of Adult Restitution Programs, "Research Report #4: Evaluation Objectives, Evaluation Methodology and Action Research Report," (unpublished report, Albany, New York: Criminal Justice Research Center, 1979), pp. 9-43.

⁹Alan T. Harland, "Review of Restitution Literature," (unpublished paper, Albany, New York: Criminal Justice Research Center, 1980), p.44.

¹⁰National Evaluation, "Research Report #4," p. 9.

¹¹Gerald T. Flowers, "The Georgia Restitution Shelter Program," Georgia Department of Offender Rehabilitation, 1977; Roger O. Steggerda and Susan P. Dolphin, "Victim Restitution: Assessment of the Restitution in Probation Experiment," Polk County Department of Program Evaluation, Fifth Judicial Department of Court Services, Polk County, Iowa, December 1975; "Interim Evaluation Results: Minnesota Restitution Center," Minnesota Department of Corrections, May, 1976. (Mimeographed.)

¹²"Interim Evaluation Results: Minnesota Restitution Center."

¹³Ibid., pp. 27-32.

¹⁴Steggerda and Dolphin.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 44-49.

¹⁶Flowers.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁸Chesney; Softley; Roger Tarling and Paul Softley, "Compensation Orders in the Crown Court," Criminal Law Review (1976):422-428.

¹⁹Softley.

²⁰Chesney.

²¹ Sullivan et al.

²² Ibid., p. 374.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Warren, "Classification of Offenders as an Aid . . .," pp. 248-249.

²⁵ Sullivan et al.; Marguerite Q. Warren, "Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification: Juvenile Diagnosis and Treatment of Low, Middle, and High Maturity Delinquents," California Youth Authority, 1966.

²⁶ See Chesney, pp. 19-22. In a survey undertaken to assess attitudes towards the use of restitution, Chesney reported that 85% of the judges and 89% of the probation officers interviewed stated that restitution would help to strengthen the sense of responsibility in some offenders. These judges and probation officers obviously assumed that the notion of accountability for one's behavior was already a meaningful concept that needed to be strengthened rather than instilled.

²⁷ Warren, "Classification of Offenders as an Aid . . .," pp. 248-249.

²⁸ Ronald Brill, "Implications of the Conceptual Level Matching Model for Treatment of Delinquents," in Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 15 (1978):232.

²⁹ D. E. Hunt, Matching Models in Education: The Coordination of Teaching Methods with Student Characteristics (Toronto, Canada: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971); P. D. Tomlinson and D. E. Hunt, "Differential Effects of Rule Example Order as a Function of Learner Conceptual Level," Canadian Journal of Behavior Science 3:235-237.

³⁰ J. F. C. McLachlan, "Benefit from Group Therapy as a Function of Patient-Therapist Match on Conceptual Level," Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice 9(1972):317-323; J. F. C. McLachlan, "Therapy Strategies Personality Orientation and Recovery from Alcoholism," Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal 19(1974):25-30; D. E. Hunt, R. H. Hardt, and J. B. Victor, Characterization of Upward-Bound: Summer and Academic Year, 1967-1968 (Syracuse University Youth Development Center, 1968).

³¹ O. J. Harvey; D. E. Hunt, and H. M. Schroeder, Conceptual Systems and Personality Organization (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1961); Hunt.

³² Ronald Brill, "Effects of Residential Program Structure and Conceptual Level on Treatment of Delinquent Boys," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1977).

³³ Brill, "Implications of the Conceptual Level Matching Model . . ."; Ronald Brill and Marge Reitsma, Action-Research in a Treatment Agency for Delinquent Youth: Final Report No. 1 (Montreal, Canada: University of Montreal, GRIJ, May, 1978).

³⁴ See Jesness et al.

³⁵ Warren, "Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification"

³⁶ David B. Guralnik, ed., Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, 2nd. ed. (Cleveland, Ohio: William Collins and World Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), p. 1413.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 307.

³⁸ Travis Hirschi, Causes of Delinquency (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1969).

³⁹ These projected consequences may be undesirable from the standpoint of the purposes and objectives of some restitution programs. A program designed to benefit the offender may define reduced recidivism and reduced intrusiveness of the offender's experience with the criminal justice system as the objectives that it should pursue. A program which focuses on benefitting the criminal justice system may see the reduction of operating costs as the primary objective to achieve. For a more extensive discussion of program purposes and objectives, see National Evaluation of Adult Restitution Programs, "Research Report 5: A Guide to Restitution Programming, (unpublished report, Albany, New York: Criminal Justice Research Center, 1979).

⁴⁰ Joseph Hudson and Steven Chesney, "Research in Restitution: A Review and Assessment," paper presented at the Second National Symposium on Restitution, 1977.

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