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A REVIEW OF OFFENDER
CLASSIFICATIONS AND TYPOLOGIES

By

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Report Submitted to:

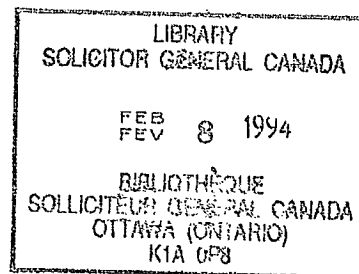
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ABSTRACT

This report reviews offender classifications and typologies — those which have had empirical application and those which have not. The report begins with a brief historical review in which the origins and uses of classification are presented. One point which emerges in this section is that classification has had a history of controversy and confusion.

The next section examines the major attempts at classification as well as some applications of typologies and classifications. Most classifications have had an aetiological orientation and are therefore only indirectly related to offender supervision strategies. With regard to those classification systems which have attempted to have some practical import, the majority have been concerned with prison management. This report does review, however, some attempts at classification which directly relate to offender supervision. The major weakness of these systems is that they tend to recommend differential treatment strategies for different types of offenders without presenting a theoretical or empirical justification for these recommendations.

The third section discusses classification in a general manner. The overriding importance of the purposes or goals of a classification is examined first, with a view to understanding how the purposes of classification largely determine its other characteristics. Various writers' views about what properties a 'good' classification should have are then reviewed. Lastly, this section discusses some methodological issues which are common to any classification or typology.

The last section summarizes the major considerations presented in the foregoing section and, using these points, makes recommendations for further classification research. The report ends with a qualified note of optimism for the future of classification in corrections.

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SUMMARY

This report represents a critical review of offender classifications and typologies. It is intended to contribute towards a long range research program concerned with improvements in the effectiveness and economy of parole supervision procedures. As such, the primary emphasis in this report is on classifications capable of being used for differential supervision purposes, i.e., "diagnostic" classifications.

The first section provides a brief historical outline of the development and uses of offender classifications. It is noted that, within corrections, most classification schemes have been concerned with facilitating the management of prison inmates. Outside of corrections, classification has been largely aetiological in orientation, i.e., intended to clarify the underlying causes of criminality.

Among the notable early attempts at aetiological classification are those of the Italian Positivist School; specifically, the typologies of Lombroso, Ferri and Garofalo. Essentially, they adopted a "physical-constitutional-hereditary" approach to classification, although in their later writings they tended to recognize the importance of psychological and sociological factors in the aetiology of crime. Meanwhile in England, Mayhew and Moreau were among the first to recognize the distinction between 'occasional' and 'once-only' offenders and persistent, habitual or career criminals.

In the United States, early attempts at classification were primarily concerned with inmate management, initially using simple classes of inmates, e.g., classes based on sex, age and the relative seriousness or dangerousness of the criminality of offenders. Gradually, as institutions became specialized and their programs more sophisticated, inmate classification also became more sophisticated. The increasing diversity and

complexity of the criminal justice system in general, and corrections in particular, expanded the expectations placed on classification. One of the consequences of this development has been increased confusion about the nature and capabilities of classification.

The second section reviews classifications which apply to adult offenders. Only a few classifications have had practical application. The section begins by observing that classifications and typologies themselves have been classified. Four of the most common ways of categorizing classifications are on the bases of their (i) methodology, (ii) focus, (iii) orientation and (iv) purpose. Thus Roebuck, for example, classified typologies according to their orientation, identifying four major orientations: the legalistic approach, the physical-constitutional-hereditary approach, the psychological-psychiatric approach, and the sociological approach.

The Positivists, such as Lombroso and Ferri, developed classifications of the constitutional kind. Essentially, the constitutional approach assumes that criminality is caused by certain (abnormal) biological predispositions which, under certain circumstances, produce criminal behaviour. The major criticism of this approach is that the nature of the relationship between the constitutional factors and criminality has never been spelled out, let alone demonstrated.

The psychological-psychiatric approach has been largely influenced by psychoanalytic theory, although more recent classifications of this sort have attempted to take some sociological and psychological factors into account (e.g., Abrahamsen's The Psychology of Crime). In some respects, because of their orientation, psychological-psychiatric classifications have been more readily adaptable to treatment purposes than have the other types of classifications. Common criticisms

of these kinds of classifications include the claims that they have a) used improper sampling, b) provided inadequate definitions of their terms, and c) neglected validation studies. In addition, most of the diagnostic attempts have been concerned with juvenile rather than adult offenders.

Sociological classifications have also focused primarily on juveniles and hence are of unknown worth with regard to adult offenders. Just as psychological-psychiatric classifications have been criticized for their neglect of social factors, so too have sociological classifications been criticized for their lack of attention to psychological factors. It is noted, however, that this criticism applies essentially to aetiological classifications.

Classifications have been classified in ways other than on the basis of their orientation. Some writers have distinguished between two major methodological approaches to classification, viz., inductive and deductive. Inductively produced classifications are considered advantageous in so far as they produce concrete findings.

A third way of classifying classifications has been by their focus; i.e., whether they focus on criminal behaviour or the criminals. Rubenfeld, for example, distinguishes between what he calls "offender" classification systems and "offense" systems. Offense systems, he notes, tend to have generated prejudice against classification in so far as systems of this sort are perceived to produce stereotypes (e.g., sex offenders, property offenders and so on). Roebuck, on the other hand, argues in favour of those classifications which identify specific patterns of criminal behaviour because a) an all-inclusive typology is not feasible at the present stage of research; b) crime is relative in time and space; c) the researcher might accomplish more if the quest were

confined to one particular group of offenders, and d) this approach would facilitate replication studies.

Lastly, classifications have been classified on the basis of their purpose. Some of the major purposes attributed to classification are to facilitate managerial tasks (e.g., prison management), to provide guidelines for the supervision and treatment of offenders, and to contribute to aetiological theories of crime. Classifications vary in terms of their abilities to satisfy these purposes — a fact which was not always recognized in early attempts at classification.

Classifications in general have also been distinguished from "checklists". Basically, a checklist is an itemized list of offenders' problems or areas of need which, although it implies the potential for classification, does not, in itself, actually constitute a classification. Examples of checklists are the "Probation Evaluation Score Sheet" used by the probation departments in Dallas and Houston, Texas; the "Case Analysis Profiles" used in an experimental study conducted in the Ottawa office of the National Parole Service; and a number of scales developed by the Rehabilitation Research Foundation (e.g., the Environmental Deprivation Scale (EDS), the Maladaptive Behavior Record (MBR) and the Weekly Activity Record (WAR)).

This report employs a rather rough distinction between types of classifications, distinguishing 'criminal' classifications and typologies from 'treatment' classifications and typologies, where the latter relate more directly to offender treatment and supervision programs. It has been observed that many typologies exhibit similar groupings of offenders. At a 1966 conference on delinquent typologies, a cross-classification of a number of classification systems revealed that there were four common types of offenders shared by the selected classifications, viz., the Prosocial Offender, the Antisocial Offender, the Pseudosocial Offender and the Asocial Offender.

Among those typologies reviewed as "criminal classifications" in this report are the typologies of Cavan, Morris, Lindesmith and Dunham, Clinard and Quinney, Guttmacher, Huffman, Russon, Sinclair and Chapman, Roebuck, Flanagan and Kapture, and Gibbons. The major common criticism of these schemes is that they are largely concerned with the aetiology of crime and therefore have only indirect relevance to practices. Frequently, when these classifications do attempt to specify the different types of 'treatment' that should be given to the identified different types of offenders, the 'treatments' suggested are vague and unjustified or unexplained. Anyone who would want to use these classifications for practical supervision purposes would, in all likelihood, want to know why one type of offender should receive counselling, for example, whereas another type should not. Unfortunately, these classifications generally do not provide any explanations in this regard. In addition, with the exception of Gibbons' typology, none of the classifications have been tested empirically. In Gibbons' case, it was found that only 49% of his sample could be classified using his typology.

Included among the classifications which have had some practical application are those developed by the Suffolk County (New York State) Probation Department, the Oklahoma Department of Corrections, the San Francisco Project, the New York State Parole Department, the Los Angeles County Probation Department, as well as the Quay Adult Typology. In general, these applications have tended to be simplistic and have failed to provide a contribution towards differential supervision strategies apart from indicating types of offenders who need more rather than less supervision.

Investigations for this report revealed very few typologies which relate directly to supervision. Hood and Sparks have observed that not only is there a need for the development of

new typologies for new treatment strategies, but considerable work also needs to be done with respect to classifying existing treatment strategies as they actually (as opposed to theoretically) occur. Among the few treatment-oriented classifications are those of Gibbons, Sandhu, the California Youth Authority, the quasi-classification scheme developed in the Canadian CaVIC Study, and the Wisconsin Probation and Parole Bureau. While these schemes are more promising with regard to supervision than the former kinds of classifications, they do not adequately confront differential supervision strategies. The CaVIC study was not intended to provide this kind of analysis, but its findings nevertheless do suggest fruitful directions for further classification research. The Wisconsin study employs a "checklist" and a risk prediction scale to assign clients to different types of supervision. While it is exceptional in the detail of some of its treatment strategies, it neglects to explain how clients are assigned to these different supervisory approaches.

The third section considers some of the principal issues relating to the development and use of classifications and typologies, e.g., the nature of classification, its purposes, methodology, focus and orientation, etc. Some conclusions regarding the characteristics of a 'good' typology are presented as well as some major methodological consideration.

The section begins by noting the predominant position of a classification's purpose(s) vis-à-vis its other characteristics. Classification has been considered instrumental towards a variety of goals, e.g., offender management, treatment, decision-making, staff training and development, theory-building and so on. The ability of different types of classifications to serve these purposes varies. Accordingly, it is misguided to hope that one classification system would be adequate for use by the entire criminal justice system whose components have differing and sometimes conflicting goals.

Traditionally, criminologists have thought that an aetiological classification could serve the dual purpose of building theory and guiding differential treatment programs. This view was primarily based on the medical model of offender treatment. However, this approach has gradually been abandoned — largely due to difficulty in identifying and "curing" alleged causes of criminality and the lack of positive treatment outcomes. Nevertheless, another kind of medical model does suggest an alternative approach; viz., the analogy to the "cure" of a broken arm in which one does not need to know the causes of the break in order to fix it. In this model, a body of knowledge based on empirical research is built up which informs practitioners of effective "cures" for different ailments without necessarily referring to causes at all. If this view was adopted, an inductive approach to the formulation of classifications and typologies would be more appropriate.

Classifications have, in addition to different purposes, different functions as well. Some of these functions are positive; e.g., they encourage conceptualization of problems and a common perspective thereby exposing inconsistencies; they save money and other limited resources through their contribution to efficient practices; they act as a shared means of communication thereby fostering inter-agency and intra-agency understanding and the coordination of efforts; and so on. Some functions are 'neutral'; e.g., classification can provide a new device for ascribing blame for unsuccessful outcomes. Lastly, some functions are negative; e.g., they run the risk of promoting stereotyping, they could undermine practitioners' morale and so on.

Numerous writers have proposed features which a 'good' classification system or typology should have. In general, it is claimed that a typology should possess clarity and objectivity, be comprehensive and should clearly specify its purpose(s).

With regard to those classifications which are intended for supervision purposes, it has been suggested that they should specify who is to implement them and resolve controversial decisions about them; they should be "meaningful" to practitioners, have a "face validity" and be formulated in an understandable language. They should be sufficiently objective and quantifiable to facilitate research and interagency use, and yet at the same time permit some subjective judgment on the part of practitioners. Furthermore, they should allow for the reclassification of clients and should be integrated into the agency's recordkeeping system.

The information sources used by the classification should be reliable and uniform. Some writers have suggested that the various tests customarily used by classification schemes should be acceptable to the offenders themselves and should include behavioral indices rather than simply "pen and pencil" responses to hypothetical situations. In addition, it has been suggested that offenders themselves should be involved in their own classification. Lastly, it is generally held that classification should be consistent with the individual dignity of offenders and basic concepts of fairness.

Methodological considerations occupy the last part of this section. Perhaps one of the most problematic considerations is whether the classification should be based on theory or empirically derived; i.e., should it be deductive or inductive? After reviewing the advantages and disadvantages of both these approaches, it is concluded that, for supervision purposes, classifications should be inductive, although it is recognized that this approach can never be purely inductive but will inevitably depend upon some theorizing, however vague.

Another consideration is whether or not to use legal offence categories to classify offenders or whether knowledge of offence is at all relevant. In general it is concluded that offence is not particularly relevant to supervision strategies apart from indicating potential offender dangerousness — which may have only indirect implications for supervision.

It is also suggested that treatment classifications should focus on only those offenders who are going to receive the 'treatment'; i.e., the treatment classification should not attempt to classify the entire population of offenders. Associated with this suggestion is the view that this classification should occur at that point in the criminal justice system which selects or otherwise produces the target population.

Lastly, some writers emphasize the importance of involving practitioners and offenders in the construction and implementation of a classification.

The final section of this report summarizes the major comments and suggestions presented in the foregoing sections and makes recommendations about a possible approach to the construction of a new classification. It is suggested that the new classification use empirical findings regarding the effectiveness of differential intervention programs to classify offenders. Some of the problems confronting classification are noted, e.g., Canada's difficult population distribution and the uncertainty surrounding the existence and/or development of effective intervention programs. It is possible that if these difficulties could be overcome, classification could prove to be a useful instrument in the supervision of offenders.

If any classification system is to be more than merely a paper program, then there need to be specific consequences; this means that an individual determined to be a type "A" is in a number of meaningful ways treated differently than an individual classified as a type "B".

(Levinson 1975: 376)

PREFACE

Some of the writers on offender classifications and typologies make a distinction between a classification and a typology. Hood & Sparks (1970: 115), for example, observe that "classification" refers to a method of grouping individuals into classes which are defined by one or more variables and which may include all the actual or possible combinations of these variables. "Typology", on the other hand, is used to refer to any set of mutually exclusive types, each of which may be defined or identified by different kinds of criteria; in addition, it is sometimes specified that the variables defining the types are 'empirically interconnected'¹. Given the nature and purpose of the present report, this distinction between classification and typology has been ignored and the two terms are, for the most part, used interchangeably.

Originally, before research for this report began, it was thought that there would be numerous classification systems in operation in various jurisdictions in the United States or elsewhere. Research revealed, however, that this is not the case. Consequently, instead of reviewing existing classifications which have some relevance to the supervision of parolees with a view to assessing their practical strengths and weaknesses, this report was forced, by the nature of the available material, to review classifications in a more general manner. The history of classification shows that most classifications (and the thinking about classification) has been concerned either with criminal aetiology or prison management. There are comparatively few classifications oriented toward differential supervision — particularly for adult offenders. Nevertheless, the literature on classification contains a great number of views and suggestions which warrant consideration in the development of a classification. Accordingly, this report reviews these issues and makes suggestions for future research in this area.

1. See also Clinard and Quinney (1973: 10).

Typically, classifications have been concerned with what could be called "normal" offenders. That is, while most classifications recognize special types of offenders, such as those referred to as psychotics, they are, for the most part, concerned with the 'normal' types of offenders who comprise the majority of the offender population. Other special groups of offenders that are generally excluded from offender classification systems and typologies are women, the mentally retarded and native offenders.

Part of the Ministry's interest in classification is based on its potential use for staff (e.g., parole officer) development and deployment strategies. In this report, staff deployment and development are treated as secondary to differential supervision strategies. In other words, the major emphasis is placed on classification for differential supervision purposes for it is argued that only when types of intervention strategies have been developed and assessed with regard to their scope and relative impacts can a rational basis for the development and deployment of practitioners be established.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

This brief history of the growth of classification schemes and typologies is based primarily on the American experience for three reasons: most of the work in this areas has occurred in the United States; most of the available literature is concerned with developments in American criminology; and, criminology in Canada is predominantly influenced by American criminology. Nevertheless, some reference is made to the more notable developments produced elsewhere. This review covers mainly aetiological and some "diagnostic" classification schemes; prediction schemes are not reported in any detail as there is more extensive coverage of this material available in other reports from the Ministry¹. Lastly, this section provides a short overview without going into detailed presentation of any particular classifications; the more relevant classifications for the purposes of this report are reviewed in greater depth in the following section.

As suggested above, there are different kinds of offender classifications and typologies. Most of the work has been concerned with aetiological classifications, i.e., classifications designed to clarify the underlying causes of criminality. Diagnostic classifications or typologies oriented toward treatment practices and managerial classifications are relatively more recent undertakings, although it is reasonable to suppose that informal schemes, created and used by practitioners themselves, have been in use since the beginning of any attempts to identify and control criminals.

Early practical applications of offender classifications were oriented toward prison management. As prisons became specialized, there was an increase in the use of classification of inmates in

1. See, for example, Nuffield's report (Canada, Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1977a).

order to adapt "work methods and facilities to the characteristics of offender groups" (National Advisory Commission 1973: 198). In England, classification developed as a consequence of the demand for prison reform during the Elizabethan period. The creation of Bridewell in 1557 for the custody of "rogues, vagabonds and other misdemeanants" represents one of the first attempts to classify and separate offenders according to the seriousness of their offences (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 2). Further classification and segregation took into account such factors as the offender's age, sex and type of offence, as well as his(her) history of recidivism. In Rome, for example, in 1704, the opening of the Hospice of San Michele marked the start of specialized institutions for youthful offenders (Barnes and Teeters 1959: 336).

Similar rudimentary forms of classification occurred in the United States as early as 1790. The Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia was one of the first to separate women and children from men offenders. In 1844, offenders were further identified and segregated on the basis of their sanity (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 2). The first American Prison Congress, held in 1870, endorsed the following principles derived from the Irish Penal System:

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 classifications, 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 characters, as well as separate establishments for women and for criminals of the younger class.

(Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 3)

Meanwhile, the British writer, Henry Mayhew, developed a descriptive classification of offenders consisting of innumerable types of extremely refined distinction. For example, he distinguished several types of "mobsmen"

... or those who plunder by manual dexterity
— as light-fingered gentry.

- a. Buzzers, or those who abstract handkerchiefs and other articles from gentlemen's pockets.
 - (i) Stockbuzzers, those who steal handkerchiefs.
 - (ii) Failbuzzers, 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-screwdrivers, those who wrench watches from their guards.
- e. Shoplifters, those who purloin goods while examining articles.

(Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 189)

Mayhew was one of the first to recognize the distinction between "occasional" or "once-only" offenders and the persistent, habitual or career criminal. This distinction is generally regarded as extremely important in any classification scheme designed for aetiological purposes (Hood and Sparks 1970: 115).

A couple of decades later, in 1889, Lombroso published his Criminal Man, now recognized as a seminal piece of work in Positivist criminology. According to Lombroso's aetiological approach, the criminal behaves criminally because he is born with a certain biological constitution predisposing him towards crime. The criminal constitution is characterized by certain physical stigmata and deviations. Among Lombroso's measurements were deviations in skull size and various other organs, as well as aberrations in blood pressure, emotional reactions, hearing,

taste, smell and handwriting. He divided criminals into (a) the born criminal, (b) the epileptic criminal, (c) the criminal of irresistible passion, (d) the insane and the feebleminded criminal and (e) the occasional criminal. In his later career, Lombroso came to recognize the importance of sociological and psychological factors in the aetiology of crime.

Enrico Ferri, a student of Lombroso, classified criminals in a somewhat similar way to Lombroso's scheme, using categories of essentially the same import. Ferri also eventually stressed the importance of psychological, industrial, economic, political, climatic, geographic and family conditions to crime (Roebuck 1967: 32-33). Another member of the Positive School, Garofalo, examined criminals in terms of their psychological make-up rather than their bodily constitutional types. He analyzed the criminal's personality in relationship to the circumstances and modus operandi of the crime, thereby producing a criminal typology of four types: murderers, violent criminals, criminals lacking in probity and lascivious criminals (Roebuck 1967: 33; Lindesmith and Dunham 1941: 307-314).

The foregoing "physical-constitutional-hereditary" (Roebuck 1967) approach has had little following in the United States¹. In 1910, Ellwood criticized the works of Ferri and others, proposing instead an aetiological classification system which he felt was much more scientific. Among the first to use both hereditary and psychosocial factors, Ellwood developed a classification consisting of three types:

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
- (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 6-7)

During this period, classification for managerial purposes was receiving as much if not greater interest in American criminology. As institutions and institutional programs were becoming more elaborate and refined, classifications also became more complex. It is claimed that in 1883 concern about the inmate's ability to work at various enterprises (e.g., in the mines, etc.) led the Alabama Penitentiary physician to record the inmate's medical history and ultimately this practice spread and resulted in the classification of 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) (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 4). By the early 1900's, classification in the United States was becoming much more "sophisticated". Up to this point classification consisted primarily of sorting prisoners for administrative and management purposes. As it has been noted, men were separated from women, hardened cases from first offenders, workers from non-workers, and so on.

In the early 1900's, however, "treatment" was emerging as a worthy concept in corrections. For example, in 1909, the "clinical" approach to classification was proposed by Dr. William F. Healy who undertook studies on juveniles in Illinois using intelligence tests. By 1919, intelligence tests and psychiatric reports were routine procedures for all inmates being considered for parole in Illinois. Meanwhile in New Jersey, Edgar Doll was pioneering his vision of corrections and classification and developed a system of classification which became a model for the rest of American corrections. In 1922, he organized the following system which is strikingly similar to prison classification systems being used in the present day:

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, constitutionally abnormal, and so on.

A psychopathic, demented, epileptic, inferior, peculiar, maladjusted, perverted, syphilitic, drug addict, chronic alcoholic, and so on. [sic]

A psychological group, including the gifted, bright, average, dull, inferior, feeble-minded, 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, relatively 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, 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 principle causes and contributing factors of his criminality. The inclusion in one or more of the groups makes the prisoner automatically eligible for the several lines of corrective treatment which are provided for them.

(Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 7)

Despite the promise of "treatment" implied in the foregoing statement, classification was, and still is, in large part management oriented, its primary function being to facilitate prison administration. In this regard, Kornfeld et al. (1975d: 8) observe that Doll was one of the first to espouse the still popular but "naive suggestion that classification will force correctional managers to develop or discard programs":

This method of classification...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 other 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.

Treatment ideology and associated classifications ultimately came into full swing in the 1930's with the advent and acceptance of clinical psychology and the "discovery" of offender pathology. Joined with the rapidly growing casework profession, corrections experienced the powerful influence of the medical model of treatment and the proliferation of Reception and Diagnostic Centres designed to classify offenders according to their "pathologies", "needs" and "problems". Case histories and social investigations provided new dimensions for classification and provided impetus to the "rehabilitation" orientation and treatment rhetoric of that and subsequent periods. The publication of the Handbook of Casework Classification and Treatment Methods for Offenders by the American Prison Association in the early 1930's marked the beginning of intense interest in classification among correctional personnel. During this period, classification was beginning to be seen as useful for treatment as well as management purposes. For example, in 1938, Loveland reported to the American Prison Association that:

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 view 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 means a more effective program for the rehabilitation of individual offenders...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.

(Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 15)

In these words one can see the genesis for most classification orientations that have since been developed and, more importantly, recognize the beginning of the confusion between management and rehabilitation. As Loveland rightly points out, "classification is not of itself a program of rehabilitation" but in so far as classification has been held to promise advancements in both managerial and rehabilitative spheres, the two have come to be almost synonymous. This situation has been aggravated by the fact that prison treatment programs have, by comparison, traditionally received the "short end of the stick" thereby further disguising the fact that they are something quite different from both management and classification, that the latter are simply instruments towards treatment and hence rehabilitation.

In spite of the evolution in thinking about classification away from purely managerial purposes to include the facilitation of treatment, classification systems have remained largely a managerial tool. So pronounced was this trend that it became necessary for advocates of classification to advance some disclaimers in defence of classification's greater potential. For example, in 1938, Stanley P. Ashe reported to the American Prison Association that:

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 groups to somehow make their handling less difficult. This misconception 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 rehabilitated or is permanently segregated as a person beyond redemption.

(Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 19)

Gradually, classification began to assume a rudimentary role in other areas of the criminal justice system, for example, in pre-sentence reports used by judges. However, it was not until after the second world war that developments in offender classifications and typologies were intensified. This phase was ushered in with the 1947 publication of The Handbook on Classification in Correctional Institutions by the Committee on Classifications and Case Work of the American Prison Association and culminated with a flurry of classification schemes emerging in the 1960's. Comparing the 1947 and 1975 versions of this publication, Kornfeld et al. (1975d: 25-26) note that the main differences reside in the fact that "re-socialization" and "reintegration" have replaced "rehabilitation" as the main objective of classification and there has been a broadening of classification to include community-based corrections and other parts of the correctional system apart from prisoners.

In 1947, the Handbook of Correctional Psychology was also published, emphasizing a psychiatric approach to prison classification. Commentators on this period observe that the traditional management-oriented classification systems were, after this time, frequently accompanied by psychiatric schemes. It is perhaps a partial consequence of the convergence of these two different kinds of classifications that the concept of classification required clarification. Hence, in 1951, Loveland felt it necessary to reiterate the view that:

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 on 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 personnel by which these programs can be directed efficiently toward the treatment of the individual.

(Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 30)

It has also been observed that psychiatric classification systems were not a felicitous adjunct to prison management classification — and thus the diagnoses they produced did not, for the most part, get translated into treatment (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 31-32).

In 1960 there appeared a shift away from the institutional-based concept of classification. The Declaration of Principles of the American Correctional Association was among the first to promote the concept of community-based treatment in addition

to custodial treatment, and classification was seen as a means of sorting offenders into the most appropriate treatment among this wider range of treatments. Other innovations such as bail reform and diversion projects were also occurring during this period — adding further impetus to the potential usefulness of classification schemes. However, not only did these changes permit greater enthusiasm for the potential contribution of classification but they also added confusion to the classification concept. Now it was no longer simply the needs of the institution and its inmates which were to be sorted out through classification, but the needs of the entire criminal justice system, with its diverse goals, priorities and 'clientele'. Out of this situation arose many of the classification issues that remain unresolved today: e.g., classification for what purpose, when to classify, how to classify (i.e., deductively or inductively) and so on. Thus, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted in 1967:

Academics and researchers in the delinquency and correctional fields have become increasingly interested in the development of classifications and typologies of offenders that can aid in explaining and predicting delinquent and criminal conduct and in determining appropriate correctional dispositions. Dozens of different classification systems of widely different varieties have been formulated, 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.

(United States President's Commission
1967: 20)

It is probably due to this post-war period of rapid change that the goal of a standardized or regularized typology for all correctional purposes emerged and reflects perhaps the desire for simplicity amid the quickly changing and challenging correctional alternatives more than a solid conceptual grasp of classification and its limitations. Thus, from its comparatively simple origins as a management tool for sorting prison

inmates, classification has been conceived as a means whereby a great diversity of tasks are supposed to be accomplished — varying from staff deployment and program management to rehabilitation (or reintegration) to prediction and evaluation purposes throughout the entire criminal justice system. It is perhaps not surprising that no one classification system has been created which is capable of handling all these demands.

In fact, since the 1960's, developments in classifications and typologies have tapered off. One exception has been in the area of prediction studies. The development of prediction studies is considered to have been started in the United States with the work of Sam Warner in 1923, although he did not attempt a practical application. Hornell Hart later examined Warner's findings and concluded that it might be possible to develop a prognostic score which would distinguish between good and poor parole risks but it was not until 1928 that E. W. Burgess produced the first experience table (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 140). At the same time the Gluecks published their experience table and although they never applied nor validated their technique, Vold concluded in 1931 that both the Burgess and the Glueck scoring systems produced about the same results. A number of alternative systems were subsequently produced in the next ten years resulting finally in the most successful American attempt to date — the California Base Expectancy Tables. The California BES grew out of work done by Herman Mannheim and Leslie T. Wilkins in Britain as well as the preceding American studies. Today it is probably the most popular prediction and risk classification method in use.

The history of classification reveals a number of issues — some of which will be considered further throughout the present report. Specifically, there is ongoing confusion about what classification is and what it can do; limitations resulting from only one approach being used (e.g., either psychological/

psychiatric only or sociological only); and a considerable gap between enthusiastic expectations and comparatively inadequate results. These issues are illustrated in greater detail in the following section which presents the major attempts at offender classifications and typologies.

TYPES OF CLASSIFICATIONS AND TYPOLOGIES

Classifying Classifications

Criminal Classifications and Typologies

Treatment Classifications and Typologies

The selection of typologies and classifications reviewed in this section includes coverage of the major aetiological attempts in this area as well as most of the available typologies which have some relevance to parole supervision and excludes those which pertain to other correctional and criminological tasks such as parole selection, inmate management, theory-testing and building and so on. In addition, juvenile classifications have been excluded with a few exceptions. The reader will notice a lack of classifications relating to special offender types such as women, the mentally retarded and natives, mainly because little or no attention has been given to these groups in the literature. The following review is intended to present the overall nature of the selected classifications along with some assessment of their strengths and weaknesses; the latter issues are discussed more fully in the subsequent sections of this report.

Classifying Classifications

Classifications themselves have been classified by a number of writers in a variety of ways. Four of the most common ways of categorizing classifications are on the basis of their (i) methodology, (ii) focus, (iii) orientation and (iv) purpose. Thus Roebuck (1967), for example, classified typologies according to their orientation, identifying four major orientations: the legalistic approach, the physical-constitutional-hereditary approach, the psychological-psychiatric approach and the sociological approach. An example of the legalistic approach is Roebuck's own typology which is discussed below.

Constitutional Orientation

The constitutional approach attributes criminal behavior to the effects of flaws or inferiorities of the constitution which

are derived largely from heredity or disease. Various combinations of morphological, physiological and mental characteristics are used in the typologies; e.g., physical trait deviation, physical trait inferiority, endocrine malfunction, somatotype and temperament, malstructure of nervous system, disharmonies of physical growth, unregulated bodily functions, epilepsy, encephalitis, mental disease, brain damage, mental deficiency, senility, paresis, infant diseases, abnormal brain waves, constitutional psychopathy (psychopathic personality), etc. Other phenomena such as homosexuality, alcoholism, suicide and criminality are generally included as manifestations of indirect hereditary predisposition. Criminality is viewed as the result of the impact of the environment upon defective or abnormal organisms (Roebuck 1967: 4).

The early constitutional approaches assumed that there was a tendency to commit offences on the part of those characterized by a certain physique (e.g., Lombroso and the other Italian positivists reviewed above). Later approaches posited the existence of certain biological tendencies, e.g., cruelty, dishonesty, degeneracy, etc., which, as personality traits led to crime under certain circumstances. This approach was followed by the view that some people were born with certain predispositions or general "moral weaknesses" which when combined with adverse environmental conditions could produce criminal behaviour. The major criticism of all of these approaches is the fact that the nature of the relationship between the constitutional factors and criminality has never been spelled out, let alone demonstrated (Roebuck 1967: 34)¹.

More recently, some constitutionalists have focused on the hypothesized psychopathic personality of criminals, stemming from genetic or neurological sources. Patridge, Mohr and Newkirk are among the investigators adopting a genetic formulation. The

1. See also Lindesmith and Dunham (1941: 308) for their criticism of some constitutional approaches.

twin studies by Kallman, Yoshiman and Newman and Holzinger are also notable in this regard. Although this research attracts considerable interest, nothing conclusive has so far been demonstrated. Part of the problem stems from difficulty in defining psychopathy (although usual characteristics included are: lack of guilt feelings, asociality, uncontrolled desires, impulsiveness, aggressiveness, inability to relate to or love others). In addition, problems with study samples and difficulties in control have hampered research in this area.

More successful results have been obtained from the neurological approach to psychopathy. While the McCord and McCord studies reported a relationship between psychopathy and abnormal brain functions, only some of these studies included criminals. A number of European studies (e.g., those of Exner and other German researchers) reported findings that relate "real" criminality (as opposed to "occasional" criminality) to a high incidence in the family strain of: mental abnormalities, epilepsy, feeble-mindedness, alcoholism and so on (Roebuck 1967: 36).

In the United States, the physical-constitutional-hereditary approach has had little following. A few writers such as E.A. Hooton, William Sheldon and the Gluecks are exceptions; however, their work has received strong criticism from other American psychiatrists, sociologists and psychologists. The Gluecks classified criminals according to their physique types (mesomorph, ectomorph, etc.) and related these types to types of criminal behaviour. Even more recently, a number of studies have attempted to relate criminality to subjects' EEG readings. Overall, the constitutional approach has had very little success in demonstrating conclusive findings.

Psychological-Psychiatric Orientation

Roebuck (1967:42) notes that it has been psychiatrists rather than psychologists who have pioneered in criminology (particularly in the area of classification) in the United States as practitioners in clinics, guidance centres, courts and institutions. Most of the work done in classification has relied heavily upon psychoanalytic theory. However, in 1960 the work of David Abrahamsen, The Psychology of Crime, signaled the emerging recognition that social and psychological factors interact and criminality may be the result of this interaction. Abrahamsen was one of the first to urge the use of classification within the criminal justice system. He suggested that the classification focus on three dimensions: a) history of criminal and antisocial behaviour, b) ego involvement in the criminal act, and c) the relationship, if any, between the criminal's aggressive drive which produced the criminal behaviour and his emotional and mental condition. Based on his clinical study of criminals in New York State, he proposed the following typology:

- (a) Acute criminals, subdivided into
situational, associational and
accidental offenders;
- (b) Chronic offenders, subdivided into
neurotic offenders, offenders with
neurotic character disorders,
genuine psychopathic offenders,
and psychotics and mentally defectives.
(Roebuck 1967: 43-45)

A variety of psychiatric-psychological classifications have attempted to be more explicitly treatment oriented (e.g., Gutt-macher's scheme reviewed below). The common criticisms leveled at almost all of them have been: a) improper sampling, b) inadequate definition of terms, and c) lack of validation. A number of psychiatric-psychological studies have been concerned with particular types of offenders, e.g., "swindlers", sex offenders and so on. While providing some valuable information

about particular types, they do not advance classification systems. Many other typologies have been concerned with juvenile offenders. Studies such as those by the Gluecks, Argyle, Erikson, Gough and Peterson, Quay and Cameron, Studt, and Sullivan, Grant and Grant have made their mark in criminology and some of them have been used for correctional purposes. Very few of these schemes have been adapted to adult offenders.

Sociological Orientation

While many sociological theories of crime have been proposed — many of which suggest possible classification schemes — very few classifications based on these theories have been developed, particularly for adult offenders. Notable exceptions are the works of Gibbons, Cavan, Clinard, Huffman and Shrag² although their underlying theories or rationales are frequently vague and often criticized. Like the psychiatric-psychological approach, many of the sociological classifications have been concerned with juveniles and hence of unknown worth with regard to adult offenders. In addition, just as psychiatric-psychological schemes have been criticized for their neglect of social factors, so too have sociological classifications been criticized for their lack of attention to psychological factors. It is worth noting at this point, however, that this last criticism has relevance only in so far as the classification is intended to make a contribution toward the aetiology of crime; in a classification designed for other purposes — e.g., inmate management or treatment — it may well be that some variables (either sociological, psychological, biological) are irrelevant. Lastly, considerable sociological focus has been directed at particular kinds of offenders — e.g., white collar criminals, habitual criminals, professional thieves and so on — independent of any attempt to place these types in an overall typological system.

2. Most of these classifications are presented below.

Cavan's typology (late 1950's), while comprehensive, was never empirically tested and Roebuck (1967: 75) suggests it would need some modification before this would be possible. One of the earliest attempts which has influenced numerous subsequent writers is that of Lindesmith and Dunham who typed criminals along a continuum ranging from the "social criminal" to the "individualized criminal". Although this typology has received some empirical validation for juveniles, it has never been tested for adults (Roebuck 1967: 76). This typology as well as some of those based on it are reviewed below.

As suggested above, the fact that criminologists have, in the past, oriented their classifications in exclusively one discipline, rather than being multidisciplinary, has been the source of strong criticism in recent years. Rubenfeld (1967: 6), for example, notes that typological work has suffered from this split in so far as this polarization has produced limited theories and missed valuable interrelationships between social and psychological phenomena. Warren (1966) also has lamented this fact but observes that it has been changing in the post-war attempts at classification. She compared a variety of juvenile classifications and found that there were six classification categories which appear in common among almost all of them, viz.: the asocial, conformist, antisocial-manipulator, neurotic, subcultural-identifier, and situational offender. These consistencies are considered to be encouraging signs of the interdisciplinary strengths of these classifications and promise eventual validation and integration of the disparate approaches³.

3. See also Gottfredson (1972: 77-78).

It will be recalled that criteria other than orientation have been used to classify classification schemes. Another way of doing so has been by their methodology. What this refers to is whether the classification was developed inductively or deductively or whether it was developed from an empirical or theoretical base. Rubenfeld (1967: 6) claims it is important to distinguish between "theoretical" and "research" typologies, between those which have been devised from data adduced from other sources, and those typologies which in one way or another have been directly utilized in research and have some degree of empirical corroboration. Examples of classifications which are theoretical constructions adduced from others' data and theorizing are those by Gibbons and Garrity (1959, 1962) and Clinard and Quinney (1967, 1973). While these kinds of classifications are valuable in terms of providing guidelines for research and suggesting useful hypotheses (particularly aetiological hypotheses), they are not as helpful as the empirical typologies in producing concrete findings. The theoretical typologies leave it up to others to figure out how to operationalize them. Other writers, such as Gottfredson (1972: 76 ff), also recognize the distinction between theoretical and empirical classifications. Examples of empirically-derived classifications are the prediction tables of Mannheim and Wilkins, Gottfredson, Beverly and Babst.

A third way of classifying classifications has been by their focus. Specifically, this refers to whether they focus on criminal behaviour (crimes) or criminals, or, put another way, whether they classify criminal conduct or persons. Gibbons and Garrity (1959: 52-53), for example, distinguish between typologies devoted to identifying specific types of criminals and some of the social and psychological dimensions associated with these types and those directly concerned with the entire universe of criminality such as the Lindesmith and Dunham

typology. They note that there is frequently a congruence between focus and methodology: the offender typologies commonly being empirical and the offence-pattern typologies being theoretical. They point out that empirical problems plague both these approaches: the former approach frequently alludes to an underlying typological scheme without providing the definitional means of singling out one type as distinct from another; the second approach frequently provides descriptions that are too vague for use in the real world. Gibbons (1975a) cites the typologies of Clinard and Quinney, Roebuck and his own typology as being examples of classifications which are concerned with patterns of crimes. Schrag's scheme, on the other hand, focuses on offender types, and the I-level classification is concerned with the personality of delinquents.

Rubinfeld (1967: 6) also notes the difference between what he calls "offender" systems and "offense" systems. One criticism of the latter kind of typology is that it tends to have generated prejudice against classifications in so far as systems of this sort are perceived to produce stereotypes (e.g., sex offenders, property offenders and so on). Those who treat these typologies as heuristic constructs are not troubled by this problem but less sophisticated treatment of such typologies can lead to rigid interpretations.

The person-oriented systems can be further dichotomized into trait versus developmental-dynamic systems. Trait systems, such as those of Hurwitz, Jesness and Quay, attempt to construct stable structures of personality characteristics. Rubinfeld claims that these types of classifications tend to be scientifically more conservative, inductive in methodology, and rely on statistical manipulation to demonstrate differences. They usually use attitudinal and behavioral measures. The developmental-dynamic systems, on the other hand, are normally based on some developmental personality theory and

attempt to collect empirical evidence to demonstrate or modify their hypotheses.

Roebuck (1963: 477-478) is another writer who distinguishes between those typologies which purport to classify the universe of offenders and those which identify specific patterns of criminal behaviour for analysis. The latter, he argues, are preferable because a) an all-inclusive typology is not feasible at the present stage of research; b) crime is relative in time and space; c) the researcher might accomplish more if the quest were confined to one particular group of offenders at a time; and d) this approach would facilitate replication studies by specifying and limiting the focus of research.

Lastly, classifications have been classified on the basis of their purpose. Some major purposes are: to facilitate managerial tasks, to provide guidelines for supervision and treatment and to contribute to aetiological theories of crime. Gibbons (1975a) for example, distinguishes between what he calls "etiological classifications" (e.g., Lemert's discussion of naive cheque forgers) and "diagnostic classifications" (e.g., the I-level classification).

Classifications vary in terms of their abilities to satisfy these purposes. Although in the past it has been assumed that classifications which are primarily aetiological in purpose are also applicable with regard to treatment, the demise of the medical model has meant that this view is no longer considered to be valid⁴. Thus, in summarizing their review of

4. These and similar issues are discussed further below in the section 'Purposes of Classification'.

classifications used throughout the American criminal justice system, Kornfeld et al. (1975d: 80 ff), for example, propose that classifications have four different purposes: security, treatment, management, and rehabilitation. Classification for security purposes is concerned with the task of protecting society from "dangerous offenders" and is designed to generate levels of custody and/or surveillance. Classification for treatment is rather vaguely defined by Kornfeld and his associates. They suggest it is primarily concerned with the attitudes of the staff and their treatment approaches "as they relate to the offender". It is difficult to decipher precisely what they mean by this. Classification for rehabilitation purposes categorizes offenders by degree of change potential and/or susceptibility to therapeutic intervention. Classification for management categorizes offenders in terms of their access to services and resources (e.g., placement into a vocational program). They conclude by implying that classification would be most beneficial if it occurred at the beginning of the offender's entry into the criminal justice system.

The Kornfeld summary is, of course, just one possible formulation of classification purposes and is, in many respects, an inadequate one due to its imprecision. It does, however, raise some important questions such as when to classify and whether or not it is possible to combine all these purposes within one classification scheme. These questions and their associated considerations are explored further after the following presentation of most of the major classifications and typologies.

Classifications in general have been distinguished from what Kornfeld et al. call "checklists". Essentially, a checklist is an itemized list of offenders' problems or supervision needs which, although it implies the potential for classification, does not actually constitute a classification in the sense of being a

comprehensive representation of the total selected population of offenders divided into mutually exclusive classes. An example of a checklist is the point scoring system used by the probation departments in Dallas and Houston, Texas. Their "Probation Evaluation Score Sheet" is divided into five areas: prior criminal history, narcotics (drugs and alcohol), emotional and physical, employment and education, and family ties. Each of these items is assigned a weight from one to five for each offender; the weights represent the importance of the item with respect to success on probation, with the number '5' indicating a positive situation. Kornfeld et al. (loc. cit.) note that the score sheet's primary function is in pinpointing problem areas to be considered by the probation officer in working out a supervision plan. No attempt has been made to test the score sheet's predictive ability. Similar checklists have been used elsewhere in the United States and Canada. The Classification Checklist used by probation officers in San Bernardino County, California consists of: type of offence, danger to community, life support problems, personality and psychological problems, and a summary in degrees of low, medium or high seriousness. In Toronto, Waller's "five dynamic variables" (Waller 1974) associated with re-arrest (plus drug abuse) were used as the basis for supervision planning by parole officers of the National Parole Service (Axon 1973). Ottawa parole officers have recently been experimenting with a similar sort of checklist in their "Case Analysis Profiles" which ranks from one to five the degree of parolees' needs in areas of vocational training, education, employment, income and money management, accommodation, social relations, leisure time use, physical health, mental health, substance abuse and a miscellaneous area. As yet there are no conclusions available regarding the utility of these "checklists".

Criminal Classifications and Typologies

In anticipation of this report's review of typologies which are either directly related to treatment or typologies of treatment itself, this section has been called "criminal classifications and typologies". The typologies and classifications presented here are concerned primarily with criminal behaviour or criminals as opposed to treatment. Most of them are aetiological although some examples of managerial typologies are briefly reviewed. As implied in the foregoing section, this presentation of typologies could be organized along a variety of criteria (e.g., by orientation or purpose, etc.). However, since these are not exclusive categories they are not very suitable for a review of this sort. Accordingly, a rather rough method has been adopted in which classifications which are largely theoretical in formulation are presented first, proceeding unto classifications which have had some application or empirical testing.

Many typologies exhibit similar groupings of offenders. At a conference on delinquent typologies sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health in 1966, a cross-classification of a number of classification systems was attempted. The result indicated many areas of agreement and overlap suggesting the likelihood of validity for the following major types (U.S. President's Commission 1967: 20-21):

The Prosocial Offender

Generally this type of offender identifies with legitimate values and commits crimes only under extraordinary pressures. The crimes tend to be crimes of violence (e.g., homicide or assault) or naively executed property offences, such as forgery. Within typologies, this offender is commonly described as "intimidated", "disturbed", "overinhibited", "anxious", "depressed" or "withdrawn".

It is frequently agreed that this type of offender needs no rehabilitative treatment at all; the major concern being to get him out of the correctional cycle before he is harmed by contact with other offenders. For example, in one study by Strinden (1959) it was found that the lowest recidivism rates occurred among prosocial offenders who served the briefest possible sentences and who were isolated and not involved in therapy programs. By contrast, those who stayed longer and participated in treatment programs (i.e. actively involved with other inmates) did less well.

It is generally held that those prosocial offenders who exhibit neurotic symptoms of various kinds need treatment aimed at resolving the anxiety and conflicts exhibited. It is claimed that these offenders ordinarily need greater insight into the reasons for their delinquent behaviour and need to learn how to manage conflicts and anxieties more effectively. Accordingly, individual and group counseling, psychotherapy and family services are most frequently recommended.

The Antisocial Offender

This type of offender identifies with a delinquent sub-culture and/or rejects conventional norms and values. He is usually described as "primitive", "underinhibited", "impulsive", "hostile", "negativistic", or "alienated". It is generally agreed that he does not see himself as delinquent or criminal but as a victim of an unreasonable and hostile world. His background is commonly inadequate (materially and socially) and tends to reproduce itself in his own undertakings.

It is suggested that this type of offender needs an environment with clear, consistent social demands but one in which concern for his welfare and interests is regularly communicated to him. Group treatment is recommended in order to

increase the offender's social insight and skill. Treatment is aimed at getting him to change his values, self-image, and to identify with the dominant culture.

The Pseudosocial Manipulator

This type of offender is described as not having adopted conventional standards, as being "guilt-free", "self-satisfied", "power-oriented", "non-trusting", "emotionally insulated" and "cynical". Personal histories reveal distrustful and angry families in which members are involved in competitive and mutually exploitative patterns of interaction, parents who feel deprived and who expect the children to meet their dependency needs, parental overindulgence alternating with frustration and inconsistent patterns of affection and rejection.

Some investigators recommend long-term psychotherapy. Others feel the offender should be encouraged to redirect his manipulative skills in a socially acceptable manner. Still others suggest that a group setting in which the offender's capacity for playing contradictory roles is immediately confronted and challenged. Generally, the prognosis is rather pessimistic.

The Asocial Offender

This type acts out his primitive impulses, is extremely hostile, insecure and negativistic, and demands immediate gratification. He is also characterized by an inability to identify with others, a trait which distinguishes him from the anti-social offender who, although committed to delinquent values, is often described as being loyal to peers and capable of identifying with others.

It is claimed that the asocial offender requires elementary training in human relations. The most striking characteristic of this group is an inability to relate to a therapist or to the social world around them. Most investigators recommend a simple social setting offering support, patience and an acceptance of the offender, with only minimal demands on his extremely limited skills and adaptability. Methods must be used which reduce his fear of rejection and abandonment before he may participate in more conventional therapies, either individual or group.

This summary classification system has similar counterparts in classifications of adult offenders. Cavan, for example, classified criminal behaviour in terms of the degree of the individual's withdrawal or exclusion from the control of the dominant social organization thereby arriving at five types. There are those persons who are conformers to a sub-cultural group (e.g. conscientious objectors); essentially law-abiding violators; professional criminals; segmental criminals; and maladjusted offenders. The general criticism of Cavan's typology is that it is too crude with insufficient detail for either empirical research or theory-building (see, for example, Gibbons 1965).

