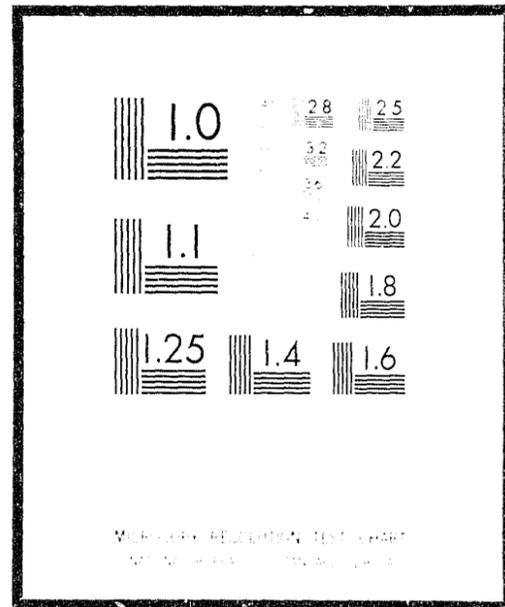


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THE CLASSIFICATION OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

Selected Papers from a Seminar Series
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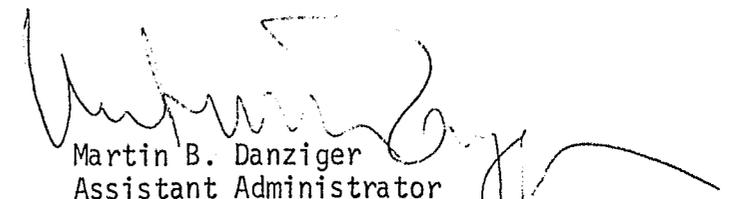
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
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FOREWORD

The papers included in this monograph have been selected from presentations in a seminar series on "The Classification of Criminal Behavior: Uses and State of Research" sponsored by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice in the Spring of 1972.

The four authors presented discuss the responsibilities and the problems facing the criminal justice field in the establishment of a valid classification system. In the first article, Professor Don Gibbons reviews some prominent examples of typological analysis found in the criminological literature. He establishes the major criteria for taxonomic systems as well as the requirement that they be congruent with reality. Dr. Marguerite Warren views classification systems as essential in planning intervention strategies. Her paper focuses on the classification system called Interpersonal Maturity Level (I-level) based upon seven successive stages of psychological development. In the third presentation, Dr. Lawrence Bennett's approach emphasizes changing the criminal justice system through its decision-making processes, rather than attempting to change the behavior of the individual criminal offender. The focus of Dr. Jerome Miller's paper is upon the latent social control functions of diagnosis and classification of criminal offenders.

Although each of the contributors discusses the classification of criminal offenders from his own perspective and orientation, they are all responsive to the need for further research in this area. In disseminating this monograph, the Institute hopes to stimulate further interest and study of this important concern. These seminar papers will be of special interest to the criminal justice research community, operating agencies and administrators at every level of the criminal justice system.



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OBSERVATIONS ON TYPOLOGIES OF CRIME AND CRIMINALS

Don C. Gibbons

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Introduction

My task in this paper is to discuss the general issue of criminal classification and criminal typologies, particularly as these taxonomic systems bear upon the correctional task of offender rehabilitation. However, a good deal of what I have to say in the remarks to follow centers around my own typological work and my own intellectual history. This concentration upon my own endeavors is due to: (1) the fact that my writings have had some fair influence upon the broader historical trend in the direction of typologies, and (2) the shifts in my personal views on this subject are illustrative of alterations in viewpoints within the field of criminology.

My introduction to offender classification came in the 1950's, when I first encountered the work of Clarence Schrag, dealing with inmate types in the prison community.¹ According to Schrag, prisoners exhibit patterns of social role behavior which the inmate argot designates by the labels, "square John," "right guy," "ding," "outlaw," and "politician."

Somewhat later, Donald Garrity and I wrote an essay on offender typologies in which we identified some criteria for adequate taxonomies, reviewed a number of efforts which had been made to develop typologies, and discussed some uses for these classificatory systems.² That paper was followed by a companion article, in which Garrity and I tentatively identified a number of patterns of criminality.³

The thrust of my work with Garrity centered around the development of offender typologies for causal or etiological purposes, with secondary attention to the correctional applications of these systems. I later wrote several essays on diagnostic typologies in correctional practice, the most important being the book, Changing the Lawbreaker.⁴ Indeed, it is fair to say that this text, which outlined nine types of delinquents and fifteen adult offenders, along with a categorization of forms of correctional intervention linked to the types, is the most detailed attempt that has yet been made to articulate the form which an applied science of correctional treatment might take.