Morris' typology is based on the degree of offenders' commitment to the violation of the norms represented by the criminal law as indicated by such factors as: the frequency and continuity of offending; the seriousness or social harmfulness of the offences; the deliberateness of the intention to commit an act known to be forbidden by the law; the extent to which criminal acts occupy the "life space" of the offender; and the offender's self-image as a criminal or non-criminal (Morris 1965: 199). Using these criteria he suggests classifying offenders into five types which represent a scale or continuum from minimal to maximum commitment to crime as a way of life.

Beginning with the least committed, these groups are: legalistic or technical offenders, situational offenders, pathological offenders, avocational offenders and career offenders. Morris' system resembles what may be called a Guttman Scale (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 193): a person in group four may also be in one through four, whereas an offender in the first group will not be included in any other.

A similar kind of typology which also places offenders on a continuum is that of Lindesmith and Dunham. In 1941, they suggested that the schemes of Mayhew and Moreau deserved greater attention. Both these 19th century writers proposed a distinction between the professional criminal, at one end of a continuum, and the "casual" or "accidental" criminal at the other. The underlying theory for this view is that since crime is a social phenomenon, criminals must be classified in accordance with their social orientation and in accordance with the values and cultural definitions in the social world in which they live (Lindesmith and Dunham 1941: 308). Within this framework, responsibility (for crime) depends upon socialization, a view that is partially reflected in the criminal law and our notions of natural justice. Using this orientation, Lindesmith and Dunham developed a partial classification scheme consisting of the "social" criminal at one polarity and the "individualized" criminal at the opposite. The social criminal is the professional criminal whose criminal activities are subculturally endorsed thereby endowing him with status and recognition within that subculture. This type of criminal acts in collaboration with others and, through means regarded as illegitimate, pursues goals which are socially accepted in the broader cultural milieu.

The individualized criminal, on the other hand, is involved in activities which have not received subcultural support, nor does he gain prestige from committing them. They are committed

for diverse ends which are private and personal rather than common and socially accepted. Whereas the professional or social criminal pursues crime deliberately and voluntarily, the individualized criminal is essentially acting out some underlying physiological or personality disturbance. The criminally insane is the epitome of this latter type (Lindesmith and Dunham 1941: 309-310).

Between these two poles there are various other types: e.g., the individualized criminal is represented by the man who (under the influence of alcohol) commits a crime which is quite out of line with his usual character; the crime of passion; the commission of theft under the stress of dire economic need; and other crimes produced by crisis situations. Working from the other pole of the social criminal are those involved in political crime, white collar crime and some juvenile delinquency. There is a third type, the "habitual-situational" criminal who is constantly involved in crime but in a more accidental or fortuitous manner than the social criminal.

While the import of the Lindesmith and Dunham scheme is primarily aetiological, they do point out some practical implications stemming from it. The social criminal is of greater social significance in the sense that the overwhelming proportion of felonies committed are violations of property rights and are either professional in character or closely related. In contrast, the emphasis placed upon the study of abnormal criminal types by some schools of thought is a mistake in so far as it places the emphasis on an exceedingly small minority of law breakers. And yet the individualized criminal is disproportionately represented in prison because he is easily caught and convicted. They go on to point out that in the literature on crime, sociologists have traditionally concerned themselves mainly with the social criminal and psychiatrists with the individualized criminal, but neither group of specialists has been altogether clear about this fact and each has attempted to appropriate to himself the entire field and to extend to all

types the theories evolved with respect to one.

Clinard & Quinney (1973) adapted the Lindesmith and Dunham typology with some modifications. One notable change they made to the traditional approach was to classify crimes rather than criminals as it was becoming clear that a single criminal could be involved in several types of crimes. They use five dimensions as the basis for their typology: legal aspects of selected offences; criminal career of the offender; group support of criminal behaviour, correspondence between criminal and legitimate behaviour; and societal reaction and legal processing. Each of the last four dimensions is allowed to take three values (high, medium or low). From this, Clinard and Quinney develop a typology of nine types of "criminal behaviour systems" which they summarize in the following chart:

Typology of Criminal Behavior Systems

	Violent Personal Criminal Behavior	Occasional Property Criminal Behavior	Public Order Criminal Behavior	Conventional Criminal Behavior	Political Criminal Behavior	Occupational Criminal Behavior
Legal Aspects of Selected Offenses	The criminal laws of homicide, assault and forcible rape are of ancient origin. Yet the legal categories are qualified and interpreted in their respective social and historical contexts. Likewise, the ruling class is able to exclude the forms of violence that enhance its own position.	Criminal laws protect the material interests of the propertied classes. Specific laws prohibit forgery, shoplifting, vandalism, and auto theft.	Specific criminal laws embody the moral sense of particular segments of the community. Such offenses as prostitution, homosexuality, drunkenness, and drug use are disturbing to some community members. Most of the crimes are "victimless" in that only willing participants are involved. Yet it is easier for the power elite to outlaw these behaviors than to either accept them or change the social arrangements that produced the behaviors.	The laws that protect private property include such crimes as larceny, burglary, and robbery. Since the primary interest is in protecting property, general laws regarding property do not need to distinguish the career nature of many property offenders.	Criminal laws are created by governments to protect their own existence. Specific criminal laws, such as conspiracy laws, as well as traditional laws, are made to control and punish those who threaten the state. Yet the government and its officials often violate criminal laws. Political criminal behavior thus includes crimes against government and crimes by government.	Legal regulation of occupations has served to protect the interests of occupational groups, and in some cases to regulate harmful occupational activities. The legal codes that control occupations and professions tend to be made by the occupations and the professions themselves, representing their own material interests.

Typology of Criminal Behavior Systems (Continued)

	Violent Personal Criminal Behavior	Occasional Property Criminal Behavior	Public Order Criminal Behavior	Conventional Criminal Behavior	Political Criminal Behavior	Occupational Criminal Behavior
Criminal Career of the Offender	Crime is not part of the offender's career. He usually does not conceive of self as criminal.	Little or no criminal self-conception. The offender does not identify with crime. He is able to rationalize his behavior.	Most offenders do not regard their behavior as criminal. They do not have a clearly defined criminal career. Ambiguity in self-concept produced in continued contact with legal agents.	Offenders begin their careers early in life, often in gang associations. Crimes committed for economic gain. Vacillation in self-conception. Partial commitment to a criminal subculture.	Political offenders do not usually conceive of themselves as criminals and do not identify with crime. They are defined as criminal because they are perceived as threatening the status quo (as in crime against government), or they are criminal when they violate the laws that regulate the government itself (crime by government).	Little or no criminal self-conception. Occasional violation of the law, accompanied by appropriate rationalizations. Violation tends to be a part of one's work. Offenders accept the conventional values in the society.
Group Support of Criminal Behavior	Little or no group support. Offenses committed for personal reasons. Some support in subcultural norms.	Little group support. Generally individual offenses. Associations tend to be recreational.	Offenses such as prostitution, homosexual behavior, and drug use grow out of, and are supported by rather clearly defined subculture. Considerable association with other offenders.	Behavior supported by group norms. Early association with other offenders in slum areas. Status achieved in groups. Some persons continue primary association with other offenders, while others pursue different careers.	Support is received by particular groups or by segments of society. They identify or associate with persons who share similar values. Behavior is reinforced by specific norms.	Some occupations, or groups within occupations, tolerate or even support offenses. The offender is integrated into social groups and societal norms.

Typology of Criminal Behavior Systems (Continued)

	Violent Personal Criminal Behavior	Occasional Property Criminal Behavior	Public Order Criminal Behavior	Conventional Criminal Behavior	Political Criminal Behavior	Occupational Criminal Behavior
Correspondence between Criminal and Legitimate Behavior	Violations of values on life and personal safety.	Violation of value on private property. Offenders tend to be committed to the general goals of the society.	Some of the offenses are required by legitimate society. Much of the behavior is consistent with legitimate behavior patterns.	Consistent with goals of economic success, but inconsistent with sanctity of private property. Gang delinquency violates norms of proper adolescent behavior.	Crimes against government usually correspond to basic human rights. The actions and beliefs, however, are opposed by those who are threatened by these freedoms. Crimes by government correspond to contrary behavior patterns that promote the sovereignty of government rulers.	Behavior corresponds to the pursuit of business activity. "Sharp" practices and "buyer beware" philosophy have guided work and consumption patterns.
Societal Reaction and Legal Processing	Strong social reaction. Harsh punishments. Long imprisonment.	Social reaction is not severe when the offender does not have a previous record. Leniency in legal processing. Probation.	Strong reaction by some segments of society, weak reaction by others. Only a small portion of the offenses result in arrest. Sentences are strong for some offenses, such as the possession of narcotic drugs.	A series of arrests and convictions. Institutionalization and rehabilitation of the offender. Agency programs that preserve the status quo without changing social conditions.	Official reactions tend to be severe in the case of crimes against government. Considerable harassment may be experienced and heavy sentences may be imposed. Public acceptance of political offenses depends on the extent to which the policies and actions of the government are accepted. Reactions to governmental crime depends on the consciousness of the public regarding the activities of the government.	Reactions have traditionally been mild and indifferent. Official penalties have been lenient, often restricted to the sanctions administered by the professional association. Public reaction is becoming less tolerant.

Typology of Criminal Behavior Systems (Continued)

Corporate Criminal Behavior

Organized Criminal Behavior

Professional Criminal Behavior

Legal Aspects of Selected Offenses

With the growth of corporations, criminal laws have been created to regulate such activities as restraint of trade, false advertising, fraudulent sales, misuse of trademarks, and manufacture of unsafe foods and drugs. Criminal laws - especially administrative regulations - have been established by the corporations themselves to secure a capitalist economy.

Many traditional laws have been used in the attempt to control organized crime, especially those regarding gambling, prostitution, and drug traffic. The government has more recently enacted special criminal laws in order to infiltrate organized criminal activity in legitimate business and racketeering. But since organized crime is closely tied to the general business economy, these laws tend to invade the privacy of all citizens rather than to control organized crime.

Professional crimes are distinguished by their nature of the criminal behavior rather than by specific criminal laws. Such professional activities as confidence games, pickpocketing, shoplifting, forgery, and counterfeiting are regulated by the traditional laws that protect private property.

Criminal Career of the Offender

The violating corporate official and his corporation have high social status in society. Offenses are an integral part of corporate business operations. Violations are rationalized as being basic to business enterprise.

Crime is pursued as a livelihood. There is a progression in crime and an increasing isolation from the larger society. A criminal self-conception develops.

A highly developed criminal career. Professional offenders engage in specialized offenses all of which are directed toward economic gain. They earn high status in the world of crime. They are committed to other professional criminals.

Typology of Criminal Behavior Systems (Continued)

	Corporate Criminal Behavior	Organized Criminal Behavior	Professional Criminal Behavior
Group Support of Criminal Behavior	Crime by corporations and corporate officials receives support from similar, even competing businesses and officials. Lawbreaking is a normative pattern within many corporations. Corporate crime involves a great amount of organization among the participants.	Support for organized criminal behavior is achieved through an organizational structure, a code of conduct, prescribed methods of operation, and a system of protection. The offender is integrated into organized crime.	Professional offenders associate primarily with other offenders. Behavior is prescribed by the norms of professional criminals. The extent of organization among professional criminals varies with the kind of offense.
Correspondence Between Criminal and Legitimate Behavior	Corporate crime is consistent with the prevailing ideology that encourages unlimited production and consumption. Only recently has an alternative ethic developed that questions practices that support corporate crime.	While organized crime may be generally condemned, characteristics of American society give support to organized crime. The values underlying organized crime are consistent with those valued in the free enterprise system.	Professional criminal activity corresponds to societal values that stress skill and employment. Some of the offenses depend upon the cooperation of accomplices. The operations of professional crime change with alterations in the larger society.
Societal Reaction and Legal Processing	Strong legal actions have not usually been taken against corporations or their officials. Legal actions have been in the form of warnings and injunctions, rather than in terms of criminal penalties. Public reactions and legal actions, however, are increasing in respect to corporate crime.	Considerable public toleration of organized crime. Offenses are not usually visible to the public. Immunity of offenders, as provided by effective organization, prevents detection and arrest. Convictions are usually for minor offenses.	Considerable public toleration because of the low visibility of professional crime. Offenders are able to escape conviction by "fixing" cases.

Hood and Sparks (1970: 126) question how it is that Clinard and Quinney arrive at only nine types when the four major variables, if permitted to take three values each, could produce sixty-four possible combinations rather than just nine. Gibbons (1975a: 144) notes that the nine types are extremely broad ones (e.g., political crime includes everything from political protest behaviour to espionage). Secondly, he points out that it is not clear whether Clinard and Quinney's typology is a taxonomy of crime or criminal persons. He concludes that this typology has little or no applicability to correctional endeavours. Kornfeld et al. (1975d: 192) raise similar objections and claim that it is difficult to see how the crime types lead to research on criminals.

A number of typologies are more offender-focused, aimed at producing clinical types or types that are more directly related to psychological treatment. Guttmacher's typology, for example, has a psychiatric orientation. Guttmacher contends that various studies show that about 80% of criminals are psychiatrically normal. The main purpose of classification should be, according to him, to aid in sentencing decisions⁵ but there are very few adequate typologies for this purpose. He postulates the following classification:

- a) The normal or dysocial offenders who have identified with the asocial members of society (generally with morally and socially defective parental figures). This type comprises 75 to 80% of criminals. He recommends group therapy as treatment for this group.

5. Guttmacher was Chief Medical Officer, Supreme Bench of Baltimore, Maryland.

- b) The accidental or occasional criminals belong to a very small group with healthy superegos, who have become pressured into criminal acts by a special set of circumstances. These make ideal probation material.
- c) The organically or constitutionally predisposed criminals constitute a small and disparate group: the intellectually defective; the post-encephalic; the epileptic; the senile deteriorative; the post-traumatic, etc. Treatment must be based on the causative factors involved, e.g., the urban, recidivistic, mentally deficient should be placed in a farm-type colony, the senile-deteriorative group generally involved in sex offences with children belong in a mental hospital.
- d) The psychopathic or sociopathic criminals present the most difficult treatment challenge. Many of them are serious recidivists. Others are persistent nuisances. These non-psychotic persons become involved in irrational, antisocial and criminal behaviour as a probable result of unconscious neurotic conflicts. They comprise ten to fifteen percent of the criminal population. Psychopaths should be subdivided on the basis of behavioral manifestations. Causation is unknown, but early emotional deprivation and lack of early love objects with whom identification could be made probably resulted in childhood defence mechanisms of hostility and aggression which persisted into adulthood. They would include many cheque forgers, swindlers, confidence men, violently aggressive and sadistic criminals, neurotic sexual offenders, immature and recidivistic neurotic offenders, who because of antisocial impulses and compulsions, turn to law enforcement officers and penal administrators for help. Treatment for these psychopaths (including some neurotics) entails individual and group psychotherapy.

- e) The psychotic criminals whose antisocial behaviour is a symptom of insanity comprise 1.5% of criminals. They suffer from one of the major mental disorders, marked by regressive behaviour in which the ego is overwhelmed by primitive aggressive drives. Their acts are bizarre and seemingly nonsensical. They should be sent to the criminal division of state psychiatric hospitals for psychiatric treatment.

Roebuck's (1967: 47) chief criticism of this typology is that it is not based on a representative sample of offenders. Also, it fails to distinguish between antisocial behaviour in general and criminal behaviour. Others criticize Guttmacher's typology for failing to draw lines between those suffering from character disorders, sociopathic personality and neurotic syndromes.

Huffman's typology uses social-psychological variables. He suggests the formula $C = \frac{S \ \& \ P}{R}$ for classificatory purposes where C (criminal behaviour) = S (total situational factors, i.e., environmental, sociological, exogenous factors) and P (personality factors, i.e., criminogenic temperament, character and intelligence components affecting behaviour) and R (the individual's resistance to criminal behaviour). The typology thus developed consists of:

- 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 Disturbance
 - 1. Emotionally Unstable
 - 2. Passive Aggressive
 - 3. Compulsive

IV. Sociopathic Behaviour Reaction

Huffman's scheme is criticized on the grounds that other researchers' findings contradict his classification. Also, his types are not discriminating. Thirdly, he is faulted for failing to account for the conditions which produce many of his psychiatric categories. Lastly, his formula is questioned — how does one measure R (criminal resistance)? (Roebuck 1967: 80-81).

A Canadian attempt at classification is that of Russon. He argued that classification would contribute to corrections in that it would provide for: 1) the identification of distinct but related criminal types, 2) the interpretation of the dynamics of those forces leading to individual expression of delinquent behaviour, and 3) development of therapeutic methods logically calculated to have a remedial effect on the individuals treated (Russon 1962: 180).

The main focus of Russon's approach is the identification and differentiation of gross personality patterns found in delinquents, particularly aspects of social interaction. Three factors were considered:

- (i) The nature of the attitude of the individual
- (ii) The degree of maturity in concept of inter-personal relationships
- (iii) The adequacy of the individual's socialization within the limits of any stage of maturity.

With regard to attitude, Russon distinguishes three subdivisions: a) antisocial, b) asocial, and c) non-delinquent. Russon accords prime importance to attitudes - a position that has since been subjected to considerable doubt within the literature on attitudes and behaviour.

Russon's approach is questionable as well with respect to his definition of delinquency which he says may be defined as those forms of behaviour which bring about or are liable to bring about, as their end result, offence to others (Ibid.: 182). Clearly this is much too sweeping a definition to be of any use. He claims that psychologically, delinquency is derived from a frame of mind or concept of social interaction which in turn is the result of various deformities or faults in personality development. Essentially, the individual so affected is actively hostile (antisocial) or indifferent to others (asocial) because his sense of reality is retarded, impaired or distorted.

The second factor, interpersonal maturity, is based on the I-level formulation of Sullivan, Grant and Grant. Within this framework, five stages of maturity in interpersonal behaviour are distinguished:

- Stage I - are people who are maladjusted to the point of almost total inadequacy and an infantile pattern of living.
- Stage II - are people who expect the non-self world to adapt to their needs and see it as a source of giving or of denying. They tend to have a physical-material value system.
- Stage III - are those people who rely on intellect and wit, sizing people up, knowing the rules, being smart, working the angles, and are relatively insensitive emotionally.

Stage IV - are those people who have a capacity for emotions and their attendant conflicts, but are liable to be fearful of emotions and are over-dependent. Their relationship capacity tends to be of short duration.

Stage V - are people who are relatively self-sufficient, are aware of differences in interpersonal relationships. They generally make good candidates for casework and psychotherapy.
(Ibid.: 183)

Within each stage Russon further identifies three phases: (i) initial, (ii) consolidating, and (iii) final. These phases refer to the relative competence and confidence of the individual.

The third factor refers to patterns of interaction; four main patterns are used: the Submissive; the Power-oriented, decompensating; the Power-oriented, overcompensating; and the Co-operative. Overall, these factors are called the Socialization Index. The Maturation Index (factor 2) and the Socialization Index are combined to produce twenty theoretical patterns of social adjustment, each of which can be subdivided into three phases.

Russon claims that power-oriented personalities, both decompensating and overcompensating, in Stages II, III and IV appear to account for the majority of incarcerated delinquents. Unfortunately, none of his claims are substantiated with any empirical testing.

Some examples of his theoretical types as well as some of his treatment propositions are:

- Stage II people have a high potential for escape from custody.
- People in Stages II and III are, generally speaking, not amenable to traditional methods of casework and psychotherapy which are derived from a neurosis-oriented frame of reference. The implication of this interpretation seems to be that such people need first a lengthy period of developing some personal discipline in the area of physical skill and competence and in the area of learning how to think logically. There also appears to be a great need for fostering the development of social awareness and appreciation of the significance of one's own behaviour to others.
- So-called "supportive" therapy is quite useless for people who are not motivated toward self-improvement, and may indeed be contraindicated. Since these people tend to assume that the non-self world will adapt to their needs or is to be exploited by trickery and pretense they simply take for granted the help that is offered by others and make no effort to strive for self-sufficiency.
- As far as we are aware there is no method of therapy that has achieved any statistical significance in effecting personality growth in persons diagnosed Stage III or under. The impact of this situation is staggering when it becomes evident that people in Stages II and III comprise a major portion of our prison population. We have reason to believe that approximately three-fourths of our inmate population falls within these two stages and if the same situation exists in prisons generally, then all those efforts called diagnosis, treatment, and training, are likely to have remedial value to a minority of inmates. In the absence of adequate classification and therapeutic facilities the number of inmates who are improved through incarceration is remarkably small.

- Many Stage IV people, and probably almost all Stage V people are good probation risks, capable of serving their sentence in the free community with appropriate supervision and professional help. Increased use of probation for these people would reduce further the proportion of incarcerated offenders likely to show improvement with present methods of prison programming. However, the increased use of day parole, probation, suspended sentence, and similar approaches would be less costly and would reduce the demand on available prison resources.
- Stage II people sometimes appear more amenable to forming a positive relationship with a therapist, when their co-operation is solicited, than do people in Stage III. This may be due to the relative incompetence characteristic of Stage II and therefore a less highly integrated resistance to dependency and transference relationship. In any case, it seems that a lateral shift in the Socialization Index is necessary before relationship therapy can have any effect in fostering maturation.
- Decompensating people are prone to move into an interpersonal situation with a pre-formed pattern of operation which is aimed specifically at maintaining a role of inadequacy, yet which is surprisingly expert in its capacity to mimic the signs and symptoms of a person with a genuine emotional problem who sincerely seeks help toward recovery. In Stage II they are physically incompetent and clumsy; in Stage III they are prone to pseudo-logic and skillful evasion; in Stage IV they shrink from facing their own emotions. The unaware therapist is likely to become a pawn, manipulated into believing he is a successful and necessary helper to those who are much more expert in their patterns of operation.
- Manipulation per se is not diagnostic of any stage. How one manipulates and for what purpose is more significant. Manipulation of an exploitive nature appears to be characteristic of all over-dependent people and can be found in significant degree in those diagnosed Stage IV and under. On the Socialization Index, manipulation is the tool of those who are preoccupied with power-oriented relationships.

(Ibid.: 186-187)

Overall, the most obvious criticism of Russon's scheme is its lack of empirical support and theoretical explanation.

Among the few attempts to develop an empirical typology is Sinclair and Chapman's study of 1,009 British prisoners⁶. The main aim of the analysis was "to derive types or dimensions by which the men could be described and to see whether these confirmed the findings of other studies" (Sinclair and Chapman 1973: 341). In particular, they were interested in relating their results to those of Marcus and West and the theories of Eysenck. The studies by West and Marcus are essentially concerned with an exploration of the "inadequate" who takes to crime impulsively or drifts into it because he cannot cope and the criminal who deliberately chooses crime as a way of life. Eysenck's work is noted for its exploration of extraversion and neuroticism among prisoners.

Forty-five attributes were analyzed among which were measures on the Maudsley Personality Inventory pertaining to extraversion, neuroticism and lying as well as measures of authoritarianism and acquiescent response set. The method of analysis was Association Analysis described by Macnaughton-Smith in 1965 and F. H. Simon in 1971. Six of the forty-five variables were used to define seven types of prisoners and the groups differed significantly in respect of twenty of the other variables. Sinclair and Chapman note, however, that correlations between many of these twenty variables reduce the impressiveness of these differences. The seven types thus found were:

6. The data was collected in 1958, 1959 and 1960 by prison psychologists in reception centres in Birmingham, Bristol, Durham, Leeds and Manchester. The sample is, Sinclair and Chapman observe, highly unrepresentative of the prison population as a whole but they feel it is adequate for their purposes.

Occasional delinquent
(Type 1) (under 30,
less than 3 previous
convictions, less than
25 on first conviction).