During the past half-dozen years, my own perspectives on etiological and diagnostic typologies have undergone considerable change. Additionally, I have become less sanguine about the prospects for a behavioral science-oriented field of correctional practice.⁵ On this point, several

pieces of research in which I have been involved suggest that although typologies do have heuristic value, they also tend to distort the nature of criminal behavior as it actually exists.⁶ That is, researchers have found considerable difficulty in placing many real-life offenders within the categories of typologies. In my opinion, much of the difficulty in fitting actual lawbreakers within typologies comes from the fact that a large number of them are individuals who engage in tentative flirtations with criminality, drifting into and out of trouble, and who show no clear-cut pattern of criminal conduct.⁷

In the sections to follow, I shall indicate some basic considerations which need to be addressed in typological endeavors, followed by a review of some of the more prominent examples of typological analysis in the criminological literature. The paper will then discuss the typological system which I have been developing, along with some cases in which attempts have been made to employ this scheme in correctional treatment.

Kinds of Typologies⁸

Causal and Diagnostic Typologies

There are two basic kinds of typologies which can be developed, in terms of the purposes they are to serve. Causal or etiological typologies are those that identify patterns of crime or criminality that are hypothesized to develop from specific etiological backgrounds. Thus some observers have singled out types such as "naive check forgers," on the assumption that persons who engage in certain forgery activities are also the product of an identifiable causal process such as "isolation and closure."⁹ In a similar fashion, patterns of crime have been identified for etiological purposes, with the end in mind of discovering social-structural correlates that produce the different kinds of lawbreaking.

A second kind of typology is the diagnostic one, designed to provide the basis for treatment intervention. Some of the classificatory schemes advanced in the literature have been offered as useful both for diagnostic and causal purposes. In my own writings, I have argued that the role-career types which I have identified are etologically-significant and have some utility in correctional treatment. Other taxonomic devices which have been put forth have been characterized either as diagnostic or etiological schemes, but not as both.

The I-Levels formulation currently being employed in delinquency treatment in California is a prominent example of a typology which has been offered as a diagnostic tool.¹⁰ However, it should be noted that the I-Levels theory also contains a relatively explicit and controversial

formulation of delinquency causation within it. The I-Levels argument strongly implies that delinquents are to be found predominately at low levels of interpersonal maturity and that they are involved in misbehavior as a consequence of these socialization deficiencies. Non-offenders, on the other hand, are assumed to be more interpersonally mature on the average, and thereby insulated from juvenile lawbreaking. It should be noted that these hypotheses about delinquents and non-offenders have not been subjected to research scrutiny. There is a good bit of evidence from other research studies, in fact, which points in a direction different from the I-Levels argument;¹¹ a large quantity of data appears to show that delinquents are not markedly less well-adjusted, emotionally healthy, or interpersonally mature than non-offenders.

There are several points to be noted concerning causal and diagnostic typologies. First, it may well be that valid classificatory schemes that provide the basis for significant etiological discoveries may be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to construct. Second, it may be possible to devise diagnostic instruments having treatment utility which are independent of the causal typologies.¹² Third, development of the former may be less difficult than is articulation of the latter.

Typologies of Crime, Criminals, and Personalities

Those various typologies which can be found in the criminological and correctional literature can be classified in another way, namely, in terms of their content or behavioral dimensions. Stated differently, the literature contains a sizeable number of classificatory schemes which have identified patterns of crime. A second group of typologies have dealt with types or patterns of offenders, in which the emphasis is upon describing the characteristics of individuals. Thirdly, some schemes found in the literature are categorizations of personality types or patterns, rather than typologies of offenders. The I-Levels system falls into this third category, in that there presumably are many non-delinquent youths who would be found in one or another low-maturity level in that scheme. Typologies of personality patterns differ from taxonomies of offenders, for the latter sort lawbreakers into categories in which lawabiding citizens are not represented.

Relatively little attention has been paid in criminology to the development of typologies of crime, with most of the attention centering instead upon explication of classifications of offenders. It seems likely that efforts to develop taxonomies of patterns of criminality may be more profitable or easier to accomplish than endeavors to evolve offender typologies. Classification of forms of crime involves the identification of commonalities to be found in single criminal incidents,

while the development of offender classifications requires that we pay attention to the patterning of multiple instances of conduct of individuals over time. Researchers have reported that behavioral stability in lawbreaking is relatively uncommon among offenders, that is, that "careers" in crime are the exception rather than the rule.

Some Criteria for Adequate Typologies

There are a number of criteria for typologies which could be listed, depending upon the purposes which the schemes are designed to serve. However, the major requirements of taxonomic systems are easily stated.

First, a typology which is to have some utility in etiological analysis or correctional treatment must possess clarity and objectivity. The characteristics or dimensions which are employed in the typology for purposes of identifying types must be clearly specified. Different observers must be able to apply the scheme to real-life offenders and must be able to make reliable assignments of specific persons to the categories of the typology.

A second requirement of a good typology is that the types or categories in the scheme be mutually exclusive. Actual offenders must fit into one and only one category within the typology.

A third requirement, whether it is to be used in etiological analysis or for correctional treatment, is that the typology be comprehensive. In other words, all or most of the population of actual offenders ought to be placeable within one or another type within the scheme. Finally, we might identify parsimony as a requirement of a good typology. Diagnostic or etiological schemes should have relatively few categories within them, although it is difficult to identify a priori the numerical limits of a useful, parsimonious typology. Nonetheless, a typological system with several hundred types within it would clearly be too unwieldy to be of much value.

These criteria for typologies appear obvious enough. The point to be noted about these requirements is that they are often violated in practice. In the review of typologies to follow, we shall see that many of them are defective in terms of one or another criterion above.

Processes of Typology Development

There are some typological schemes in the criminological literature which are largely the product of theoretical speculation, evolving out of the explication of logically derived relationships based upon some conceptual scheme. On the other extreme, some investigators have gone

about the discovery of types through a theoretical, inductive fact-gathering, hoping to uncover patterns through the manipulation of variables found in the backgrounds of offenders. However, the majority of existing typologies have been the joint product of theoretical speculation and inductive discovery through research. In my own work, I have drawn upon a number of studies of specific offender types which have been defined ad hoc, as well as upon other bits and pieces of research. These factual materials have been assembled in typologies, but the taxonomic categories also contain a large number of hunches or hypotheses about characteristics of offenders. For example, statements are made about attitudinal and self-concept patterns to be found on the part of persons who engage in certain kinds of criminality. In a number of cases, hard evidence is lacking to show that the hypothesized attitudinal correlates do accompany the lawbreaking behavior. What is called for in these typologies is research which would investigate some of these hypothesized patterns. In turn, those empirical investigations which turn up negative findings concerning claims in the typologies would compel us to make revisions in the typological scheme. In sum, typology development ought to be a specific case of the more general process of scientific discovery, in which a continuous interplay of theory and research is involved.

Some Existing Typologies

Typologies of Delinquents

The main focus of this paper is upon typologies of crime and criminals, rather than upon taxonomies of delinquents and delinquency. However, it should be noted that typologies of delinquents have been put forth in great number, such that there are considerably more of these in the criminological literature than there are classifications of adult offenders.¹³ Then too, it is the case that the most widely-used and well-known diagnostic typology currently in use in correctional practice is the I-Levels scheme in California.¹⁴

Typologies of delinquents are not without flaws, many of them being defective in terms of the criteria we have noted previously, particularly with regard to clarity and objectivity. A good many delinquent typologies which have been advanced in the literature are relatively anecdotal or vague in character, so that considerable difficulty is encountered in reliably placing actual offenders within the categories of the scheme. It might be noted that the I-Levels system is not entirely satisfactory in this regard, for difficulties have been reported in the actual utilization of this system in correctional practice.¹⁵

One might well argue that the prospects for development of an

etiologically or diagnostically adequate delinquency typology are greater than for the articulation of an adequate criminal typology. Although there is a good deal of variability of delinquent behavior, it is exceeded by the wide range of lawbreaking patterns encountered among adult offenders.

Typologies of Criminals

There are a fairly sizeable number of typologies of criminals which have been offered in the criminological literature, as well as an even larger number of descriptions of specific, single forms of criminal conduct such as "naive check forgers."¹⁶ Let us examine a sample of these categorizations.

One fairly old and well-known venture into typology construction is represented by the research of Roebuck, dealing with 1,155 inmates in the District of Columbia Reformatory.¹⁷ Roebuck's typology was based on legal categories of offender behavior studied within the framework of criminal careers. Prison inmates were sorted into classes on the basis of their total crime record as indicated in official records. Types such as "Negro armed robbers" and "Negro jack-of-all-trades offenders" were identified, with thirteen types being specified in all. This inductively-derived scheme was based on prison inmates and probably fails with regard to the comprehensiveness criterion.

A different approach to typology development is represented by the recent essay by Daniel Glaser, in which he identifies ten patterns of criminal behavior.¹⁸ His list includes such types as "adolescent recidivators," "subcultural assaulters," "vocational predators," "crisis-vacillation predators," and "addicted performers." Although Glaser draws upon research findings, his typological scheme is relatively speculative in character. More important, while it is of some heuristic value in providing some structure to thinking about differential social policies for various offenders, Glaser's typology does not specify the characteristics of offenders in sufficient detail to be reliably applied to actual lawbreakers with much precision.

One common occurrence when persons begin to examine some specific "type" of offender in detail is the proliferation of sub-types in order to capture the variability of behavior within the type. For example, consider McCaghy's research on child molesters--a kind of criminal career which might be hypothesized to be relatively homogeneous.¹⁹ McCaghy reports that he found six separate types of child molesters, including the "high interaction molester," the "incestuous molester," the "career molester," and the "spontaneous-aggressive molester."

This proliferation of sub-types of criminals can also be seen in the essays on murder by Guttmacher²⁰ and Neustatter.²¹ Both of these writers have argued that murderers come in a variety of types; Guttmacher asserts that there are nine kinds of murderers while Neustatter lists ten types. Both of these persons advance anecdotal schemes lacking in clarity and objectivity. Another and more recent listing of sub-types of offenders, which is also impressionistic and relatively crude in definition, is Conklin's four types of robbery offenders (professional, opportunist, addict, and alcoholic robbers).²²

The material discussed to this point indicates that general and abstract typologies can be developed which identify a relatively small number of criminal types thought to include most actual offenders. These classificatory devices are of some heuristic value, in that they aid us by providing some structure to our thinking about criminal etiology or differential treatment of offenders. But, at the same time, these abstract typologies are not very useful in actual research or correctional practice. When we begin to try to evolve typologies that are sufficiently explicit and detailed as to be consistent with the facts of criminal behavior, we soon discover that a markedly increased number of categories is required in order to capture the variability among actual offenders.