This probably represents
one partially delinquent
group. It might contain
ex-approved school boys
who have reformed but return
to delinquency when drunk or
under mental stress.
Alternatively, it might
contain men from a
delinquent environment
who do not live off crime
but are prepared to fiddle
as opportunity offers.

Late delinquent (Type 2)
(under 30, less than 3
previous convictions,
over 25 on first
conviction).

This group appears to adjust
at school and contains a
relatively high proportion
of men with skills and
better paid jobs. Perhaps
they have a drive for
success which leads them to
take opportunities for gain
presented in their jobs.
Among the under-30s they are
the most likely to commit
fraud.

Professional delinquent
(Type 3) (under 30,
more than 3 previous
convictions, plans
offences).

This group may contain offenders
who would rather commit crimes
than work. They indulge in
property offences and rarely
offend as the result of drink.
They probably have little
time for school or other
expressions of authority.

Aggressive delinquent
(Type 4) (under 30,
more than 3 previous
convictions, does not
plan offences).

This group may contain a high
proportion of offenders with
violent or impulsive tempera-
ments, whose inhibitions are
easily loosened by drink.
They probably offend for these
reasons rather than as
deliberate policy. They are
not necessarily separated from
their family and relatives,
suggesting that they come from
environments where drinking,
aggressiveness and frequent
job changing may be acceptable
behaviour.

Offenders with skilled employment status (Type 5) (30 or over, employment status skilled).

This group may contain respectable citizens whose involvement with debt, gambling, alcohol or women leads them to dishonesty. It contains a particularly high proportion of fraud offenders.

Socially integrated unskilled offender (Type 6) (30 or over, unskilled workman living at home).

This group is least likely to offend again. It contains older men with families, who therefore have more to lose. It also contains the highest proportion of men with cohabitees, and financial problems may play a part in their offences.

Social inadequate (Type 7) (30 or over, employment status unskilled, not living at home at time of arrest).

These offenders have few ties at work or with their families. They are the most introverted of all the types of offender. They may correspond to West's (1963) aggressive or passive inadequates.

One of the major findings of the study was the great difference between older and younger prisoners. Sinclair and Chapman point out that whereas typologies of delinquents are not automatically assumed to apply to an older age group, a similar consideration is not generally made when typing adult offenders. Their study suggests that younger prisoners are most usefully classified by their criminal behaviour and the older prisoners by their social circumstances. They also found personality correlates with their two major types: the younger type (age less than thirty this conviction) had a positive extraversion score and did not show an elevated neuroticism score; the older type had a negative extraversion score (introverted) and a high score on neuroticism. These findings tended to be consistent with those of Eysenck.

We now turn to several typologies which have used the concept of criminal careers — notably Roebuck's and Gibbons' typologies. Roebuck and his colleagues developed a typology of offenders based on 1,155 Negroes who entered the District of Columbia Reformatory between January 1954 and November 1955. The typology was based on the following criteria:

1. The presence of criminal patterns in offenders' criminal histories as determined by arrest patterns;
2. the levels of modi operandi found in the official criminal record;
3. social and personal correlates of the criminal patterns; and,
4. qualities of clinical impressions.

The data concerned with arrest histories were obtained from an examination of the offender's official arrest history. Levels of modi operandi were determined from the research interviews, court records and from District Attorneys' reports. Data pertaining to dimension 3, "social and personal correlates of their criminal patterns", were defined in terms of 34 social and personal characteristics which were obtained from the institutional folders and research interviews. These 34 attributes were selected from the following areas:

- a. Family background, including interpersonal relations obtaining in parental families;
- b. neighbourhood and area background;
- c. school background and school adjustment;
- d. work background and attitude toward work;
- e. indices of personal disorganization, i.e., drug addiction, alcoholism, inveterate gambling, vagabondage, residential mobility;
- f. military adjustment;
- g. marital status;
- h. indices of juvenile delinquency.

Three continuous properties, age, I.Q. and Stanford Achievement Test grade median, were also included.

Data on 'qualities of clinical impressions' were obtained by Roebuck in the research interviews, from psychological profiles drawn by a resident clinical psychologist and from medical records developed by the District of Columbia Department of Correction's Physicians. This dimension included an assessment of the offender's social-psychological personality type based on interview reactions, personality characteristics, attitudes, self-concept and physical and mental health.

Roebuck's first step was to classify the offenders according to their criminal histories. Using the offenders' official criminal records he developed four major patterns of criminality:

1. A single pattern - this label was attached to an arrest history which showed a high frequency of one kind of criminal charge. In order for a history to be classified as a single pattern, it had to satisfy one of the following conditions:
 - a. it had to show three or more arrests, all of which were for the same charge; or
 - b. an arrest history which contained at least four arrests for other charges which were handled according to a formula which Roebuck and his colleagues developed in the course of their analysis (Roebuck 1967: 102-103).
2. Multiple pattern - an arrest history of two or more single patterns derived by the procedures outlined in Item 1.
3. Mixed pattern - an arrest history of three or more arrests in which none of the charges formed a frequency pattern as defined above ("Jack-of-all-trades").
4. No pattern - an arrest history of only one or two arrests. This is a residual category of those offenders with insufficient arrests to warrant analysis.

Roebuck and his colleagues then inductively developed a typology consisting of thirteen criminal types which combined this pattern classification with particular offence categories. The types are:

1. Mixed pattern (Jack-of-all-trades offender)
2. Double pattern of larceny and burglary
3. Single pattern of narcotic drug laws
4. Triple pattern of drunkenness, assault and larceny
5. Double pattern of drunkenness and assault
6. Single pattern of robbery
7. No pattern
8. Single pattern of gambling
9. Single pattern of burglary
10. Single pattern of sex offences
11. Single pattern of fraud
12. Single pattern of auto theft
13. Single pattern of forgery and counterfeiting

The next step in the Roebuck typology was to analyze these types according to the social and psychological factors which have been collected on these offenders. Significant relationships emerged which Roebuck used to suggest treatment and supervision strategies. For example, the aggressive and anti-social nature of the armed robber were considered to be justification for stringent custody measures for this group of offenders. Roebuck claims:

Predatory, aggressive and at all time potentially violent, they often intimidate other offenders. In the writer's opinion, they should be housed in cell blocks, where firm and consistent discipline could be imposed at all times. At no time should they be permitted to become inmate leaders, nor should they be placed in sensitive or prestige jobs where they can connive and exert their selfish negative influence.

(Roebuck 1967: 115-116)

On the other hand, according to Roebuck's analysis, the drinker and assaulter type of offender needs specialized counselling in reference to his gambling, drinking and fighting. Roebuck claims "casework and psychological counselling seem to be called for with them" (Roebuck 1967: 170).

Hood and Sparks (1970: 131 ff) have criticized Roebuck's typology on the grounds that legal definitions of crimes are often arbitrary and do not indicate important behavioral differences. While agreeing with Roebuck that it is easy to make too much of this point, they nevertheless go on to claim that legal categories by themselves are too crude for research purposes and need to be further subdivided by taking into account individual or social factors relating to the offences. The way in which offences are subdivided or grouped together and the factors used to do this depends, they claim, on the researcher's purpose and point of view. They also point out that a homogeneous criminal record (in legal terms) does not necessarily indicate systematic criminal behaviour in the sense of displaying specialized techniques, consistent relations with victims and so on.

Other writers (e.g. Gibbons 1965: 30, Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 203, and Clinard and Quinney 1973: 4-5) have criticized Roebuck's typology for limiting itself to Negro offenders for it implies that black offenders are somehow different from white — a view that Roebuck does not justify. In addition, Gibbons (1975a: 146) faults the inductive methodology used by Roebuck on the grounds that if this approach were used indefinitely, aetiological study would be faced with a problem of separate explanations for hundreds of specific types of criminal behaviour. He proposes, instead, that one should attempt some a priori limited delineation of types which would provide a theoretical base for research. Finally, Roebuck has been criticized for basing his study on prison inmates and therefore probably failing to be comprehensive.

As with other typologies, one of the main weaknesses of the Roebuck typology from the point of view of this report is the fact that his treatment and supervision suggestions are vague and unjustified or unexplained. For example, with the drinker and assaulter one is left wondering why these people should receive case work and psychological counselling, how one effectively counsels someone who is a drinker or an assaulter, and what the case work should consist of. This problem arises repeatedly in our examination of existing typologies. In addition, the fact that offenders may be more or less amenable to the recommended supervision is a fact which Roebuck ignores (e.g., Grant 1975: 90).

Flanagan and Kapture also used the notion of criminal careers in their typology. They classified 315 adjudicated offenders at the Joliet Reception Center (Illinois) in 1973 according to the perceived underlying motivation and modus operandi of their offences. Three basic dimensions were used: 1) income-producing behaviour, 2) addiction-supporting behaviour, and 3) violence (and non-income-producing). The classification thus produced by these dimensions and mixtures of these dimensions entailed thirteen different types. These types and the distribution of the sample involved in them are:

	Pattern	Percent
1	Income-producing	23
12	Income-producing followed by Addiction-supporting	3
123	Income-producing followed by Addiction-supporting followed by Violent	3
13	Income-producing followed by Violent	26.5
132	Income-producing followed by Violent followed by addiction-supporting	2.5
2	Addiction-supporting	8
21	Addiction-supporting followed by income-producing	.5
213	Addiction-supporting followed by Income-producing followed by Violent	0

	Pattern	Percent
3	Violent	5.5
31	Violent followed by Income-producing	20
312	Violent followed by Income-producing followed by Addiction-supporting	2.5
32	Violent followed by Addiction-supporting	3.5
321	Violent followed by Addiction-supporting followed by Income-producing	0

Gibbons' typology has had many years of development and modification. In 1959, Gibbons and Garrity (1959: 54-55) proposed a typology based on offenders' criminal careers using sociological categories rather than legal offence categories. In suggesting the use of sociological categories, however, they did not intend that relevant psychiatric concepts should be ignored. The categories should, they proposed, be based on the following dimensions: 1) the self-conception and identification of the offender, 2) his community background, 3) his family background (e.g., parental neglect, rejection, family tensions, etc.), 4) differential association, 5) delinquent and criminal record, 6) institutional record, and 7) prognosis (probability of recidivating).

In their 1959 article, they presented a tentative adult typology consisting of fourteen types. The primary function of such a typology, they claimed, would be to guide further aetiological research and aid in the general theory-building process. They hoped, for a number of reasons, that one of the major ramifications of this would be advancement in correctional treatment. First, a typology would begin to pinpoint the nature of the behaviour to be manipulated in treatment. Second, a typology ought to result in the development of more specific and detailed correctional strategies for certain types of offenders. Lastly, the typology would have value in creating treatment programs based on empirical evidence and

capable of being empirically tested.

In 1962 they produced a more comprehensive presentation of their proposed typology, specifically elaborating their eight types of adult property offenders. They also clarified the rationale for their approach. First, the typology assumes that criminal behaviour is composed of a variety of social roles or stable patterns of behaviour. Second, it assumes that these role patterns are differentiated along two major dimensions: self-definition and attitudes, and offence behaviour. Third, it assumes that variations in these two dimensions are highly interrelated (that is, offenders who exhibit certain kinds of attitudes and self-definitions in common also commit offences of the same specific kind). Fourth, the typology assumes that offenders do not "play the field" of offences; rather, patterns of offence behaviour can be identified. Some of these patterns may include certain "clusters" of offences, e.g., burglary, larceny, etc. Finally, the typology assumes that a group of criminals can be identified who share similar self-definitions and attitudes, and who differ from other groups of criminals in these respects (Gibbons and Garrity 1962: 28).

Commenting on the 1962 version, Roebuck (1963) claims that their offence types are far from being discriminating on the two dimensions utilized, viz., self-definition and attitudes, and offence behaviour. He cites examples in which the self-definitions and attitudes of two allegedly different types (e.g., Professional Thief and Professional Heavy) are nearly identical. Roebuck also claims that his own research indicates that Gibbons and Garrity have missed important distinctions among criminals, e.g., they mistakenly group amateur and professional burglars and fail to appreciate the amateur's view of himself as a "victim of society". Similarly, Roebuck argues that the Gibbons and Garrity typology fails to be discriminating with respect to some types of offence

behaviour. In addition, he feels that certain descriptions of crimes (e.g., "non-violent offences", "technically skilled crime" and so on) are not clear enough for operational use. In general, Roebuck suggests that the underlying reasons for these weaknesses in the Gibbons and Garrity typology are because they failed to consider a sufficiently broad base of variables to distinguish among offenders (i.e., they should have been more interdisciplinary)⁷ and they failed to use legal categories of offences. He argues that only through the use of legal categories will the typology be precise enough and parsimonious, thereby facilitating empirical testing and replication.

In 1965, Gibbons produced a revised version of the typology consisting of fifteen types (nine property types and six personal) in which he described the types using four variables: offence behaviour, "interactional setting", self-image, and attitudes. He also provided certain hypotheses concerning the background dimensions of the types, e.g., social class, family background, peer group association, and contact with law-enforcement agencies.

In his later work Roebuck (1967: 90ff) points out that the revised Gibbon typology uses misleading labels. He claims, for example, that the type "White-Collar Criminal" is a misnomer in that violators of this sort are generally processed in the civil courts and are therefore not adjudicated as criminals. Accordingly, Roebuck feels this type has no place in a criminal typology. While recognizing that Gibbons made no claim of complete coverage of all types of criminals, Roebuck claims that his greatest error of omission

7. See also Rubenfeld (1967: 17) for similar objections.

lies with the following offender types: gamblers (several sub-types including the "numbers man" and the "bookie"); non-addicted traffickers; illicit liquor traffickers; business and labour racketeers; illegal loan sharks; syndicated criminals; prostitutes; pimps; fences; petty thieves; vagrants; and drunkards.

In 1975 Gibbons expanded his typology to include twenty-one adult offender types. These types are:

1. Professional thief
2. Professional "heavy" criminal
3. Semi-professional property offender
4. Amateur shoplifter
5. Naive cheque forger
6. Automobile thief - "joyrider"
7. Property offender, "one-time loser"
8. White-collar criminal
9. Embezzler
10. Professional "fringe" violator
11. Personal offender, "one-time loser"
12. "Psychopathic" assaultist
13. Statutory rapist
14. Aggressive rapist
15. Violent sex offender
16. Non-violent sex offender
17. Incest offender
18. Male homosexual
19. Organized crime offender
20. Opiate addict
21. "Skid Row" alcoholic

He also attempted to test the validity of these types. Approximately 650 probation cases were examined by groups of three probation officers. A probationer was designated as an incumbent of a type if at least two of the three judges assigned him to that type. He found that only 312 probationers were capable of being categorized. Of these, the largest share (60.8%) were classified as alcoholic delinquents, non-violent sex offender, "rapos", marijuana offenders (hippies) or naive cheque forgers. Of the 343 persons not assigned to a type, 312 were judged as not falling within any type within the typology. These offenders were analyzed to see if there were similarities among them that had escaped the attention of typology developers. It was found that 26.5% of the 343 cases were non-support offenders who come to the attention of the criminal courts on charges of failing to comply with a civil court order to provide financial support to a divorced wife or children. These types along with the traffic offenders who comprised 10.2% of the "no type" probationers, have been referred to by Ross as people involved in "folk crimes", i.e., crimes arising out of laws introduced to solve problems related to the increasing complexity of modern society. Other "no type" offenders included property offenders who did not fit into any of Gibbons' property offender types, drug offenders, bookmakers and bettors and some unclassified offenders.

In one of his 1975 articles, Gibbons considers some of the limitations of his and others' typologies and notes that the notion of identifiable careers in criminality may be an hypothesis about behaviour which is too clinical. Instead, it may be that many lawbreakers exhibit relatively unique combinations of criminal conduct and attitudinal patterns, or at least it may only be possible to group them with considerable difficulty into some very general categories or types. In fact, referring to labeling analysis, he acknowledges the



possibility that variability rather than regularity may be most characteristic of offenders (Gibbons 1975a: 152).

Hood and Sparks (1970: 134-137) also question the validity of the concept of homogeneous criminal careers. They summarize some of the available evidence and conclude that they are not, in fact, very common. They point out that in any year, the majority of offenders convicted and sentenced by most courts are first offenders, the majority of whom are not subsequently reconvicted; of those who are reconvicted, a substantial proportion have committed different types of crime from that which led to their first appearance in court. Using data from the President's Crime Commission, they illustrate this finding by noting that even with regard to burglary — which has the highest probability of offenders' being re-arrested for the same type of offence — the likelihood of this happening is less than one in two. Taking into account the fact that some offenders are not re-arrested, the probability is even less; e.g., burglary probabilities reduce to .354.

It is important to note in Gibbons' defence, however, that his notion of homogeneity was not as limited as Hood and Sparks imply. He notes that a person who steals a car today, for example, may be implicated in quite a different kind of offence tomorrow. On the other hand, he does argue that it may make sense to talk about types of criminal careers as "Semi-professional property offenders", for example, as distinct types, made up of individuals who specialize in a variety of identifiable predatory types (Gibbons 1975a: 148; emphasis added).

With regard to broad distinctions between criminal patterns — e.g., property versus personal crimes — the data does show some homogeneity. For example, the probability that an

offender, arrested for robbery, burglary or larceny over \$50.00 and subsequently rearrested, will have his second arrest for one of these types of crimes is about 80%; whereas the probability of his second arrest being for a serious offence of personal violence (homicide, rape or aggravated assault) is less than one in ten. By contrast, for those arrested for one of these three violent crimes, the probability of rearrest being for another violent crime is about four in ten.

Nevertheless, 'violent crime' and 'non-violent property crime' are both very broad categories including within them a variety of more specific types of criminal behaviour. Hood and Sparks further note that the data used in these studies, like Roebuck's data, are based on arrest records rather than on convictions and while arrest records may give a more accurate estimate of the total amount of an offender's criminality, they may exaggerate its homogeneity, since many police forces make a practice of arresting suspects on the basis of the nature of their previous arrests or *modus operandi* (*Ibid.*: 137).

Hood and Sparks conclude that, on the basis of American and British studies, homogeneous criminal careers are not common and that offender typologies based on this concept will consequently be very limited in scope; if 'mixed' careers are excluded, it is bound to leave the great bulk of criminal behaviour unexamined.

The following typologies represent attempts to actually apply classification systems in a number of correctional enterprises. For the most part these studies are pioneering attempts, many of which await further testing and application before conclusions, one way or another can be drawn.

The Suffolk County (New York State)⁸ classification system was intended to accomplish two main objectives: to identify the type and relative proportions of adult probationers under supervision, and to indicate some program and service requirements for these probationers. Seven hundred and twenty probationers were classified into two types: those requiring Normal Supervision (NS) and those requiring Intensive Supervision (IS). The considerations used to develop these two classes consisted of a) an appraisal of service needs for the probationer's adequate adjustment into the community and b) the amount of accountability or control required for the adequate protection of the community.

Intensive Supervision probationers were those who posed a serious threat to themselves and/or the community, and needed a delivery of multiple services. IS cases were considered to have a high probability of recidivism. The Normal Supervision probationers were those who had "generally adjusted to probation supervision" although some problems remained and probation services were still needed. Recidivism within this group was a possibility but they were not considered a "serious" threat to themselves or the community (Colbin p. 24). The Suffolk County system was using, at the time of the study, Conditional and Unconditional Discharges as well as early release on probation thereby reducing the number of accidental or situational offenders on their caseloads. Thus, these kinds of probationers, requiring Minimum Supervision, although included in the NS category, were relatively few in number and their discharge from probation was imminent.

8. For a review of this system see Colbin (no date).

The criteria used for classification were: 1) current offence, 2) prior record, 3) age and 4) psychological stability.

The current offence was considered primarily in terms of final offence at the time of conviction rather than the indictment charges. However, when concrete documentation contained in the indictment was uncontested and valuable for analysis, this information was considered as well.

Psychological stability was considered in terms of type and degree of emotional disturbance (e.g., depressive neuroses, drug dependent personality, etc.) and in terms of behavioral deficiencies — either isolated patterns or linked to psychological disturbances.

The prior record variable was considered in terms of quantity, severity and time span (i.e., the time between last offence and current offence). No convictions over ten years old were considered unless a clear continuous pattern was apparent.

Age was considered only in relation to the other three variables in order to help determine the type and degree of dysfunction. For example, two prior adult arrests at age seventeen may be analyzed differently than the same prior record of a forty-five year old man.

Diagnostic evaluations, recent urinalyses, current police arrest reports, investigations and so on were the primary sources of information. In his reporting of this study, Colbin notes that one obvious limitation was that the probationer and probation officer were not interviewed at all. Colbin also points out that because personal interviews were not undertaken, information on the probationer's motivation and current level of functioning (e.g., employment) was lacking. He suggests that further development of the system

would benefit from information of this sort which could be used to modify or otherwise complement the other indicators.

According to the framework of this study, the researchers were particularly interested in the percentage of probationers with serious drinking or serious drug abuse problems, assaultive personalities, acute psychological instability and/or serious criminal behaviour patterns. Some of the more general findings indicate that an extremely large proportion of probationers (49%) required multiple services and Intensive Supervision. Alcohol and drug abuse represented one of the most critical areas of need for services and supervision, with the alcohol abuse population appearing to be almost as great as the narcotic abuse population.

With regard to the types of supervision given to the two classes of probationers, Colbin argues at length for the finding that mere quantity of supervision is not an adequate supervisory strategy. Rather, he points out, as do many other writers, that it is the quality of supervision which is the most important consideration and this entails the development and implementation of comprehensive service programs. Unfortunately, at the time of writing, the Suffolk County study did not report any development in this direction.

The Suffolk County classification system represents one of the few attempts to develop a classification for treatment or supervision purposes; however, it is a rather limited classification. Perhaps its limitations are most readily apparent in the fact that the study does not report any differential supervision strategies resulting from the classification. This is the challenge that confronts all classification attempts that are intended to affect recidivism rates. If the classification is intended for use beyond simply administrative or management purposes and is supposed to help affect the two major objectives of probation and

parole — viz., the reduction of recidivism and reintegration of offenders — then a more comprehensive classification is required than that developed in the Suffolk County system. Increasingly, studies in correction underline the fact that different types of offenders respond differently to different types of supervision. To simply classify offenders in terms of whether they require Intensive Supervision (more supervision) rather than Normal Supervision (less supervision) is not sufficient to produce any significant effects in the reintegration or recidivism rates of offenders⁹.

Another limitation of the Suffolk County classification is its data base: the various sources of information — diagnostic evaluations, police arrest reports, etc. — probably vary enormously in terms of their validity and reliability, thus limiting the accuracy of the classification. A more reliable classification could be obtained through the use of uniform questionnaires or psychological inventories which could be employed in addition to the kinds of sources used in the Suffolk County study.

One other system suffering from similar weaknesses is that of the San Francisco Project. The basis of the classification developed in this Project was the probability of recidivism (as guessed by an "expert judge") taking into account such factors as: type of offence, age, prior record and a 'Socialization' measure derived from the California Psychological Inventory. Individual offenders were assigned profile numbers of one, two, or three in each of the above

9. See the Increased Parole Effectiveness Program (California Youth Authority, 1974) for an example of a system attempting to implement a broader classification system.

variables producing fifty-four possible profiles ranging from 1-1-1-1 to 3-3-3-3, with the higher numbers representing those offenders believed to have a high recidivism probability. Offenders were then given differential intensities of supervision depending on their recidivism probabilities (Adams, Chandler and Neithercutt 1971).

The Oklahoma Offender Typology¹⁰ was based on 170 probationers and parolees (male and female) randomly selected from the Oklahoma Department of Corrections. The offenders were classified into four groups:

- (1) early offender - any subject involved in a single criminal act for which he was adjudicated prior to his 21st birthday
- (2) late offender - any subject involved in a single criminal act for which he was adjudicated after his 21st birthday
- (3) intermittent offender - any subject who has been involved in a series of criminal acts for which he had been adjudicated with at least one year interim period between adjudication
- (4) persistent offender - any subject who has been involved in a series of criminal acts for which he had been adjudicated with no lapse of noncriminal involvement [sic]¹¹.