On this point, I am reminded of the efforts of the pioneering taxonomist, the 19th century scholar, Henry Mayhew. He produced a table of the different types of criminals, with five major headings, twenty minor headings, and over one hundred different categories.²³ Mayhew's typology included such types as "Thimble-screwers," "Snoozers," "Snow Gatherers," and "Sawney Hunters." A contemporary parallel to Mayhew's long list of types can be seen in the inductively-developed scheme used in the San Francisco Project. In that study, the present offenses of probationers, along with their ages, prior record of offenses, and their scores on the California Personality Inventory So (Socialization) Scale were trichotomized, yielding fifty-four possible types of probationers.²⁴

The point which I would make here is that in the search for a typology which does justice to the richness and variability of offender behavior, we may run the danger of developing a scheme of such elegance, with so many specific types in it, that the typology frustrates efforts at differential treatment, rather than serving as an aid.

Typologies of Crime

Before leaving this review, let us examine some of the typologies of crime which have been advanced. One of these, by Clinard and Quinney, lists eight categories of crime, defined in terms of the dimensions of criminal career of the offender, group support of criminal behavior, correspondence between criminal behavior and legitimate behavior patterns,

and societal reaction.²⁵ These authors identify such types as occasional property crime, conventional crime, and political crime. Several points should be noted regarding their taxonomy. First, the categories within it are very broad ones, including forms of criminality within them which do not seem very similar, as for example, political crime which includes everything from protest behavior to espionage. Second, the Clinard and Quinney classification is somewhat ambiguous, for it is not entirely clear as to whether they have in mind a taxonomy of crime or of criminal persons. Schemes such as the Clinard and Quinney one seem most useful for textbook purposes and have little or no applicability to correctional endeavors.

Other examples of crime typologies would include the mathematically-complex scheme by Shoham, Guttman, and Rahav.²⁶ A more well-known taxonomy is contained in the Kinsey research on sex offenders, in which sexual offenses were classified in terms of the age of the victim or co-participant, and also in terms of whether the acts were forced or consensual in nature, as well as whether the victims or co-participants were children, minors, or adults.²⁷ Combinations of these dimensions yielded twelve possible types of behavior. This is not a taxonomy of criminal offenders since individual lawbreakers often later engage in two or more of these patterns of activity and in other forms of criminality as well.

Gibbons' Role-Career Typologies

Developmental Background

My interest in offender typologies came early in my criminological training, when as a graduate student in sociology, I encountered the prison social types identified by Schrag. The initial notions which Donald Garrity and I evolved regarding offender "types" were quite crude and ambiguous ones. Over the past decade, I have devoted a considerable amount of time to the formal explication of criminal and delinquent typologies. My efforts have been devoted to the articulation of typological systems which are sufficiently explicit and detailed so as to lend themselves to empirical testing.

The key feature of the typological work with which I am identified is the stress on role-careers. I have attempted to specify criminal behavior patterns which describe the lawbreaking life career of individual persons. This interest grows out of the common sense observation that individuals who steal a car today, for example, may be implicated in quite a different kind of misbehavior tomorrow. Accordingly, typologies of criminals which center about specific forms of illegal activity are not adequate. At the same time, although it may not make sense to speak of "receivers of stolen property," "2nd degree burglars," or

"larceny by bailee offenders" as offender types, it may be possible to identify "semi-professional property offenders" as a distinct type, made up of individuals who specialize in a variety of identifiable predatory acts.

The basic model involved in role-career analysis is one of sequential stages through which deviants are presumed to proceed. Probably the clearest prototype of a stable career in deviance is the chronic alcoholic career identified by Jellenik and others,²⁸ in which individuals get caught up in a sequence of increasingly more deviant drinking activities, one stage following the other. At any one point in time, it is possible to identify specific individuals who are involved in the chronic alcoholic career but who are at different points in the career.

Some of the existing research material in the criminological literature does suggest that some criminal careers are made up of related episodes of behavior which unfold over time. I have already taken note of research on "naive check forgers."²⁹ Some other studies which lend at least some general support to the view that there are careers or stabilities in criminal deviance are those by Peterson, Pittman, and O'Neal,³⁰ and by Frum.³¹

The search for criminal careers has been conducted for two reasons. First, investigators, including myself, have been interested in identifying a parsimonious set of types of offender role behavior for which underlying causal or etiological processes might be discovered. Criminologists are interested in accounting for the lawbreaking behavior of individuals over time, rather than in the explanation of single episodes of criminality.