10. This study was reported by L. H. Irving and H. S. Sandhu in the U.S. Department of Justice (1973) report, 'Re-integration of the Offender into the Community'.

11. The U.S. Department of Justice (1973: 32). The above definition of "persistent offender" is as it appears in the original text; however, what they probably meant to write was "... with no lapse of criminal involvement".

Using the Adjustment Dynamic Questionnaire and the Cattell Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire, the four types of offenders were characterized in the following manner:

- (1) early offenders were bohemian in outlook, imaginative, average in intelligence, and somewhat frustrated. Their prognosis was good, with group therapy and/or family involvement being indicated. They had not developed a criminal self-image as of that time;
- (2) late offenders were psychologically the most normal of all the categories; however, their marital stability was low and their relationship with their family was unsatisfactory. This group was the least criminal and would be expected to progress well with minimal supervision;
- (3) intermittent offenders were the oldest of all categories. They had weak super-ego strengths and were apt to disregard rules. They displayed neurotic characteristics and should seek psychiatric help. They were "ritualists" in Merton's terms or "drifters" in Matza's terms;
- (4) Persistent offenders were continuously involved in crime and showed the most bizarre [Cattell] profiles. Even though the profiles define them as psychopathic and/or sociopathic, they displayed characteristics which differed from normal psychopathic/sociopathic parameters. These people need maximum supervision with every type of therapy being tested.

(Ibid: 39-40)

From the point of view of the present study, perhaps the greatest weakness in the Oklahoma typology is the fact that it gives very few concrete directions for supervision. Those supervisory suggestions which were made were not explained. For example, early offenders were said to need group therapy with some family involvement. There is no rationale given for

why this kind of supervision is required. Similarly, persistent offenders were said to require "every type of therapy" in the hope that some therapy or other would prove effective. Lastly, these vague suggestions for supervision ignore findings some other studies which indicate that offenders vary in terms of their amenability to certain kinds of supervision and treatment. The Oklahoma typology is helpful to the extent that it indicates those offenders who probably need very little supervision — e.g., late offenders — but one would probably want to validate this prognosis through the use of a basic expectancy scale or some similar measurement.

There appears to be little doubt about the contention that parole and related types of supervision could benefit from the use of risk scores such as a base expectancy score; particularly in the classification of offenders. Although risk prediction scores have been criticized for a variety of reasons¹², they do seem to be able to indicate those offenders who have a low risk of recidivating and it has been suggested by a number of writers that these offenders need little, if any, supervision. For example, California's SIPU IV study showed that low risk parolees who received minimum supervision did not violate at any greater rate than those similar parolees who received regular supervision. By classifying offenders in this way, time, energy and money could be saved and directed towards those offenders who do show a risk of recidivating.

12. See Evjen (1962) for his review of the limitations of statistical tables: e.g., they have to be revised and tested periodically to meet changing conditions; the tables consider only past and present factors; in the field of corrections we are dealing "with personalities, not digits". See also Inciardi and McBride (1977).

Nicholson (1968) found that a modified version of the California BES form was successful in predicting high and low risks. Offenders' BES scores were grouped into three categories:

Scale for Potential Adjustment

C	B	A
00-36	37-56	57-76

It was found that 99 percent (or 55) probationers and parolees who had scores in the "A" range made a favourable adjustment on probation or parole. One-hundred percent of those in the "C" category, i.e., high risk offenders, made an unfavourable adjustment. The "B" categories contained those offenders who's scores were of limited predictive ability. In a summary, Nicholson suggests that:

It seems probable that most probationers or parolees receiving the "C" rating would make an "unfavorable" adjustment with any quality and extent of supervision afforded as presently known. Perhaps we would experiment with new and different methods of supervision in our "C" cases. In the "B" category the results were mixed. It appears that our greatest efforts with current methods of supervision (practical casework assistance, vocational guidance, counselling, etc.) should be focused on our "B" caseloads, since these are the persons that may be shifted most readily either way according to the type of treatment they receive.

(Nicholson 1968: 58)

Nicholson goes on to suggest that the classification of these mid-range offenders could be further refined through the use of clinical classification.

The phenomenon of the unpredictable mid-range of recidivists is commonly documented in criminology. Other writers (e.g., Inciardi and McBride, 1977) have made suggestions along the lines similar to Nicholson's; that is, the use of other measures, whether clinical or sociological, would benefit

the identification of offenders in the mid-range category¹³.

One study has attempted to develop a classification of risk using different kinds of variables than are normally used in prediction schemes such as the BES and others. It has been pointed out that the static variables used in the traditional prediction schemes (e.g., age, number of previous convictions, etc.) are not particularly suitable for treatment purposes because the variables are not amenable to change nor are they suggestive of possible treatment strategies. Thus, a scheme which predicts risk using more dynamic variables — such as the New York State Classification system — promises helpful insights into parole and related types of supervision.

Although New York State has practised a rudimentary form of parolee classification for a couple of decades, in 1965 it was felt that a more sophisticated system, based on psycho-social theory, would be beneficial in those areas where geography and population density permitted specialized case-loads. The primary aim of the classification was to identify delinquency rates for types of parolees. Two criteria were used: 1) criminal behaviour and 2) personality make-up. The classification used was a modified version of Morris' typology (and other systems). It was applied to a relatively small but representative sample of parolees. It consisted basically of four types¹⁴:

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13. The California Parole Work Unit Program (PWUP) (Burkhart 1976), for example, has adopted a classification using the BES as well as assaultive behaviour and narcotic use to categorize offenders.
14. This scheme is reviewed by Stanton (no date).

- 01 Career or Professional Criminal: One who has customarily earned his living, partially or wholly, through criminal activities. He may have a regular trade or occupation but over the years he has engaged in criminal activities in order to obtain his livelihood or to supplement legitimate income. A career criminal may or may not be classifiable in one of the personality deviations.
- 02 Potentially Career or Professional Criminal: One who because of his youth or because of the episodic nature of his offenses may not be properly classified as a Career or Professional Criminal but who has engaged in planned criminal behaviour for economic gain. Such individual may not be properly classified as a Persistent Offender because he does not primarily commit offenses on a compulsive basis nor may he be classified as an Accidental or Situational Offender because he has a record of multiple offenses. He may or may not be classifiable in one of the personality deviations.
- 03 Persistent Offender: One who engages in criminal activities on a more or less compulsive basis and without deriving any lasting economic benefit from it. For example, the alcoholic and the narcotic addict who become involved in criminal activities mainly as a consequence of their addictive habits would come under this classification. A career criminal who is also an alcoholic or who is addicted to narcotics would not be classified as a persistent offender. A persistent offender would almost always be also classified as belonging in one of the personality deviations.
- 04 Occasional, Accidental or Situational Offender: One who because of certain circumstances commits a crime, such as a crime of passion, drunken driving involving bodily harm when it is an isolated offense, an assault committed by the member of a youthful gang, etc. The occasional offender would not have more than one or at most two previous arrests. He also may or may not be classifiable in one of the personality deviations.

These types were elaborated into further types indicating the parolees' personality diagnosis if other than normal. Thus, total classification consisted of:

Code	Regular Types Without Classifiable Personality Deviations
01	Career or professional criminal
02	Potentially career or professional criminal
03	Persistent offender
04	Occasional, accidental, situational offender

Code	Types with Classifiable Personality Deviations
11	Narcotic addict and career criminal
21	Alcoholic and career criminal
31	Psychopathic or sociopathic personality and career criminal
41	Emotionally unstable, inadequate or immature, asocial, or sex deviate personality and career criminal
12	Narcotic addict and potentially career criminal
22	Alcoholic and potentially career criminal
32	Psychopathic or sociopathic personality and potentially career criminal
42	Emotionally unstable, inadequate or immature, asocial, or sex deviate personality and potentially career criminal
13	Narcotic addict and persistent offender
23	Alcoholic and persistent offender
33	Psychopathic or sociopathic personality and persistent offender
43	Emotionally unstable, inadequate or immature, asocial, or sex deviate personality and persistent offender
14	Narcotic addict and occasional, accidental or situational offender
24	Alcoholic and occasional, accidental or situational offender
34	Psychopathic or sociopathic personality and occasional, accidental or situational offender
44	Emotionally unstable, inadequate or immature, asocial, or sex deviate personality and occasional, accidental or situational offender

15

After a two-year follow-up of 271 parolees, delinquency data was reported on the various types. The behaviour classification appeared meaningful in the sense that it was possible to identify the delinquency behaviour of particular types of parolees. For example, the delinquency rate of the Career or Professional Criminal (69.0) was twice as great as that of the Potentially Career or Professional Criminal (33.6) and almost eight times as great as that of the Occasional or Situational Offender. The personality deviation classification also appeared meaningful. For example, the delinquency

15. Retarded, youthful and gifted offenders had, in previous classifications been recognized as distinct types, but no provision was made for them in this study.

rates of those parolees having histories of narcotic addiction or alcoholism, and of those diagnosed as Psychopaths were markedly above the mean delinquency rate for all other subjects. Those classified as "normal" had no delinquencies.

In his discussion of these findings, Stanton (no date) claims that these two classification techniques have meaning for treatment and supervision because the Personality Deviations scheme broadly identifies the general treatment categories, and the Type of Offender scheme describes the different levels of criminal involvement of the parolees. While this seems undeniable, the obvious question which arises is how did this classification tell the parole officers anything more than they already knew? For example, it is obvious (almost by definition) that Occasional or Situational Offenders are less involved in crime than Professional Criminals. Similarly, the fact that alcoholic and narcotic offenders have a poor delinquency rate should come as no surprise to any experienced parole officer. While, as a general rule, it is appropriate to have subjective impressions and generalizations of this sort empirically verified, in this particular case the contribution does not seem very great. Although Stanton claims that having this information is advantageous because it facilitates treatment and supervision, the overriding question is how does it do this? Knowing that 55.6% of the narcotic offenders recidivate does not tell the parole officer what to do with these offenders. This is the crux of the problem confronting parole supervision and any classification system intended to aid supervision should deal with this issue directly.

Before examining some typologies which are more directly related to supervision and treatment, a few typologies designed to facilitate management will be reviewed. One of the most common systems is the RAPS system — a management information system for imprisoned offenders. Each inmate is classified according to his Rating (i.e., whether or not the

prisoner is considered to have a high likelihood of change), Age, Prior commitments and Sentence in order to determine the appropriate programs and activities for him (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 177-179).

Another managerial classification is that adopted by the Los Angeles County Probation Department. Probation cases are classified in terms of the amount of supervisory time they require which is determined by the probation officer after considering the offender's level of functioning in three areas: overt behaviour, external conditions (family, job, community, etc.) and individual characteristics (attitudes, etc.). For every fifteen minutes of supervision required, one unit is assigned. The average officer can handle at least 288 units of direct supervision per month. The number of units a probationer requires is designated by a number varying from one to four, with four being the highest requirement. In this way cases are assigned to officers on the basis of probationers' supervision time requirements; e.g., if an officer has a caseload consisting entirely of level four probationers, his maximum caseload size would be seventeen cases (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 72-73).

Lastly, the Quay Typology is noted for its simplicity and ease of implementation. It is claimed that

...as a management tool it provides immediate reference concerning the nature of the inmate population and permits institution administrators to balance various groups within the population. Perhaps even more significantly, the homogeneous grouping of behavioral categories permits separation of the more dominate [sic], aggressive inmates from the more passive, more easily influenced inmates. This latter factor appears to have the effect of reducing tension and pressure within the inmate population, thereby contributing to the safety and positive institutional adjustment of many individual inmates. In addition, the homogenous [sic]

grouping also holds promise for developing worthwhile correctional programs which can be tailored to the type of offender housed in each unit. (Anon. no date: 2).

The Quay adult typology used the same methodology as his delinquent typology; i.e., it uses only those items which significantly differentiate between delinquent and non-delinquent or, in this case, between adult offenders and adult non-offenders. The typology employs three measuring instruments: a personality questionnaire consisting of 204 true-false items; a checklist for the analysis of life history records, containing 50 items; and a 53-item correctional adjustment checklist. From the information collected by these instruments, five distinct adult types were observed:

- The first dimension reflects toughness, defiance, physical and verbal aggression, trouble-making, a history of thrill seeking, victimizing, and quick temperedness. This dimension was labeled Aggressive-Psychopathic.
- The second dimension involves worry, tenseness, sadness, help-seeking, fear of other inmates, and emotional lability; it has been labeled Neurotic-Anxious.
- A third dimension involves inability to follow directions, day-dreaming, sluggishness, preoccupation, passivity, dullness, moodiness, incompetence and social withdrawal; it was labeled Immature-Dependent.
- The fourth dimension suggests an individual without a pattern of aggression for inadequate behavior, who very likely committed his offense out of some immediate precipitating environmental stress. This dimension was labeled Situational.
- The fifth factorial dimension of Manipulativeness reflected such characteristics as trying to con staff, lack of trust, accusing staff of unfairness, and playing-off one staff member against another.

(Levinson 1975: 375).

The Quay typology has been used by a couple of institutions in the United States in a relatively new system entitled Functional Units. The concept of Functional Units includes small numbers of offenders who are housed together generally for the duration of their sentence and work in close intensive relationships with relatively permanent staff. At Oxford, Wisconsin, for example, four units have been established. Each of these consists of two buildings housing 56 inmates. One unit- called MAPS - combines two of the dimensions in the Quay typology - the Manipulative with the Aggressive-Psychopathic type inmate. Its program was designed for inmates typified by a long involved history of difficulties with the law; individuals who consciously or unconsciously attempt to manipulate the staff or other inmates to get their own way. They tend to develop shallow peer relationships and require more supervision than other types of inmates. They often have a difficult time following rules; they openly defy staff and other inmates who attempt to interfere with their activities. Typically, these individuals do not respond to direct group or individual counseling; they are quite concerned about maintaining an image of masculinity; and they may form cliques which function at cross-purposes to institutional goals. Unless thwarted, these people are quite pleasant and easy to get along with; however, those in authority positions frequently find them difficult to relate to.

Because of a demonstrated lack of success of talk in "therapies" with a Manipulative, Aggressive-Psychopathic type individual, the treatment focus of the MAPS unit is on limit-setting and establishing behavior controls. Staff assigned to this unit are selected for their ability to be consistent and firm in their dealings - the firm but fair staff member who "goes by the book". Conscious effort is required by the staff in this unit to avoid rewarding manipulative behavior; therefore, communication among staff members is open and frequent.

The Evergreen unit houses inmates who receive high scores on the Neurotic-Anxious and Immature-Dependent dimensions of their Quay typology. These individuals generally have difficulty adjusting to an institution because of their anxiety. They easily become upset, depressed, and socially withdrawn. They get little pleasure from life and characteristically appear preoccupied and/or sad. Further, they have difficulty relaxing, have a low self-concept, are easily led, have few (if any) friends and may continually seek protective reassurances from staff regarding real (though frequently exaggerated) threats made against them by more aggressive individuals.

The primary treatment approach for the Evergreen unit is being "supportative"; the physical separation from offenders in their MAPS unit helps in this regard. Emphasis is on individual and group counselling or psychotherapy. In order to encourage emotional growth and avoid the development of excessive dependency on staff, considerable effort is made to develop self-governing features within this unit. Staff selected can work in close relationships with inmates; are knowledgeable about counseling, and will encourage these offenders to learn to manage their own affairs.

Another program is being developed for those offenders who are being classified as Situational offenders. Seagoville is similar to the Oxford program. The Seagoville program consists of five units of approximately 90 inmates each. Three of these units have established specific treatment approaches: Transactional Analysis with a focus on intensive group interaction; Human Resources Development program based on the writings of Robert Carkhuff; and Facilitative Counseling based on Carl Rogers' philosophy as operationalized by Sherman Day and others. The other two units operate with an eclectic type treatment philosophy and program.

Inmates enter Seagoville's Admission and Diagnostic program after two weeks and are assigned to one of the other five units. Using the Quay Typology, "pure" Types are assigned in the following fashion — "Pure Type" is an individual whose highest dimensional score differs from his next highest score by five or more points. The Manipulative, Aggressive-Psychopathic types are assigned to the Transactional Analysis unit; the Neurotic-Anxious and Immature-Dependent types are assigned to the Facilitative Counseling unit; the Situational types and the "Indeterminate" — the 30 percent of the population whose primary and secondary dimension scores differ by less than five points — are assigned on an odd-number/even-number basis to the two eclectic units. A proportionate number of all the "pure" types is assigned to the Human Development unit.

So far, there has been no published evaluation on either of these two programs. One major criticism of the Quay typology is that since few individuals have a simple profile (e.g., a high score on one factor and low scores on all other factors), a skilled judgement must be made with regard to grouping the majority of offenders for intervention purposes (Warren 1966: 19-20).

Treatment Classifications and Typologies

The comparative shortness of this subsection bears witness to the fact that very few typologies have been developed which relate to differential supervision or treatment strategies. As Hood and Sparks (1970: 210 ff) point out, not only is there a need for the development of new typologies for new treatment strategies, but considerable work also needs to be done with respect to classifying existing strategies as they actually (as opposed to theoretically) occur.

Gibbons is one of the few writers who has contributed to this topic. In his 1975 article he outlines a variety of treatment strategies for some of the criminal types he has identified. For example, with regard to the Semiprofessional Property Offender he recommends guided-group-interaction therapy in a group composed of other "antisocial", "right guy" offenders. An adjunct program to this therapy is vocational and educational training. Essentially, the goal of this kind of treatment for these offenders is to modify their attitudes towards police, work, crime and society and the development of prosocial attitudes. He suggests that this program be initiated during the last few months of incarceration and continued during parole, beginning with intensive and frequent group meetings several times a week during the pre-release period. With regard to the Naive Check Forger, he recommends client-centred individual therapy or group therapy in groups composed of other forgers or both, several times a week. A possible adjunct program would be attendance at Alcoholics Anonymous. The aims of this therapy would be to break down the offender's rationalizations for forgery, discouraging dependent behaviour and building up a fund of acceptable solutions to problems (1975b: 185). One of the problems with Gibbons' scheme, as mentioned above, is that he offers little explanation or evidence as to why these particular strategies should be effective with these particular types.

Gibbons (1965: 142ff) has classified therapies into two broad types: psychotherapies and environmental therapies. Psychotherapies include subtypes such as individual "depth" psychotherapy, group psychotherapy and client-centred therapy. He claims that client-centred techniques, for example, would probably be most effective with clients who are dissatisfied with their present self-images and who define themselves as having problems but he notes that not all offenders exhibit these characteristics (Ibid.: 156-157). Environmental therapy,

on the other hand, includes subtypes such as group therapy, milieu management and environmental change. One of the basic characteristics of these types of intervention is their goal of encouraging the offender (whose background is frequently deprived) to identify with and adopt the norms of the larger society. In his later writing, however, Gibbons is somewhat pessimistic about the feasibility of this strategy, observing that most of these approaches

...do not alter the nature of the environmental pressures that contributed to criminal behaviour in the first place. Instead, the parolee goes back into a community in which opportunities for work and other environmental problems continued unchanged. For this reason alone, extremely high rates of success cannot be expected. It may be that a drastic alteration in recidivism among lower-income, slum-area offenders depends upon some rather profound changes in the nature of American society. (Gibbons 1975b: 190).

Commenting on a similar issue, Rubenfeld (1967: 18-19) has proposed that there is a need for types of intervention which are not generally considered in traditional treatment models. These have to do with the preparation of the individual for critical living problems which confront large numbers of people, particularly deprived people. Some of these interventions would be birth control counselling, retraining programs and educational programs.

In her review of delinquent treatment typologies, Grant (1975: 86-87) observes that most treatment planning has been based on intuitive judgments and administrative constraints. Yet underlying many of these intuitive judgments, she claims, lie a few basic assumptions regarding treatment. Specifically, it has gradually been accepted that the impact of treatment depends upon several factors: viz., the setting in which treatment takes place; the characteristics of the treator; the characteristics of the program; and the interaction among

these variables in addition to the characteristics of those being treated. Thus, it has been found that some delinquents do better (with respect to recidivism) when supervised in comparatively closed, controlled environments (e.g., Highfields). The PICO Project has become famous within corrections for its finding that delinquents vary in terms of their amenability to treatment¹⁶.

Recognition of the fact that treators, like criminals, are not a homogeneous group has produced some new experiments in matching officers with clients. The basic rationale for matching is the view that

...very few workers will relate equally well to all types of youth, and be equally comfortable with all types of approach [in supervision]. (Palmer 1968: 1)¹⁷

The Community Research Project has pioneered in the area of matching. At CTP, matching focused upon three broad questions:

- (a) will either the professional orientation or the so-called natural style of interaction of the candidate permit him to operate within the framework of at least one of the several sets of goals and strategies which are prescribed in the differential treatment model, for given types of youth;
- (b) will the candidate's personality and style be likely to elicit, over time, a positive response from — that is, the general acceptance of, or interest of — given types of youth, and not be overly-threatening to them; and,
- (c) will particular kinds of youth be likely to provide types of interpersonal feedback or manifest types of growth which would not only be visible to the particular candidate, but which would be personally or professionally rewarding to him?

(Palmer 1968: 2)

16. The most salient ingredient of amenability appeared to be the quality of anxiety; the typical amenable ward might be more fully described as "bright, verbal, and anxious". In addition ... the judgment of amenability was also influenced by evidence of "awareness of problems", "insight", "desire to change", and "acceptance of treatment". (Adams 1961: 29)

17. See also Palmer (1968: 4)

One principal assumption of CTP's matching techniques is that, at given points in their personal and professional development, officers will have areas of greater or lesser ability, and differential interests as well, relative to interactions which they might come to have with the full range and variety of potential clients (Ibid.). It has also been found that, given a certain amount of "time", experience or training, there is a broadening in the range of clients with whom many officers are capable of working (Ibid.: 13).

Studies so far have indicated that officers vary in terms of the degree to which they "hear", empathize with, communicate effectively with, and intellectually or emotionally accept or reject others with whom they are interacting. Several studies have demonstrated the relevance of these differences upon several aspects of the counselling relationship and outcome (Ibid.: 5). The Community Treatment Project classified officers according to their supervisory orientation, thereby arriving at three types of treators: the relationship/self-expression oriented, the surveillance/self-control oriented and a mixed type which combined aspects of the first two types (Palmer 1965: 3-4). These types were differentially matched with delinquents who had been typed using the I-level classification.

Another study which has attempted to further identify characteristics of treators relevant to the successful treatment of offenders is the Canadian CaVIC study. In examining the behaviour and impact of voluntary probation officers, the CaVIC study (Canada, Ministry of the Solicitor General 1977c) devised a quasi-classification scheme for officers and probationers. Officers, both volunteers and professionals, as well as probationers were assigned ratings with regard to: (1) Identification with Criminal Others (ICO), (ii) ties to convention (Gough's SOC), and (iii) empathy (Hogan's Empathy

Scale, HEMP). It was hypothesized that probationers manifesting different ratings on these variables would respond differently to different types of supervision styles. For example, relationship-oriented strategies would be most effective with interpersonally-skilled clients and be least effective, if not counterproductive, with the less interpersonally skilled clients; committed delinquents (high ICO) require exposure to high levels of both authority and anticriminal orientation; offenders with few ties to convention (low SOC) require high levels of problem-solving. Certain hypotheses regarding the effects of matching probationers and officers were also tested. It was hypothesized, for example, that treatment efforts would be particularly effective when worker and client shared similar background experiences (i.e., similar age (within ten years), similar socioeconomic status of parental families, similar educational and marital status). In addition, hypotheses were tested regarding the differences between professional and volunteer probation officers. Specifically, it was hypothesized that professional officers would tend to place greater emphasis on the authority aspects of supervision and volunteer officers would place greater emphasis on the 'quality of the relationship' dimensions of supervision with the consequence that professionals would be comparatively more successful with some types of clients (e.g., high ICO clients) and volunteers more successful with other types (e.g., high HEMP clients).

While not all of the hypotheses were demonstrated, the findings indicate that this approach is a fruitful way of classifying offenders and officers that could make a valuable contribution to the effectiveness of supervision. Specifically, while no overall differences in recidivism between clients supervised by professionals as opposed to volunteer probation officers were found, it was found that the latter were more effective with clients who scored high on the Empathy scale,

but significantly so only when the clients manifested low Socialization (Ibid.: 130). In addition, it appeared that volunteers were significantly more effective with the younger clients of low Socialization than were the professional officers. The authors of the CaVIC report conclude that the predicted efficacy of volunteers' supervision of interpersonally sensitive clients was strongly supported, but only with young, low SOC clients (Ibid.: 132). They comment that this finding could be explained by the fact that older clients with high SOC scores simply had too low a probability of recidivism for effects to be evident. Accordingly, they propose a basic principle of supervision: clients who present some evidence of interpersonal and communication skills respond most positively to relationship-oriented counselling (Ibid.; 224).

In comparing the styles of professional and volunteer officers, it was confirmed that volunteers tended to emphasize the quality of the relationship while professionals emphasized authority aspects (Ibid.: 222). Professionals also engaged in "higher-level" problem solving than did volunteers (Ibid.: 223) and more consistently represented a prosocial and anti-criminal orientation. This was felt to be consistent with the role constraints of the professional probation officer. The importance of the relationship dimension was apparent from an analysis of the matching of officer and client on bio-social characteristics. The authors reported that an indigenous worker index correlated positively with prosocial attitude change (in clients) when officers were sensitive (high HEMP) and prosocial (high SOC), but not with other officers (Ibid.: 230, 242). When officers manifested low sensitivity (low HEMP) but were prosocial (high SOC) they had failure rates approaching 50%. This finding, the authors claim, substantiates another basic element of correctional

lore: avoid workers who are likely to adopt inflexible and moralistic positions in dealing with clients (Ibid.: 230). It was also found that less dominating workers were more successful than those who tended to exert control in interactions with clients (Ibid.: 231).

Officer empathy was found to have differential effects depending on his position with respect to the other two factors (ICO and SOC): empathetic behaviour on the part of the worker, when associated with prosocial attitudes and authority, produced high success rates (regarding recidivism) and in the absence of anticriminal responses produced lower success rates (Ibid.: 233). Similarly, client empathy was associated with different results: if the officer's orientation was prosocial and anticriminal, the high empathy client responded in that direction. If, on the other hand, the officer's orientation was antisocial and procriminal, the high empathy client responded in that direction (Ibid.: 239).

The use of authority was associated with reduced recidivism among all types of clients, not simply those scoring high on the ICO measure (Ibid.: 241). The authors note, however, that the effects of authority may be short-lived whereas problem-solving may be longer-lasting (Ibid.: 264).

Officers' supervisory styles were also analyzed using taped interviews. It was found that reduced recidivism was associated with high level attention to the probation contract, differential reinforcement of the client's prosocial and anticriminal expressions, high level attention to sources of satisfaction and discomfort in the community and with expressions of friendship. In contrast, practices of paraphrasing clients' remarks and reflecting feelings were associated with lower success rates (Ibid.: 179-181). These

findings, the authors point out, support another theoretical view; viz., within the context of a warm relationship, avoid noncontingent interest in the client's expression but do differentially approve expressions on the prosocial-antisocial dimension and do offer high levels of problem-solving with reference to the specifics of the probation contract and the client's adjustment within the community; personal and/or emotional problems without concrete community referents, are best ignored or given only passing attention (Ibid.: 213). This latter proposition is noteworthy given the current emphasis on reintegration for it suggests, as other studies have (e.g., Lipton et al. 1975), that supervision is most effective when the officer and client focus on concrete problem-solving, particularly of a material nature.

This study is notable, not only because of its Canadian content, but because it represents one of the few attempts to classify officers, clients and supervision and test their differential impacts. The findings suggest that more studies of this sort could contribute to a greater understanding of the dynamics of supervision in the community and promise encouraging results if some of the conclusions were implemented.

Another typology which relates directly to treatment is Sandhu's typology based on offenders' treatment needs and treatment responses. This typology uses three dimensions: (i) the offender's degree of socialization ("containment" in Reckless' terms), (ii) his treatment response (portrayed on a continuum) and (iii) intensity of treatment required (also portrayed on a continuum). Sandhu (1974: 37) suggests the following classification:

THE OFFENDERS AND TREATMENT DIFFERENTIALS

Offenders' Containments	Weak	Modest	Adequate
Response to Treatment	Inadequately Responsive	Moderately Responsive	Quite Responsive
Treatment Intensity	Maximum-Intensity	Medium-Intensity	Minimal-Intensity
	Delinquent Gangs	Female Offenders, Adult	Juvenile Delinquents, Non-persistent
	Persistent Delinquents	Female Offenders, Juvenile	Juvenile Delinquents, Middle Class
	Psychotic Offenders	Neurotic Offenders	White Collar Offenders
	Psychopathic Offenders	Exhibitionists	Technical Offenders
	Skyjackers	Child Molesters	Political Offenders
	Career Criminals	Rapists	
	Robbery Offenders	Homicide Offenders	
	Auto Thieves	Assault Offenders	
	Violent Sex Offenders		

While Sandhu's typology appears promising at first glance, his development of it is disappointing. For example, all he has to say about the kind of treatment required is that it "may consist of manipulating or changing an environment, building up ego strength, or creating a new self-image" (*Ibid.*: 37).

Lastly, the Wisconsin classification system represents another attempt at developing a classification scheme which would facilitate supervision. This system was designed to "improve the effectiveness of service delivery and to provide a data base which [would] allow budgeting and staff deployment on a workload, rather than a caseload model". Its primary objectives were:

1. the development of a comprehensive classification process which assesses clients according to a) need for service and b) risk of continued unlawful activity;
2. development of a classification process which

would help agents to quickly determine an appropriate supervision strategy;

3. development of structured levels of supervision including defined criteria for initial placement and movement between levels;
4. establishment of standards for agent functions;
5. determination, through time studies, of the time required by agents to meet agency standards;
6. development of a data system which would enable the [Probation and Parole] Bureau to budget based on workload.

(Wisconsin 1977a: 8)

An additional hoped-for consequence of the system was to develop more efficient record-keeping methods.

Within this system, clients are initially classified within the first thirty days of supervision and then reclassified at six month intervals. All assaultive offenders are placed under maximum supervision for at least the first six months of probation or parole and then reassessed like all other clients and assigned to supervision levels based on their classification scores. At the initial classification, clients are classified primarily in terms of their potential for future violations. The variables used to predict future criminal behaviour are similar to other scales of this sort¹⁸; viz., age at first conviction; number of prior felony convictions; number of prior periods of probation/parole supervision; number of prior probation/parole revocations; convictions for burglary, theft, auto theft, robbery, worthless cheques, forgery, number of address changes in last year; percentage of time employed in last year; alcohol usage/problems; other drug

18. See, for example, Waller (1974).

usage/problems; and client attitude (Wisconsin 1977a: 9)¹⁹.

Subsequent classifications place less emphasis on criminal history used to predict risk and focus on the client's overall adjustment while on probation or parole. With regard to the client's needs, agents developed an eleven-item list of client need areas which are most commonly encountered:

ACADEMIC/VOCATIONAL SKILLS

SCORE

-1	High school or above skill level	0	Adequate skills; able to handle everyday requirements	2	Low skill level causing minor adjustment problems	4	Minimal skill level causing serious adjustment problems	
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EMPLOYMENT

-1	Satisfactory employment for one year or longer	0	Secure employment; no difficulties reported; or homemaker, student or retired	3	Unsatisfactory employment; or unemployed but has adequate job skills	6	Unemployed and virtually unemployable; needs training	
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FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

-1	Long-standing pattern of self-sufficiency; e.g., good credit rating	0	No current difficulties	3	Situational or minor difficulties	5	Severe difficulties; may include garnishment, bad checks or bankruptcy	
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MARITAL/FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

-1	Relationships and support exceptionally strong	0	Relatively stable relationships	3	Some disorganization or stress but potential for improvement	5	Major disorganization or stress	
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19. Tests regarding the validity of the resulting classification have been generally positive, particularly with regard to low risk clients: "no client initially classified as a minimal risk has been revoked to date and 150 have successfully completed their entire probation or parole terms". With regard to high risk clients, 88% were correctly identified (Wisconsin 1977a: 10).

COMPANIONSSCORE

-1	Good support and influence	0	No adverse relationships	2	Associations with occasional negative results	4	Associations almost completely negative	_____
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EMOTIONAL STABILITY

-2	Exceptionally well adjusted; accepts responsibility for actions	0	No symptoms of emotional instability; appropriate emotional responses	4	Symptoms limit but do not prohibit ade- quate functioning; e.g., excessive anxiety	7	Symptoms prohibit adequate functioning; e.g., lashes out or retreats into self	_____
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ALCOHOL USAGE

0	No interfer- ence with functioning	3	Occasional abuse; some disruption of functioning	6	Frequent abuse; serious disruption; needs treatment	_____
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OTHER DRUG USAGE

0	No interfer- ence with functioning	3	Occasional substance abuse; some disruption of functioning	5	Frequent sub- stance abuse; serious disruption; needs treatment	_____
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MENTAL ABILITY

0	Able to function independently	3	Some need for assistance; potential for adequate adjustment	6	Deficiencies severely limit independent functioning	_____
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HEALTH

0	Sound physical health; seldom ill	1	Handicap or illness inter- feres with functioning on a recurring basis	2	Serious handi- cap or chronic illness; needs frequent medical care	_____
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SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

0	No apparent dysfunction	3	Real or per- ceived situa- tional or minor problems	5	Real or perceived chronic or severe problems	_____
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AGENT'S IMPRESSION OF CLIENT'S NEEDS

- 1 Minimum 0 Low 3 Medium 5 Maximum

(Wisconsin 1976: 17)

This assessment sheet was intended not only to aid in the classification of clients, but also to assist agents in formulating a case plan and assessing client progress.

The clinical classification process (Client Management Classification, CMC) consists of a forty-five minute semi-structured interview and utilizes a forced-choice rating instrument. Four groups of CMC categories are identified based on supervision techniques. They are:

Selective Intervention

The most prominent characteristic of clients in this group is that they generally tend to have relatively stable and pro-social life styles. They are usually steadily employed, established in the community, and have minimal offense histories. The current offense will frequently be their first involvement with the law. (Distinction should be made between this type of client and the successful, professional criminal who has been involved over a long period in law-violating behavior but was never previously caught.) Offenses committed by this type of client are generally motivated by some isolated and stressful event or by a relatively specific, neurotic problem. Their offenses can generally be viewed as a temporary lapse or suspension of an otherwise normally functioning social value system. The lapse is usually brought about by an unusually stressful circumstance or a compulsion to fulfill a particular neurotic need, (e.g., exhibitionism). With appropriate intervention these clients are least likely to get involved in further legal difficulties.

In supervision these clients are generally dependable, keep appointments and present few management problems for their agent. They require minimal time and structure, but the agent should be sensitive to providing counseling if the client needs or desires it. The need for involvement with outside agencies tends to be limited. Often, the public disclosure attendant on movement through the criminal justice system will provide sufficient deterrent to future involvement

in criminal behavior. However, if the precipitating stress or neurotic problem underlying their crime is still present when they are placed on probation, psychotherapy should be seriously considered. With appropriate intervention these clients are least likely to get involved in further trouble.

Casework/Control

The predominant characteristic of clients in this group is a general instability in their life situation (e.g., inability to hold full-time employment, many problems in the home, family and living situation) and a general lack of goal-directedness in their lives. Habitual involvement with alcohol or other drugs is often a prominent feature with these clients. The offense pattern, once established, usually shows a considerable number of misdemeanor arrests, along with a few more serious crimes. Offenses generally stem from serious long-term emotional problems, drinking problems, or negative self-perceptions. While some of these clients possess marketable job skills and many have the potential for developing them, their inability to appropriately deal with personal problems usually prevents them from acquiring and maintaining steady employment. Their personal histories often include a somewhat chaotic childhood which tends to be repeated with their own families with numerous changes in residence, marital problems or inability to provide consistent financial support.

These clients require a great deal of agent time, direction and support. Agents working with these clients will be required to work closely with both outpatient and inpatient mental health facilities and vocational, alcohol and drug programs. Perhaps, because they have little confidence in their ability to change their lives, these clients often deny problems and are reluctant to involve themselves in such programs. At other times, they appear eager to change their lives totally but tend to become discouraged if progress is not immediate. Therefore, another aspect of the agent's dealing with this client will be to help develop and maintain motivation, in order to sustain their involvement in auxiliary treatment programs. These clients can make substantial changes if they can establish some stability in their lives and deal with the many self-defeating aspects of their behavior.

Environmental Structure

A predominant characteristic of clients in this group is a deficit in social and vocational skills. Their law-breaking behavior is usually a result of their inability to succeed in the world at large and a strong tendency to be led by more sophisticated associates. They demonstrate little foresight about consequences for criminal activity, and there is a high

element of impulsiveness in their behavior. They have difficulty being introspective and learning from past mistakes. Malice as a motivation for criminal activity is rare. However, involvement in physically assaultive offenses could take place at the direction of more sophisticated peers upon whom they tend to be dependent.

As is suggested above, traditional casework or insight-oriented therapy is not appropriate with these clients. Preferred treatment would focus on improving living skills (i.e., increased interpersonal sophistication, independence, ability to anticipate and delay gratification of needs). The social environment should provide maximum insulation from criminally oriented peers while supplying positive structure and direction. Agents working with this group will have to be highly involved with sheltered work and living situations. Counseling with this group would be geared to finding concrete solutions to specific problems in their everyday life, with an emphasis on increasing planning ability and decision making skills. Techniques such as social skill training, assertiveness training and role rehearsal would be especially useful with this group.

These clients require considerable structure, support, guidance, and agent time. The agent should be emotionally prepared for small gains and frequent setbacks. However, these clients can often develop a good relationship with their agent if they learn to trust and view agents as being concerned and providing useful advice. This can be established by providing them with very concrete forms of assistance and a non-threatening atmosphere during the early stages of the relationship. If they can find appropriate employment, an adequate living situation and non-criminal friends, they can often maintain a crime-free existence. However, they will probably require continued support and guidance from their agent for a long period of time.

Limit Setting

Clients in this group generally display a fair degree of comfort with a criminal life-style and often demonstrate a pattern of long-term involvement with criminal activities. Their crimes appear to be motivated by a need to overprove their ability to manipulate people and "beat the system". These needs are generally manifested in crimes motivated toward material gain and could involve situations which present imminent danger to others. Guilt over criminal activities is generally superficial and has a programmed flavor (i.e., little contrition is present). While they often appear to be reasonably capable of functioning adequately in society, they appear unmotivated to use their abilities in a prosocial manner. They tend to minimize or deny any personal problems and assign the blame for criminal activity to others or to circumstances.

An insight-oriented, intensive personality exploration type of casework is not initially appropriate with these types of clients. Specific ground rules for continuance of probation or parole status should be clearly delineated, and the agent should be prepared for clients' testing of these limits. These tests should be dealt with firmly by following through with previously defined consequences. The agent should be prepared to resist the client's lawyer-like attempts to circumvent the rules. Initially, maximum surveillance will be required to monitor the client's activities because little accuracy in voluntary self-reporting can be expected. The working relationship with the agent will tend to be founded on the basis of respect for the agent's integrity and strength after many tests of his authority and ability to supervise the client. These clients often display considerable potential for achievement if they can be motivated to redirect their intellectual and social skills.

(Wisconsin 1977b: 3-6)

In addition to these strategies, plans have been proposed to match client and worker but this aspect has not been reported as yet.

Thus, the classification consists of two sub-classifications: Need Scale Determination and Risk Scale Determination. The client is assigned to the highest level of supervision that is indicated by either the risk or the needs scale. There are four levels of supervision:

- Maximum - at least one face-to-face contact every fourteen days by a representative of the agency; home visits are appropriate; monthly verification of residence and employment; collateral contacts as appropriate; staffings at request of agent or supervisor; submittal of monthly report.
- Medium - at least one face-to-face contact every thirty days; monthly verification of employment and residence; home visits and collateral contacts as appropriate; submittal of monthly reports.
- Low - face-to-face contact once every ninety days; verification of employment and residence once every ninety days; submittal of monthly report.

Minimum - receipt of a mailed-in report every thirty days; verification of employment and residence as appropriate; collateral contacts as appropriate.

(Wisconsin 1976: 20)

It is interesting to note that most clients (87%) with need assessment totals high enough to warrant maximum supervision were also found to rate as high risk cases (Wisconsin 1977a: 14).

The assessment of risk provides a measure of the client's propensity for further criminal activity and an indication of the amount of agent intervention required. These determine the level of supervision for each client but do not address the question of supervision strategy. The CMC, on the other hand, deals with how to supervise a client but not the level of supervision. Thus, maximum, medium and low supervision clients may be found in all four CMC categories (Wisconsin 1976: 16, 20).

In addition to the four strategies described in the CMC categories, officers in the Wisconsin project are provided with detailed treatment guidelines for each of the eleven 'problem areas'. Each problem is discussed under the topics of 'Identification of Problem', 'Treatment Approach', 'When to Make a Referral', and 'Resources'. For example, under the problem entitled "Marital/Family Relationships" the problem is identified by the following method:

1. Explore the client's social history using the Pre-Sentence Investigation and/or files from previous periods of supervision.
2. Interview the client and family members to determine their perception of problems.
3. Contact collateral resources having knowledge of the client and family (schools; public and private social service agencies; medical resources).
4. Possibly request a psychological or psychiatric evaluation.

5. Assess the client's needs based on strengths, weaknesses and overall functioning of the family unit.

The treatment approach that is suggested consists of:

1. Individual, marital and family counseling, divorce counseling (degree and treatment modalities depend on needs and agent's expertise). Counseling areas could include personal adjustment, employment, budgeting, intra-family relationships, sexual dysfunction and relationships outside the family.
2. Group counseling (parent groups; couple groups).
3. Special effort should be made to cooperate with institutional social services staff to coordinate and insure that services to the client and his family are provided during a period of incarceration.

The officer is advised to make a referral under the following circumstances:

1. Referrals should be made when the agent, alone or in conference with the supervisor, reviews the case and determines that he lacks the time and/or expertise to provide treatment.
2. Referrals should be made if there may be a need for "diagnostic" evaluation. Evaluation can take place at any stage in the process.
3. When a referral has been made, the agent maintains primary case responsibility and contact with the resource to insure that proper communication and coordination exist.

(Wisconsin 1977c: 9)

Finally, a list of community services and resources is supplied.

While it would be an exaggeration to claim that these guidelines constitute anything more than the most rudimentary steps, they are, nevertheless, noteworthy in that they are one of the very few examples of attempts to delineate treatment strategies in parole.

The foregoing scheme constitutes one of Wisconsin's experiments. In addition, thirty agents with protected caseloads of thirty-five or fewer clients are participating in a study of more intensive supervision. These officers are required to see maximum supervision clients at least four times per month, medium supervision cases at least twice each month and minimum cases once every three months or, after six months on supervision, these clients may submit a monthly mailed-in report (Wisconsin 1977a: 14-15). There are no published reports on the outcome of these experiments at this time.

A major difficulty with the Wisconsin system is that it fails to provide any rationale for assigning clients differentially to the different types of intervention strategies (i.e., the CMC). It is only the frequency of contact with clients that is grounded on the client risk and need scales. One suspects that in lieu of any formal rationale for the differential supervision of clients, officers are continuing to use informal, ad hoc, intuitive grounds for their choice of intervention strategies. In this respect the Wisconsin system is no different than the situation which existed before classification. Ideally, officers should be able to select differential strategies on the basis of information about what kinds of strategies are actually effective with different kinds of clients.

ISSUES PERTAINING TO CLASSIFICATION

Purposes of Classification

Functions of Classification

Characteristics of a Good Typology

Methodology

In the foregoing presentation of various classifications and typologies, several issues have been alluded to. These issues concern the nature of classification, its purposes and methodology, its focus and orientation and so on. Considerable debate has centred around these considerations with numerous claims made about how one approach is better than another. In resolving these controversies, the purposes of the classification appears to take priority. Accordingly, this section begins by examining the purposes of classification and then discusses many of the advantages and disadvantages of classification schemes. Based on many of the foregoing considerations, some conclusions regarding the characteristics of a 'good' typology are then presented. Finally, some methodological issues are discussed.

Purposes of Classification

A variety of purposes have been ascribed to classification. It will be recalled¹ that Kornfeld and his associates, for example, proposed that the four major goals of classification are security, treatment, management and rehabilitation. It was apparent in the historical review that while classifications are conceived to have many goals, exponents of classification were not always clear about the particular goals they had in mind for any particular scheme; or, sometimes they appeared to believe that a classification system could serve a multiplicity of purposes. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973: 197) has observed that

One of the basic problems experienced by corrections in adopting the concept of classification as a useful correctional tool is that too often the purpose which a classification system might serve has not been specified.

1. Section I, 'Historical Outline'.

Most correctional classification schemes in use today are referred to as classification systems for treatment purposes, but even a cursory analysis of these schemes and the ways in which they are used reveals that they would more properly be called classification systems for management purposes...It is important...that corrections begin to acknowledge the bases and purposes of classification systems that are in use.

Facilitating correctional tasks such as treatment, security and the management of offenders are only some of the purposes of classification. Some writers see classifications as useful throughout the entire criminal justice system as evaluation instruments (e.g., risk classifications) or tools which will help in the decision-making of judges and parole boards. Breed (1967) has presented a highly comprehensive delineation of the criminal justice areas in which classification systems could be of value. With regard to the contribution classification could make to decision-making, Breed comments that

To a great extent, offenders today are being treated in the wrong places, with the wrong programs, and with inappropriate staff. For correctional classification to have any real meaning, it must first be able to meaningfully separate out those offenders whose treatment should take place in some type of community setting.

(Breed 1967: 6)

Among the recommendations he makes to develop such a classification system are:

- the development of a wide variety of community-based treatment programs through governmental subsidy programs
- the refinement of existing treatment typology systems which would allow for a matching of offender's needs with community resources
- development of a treatment profile instrument which would definitely speak to the offender's crime causation factors, the type of treatment required to forestall further criminal acts, and the location at which treatment can best be provided.

Breed suggests that, within the correctional system itself, classification could contribute to the following: continuity of treatment, agency goals, administrative actions, program development, staff development, research, parole predictions and community responsibilities (Ibid.: 7-14). Gibbons (1975b: 180) also claims that classification could serve the training of correctional workers so that intuitive and unshared tactics might give way to standardized and describable practices². Others (e.g., the Wisconsin Project and Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 66) have proposed that classification could serve the subsidiary goal of improving record-keeping methods.

Lastly, classification has had the goal of building theory, particularly with respect to the theoretical causes of crime and delinquency. In fact, as the foregoing review of classifications and typologies indicates, most of them have been what Gibbons calls aetiological classifications.

Fairly frequently throughout the literature on classification appears the belief or hope that one classification system could serve all of these purposes (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 81). This appears to be the case particularly among those who argue that classification should be implemented at the beginning of the offender's entry into the criminal justice system: the implicit view is that one classification scheme would, through the identification of the causes of the offender's criminality, identify type of disposition, type of treatment within the disposition, guide administration and management of offenders, facilitate subsequent evaluation and so on. It is now generally recognized, however, that this is impossible. Thus, the U.S.

2. See also Colbin (no date: 24).

President's Commission (1967: 20) notes that

...Classifications systems have had quite different purposes. Some are of immediate relevance to corrections, either in determining treatment or enabling more efficient and effective 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.