Criminal career analysis is also of interest in applied, correctional settings. The ideal diagnostic typology would be one which could be generalized across correctional structures and organizations, such that "naive check forgers," "incest offenders," or other types might be identified wherever they happen to turn up in the correctional machinery. Such a system of types would allow us to measure the differential effects upon offenders of different treatment strategies in different settings.

Definitional Variables

The structure of the typologies of delinquents and of criminals which I have developed revolves around five "defining dimensions" or definitional variables. Types are identified in terms of various combinations of characteristics exhibited by offenders within the categories of offense behavior, interactional setting, self-concept, attitudes, and role-career. The last category is one in which the career pattern of lawbreaking activity is described. The typologies which have been developed around these dimensions offer descriptions of such types as

"naive check forger," in which the forgery behavior of the individual is described, along with the social circumstances (interactional setting) in which it occurs. The naive check forger is also identified in terms of a self-concept pattern centering about notions of dependency and a non-criminal self-image, along with attitudes of the sort: "You can't kill anyone with a fountain pen." In short, the typological description asserts that the real world includes individuals who exhibit certain specified kinds of criminal behavior, self-images, and attitudes in common and it provides a guide to the observations which must be made so that the observer can "see" naive check forgers or some other "type."

Background Dimensions

The typologies which I have been developing also include statements about the social backgrounds of the various types which have previously been identified in terms of the definitional dimensions. Thus the typologies assert that offenders of some particular type exhibit common background characteristics. These background characteristics are enumerated within the rubrics, social class, family background, peer group relations, and contact with defining agencies. The latter category identifies some of the hypothesized effects upon offenders of various correctional experiences which they undergo. In this view of things, the involvement of the offender with agencies of social control may operate as a career contingency which influences the subsequent course of his deviant career. Although the observations which are made about the social backgrounds of different role-career types are not specific enough to constitute explicit causal generalizations, the statements are designed to hint at the etiological processes which produce the various types. As a consequence, these typologies might be described as prototheories or "explanation sketches," that is, as immature theories regarding the causation of criminal behavior.

Offender Typologies

In the work on typologies which I have accomplished so far, nine role-careers in delinquency have been identified:³²

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

The typology of criminals includes twenty-one types, as follows:³³

1. Professional Thief
2. Professional "Heavy" Criminal
3. Semiprofessional Property Offender
4. Amateur Shoplifter
5. Naive Check 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. Nonviolent Sex Offender
17. Incest Offender
18. Male Homosexual
19. Organized Crime Offender
20. Opiate Addict
21. "Skid Road" Alcoholic

Typologies in Use

Most of the typological schemes which have been advanced in the criminological and correctional literature have failed to find their way into correctional practice. Doubtless this is in part because of the deficiencies with which many of these taxonomies have been plagued.

The Gibbons' classifications have been employed in a limited way in three experimental projects within corrections. One of these was conducted at the Stonewall Jackson Training School in Concord, North Carolina, and dealt with delinquent offenders.³⁴ A second project involved a community-based probation treatment program for semi-professional property offenders, carried on in Utah under the joint auspices of Thiokol Chemical Corporation and the state correctional agency.³⁵ In both of these projects, the procedures employed to pick out offenders as members of the types identified in the typologies were quite crude. Also, these two projects made no attempt to sort a large, diversified group of offenders into a number of the categories of the typologies. Therefore these two projects cannot be offered as convincing evidence of the utility of the Gibbons' typological schemes.

A third correctional project utilizing the typologies I have been developing took place in the San Mateo County Probation Department in

California.³⁶ That study was a much more comprehensive one and is of more significance for the general issue of the validity of typologies. We shall consider that investigation in the next section.

Isomorphism with Reality?

I have suggested the caveat at several junctures in this essay that while typological schemes may be highly useful as an organizing principle around which some of the facts of criminality can be assessed, we need to be wary of assuming that typologies provide accurate and comprehensive descriptions of the offender population in the real world. In other words, we need to ask whether a given typological scheme is congruent with the facts. To what extent are the types in a classificatory device isomorphic with reality? Do typologies provide accurate characterizations of actual offenders?

One indication of the relationship between typological descriptions and the real world can be found in the work of Schrag, to which I alluded earlier.³⁷ He reported that inmates in prison can be identified as "right guys," "square Johns," and so on. Presumably the convicts employ these typological labels in their dealings with one another as well. But, are all inmates classifiable?

In an attempt to replicate the observations of Schrag, Peter Garabedian studied a sample of prisoners in the same prison from which Schrag's report emanated.³⁸ Garabedian identified incumbents of prisoner social roles through responses to a series of attitude items on a questionnaire. On the one hand, about three-fourths of the inmate subjects did fall into the Schrag types, but on the other, about one-fourth were unclassifiable. Moreover, although the social correlates such as prior offense records, participation in prison programs, and attitudes toward the penitentiary that are said to accompany the role types were observed, many of the associations were less striking than implied in some of the writings on prisoner types. The conclusions of this study were two-fold; it demonstrates that social types exist at the same time that it indicates that the typological scheme implies more regularity of inmate behavior than is actually observed.

The only direct examination of the typological schemes with which I am associated is found in the San Mateo County Probation Department study.³⁹ In that project, a small group of probation officers attempted to classify probationers, according to the types of adult criminals and juvenile offenders identified in Changing the Lawbreaker. The officers added two "types" of their own, "alcoholic delinquents" and "marijuana hippies," which they claimed were fairly commonly encountered in probation caseloads.

The methodological procedures employed by the probation officers included the development of abridged profiles or typological descriptions of offenders from Changing the Lawbreaker, with both background and definitional dimensions being included. Then, groups of three probation officers acting as "judges" read case records of actual probationers, comparing the data in case files against the typological profiles. Each "judge" evaluated cases independently, without consultation with the other researchers. A probationer was designated as an incumbent of a type if two of the three "judges" assigned him to that type.

Approximately 650 probation cases were examined by the probation officers working in research teams of "judges." The study was not officially sponsored by the agency and this project was conducted by the workers in their free time. Accordingly, the large investment of time which the officers made in the study was quite remarkable. These remarks should condition any observation about the crudeness of the classificatory procedures employed in the project. Also, while the classification methods were relatively simple, the tactic of employing "judges" and profile descriptions is not an uncommon one being particularly appropriate for the task in this instance.

In brief, the results of the diagnostic effort by the probation officers were that 312 of the 655 probationers were categorized as falling within a type in the typologies. Of these persons, the largest share of them (60.8 percent) were classified as alcoholic delinquents; nonviolent sex offender, "rapos"; marijuana offender, "hippies"; or naive check forgers. It also should be noted that of the 343 persons not assigned to a type, 312 of these were judged by the probation officers as not falling into any type within the typology. Stated differently, there was a relatively high degree of rater-agreement in the research; officer-"judges" either agreed that a person was a particular type within the typologies or that he was not any of the types under study.

What about the remaining half of the probationers who were not initially classified? Are there perhaps some types within which they fall, but which have not yet been identified in any existing typology? Using a parallel technique of independent judges, Clayton Hartjen attempted to sift through the probationers who had not been assigned to the typology, in order to see whether there were some similarities among them that had escaped the attention of the typology developers. Using offense records, he placed most of these individuals (330 of the 343) into seven "types," with 26.5 percent of them classified as "non-support offenders" and 22.1 percent typed as property offenders.⁴⁰

My own evaluation of these findings is a mixed one. On the one hand, the study does offer some encouragement for those who would endeavor to develop differential treatment programs centered about diagnostic types, in that a fairly large number of offenders were classified into types. On the other hand, the research was lacking in the precision that one would hope to achieve in taxonomic endeavors. In particular, the judges were restricted in their taxonomic endeavors to data contained in probation reports. As a consequence, offenders were classified largely in terms of offense behavior and social background characteristics. The classificatory activities did not involve self-concept and attitudinal items, at least not in a systematic way. I suspect that if the probationers had been subjected to a battery of personality tests such as the California Personality Inventory So Scale, and had their test scores been included in their files, the officer-judges would have encountered considerably more difficulty in assigning persons to typology categories.

Regarding the approximately half of the probationers who were not initially placed in the Gibbons typologies but who were eventually assigned to some other "types," Hartjen and I concluded that most of these offenders were involved in "folk crime." "Folk crime" is H. Laurence Ross' term for forms of lawbreaking arising out of laws introduced to solve problems related to the increased complexity of modern society.⁴¹ These offenses usually draw little public attention, they involve little social stigma, they include persons of relatively high status, and they are frequently dealt with in a variety of administrative ways. Probation caseloads apparently include a number of novices in criminality who do not move on into more complex forms of lawbreaking and who do not become committed to careers in deviance.

Career Typologies: An Assessment

Although it is perhaps too early for unequivocal assertions about the long-term prospects for career-oriented typologies of the kind I have been describing above, the evidence to date does not seem encouraging. To begin with, the research I have surveyed indicates that no fully comprehensive offender typology which subsumes most criminality within it yet exists. Then too, there are some criminologists who suggest that new forms of lawbreaking are emerging in addition to traditional ones.⁴² If so, these emergent types of criminal behavior will have to be accommodated in typologies.

Additionally, it is by no means clear that existing typologies of criminals, including the one I have advanced, are empirically precise. It has yet to be shown that the degree of patterning or regularity of offense behavior which typologies assume truly does exist in most cases

of criminality. On this same point, there has been almost no research dealing with hypothesized social-psychological correlates of offense behavior, so that it remains to be demonstrated that check forgers are dependent personalities, that semiprofessional property criminals exhibit common attitudinal patterns, and so on.

These remarks come down to one central conclusion: the notion of identifiable careers in criminality may be a hypothesis about behavior which is entirely too clinical. The language of "types," "syndromes," "behavioral roles," and the like may be inappropriate for many criminals. Instead, we may find that many lawbreakers are individuals who exhibit relatively unique combinations of criminal conduct and attitudinal patterns, or at least that we can only group them with some difficulty into some very general categories or types.