Gottfredson (1972: 79) notes that typologies and classifications vary in their respective abilities to provide testable aetiological hypotheses, to guide treatment practices or to predict future criminal activity. Accordingly, he argues that the need is great for the development of classification systems designed to contribute to each of these endeavours. He is particularly concerned about classifications which will help in the evaluation of penal measures. Other writers such as Wilkins (1976: 835 and 1969: 93), Warren (1966) and Hood and Sparks (1970) have presented similar positions.

The purpose of the classification in large part determines its other characteristics, e.g., its focus, orientation, methodology and so on. For example, if the purpose of the classification is to aid in evaluation then a risk classification such as the California BES³ is probably called for — in which case it is unlikely that the classification would focus on the causes of criminality. Similarly, if the purpose of classification is managerial, it is unlikely that it will be obliged to consider certain social characteristics of offenders'

3. Gottfredson (1970: 10).

backgrounds. Clearly, there is potential for overlap: some classifications, depending on their formulation, may be able to serve more than one purpose just as disparate classifications, designed to serve different purposes, may consider common factors pertaining to offenders and/or crimes⁴.

Accordingly, we can see the basis for distinctions among types of classification. For example, the National Advisory Commission (1973: 202) distinguishes between classification systems that are useful solely for management purposes and those designated as useful for treatment purposes:

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 to assessing risk and facilitating the management of offenders.

In his survey of classification, Eynon (1975) describes ten roles of research in classification and treatment including descriptive studies of inmates used for administrative purposes (e.g., surveys of intelligence, age, offences, education, etc.); aetiological studies; evaluative research; management; treatment and so on. Accordingly, he claims there is a need for multiple classification schemes applicable to offenders as they shift from one conceptual framework of classification to another as they move through the criminal justice system (Ibid.: 73).

4. Meeker (1969) claims that the I-level classification, for example, serves both management and treatment purposes.

Traditionally, because of the influence of the medical model within corrections, aetiological classifications have been viewed as useful for treatment. Gibbons, for example, wrote in 1965:

Probably all persons would agree that rehabilitative ventures should be based upon valid causal arguments which identify the character of the problems to be remedied. In short, to "cure" criminals and delinquents implies knowledge of the nature and causes of criminal "sickness".⁵
(Gibbons 1965: 2)

In general it is difficult to fault the logic of this approach. However, whether it is because of inadequate conceptualization, the difficulties of demonstrating concrete empirical relationships, or faults in our ontological understanding of causes, this approach has not proven successful. Hence, the medical model has gradually been abandoned in corrections and with it the usefulness of aetiological classifications for treatment purposes is also placed in doubt. Nevertheless, another kind of medical model does suggest an alternative approach; viz., the analogy to the "cure" of a broken arm in which one does not need to know the causes of the break in order to fix it. In this model, a body of knowledge based on empirical research is built up which informs practitioners of effective "cures" for different ailments without necessarily referring to causes at all⁶. The findings of studies such as the PICO Project and the CaVIC study might be examples of this approach for there is no reason to assume that the variables found to be related to successful supervision outcomes bear any relationship to the causes of criminality⁷.

5. See also Gibbons (1965: 40) and (1975: 178); Warren (1966: 18-19); and Roebuck (1967: 15).

6. For further elaboration of this view see Hood and Sparks (1970: 124ff), see also Bennett (1972).

7. Although the CaVIC study does adopt a very broad theoretical approach concerning the effects of differential reinforcement, as a basis for its selection of variables.

This approach would still require classification since the basic rationale for classification would continue to apply; viz., different types of offenders respond differently to different types of treatment⁸. What would probably change, however, is the focus and methodology of classification. The methodology, for example, would shift towards a more inductive approach which, in turn, would suggest what the focus of the classification should be. These possibilities are considered further in the subsection below on 'Methodology'.

Functions of Classification

Closely related to the goals of classification are notions concerning the ways in which classification systems and typologies should or are likely to function. The term "function" is meant to refer to the intended or unintended ramifications of classifications which are only indirectly related to their official purposes. Some of these ramifications will be positive and others negative.

On the positive side is the view that "typologies of offenders represent an important method of integrating the increasing body of knowledge in the field of corrections" (Warren 1966: 22). In addition, it has been suggested that classifications (i) encourage conceptualization of problems and a common perspective thereby exposing inconsistencies; (ii) save money and other limited resources through their contribution to efficient practices; (iii) act as a shared means of communication thereby fostering inter-agency and intra-agency understanding and the coordination of efforts; and (iv) rationalize agencies' intervention strategies and thus facilitate the evaluation of these interventions (National Advisory Commission 1973: 201-202).

8. See California Youth Authority (1974), Rubenfeld (1967), Warren (1966), among others.

In her general description of how treatment classifications work, Warren (1966: 20) notes that

An important point to be made with regard to treatment prescriptions which follow from offender typologies is that the intervention strategies are not by and large made up of new and unusual treatment methods, but rather consist of many of the old alternatives differentially applied to the various categories of offenders. In this sense a typology which leads to differential prescriptions leaves the field no worse off, in terms of the need for skilled treaters. In another sense, the field is far better off. If offenders can be classified by differential treatment need, correctional staff can then be assigned differentially. In this way a particular correctional line worker need not have the entire range of specific management and therapeutic skills at his fingertips. Instead, his training can prepare him to handle only those treatment and management methods appropriate for certain types of offenders. Further, since correctional workers can be characterized as having certain "natural" treatment stances, a matching of worker style and offender problem can be accomplished.

Before discussing the negative side of classification, some 'neutral' ramifications should be considered. Included in this dimension are some of the functions that classifications will not perform. As mentioned in Section I, treatment or "diagnostic" classification schemes do not, for example, constitute treatment — they are simply tools which suggest guidelines for treatment. Similarly, classifications schemes will not ensure the development (or rejection) of programs by correctional managers; this event is ultimately a political one (see Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 248). Lastly, classification schemes will undoubtedly function as new or alternative rationales for explaining inefficiency or ineffectiveness. In other words, their use will provide a new device for ascribing blame for unsuccessful outcomes and it is probable that this ascription will be warranted only some of the time.

With regard to the negative side of classification, several aspects are considered: inadequacies of actual applications of classifications and potential problems and disadvantages. Altogether these considerations represent a compilation of others' thinking about classification and the 'lessons that have been learned' elsewhere. Considerations of this sort are, to a large extent, even more important to the future developer of a classification system than are the lists of advantages and rationales for its use.

The first criticism concerns the preoccupation with classifications which have attempted to distinguish the criminal from the noncriminal. This type of classification is largely a phenomenon of the past but its presence is still felt. The essence of the criticism is that insofar as treatment classifications are concerned (i.e., those classifications which are non-aetiological), it is a matter of indifference whether criminals are unlike noncriminals or not. The search for discriminating factors has produced very poor results. It is worth noting that even when classifications are developed which do attempt to distinguish between offenders and nonoffenders, the treatment which is recommended for offenders is no different than that suggested for nonoffenders (e.g., segregation, various kinds of therapy, counselling and so on). Associated with this criticism is the aforementioned criticism of the medical model which the reader will already be familiar⁹.

Another criticism of attempts to apply classifications is their lack of integration into existing correctional set-ups. This phenomenon has earned many classifications the title of "paper classifications" in that they have failed to have any

9. See Rees (1977: 2).

consequences apart from producing more inserts for offenders' files. Whether due to political, conceptual or instrumental difficulties, or some combination of the three, this possibility is considered by many writers to demand close attention, particularly at the initiating stages of classification schemes (see Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 77ff). The National Advisory Commission (1973: 210) observes that one of the greatest handicaps facing classification is the lack of funds, resources and knowledge applicable to them.

Some existing classifications have been faulted on the grounds that they fail to come to terms with the criminal justice system. Thus, some classifications categorize both murderers and cheque forgers as prosocial criminals and recommend a particular range of treatment strategies for prosocial criminals which ignores the fact that our criminal justice system demands that murderers be treated differently than cheque forgers¹⁰. Alternatively, some treatment classifications suggest quite different treatments for offenders who, in our present justice system, are considered to deserve similar sorts of treatment. Not only does this go against common notions of justice but it raises certain legal questions regarding the rights of offenders and the rights of the system. Does the offender have the right to refuse "treatment" and, by implication, classification? (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 247, 252).

Reference has already been made¹¹ to the need for reliable data sources for classification systems. Sometimes the problem consists of developing new means or measurement instruments for collecting data¹² while other times the problem lies simply

10. See U.S. President's Commission (1967: 21).

11. See the Suffolk County Classification System in Section II.

12. See Shah (1975: 123). See also Kornfeld et al. (1975d: 32, 90-93, 132-133).

in regularizing and implementing already existing devices. It is in connection with this issue that recordkeeping is discussed. Some writers express the fear that classification would add to recordkeeping tasks that are already burdensome whereas others maintain the hope that classification would streamline recordkeeping and eliminate redundancies that currently exist throughout the criminal justice system.

The orientation and focus of classifications is a related problem. Clinical classifications, for example, have been criticized on the grounds that they require substantial assessment of offenders' psychological and social adjustment and hence considerable training and expertise is needed before correctional staff can conduct and interpret interviews correctly. In probation and parole agencies, the costs of this training are considered prohibitive (see Wisconsin 1977a: 2).

Finally, there are those criticisms which are directed at the general development of classifications. Contrary to the optimism expressed by some advocates of classification¹³ who appear to believe that the selection of criteria for classifications is a settled issue, one of the biggest problems confronting classification is deciding what factors to consider — what information is relevant (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 108, 133). While the purpose of the classification largely determines the kinds of things which might be considered, there is still considerable room for uncertainty. In so far as purpose remains unspecified, this problem becomes even more acute. Commenting on treatment classifications, Grygier (1961: 151) observed

13. See, for example, Ciale (1972).

that

But we do not know which characteristics of the offenders are relevant to treatment. So we really do not know how to classify, which classification will offer the best differentiation, directly linked with the appropriate treatment...It is frightening to think how much we do, and how little we know. We govern people's lives on rules of thumb and quite often we do not even agree on what should be done. When we do agree, we have no evidence that we are right.

In addition, there are problems relating to the comprehensiveness of a classification scheme. Many schemes have been criticized for their lack of comprehensiveness, focusing instead on types of offenders who do not represent the total array of offenders¹⁴. On the other hand, there is the risk that a classification scheme will become too detailed, producing too many types (Gibbons 1975a; Kornfeld *et al.* 1975d: 214-215). The proliferation of types and subtypes is considered disadvantageous primarily in so far as it confounds attempts at replication. Hood and Sparks (1970: 206-207), however, have argued that this criticism applies only to aetiological classifications. They maintain that "typologies used in treatment should ideally be as rich in types as possible — otherwise differences in treatment outcome are likely to be obscured."

Lastly, there is the fear — sometimes justified — that classification will lead to stereotyping and rigid interpretation and implementation of intervention strategies. This is considered to be not only harmful in itself but its possibility has the further repercussion of undermining field staff morale in that they tend to feel that their autonomy and expertise is being eroded. In addition, it is feared that the public's perceptions of offenders will be stereotyped — a situation which many feel exists already to an alarming degree.

14. See, for example, Hartjen and Gibbons (1969: 57) and Gibbons (1965).

Characteristics of a Good Typology

Numerous writers have proposed features which a 'good' classification system or typology should have¹⁵. Those "formal properties" (Hood and Sparks 1970: 125) which are considered important for classifications in general are presented first, followed by those characteristics which are more relevant to a treatment or diagnostic classification.

Gibbons (1975a: 143), for example, points out that a typology must possess clarity and objectivity¹⁶; that is, definitions must be clearly specified so that replication studies are possible. Secondly, the types or classes within a scheme should be mutually exclusive. This does not mean that offenders may not, in the course of time, pass from one type to another, but that at any given time each offender ought to fit into one type only. Another frequently mentioned characteristic is that of parsimony: any scheme should have relatively few categories within it. As noted above, however, this feature has been questioned by Hood and Sparks who argue that it applies most appropriately to aetiological schemes, whereas diagnostic typologies should be as rich in types as possible. This proposal would not run the risk of producing hundred of treatment types and sub-types (and therefore prove unmanageable) since the type of intervention strategies available are simply not that numerous.

Classification schemes should also be comprehensive, i.e., they should be capable of classifying all or almost all of the offender population. This feature requires some qualification. It has been pointed out that schemes vary in their ability to serve different purposes; the type of scheme which might be useful for risk prediction may not be suitable for treatment

15. The distinction between a classification and a typology is not relevant here.

16. See also Gibbons and Garrity (1959) and Morris (1965: 197).

purposes. In addition, the criminal justice system differentially processes offenders as they enter and pass through the system. Thus, as Kornfeld and his associates have pointed out (1975d: 245)

the offender in his neighbourhood is not the same as the offender in court, is not the same as the offender on probation, 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.

Accordingly, the nature of the offender population of parolees is likely to be different, in a variety of identifiable and relevant ways, from the population of offenders on probation or awaiting sentencing. For example, it is likely that their potential risk to society as well as their respective needs will vary considerably¹⁷. Hence, if the objective of the classification is to guide differential intervention strategies for parolees, then it would be unnecessary to include within the classification a population of offenders consisting of probationers, for example, or all arrested offenders. The 'comprehensive stipulation', therefore, should be applied with some consideration of the purpose of the classification — in practice this may mean that it should be capable of classifying all or almost all offenders in a selected sub-population of offenders.

This last consideration introduces another characteristic of a 'good' typology — whether it is an aetiological classification, a treatment classification or whatever. The classification should clearly specify its objectives so that

17. Distinctions between types of offender populations most frequently occur with regard to juvenile and adult offenders.

its effectiveness can be evaluated. The National Advisory Commission (1973: 210) combines this stipulation with the further one that monitoring and evaluation should be built into the application of any classification system.

The following prescribed features of a classification scheme apply to those schemes which are intended for practical use, e.g., treatment and management typologies. Closely aligned with the prescription that typologies should clearly specify their objectives is the view that each scheme should also specify who is to implement it and how — particularly with respect to how difficult decisions regarding the allocation of problematic types of offenders are to be made and by whom (National Advisory Commission 1973: 210). Also related to this prescription is the suggestion that the classification system should be adequately staffed and funded, and that practitioners should be trained in its use (N.A.C. loc. cit.). It should also be "meaningful" to practitioners (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 78), have a "face validity", and be formulated in an understandable language (N.A.C. 1973: 210). It should be sufficiently objective and quantifiable to facilitate research and interagency use, and yet at the same time permit some subjective judgment on the part of the practitioners (Wisconsin 1977a: 5). Furthermore, it should allow for the reclassification of offenders and should be integrated into the agency's recordkeeping system¹⁸.

With regard to the information used to construct the classification, it has been proposed that the sources of the information should be reliable and uniform¹⁹. It was noted above, for example, that some classifications have relied upon

18. See Kornfeld et al. (1975d: 80), Gibbons and Garrity (1959), Wisconsin (1977a: 5-6).

19. See Warren (1966: 19).

court and police reports which vary considerably in their reliability and thoroughness. Nevertheless, whatever data collection instruments are used, they should be "simple" (Wisconsin 1977a: 4), i.e., capable of being applied by practitioners in their busy schedules. Some writers have suggested that the various tests customarily used by classification schemes should be acceptable to the offenders themselves (Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 78) and should include behavioral indices rather than simply "pen and pencil" responses to hypothetical situations. With respect to treatment classifications, the National Advisory Commission (1973: 210), among others, has argued that offenders should be involved in their own classification. Lastly, it is generally held that classification should be consistent with the individual dignity of offenders and basic concepts of fairness (N.A.C. 1973: 210). The National Advisory Commission goes on to claim that "ideally, it [classification] should provide offenders with a means for changing themselves rather than subjecting them under coercion to so-called 'treatment'" (N.A.C. 1973: 202). While some might take exception to this view and claim that in many cases it is not the offender who needs changing but society, most would agree that treatment under coercion is no treatment at all.

The National Advisory Commission (1973: 209) concludes that "in the last analysis, a good classification system is one that enables a correctional agency to utilize its limited manpower to maximize its impact on offenders." Given the current state of politics and corrections in Canada, this is probably an adequate description of what the foregoing features of a good typology are intended to ensure. The remaining question is how does one create such a classification.

Methodology

Throughout this report numerous views regarding the proper nature and development of a typology have been presented. These include considerations about how to classify offenders, when to classify, who to classify and so on; i.e., considerations relating largely to the focus, orientation and methodology of typology construction. It has been suggested that in resolving most of these issues, the purpose of the classification is of primary importance. This section discusses in greater detail many of the issues involved in the construction of a classification — particularly identification intended for diagnostic or treatment purposes. This treatment orientation provides this section with a framework which is otherwise lacking in many of the discussions on classification since the number and type of classifications almost defies any definite conclusions regarding their proper formulation. As Gibbons (1965: 26) has pointed out

The distinctions made among offenders have frequently been dictated by considerations of convenience — by the kinds of information on violators now available in records and other data sources. Consequently, studies have compared rural vs. urban offenders, male and female delinquents, juveniles diagnosed as representing different psychiatric types, criminals classified in terms of information recorded on "rap sheets", and so on. There are nearly as many versions of specific types as there are persons who have conducted research studies.

Perhaps one of the most problematic considerations is whether the classification should be based on theory or empirically derived. Hood and Sparks (1970: 117ff) have contrasted these two approaches in the following manner: the

"empirical" approach

first proceeds simply by grouping together individuals or patterns of behaviour according to their most obvious apparently relevant features, so that each group contains members which are as similar as possible to each other and as different as possible from all other groups...we might call it [this approach] the 'look and see' method of classification²⁰.

They note that the researcher usually has some vague a priori idea of which features might be relevant when using this method (e.g., when classifying offenders one usually considers only those features which have some conceivable relation to criminality and not such things as eye colour). These notions, however, are not determined (at least at a conscious level) by any particular theory of criminal behaviour.

The "theoretical" approach, on the other hand, "starts off with a specific theory, from which a relatively specific basis for classification is deduced; descriptive criteria are then found for grouping individuals in accordance with this theoretical scheme" (Hood and Sparks 1970: 120). They cite classifications based on psychoanalytic theory as being some of the best examples of this approach. The advantages of the theoretical approach consist largely in its explanatory power. Its disadvantage, however, is that frequently some of the types logically deducible from the theory simply do not exist in reality. Hood and Sparks observe that, in practice, most classifications are not pure but are based on a combination of these two approaches, mainly because there are very few well-established criminological theories from which typologies can be derived.

20. See also Bennett (1972: 14).

Nevertheless, many writers argue in favour of the theoretical approach. Warren (1966), for example, advocates this method and sometimes the proponents of this approach adopt rather curious positions. For example, Stanton (no date: 2-3), in his report on the New York State classification system, claims that

there does appear to be a need for a typology of parolees which is based on a sound theoretical foundation and which both distinguishes parolees from other parolees and from non-offenders. The basic rationale for attempting to classify parolees in relatively homogeneous groupings is that they are dissimilar in their personality make-ups as evidenced by their criminal behavior and their social behavior and theoretically, if not actually, they are in need of different treatment methods and emphases.

While the rationale proposed by Stanton is itself questionable, what is more in question is the value of classifying offenders theoretically if in actuality their classifications are irrelevant to "different treatment methods and emphases".

Bennett (1972: 14) has suggested that, to determine whether to place an emphasis on theory or take a more inductive approach, it is worth examining what it is that is being demanded of the classification. He notes, for example, that if the aim is broad understanding, then the testing of the tenets of various theories will probably provide the best results. If, on the other hand, the goal is to provide a framework for action or treatment, then more inductive studies would be appropriate.

In balance it appears that, in so far as treatment typologies are concerned, a more empirical approach is desirable. There will, however, inevitably be some general theory guiding the empirical studies — some criteria, however vague, for selecting out the obviously irrelevant from the potentially relevant kinds of factors to be taken into account. It is in this sense that Gibbons and Garrity (1959: 54) have referred to "hunches":

Any typology to be constructed at present would involve "hunches" derived from case histories, biographies of criminals, "hunches" of other writers in the field, as well as research data.

Elsewhere (Gibbons 1965: 23), Gibbons has referred to this approach as entailing a "calculated risk" in which the researcher formulates his investigation using some a priori notions regarding what is relevant and then uses empirical studies to test these notions²¹. Hood and Sparks (1970: 114) observe that, in this way, typology construction goes hand-in-hand with the development of theory²².

On a less abstract level, the creator of a typology is confronted with many decisions about how to formulate the typology. Should the classification categorize offenders or offences or criminal careers? Should it use legal categories or not? Should it adopt a psychological or sociological orientation? Once again, the purpose of the classification is helpful in making many of these decisions. Hood and Sparks

21. See also National Advisory Commission (1973: 205).

22. See also Gibbons and Garrity (1959: 55).

(1970: 126) observe that, in so far as aetiological typologies are concerned, either offence-type or offender-type classifications may be useful. Sociologically-oriented criminologists tend to concentrate on offences whereas psychologists tend to focus on people who commit offences. When a classification has a theoretical basis, such as most aetiological classifications, the choice as to whether or not to adopt one focus or another is generally determined by the theory.

Diagnostic classifications, on the other hand, having little theoretical basis, are more problematic, although some authors write as if many of the problems were already resolved. It is not uncommon for writers to list several kinds of phenomena (sociological, psychological, physical and so on) as if there was no question about their relevance in developing a treatment classification. Kornfeld et al. (1975d: 108), among others, claim that the offender's emotional health; attitudes towards family, offence, community and courts; and the parole or probation officer's analysis of the offender's problems are of "special interest" but provide no theoretical or empirical explanation as to why these are of special interest. This omission is further aggravated by the fact that known intervention strategies are frequently unrelated or ineffective with respect to many of these factors. One is left wondering what is the point of classifying offenders according to whether or not they have an alcohol problem for example, when, in most cases, there is no known effective strategy for solving an alcohol problem. Frequently, the only certain thing that is known about these kinds of problems is that offenders who exhibit them tend to do worse in certain kinds of intervention programs than those who do not. While this does not deny the importance of this kind of information it is, nevertheless, a far cry from the sort of positive knowledge about differential intervention strategies

that is commonly assumed to exist.

The question that remains, then, is how should one classify offenders? In the literature on aetiological classifications, considerable debate has occurred as to whether or not one should use legal categories. Those in favour of their use (such as Roebuck) argue that 1) failure to use legal categories results in a lack of preciseness, 2) they are easier to operationalize than sociological or psychological labels and 3) they thereby facilitate replication studies (Roebuck 1963: 477). Those who are against the use of legal categories argue that 1) the categories tell nothing about the person and the circumstances associated with offence, nor do they consider the social context of the criminal act, as in the case of rape or auto theft; 2) they create a false impression of specialization by implying that criminals confine themselves to the kind of crime for which they happen to be caught or convicted; 3) it is common practice in order to secure easy convictions to allow offenders to receive reduced sentence by "plea copping" or pleading guilty to a lesser charge that may only slightly resemble the original charge or offence; 4) because the legal definition of a criminal act varies according to time and place, the legal classification of crime presents problems for comparative analysis; and 5) most important of all, the use of legal categories in a classification assumes that offenders with a certain legal label, such as burglars, robbers, auto thieves and rapists, are all of the same type or are a product of a similar process (Clinard and Quinney 1973: 3-4). The point here is not to debate the relative merits of these positions but to note instead that, in so far as diagnostic classifications are concerned, the controversy concerning the use of legal categories is largely irrelevant.

Davies (1969), for example, concludes that so far as a probation population is concerned there is little indication that offence categories are of value for the research worker seeking methods of classifying offenders with a view to studying treatment. He qualifies this by noting that in his study the categories were broad, perhaps too all-embracing. On the other hand, he argues that if the use of offence categories was valid, one would have expected the 'Take and Drive Away' offenders (and probably the violent offenders as well) to reveal far more exceptional circumstances than was the case. He observes that with the sole exception of sex offenders, it was remarkably difficult to distinguish between the personal and social characteristics presented by the different offence groups. He also notes that only probationers were examined but claims that, since the study was for probation supervision purposes, this limited framework was justified. He goes on to point out that, despite the enthusiasm of such writers as Gibbons, it is possible that the emphasis on offence behaviour as an important factor in diagnosis is unwarranted. He observes that others have commented:

"It is somehow hard to believe that the kind of offence a criminal usually commits can be so indicative of his make-up and of the sociocultural environment..." (Glueck 1965, p. 394).