My attention in recent years has been drawn to the contemporary theorizing in the sociological field of deviance study, particularly to the writings of so-called "labeling" theorists. Sociologists such as Lemert have argued that many deviants, including criminals and delinquents, "drift" into misbehavior or that their conduct is a risk-taking response to value-conflicts in society. The conventional image of the deviant whose conduct is the consequence of internalized motives which differentiate him from nonlawbreakers is relatively absent in the writing of labeling theorists. Deviance theorists assert the importance of "societal reactions," "turning points," "career contingencies," and the like, arguing that individual careers in deviance do not usually follow some kind of straight line progression of behavioral deviation. Instead, variability rather than regularity is most characteristic of offenders; lawbreakers engage in flirtations with criminality; individuals get drawn into misconduct for a variety of reasons and many of them manage to withdraw from deviance. In all of this, labeling theorists suggest that deviant careers do not unfold from "within the skin" of the actor, so to speak, so much as they develop in response to various contingent events that occur to him along the way, including experiences with correctional organizations.

If we were to follow deviance arguments very far, we might be led to turn away entirely from the search for types of criminal persons, investing our energy instead in the development of descriptions of interactional processes or patterns. That is, we might search for generalizations which would describe the ways in which norm-violators, social audiences, and agents of organizations such as prisons or probation agencies are all bound together in interactional patterns which result in various outcomes on the part of the deviant. John Irwin's account of the career of the felon is a case-in-point of analysis of this kind.⁴⁴

I would not embrace deviance theories to the point of arguing that we should give up entirely the search for stabilities among deviants. For one thing, the deviance theory which I have described currently exists as a collection of plausible but empirically unverified hypotheses about behavior. My guess is that this body of argument sometimes distorts the facts of actual criminality in a manner opposite to that of typological formulations. The latter are overly-clinical, while the former place too much emphasis upon career contingencies and kindred factors external to the actor. In their extreme form, labeling theories put forth a kind of "billiard ball" image of the deviant, in which he is buffeted about by social forces over which he has no control.

Even so, I would again emphasize that I have become increasingly skeptical about the prospects for uncovering a relatively parsimonious set of criminal role-careers. Let me also note in passing that the typological assumption that clear-cut causal processes can be identified for re-careers, involving some specific set of earlier life experiences out of which criminal motivation developed, is also open to serious question. I do not have space in this paper to elaborate upon this point, but I have commented on criminal etiology in detail in another essay.⁴⁵ That paper draws attention to "risk-taking" processes in criminality, involving persons who are not specifically motivated to engage in lawbreaking. The essay places much heavier emphasis upon situational pressures and factors in criminal etiology than has been customary in criminological theorizing in the past. If those observations are on the mark, they would serve to deemphasize the importance of typologies in causal analysis.

My guess is that insofar as the search for typologies turns out to be profitable in corrections, it will be as a consequence of the further development of statistical classifications such as the base expectancy system of analysis⁴⁶ or predictive attribute analysis.⁴⁷ These techniques of inductive analysis involve relatively modest goals, centering about the development of classificatory devices based on specific groups of offenders within certain limited correctional settings. They in no way involve the grand ambitions of theoretically-derived typologies such as the ones I have been manufacturing. Again, I suspect that the search for a single offender typology which can be used everywhere represents an illusory goal.

Some Concluding Comments

I would like to end my remarks in this paper with a few terse comments about typologies and the state of the correctional art. To begin with, it appears to me that a full-blown applied science of cor-

rectional rehabilitation is still a good distance in the future. Correctional agents continue to be employed from a myriad of educational backgrounds, such that little progress has been made toward the standardization of training and knowledge on the part of treatment workers.

Then too, great gaps exist in our knowledge regarding the nature of the basic correctional task. We are a long way away from proven scientific generalizations concerning the etiology of lawbreaking. Because we often do not know precisely what is "wrong" with the offender, we cannot be sure of what we should do to him in the name of treatment. Thus to give someone the mandate to rehabilitate an offender is to assign him the task of "tinkering" with that person.⁴⁸ The correctional agent often has no clear idea of the therapeutic program that is in order for the lawbreaker, and even if he did, there is no assurance that the worker is equipped with sufficient knowledge to be able to do anything in the way of correctional intervention.

It is against this background that the current popularity of the I-Levels typological system in California should be evaluated. On the one hand, there is no convincing evidence that the underlying theory in that diagnostic system is correct.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the sponsors of that scheme have yet to demonstrate conclusively that it can be reliably applied to offenders, assuming that its central tenets are valid.⁵⁰ Finally, it is not yet clear that use of the diagnostic system actually improves the effectiveness of correctional intervention.⁵¹

The I-Levels typology does have a very important latent function, even if it is invalid and ineffective. Those who acquire the special diagnostic language of the system, including such terms as "Se, situational emotional reaction," "Nix, neurotic anxious," along with the psychogenic theory that is at the heart of this formulation, thereby become "inside dopesters" who are able to dazzle their correctional colleagues who have not acquired this material. Even more important, the acquisition by the worker of the I-Levels theory and prescriptions for differential treatment operates to reduce his confusion and uncertainty about the degree to which he really is the "professional" person which he has proclaimed himself to be.