"...almost any clinical type of mental disorder may be associated with any type of crime" (Woddis, 1964, p. 445).

and Barbara Wootton comments on a number of studies of different offences: "each of these inquiries...illustrates the multiplicity of circumstances which give rise to outwardly similar forms of behaviour" (1963, pp. 20-21).

(Davies 1969: 48)

Davies claims that, nevertheless, probation officers themselves do tend to place heavy emphasis on offence behaviour although the present writer found in her study of English probation officers that frequently they could not remember the offences of their clients (Axon 1977). In any case, Davies suggests that the possibility must be considered that this emphasis, if it does occur, is unjustified from the available evidence. He recommends that it would be better to categorize probationers by their personal characteristics (e.g., using the probation officer's assessment and the Jesness Inventory) than by their criminal behaviour.

The Sinclair and Chapman study, on the other hand, did find differences between offence types, particularly with regard to the degree they exhibited neuroticism and extroversion; however, this was found to be the case only for the younger adult prisoners (under thirty years old)²³. Another difficulty with using offence categories — apart from their lack of consistency in differentiating between offenders — is that, like factors such as age, number of previous convictions and so on (used in risk prediction classifications), they are "static", i.e. incapable of being changed. As Waller (1974) and the California Youth Authority (1974), among others, have pointed out, classifications using these static factors "cannot help with decisions as to...program assignment or time of release" (C.Y.A. 1974: 166). What correctional practitioners require is a diagnostic classification which uses "dynamic" variables (Waller 1974) — variables which are capable of modification and therefore, more suggestive regarding

23. Some studies (e.g., Sandhu 1974) have suggested that women offenders are usually classified by their offence categories.

intervention strategies²⁴.

What the foregoing considerations imply is that, in so far as diagnostic classifications are concerned, offenders are more fruitfully classified by their social and personal (psychological, psychiatric) characteristics. In aetiological classifications, Gibbons (1965: 41) has warned against this method claiming that assertions about offender's social characteristics (and by implication, personal characteristics) should be made independently of the definition of types. His objection applies, however, only to the construction of aetiological classifications in which propositions about the causes of criminality are being proposed. In aetiological classifications, the researcher is seeking correlations between types of offenders and types of sociopsychological characteristics of offenders with a view to drawing causal conclusions about the correlations. By contrast, in diagnostic classification, the researcher is seeking correlations between largely sociopsychological characteristics of offenders and their responses to different treatment programs, with no necessary goal of drawing conclusions about the causal connections between the two.

Commenting on the new roles of research in criminology, Eynon (1975: 72-73) has proposed that the kinds of research which is greatly needed is that which will contribute to classification and treatment, specifically:

1. Evaluation of the recent aids and techniques made available to correctional treatment in last twenty years (e.g., group therapy, guided group interaction, transactional analysis, reinforcement scheduling, chemotherapy and other kinds of mechanical or electrical approaches, etc.).

24. This does not mean that static factors should be ignored but that probably they are only of secondary importance in terms of their usefulness in distinguishing between types of offenders for treatment purposes.

2. Research to assist correctional workers to move away from shuffling inmates in and out of boxes and begin to illuminate the total correctional continuum. This suggests multiple classification schemes and the offenders shifting from one conceptual framework of classification to others, as they progress through sequences of treatment modalities, meaning that one type of classification is useful for institutional treatment, another for work release, and still another for pre-release and halfway house or community based treatment.
3. Research to enable treatment programs to discard psychological or psychiatric diagnostic categories (the mental diagnostic approach has not been fruitful) to move toward an understanding of what stage of accessibility to treatment the inmate occupies. The emphasis shifts from categories to process, and more specifically, processes over which institutional administrators can exercise some control in the present life of the inmate.
4. Theoretical research on kinds of treatment responses made by various types of inmates in different institutional and program environments. (emphasis in the original)²⁵

As alluded to in Eynon's comments, another methodological issue concerns who to classify or how to select a population of offenders. It has already been argued that classifications intended for treatment purposes should classify only those offenders who are going to receive the 'treatment', e.g., parolees in classification for parole supervision, probationers for probation supervision and so on. It has also been

25. These comments could apply equally to offenders other than prison inmates. See also Hood and Sparks (1970: 212-214).

suggested that within a selected sub-population, such as parolees or potential parolees, effort should be concentrated on those who, according to their risk predictions, are in the mid-range of risk²⁶. In other words, an attempt should be made to distinguish between types of offenders within this range using further classification techniques.

These suggestions are also related to the problem of when to classify. A number of authorities, e.g., Warren (1966), Breed (1967), and Kornfeld et al. (1975d), have advocated classification at the beginning of the offender's entry into the criminal justice system. The National Advisory Commission (1973: 201) argues that

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. A basic problem with classification procedures today is that usually they are not conducted until after an individual's basic dispositional and program assignments have been made. Persons assigned to an institution are classified among themselves; persons assigned to probation are classified among themselves, etc. Thus, one of the most productive and relevant opportunities for use of a classification system has already been bypassed. For classification to have any real meaning, it should take place before the offender's commitment to a formal correctional agency.

It is imperative that classification systems be developed for the whole correctional system.

26. See Nicholson (1968) mentioned above and Hood and Sparks (1970: 193, 214).

It is fairly clear from a number of empirical studies (e.g., Lipton et al. 1975) that offenders are frequently being assigned to inappropriate and ineffective correctional programs and therefore, it is unlikely that many would question the merit of the National Advisory Commission's position. In the present report, however, the need for further classification of sub-groups of offenders has been stressed due to the fact that offender populations differ at different points in the criminal justice system and the goals of different correctional units within the system are frequently dissimilar and occasionally conflicting. Accordingly, it appears that it would be necessary to develop more than one classification system, each occurring at different points in the criminal's passage through the system and serving different goals and yet, ideally, each contributing to an integrated system of offender management, treatment and supervision.

One final methodological consideration consists of the kind of instruments that are needed and/or are available for the construction of classifications. While risk classifications have, in the past couple of decades, taken steps to develop their own classification instruments (e.g., the California B.E.S.), diagnostic classifications have either had to borrow from other fields of investigation or have simply used whatever records and information sources that have been available in the particular agencies being studied. In so far as classifications have focused on psychological and psychiatric factors, the range of available instruments has been adequate. Commonly used and generally satisfactory measures include the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, the California Personality Inventory and the Jesness Inventory. Within the area of social or sociological factors, however, the choice of tests has not been as satisfactory, particularly with respect to social deviance-oriented tests in general. These kinds

of instruments are especially needed for diagnostic classifications in which increasingly greater emphasis is placed on offenders' needs and problems. Recently though, a number of instruments have been created which might prove helpful; specifically, the instruments developed by the Rehabilitation Research Foundation²⁷.

The Environmental Deprivation Scale (EDS) attempts to monitor the "environmental input of the individual". Essentially, it is a checklist of significant environmental events that are scored as either "0" (indicating appropriate environmental support) or "1" (indicating deprivation). It includes the following sixteen items: employment, income, debts, job participation, job status, hobbies and avocations, education, residence, church, other organizations, friends, relatives, parents, wife, children, and fear. In two studies (with a combined N = 229) it was shown that the EDS has a high association with the degree of law violation (Jenkins et al. 1972).

The Maladaptive Behavior Record (MBR) is also a sixteen item checklist which attempts to gain a picture of how the individual is responding to his environment. Each item is scored as either "0" (if adaptive) or "1" (if maladaptive). The items are: income, working conditions, coworkers, employer, work attendance, alcohol, drugs, gambling, fighting, verbal abusiveness, maladaptive associates, money management, physical condition, psychological adjustment, legal processes, and other maladaptive responses. The MBR has been found to be significantly correlated with law violation, although not as strong a correlation as the EDS (Jenkins et al. 1972).

27. For a more comprehensive review see Kornfeld et al. (1975c and 1975d).

A third scale developed by the Rehabilitation Research Foundation is the Weekly Activity Record (WAR). 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; (2) physical activities: sleeping, eating and drinking, sex, elimination, cleaning and grooming, exercise, and health care; (3) leisure time activities: shopping, hobbies, social, antisocial, intellectual, watching and listening, family, and time spent with ex-offenders; (4) organizational activities: time devoted to civic organizations and religious activities; and (5) other activities: travel and waiting time, daydreaming and other activities. Research with this scale indicated that those who did not violate the law spent significantly more hours working than law violators. The former also devoted significantly more time to physical exercise and health care, hobbies, intellectual pursuits and family affairs than the law-violators and spent significantly less time watching, listening, daydreaming, cleaning, grooming and in sexual and antisocial behaviour.

These instruments are similar to the checklists referred to in the second section of the present report. While they are not themselves classification schemes, they may be of some value in classification once they have been tested within the appropriate population or sub-population of offenders²⁸.

Several writers have suggested that offenders themselves, as well as practitioners should be involved in the classification of offenders. Commonly both these groups are neglected

28. Another attempt in this area is Studt's list of parolees' needs and problems (U.S. Department of Justice 1973).

in the construction of a classification. The National Advisory Commission (1973: 200) states

Offenders should be involved in assessing their own problems and needs and in selecting programs to resolve them. Almost without exception, classification systems exclude the offender himself from their operations.

It is argued that not only are offenders a rich resource for diagnosis and problem-solving, but that their exclusion from these processes only serves to alienate them more than they frequently are to start with. Kornfeld *et al.* (1975d: 224ff) undertook a small study of offenders' attitudes towards and understanding of classification. Their general findings were that the sampled inmates thought the sort of tests commonly used for classification were "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 included:

- . 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" a 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 included:

[Tests are "bad"]

- . 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. 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.

(Kornfeld et al. 1975d: 230-231)²⁹

When asked what they would do to reduce the number of men committing new crimes, more than half of the inmates mentioned realistic and improved vocational programs. When asked what it would take to help an "ordinary guy" while in prison to go straight when released, the chief responses were concerned with: attitude and general outlook on life; a job waiting for him; and individual relationship in prison (someone who can be trusted and accepts him) (Ibid.: 232-233). In general, the inmates tended to feel that the tests used for classification were potentially beneficial despite their lack of positive consequences in their own experiences.

29. Although these are responses of prison inmates they do provide a partial indication of offenders' priorities and sensitivities in general.

To summarize, this section has reviewed the major issues which relate to classification development and use. It has been emphasized that perhaps the most important feature of a classification or typology is its intended purpose. Classifications vary in terms of their ability to serve different objectives. The purpose of a classification system is or should be instrumental in determining its focus, orientation and many methodological considerations. Comparisons among different approaches to classification have been presented and discussed in terms of their relative strengths and weaknesses in developing different types of classifications. The next section reviews some of the major findings and suggestions in the relation to the development of a diagnostic classification.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE
CLASSIFICATION RESEARCH

As the foregoing review indicates, classification is still in a relatively undeveloped state — particularly with regard to classifications designed for the treatment or supervision of adult offenders, e.g., parolees. The enthusiasm and impetus of the early 1960's, for one reason or another, appears to have died — perhaps partially as a consequence of the disenchantment with rehabilitation efforts. Nevertheless, corrections now appears to be reassessing its attempts to 'change' offenders into nonoffenders and classification offers some promise for future advances in this area.

In order to assess the potential usefulness of classification for differential treatment purposes in a setting such as the Canadian National Parole Service, it would be necessary to construct a new classification system. None of the existing classifications appear suitable for this purpose. In some cases they are not applicable because, being based on the American legal code and American culture (and subcultures), they simply do not fit the Canadian situation. More importantly, however, is the fact that they fail to provide any concrete guidelines for the differential supervision of adult offenders. Even those classifications which attempt to be 'diagnostic' (such as Gibbons') provide only superficial supervision distinctions which lack substantiation of any sort — either theoretical or empirical. Similarly, the Wisconsin system consists of nothing more than a risk prediction classification and a 'needs' checklist — neither of which constitute an adequate differential treatment classification.

Throughout this report, the views of many writers on classification have been presented and at this point it is appropriate to draw together some of their suggestions. It should be noted that the focus here is on diagnostic classifications. The following suggestions do not represent certainties in the

development of classification systems but tentative recommendations which have achieved some degree of consensus among experts on the subject. Furthermore, these recommendations do not constitute a complete strategy for the construction of a diagnostic classification but are potentially useful guidelines for such an endeavour.

At the outset it is important to recall that a classification system intended for differential supervision purposes need not be aetiological. In fact, given the lack of progress in constructing adequate aetiological theories and classifications for offenders, it might be more fruitful to abandon this approach completely and adopt instead a more pragmatic approach, i.e., an approach that focuses on "what works" rather than an approach largely concerned with the identification and theoretical "cure" of the causes of criminality.

Associated with this approach is the suggestion that researchers should adopt an inductive approach to their construction of a diagnostic classification, using empirical findings to classify offenders rather than theoretical hypotheses. In addition, a multidisciplinary approach is considered most fruitful although it is recognized that with respect to some special types of offenders (e.g., mentally disturbed) a traditional psychiatric orientation may be necessary.

It has been suggested further that for treatment and supervision purposes, classifications should be developed for different sub-populations of offenders within the criminal justice system. Thus, parolees and potential parolees should be classified separately from probationers or potential diversion candidates. This does not deny the value of developing and using a more comprehensive classification system at the beginning of offenders' entry into the criminal justice system but is simply to note that the purposes of such a scheme would be different from

those encountered at other points in the system and would therefore, in all likelihood, render it unsuitable for these subsequent stages.

This last suggestion introduces one of the principal observations regarding the construction and use of a classification system, viz., the importance of clearly setting objectives. This implies two phases: first, that some consensus regarding the overall objectives of the agency (using the classification) be reached, and second, that the purpose(s) of the classification itself be specified. It has been pointed out that the purposes of the classification are instrumental in determining its focus, orientation, the nature of the classes and many methodological issues.

Lastly, numerous writers have emphasized the importance of involving offenders and operational staff in the development of a classification system. Breed (1967: 9), for example, writes

Classification decisions appear to be made with a primary thought to administrative convenience rather than client needs. Part of this problem is a process of tradition; other problems appear to be the demand upon correctional administrators to operate a "smooth ship", the tendency for the various elements of the correctional system to operate in a vacuum with little effort to tie them together, the unfortunate fact that agency classification specialists tend to become insulated from the dynamics of the treatment requirements of the clients coming to their institutions, and the lack of involvement of operational staff with research staff in the development of imaginative and creative programs.

Apart from the contribution field staff can make to the development of a classification system, the advantages of involving them are largely political. Their initial involvement may, in the long run, greatly determine the effectiveness of the classification program.

It is frequently claimed that a diagnostic classification would be of primary value to practitioners if it could identify parolees' problems¹. In the author's experience, however, this is not a difficult task for most officers (Axon 1977). The problems which parolees themselves identify are easily and routinely identified by officers and this should not be surprising for it does not take a great deal of skill or insight to recognize the fact that a parolee needs money, or a job, or vocational training or has a drinking problem or a problem managing his finances and so on². What is difficult for the officer is developing a treatment plan or knowing what to do to help remedy the problems identified. Frequently, the difficulty here is not a lack of ideas but a lack of resources. Classification cannot help in this regard. When, however, it is a question of not knowing which intervention strategy (out of a number of available options) would be most effective, classification might be helpful (see Breed 1967: 11).

Given the present state of knowledge in corrections, it is impossible to say that a parolee with problems X, Y and Z should receive intervention program A because it is known that this intervention A is effective for this type of parolee. At present, the most that can be said is that the X, Y, Z parolee should receive intervention A because it seems reasonable (e.g., an alcoholic should, say, attend Alcoholics Anonymous). Even these kinds of claims are rare enough. In general terms, the little that is known about the differential impact of intervention programs is that frequently their effectiveness depends upon a) the age of the offender, b) the nature and quality of the relationship between the officer and the client, and c) the degree to which concrete problem-solving is emphasized (as opposed to personal problem-solving, insight-producing, etc.) (Axon 1978).

1. See, for example, Breed (1967: 11).

2. Whether or not these problems are related to recidivism is another problem, but in many instances they are (Waller 1974). In any case, this is the task of the researcher and not the parole officer.

Given this state of affairs, an inductive approach to the construction of a diagnostic classification is extremely problematic. One way of starting could be to assume that most of the available intervention programs are potentially effective providing parolees are appropriately and differentially assigned to them on the basis of their amenability to the programs. The problem is then one of finding out what factors constitute parolee "amenability" for each type of program. (No assumption is made that the same factors will necessarily be relevant for each type of program.) The aim of initial research would be to construct "amenability profiles" for parolees which would indicate their need for and likelihood of 'successful' outcome for different types of intervention programs. Thus, the goal would be to develop a series of statements about types of parolees of the following nature: parolee type X, exhibiting factors a, b, c, ..., n, is (most) amenable to intervention type A, whereas parolee type Y, exhibiting factors d, e, f, ..., n, is not amenable to intervention type A; and similarly, parolee type X, exhibiting factors a, b, c, ..., n, is not amenable to intervention type B, whereas parolee type Y is, and so on. What would make this kind of study different from other classifications typologies is that the statements regarding the relationships between factors a, b, c, etc. and types of interventions would be based on empirical evidence.

In order to collect this kind of information, the inductive researcher must rely largely upon common sense and others' findings. That is, in order to decide upon the nature of the different intervention programs to be investigated, the researcher must rely mainly upon the common sense knowledge shared by parole officers (and perhaps corroborated in part by some empirical studies). This task is made more difficult by the fact that he/she will be constrained by political, resource and technical problems. It is possible that his choice may be completely

determined by these constraints; however, given the aforementioned lack of knowledge regarding the relative merits of different intervention programs, this may be as good a way as any to select the programs, at least as a starting point.

In order to select which factors should be investigated to determine parolees' differential amenability to the programs, the researcher will similarly be largely dependent on common sense and whatever empirical findings are related to the task. Clearly, for example, he will want to include parolees' concrete problems and needs. In addition, findings from other studies suggest that certain personality characteristics of parolees should also be included³. Undoubtedly, he would also consider other factors such as age, risk score and sociological factors.

In order to collect reliable information on these factors it may be necessary to create new instruments, although it is possible that some of the available psychological inventions (e.g., the Jesness Inventory, or the MMPI) and the kinds of "checklists" reviewed above would be adequate. It seems fairly clear that these factors must be investigated directly; i.e., there appear to be no indirect measures that index these factors. The National Advisory Commission (1973: 198) claims that offence, for example, "is not a suitable index of an offender's character, dangerousness, or needs."

Basically, the initial research would entail the implementation of several distinct intervention programs to which parolees would be assigned on the basis of their needs and problems. For example, parolees identified as having primarily an alcohol problem would be assigned to an 'alcoholic program'; parolees identified as having a drug problem would be assigned to a 'drug abuse program'; parolees identified as having primarily a problem

3. See, for example, the findings of the PICO and CaVIC studies discussed above in section II.

in securing suitable employment would be assigned to an employment or vocational training program; and so on. There are, of course, more complex types which parole officers routinely recognize and have informal strategies for supervision which could also be used.

One of the assumptions of the research would be that, despite the common sense assignment of parolees to these different types of programs, not all parolees will do equally well in the programs. The focus of the research would be to find out which parolees do better (or worse) in each program and to identify significant factors exhibited by these parolees who do better (or worse). Further research could attempt to distinguish among elements within the programs themselves in order to define just what it is that parolees are responding to. The information thus collected would form the basis of a parolee typology. Consultation with colleagues suggests that one statistical technique which would be highly suitable for this kind of analysis is "Multiple Classification Analysis"⁴.

The advantage of this kind of approach to classification is that the factors used to identify different types of parolees will be empirically related to supervision outcomes. Thus, one avoids the kinds of problems which most other existing classifications have exhibited; specifically classifying offenders using factors a and b (e.g., physical health or, say, offender-type) when factors a and b have either no theoretical relationship to the kind of interventions being offered or no demonstrable empirical relationship⁵. Essentially, classification using this approach begins where most classifications (e.g., the Wisconsin system) leave off.

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4. See reference to E. W. Single in bibliography for a description of this technique.
 5. This does not mean that officers may not want to continue having information about these factors, but it does question the value of incorporating these kinds of factors into a classification system.

There are certain qualifications regarding this approach which should be noted. Firstly, while it is possible that this kind of study will produce correlations of the desired type, these may not yield "types" of parolees in the sense of being identifiable according to some label (e.g., the types of offenders identified in the I-level classification). At the very most, all it may yield are types of parolees of the sort: Type I, Type II, Type III, and so on. This kind of typology may not be appealing to practitioners. Secondly, Canada's difficult geography and population density may make it impossible to implement any classification system, and particularly one which requires an empirical bases for its development and implementation. Lastly, this kind of approach is directly dependent upon different intervention programs — not only must they exist but, in order to produce positive findings, they must also be effective for at least some types of parolees⁶. It is not at all certain that such programs exist or could be developed.

In 1966, Warren (1966: 22) wrote

Typologies of offenders represent an important method of integrating the increasing body of knowledge in the field of corrections. Ultimately, typological approaches will flourish or not depending on their fruitfulness in producing improved management and treatment methods for the practitioner working in this discouraging field.

The fact that classifications have not flourished since the 1960's might suggest discouraging conclusions about their fruitfulness. On the other hand, the present report suggests that, to date, classification has been overly preoccupied with aetiology and prison management, and therefore the true potential of classification in corrections has not been fully explored.

6. Although no attempt has been made to define "effective" in this report, it is important to note that their effectiveness, however defined, must be greater than current supervision strategies and greater than "no supervision" in order to justify the implementation of a classification system.

Classification has many obstacles to overcome, including prejudice, discouragement and a general lack of knowledge in corrections. Providing the purposes and capabilities of a classification system are clearly understood, there may be a future role for classification within corrections.

APPENDIX A

In addition to library research, the author contacted the following jurisdictions, agencies and 'authorities':

American Bar Association
American Correctional Association
American Justice Institute (California)
Arizona Department of Corrections
Boston University, Department of Psychology
Brookings Institute, The
California Department of Youth Authority
California Office of Criminal Justice Planning
City College of the University of New York, Department of Sociology
Colorado Legislative Council
Drug Abuse Council, Inc. (Washington D.C.)
Equinox Systems (California)
Fountain Correctional Center (Alabama)
Hennispin County Government Center, Department of Court Services, Adult Probation Division (Minnesota)
Institute of Law and Social Research (Washington D.C.)
ITT Research Institute (Illinois)
Michigan Department of Corrections, Program Bureau
National Bureau of Standards, Law Enforcement Standard Laboratory
National Center for Juvenile Justice (Pennsylvania)
National Council on Crime and Delinquency
National Criminal Justice Reference Service
National Information Center on Volunteerism, Inc. (Colorado)
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice
National League of Cities, Publication Center (Washington D.C.)
NCCD Research Center West (California)
New York (State) Bureau of Research and Statistics, Division of Parole
North Carolina Federal Correctional Institution, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons
Oklahoma Department of Correction
Oklahoma, University of, Bureau of Government Research

Parole and Probation Commission; Research, Statistics and Planning Section (Florida)

Pennsylvania Department of Justice, Pennsylvania Governor's Justice Commission

Pima County Adult Probation Department (Arizona)

Rehabilitation Research Foundation (Alabama)

Responsible Action, Inc. (California)

Santa Clara County Criminal Justice Pilot Program (California)

Search Group Inc. (California)

South Carolina Council on Human Relations, Inc.

Texas Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation

Texas Federal Correctional Institute

United Nations

United Church of Canada (Toronto)

United States Conference of Mayors (Washington D.C.)

United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare

United States Department of Justice

United States District Court, Probation Office (Oregon)

United States General Accounting Office (Washington D.C.)

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