I do not mean to discourage the search for improved knowledge in the field of corrections, including the attempt to evolve diagnostic typologies. However, I would argue that typological systems ought to be studied and evaluated very closely, so that we do not seize prematurely upon some scheme which will ultimately turn out to be inadequate to the tasks which are set for these instruments.

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3. Gibbons and Garrity, "Definition and Analysis of Certain Criminal Types," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, LIII (March 1962), 27-35.
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7. Gibbons, "Observations on the Study of Crime Causation," American Journal of Sociology, LXXVII (September 1971), 262-78.
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11. That evidence is reviewed in Gibbons, Delinquent Behavior (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 76-89.
12. This point is discussed in Hood and Sparks, op. cit., pp. 124-25.
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CLASSIFICATION FOR TREATMENT

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Rationale

Many reasons can be given for current interest in classification systems and typologies of criminals and delinquents. Only the rationale for classification in terms of its importance in the area of making decisions about intervention programs will be presented here. One can speak about this subject from the perspective of rational argument or from the perspective of research evidence. To start with the rational argument - one of the few facts agreed upon in the field of corrections is that offenders are not all alike. That is, they differ from each other not only in the form of their offense, but also in the reasons for and the meaning of their crime. Some individuals violate the law because the peer group, upon which they depend for approval, prescribes criminal behavior as the price of acceptance, or because the values, which they have internalized, are those of a deviant subculture. Other individuals break laws because of insufficient socialization, which leaves them at the mercy of all but the most protected environments. Still others delinquently act out internal conflicts, identity struggles or family crises. This list is not meant to be exhaustive but to point out two features of such types of categorization. The first feature has to do with the characteristics or the state of the individual offender - for example, quoting from the above list:

"peer group upon which they depend for approval,"

"values which they have internalized,"

"insufficient socialization,"

"internal conflicts, identity struggles."

The second feature has to do with identifying those conditions of the environment which will, in interaction with the characteristics of the individual, lead to offense behavior. To continue quoting from the list of "meanings":

"the peer group...prescribes criminal behavior as the price of acceptance,"
 "values (internalized) are those of a deviant subculture,"
 "(insufficient socialization) which leaves them at the mercy of all but the most protected environments,"
 "family crises."

The point being emphasized here is that a categorization of crime meanings may reflect, not simply inner states of individuals nor simply external conditions, but may reflect the interaction between the two.

Now to return to the main theme: the rational argument for classification. On the assumption that these differences in meaning of the offense will be relevant to understanding the offender, predicting his future behavior, and intervening in his life in a useful way, one can argue that a classification scheme will be important to a correctional system as a management and treatment tool.

To proceed with the rational argument for classification in a somewhat different direction, let us focus for a moment on treatment programs. The switch in correctional programs from the emphasis on custody to the emphasis on treatment in handling offenders has brought numerous disappointments regarding the total effectiveness of attempted treatment programs. Like the humanitarian reform movement itself, trade training, increased facilities for socially acceptable outlets of aggression, individual and group counseling as well as better defined treatment programs (such as behavior modification and guided group interaction), have each been thought of as the answer to the crime problem. While movements in behalf of these causes have undoubtedly made important contributions to the field of corrections, they have tended to be viewed as cure-alls; i.e., appropriate across-the-board for all kinds of offenders.

Studies of the impact of treatment of client populations have been generally discouraging, most studies showing "no change" with treatment or producing contradictory evidence about improvement. One explanation of these findings is that a masking effect has occurred when all offenders have been lumped together. The beneficial effects of a treatment program on some individuals, together with the detrimental effects of the same treatment program on other individuals, may each mask and cancel out the other. A number of recent studies of correctional treatment have demonstrated

the point that it is only when the classification of individuals in a treatment-relevant way is introduced into the study that productive relationships with program success or failure are found. Proceeding with the notion that there is an interaction between kind of offender and kind of treatment, one can say that ideally the goals of treatment will relate in some direct manner to the meaning of the offense, and the treatment strategies will relate specifically to the goals for the various offender sub-groups.

Now, to the area of research evidence for classification - evidence which comes primarily from treatment studies. Research efforts in correctional treatment have produced a further force for classification in two ways: (1) research has needed a systematic framework for designing relevant investigations, and (2) research findings themselves have contributed additional arguments for classification of study populations. It has been found that the interpretation of research findings can achieve greater specificity and accuracy through use of a classification system. The evidence on the importance of using a classification scheme in both designing treatment studies and in analyzing findings is very impressive. This point needs emphasizing because, although most would agree that offenders have arrived in correctional agencies by different paths and that these differences must be taken into account when planning treatment, many program planners, research designers, and data interpreters still seem to be searching for the answer to the crime problem. To make the case, a series of questions are posed: Is treatment in the community preferable to treatment in an institutional setting? Is behavior modification an effective treatment for offenders? Do people do better if they enter parole through a short stay in a half-way house? Is psychotherapy passe? If the point has been made, the response to these questions will be that each of them must be rephrased to allow for the fact that any program element may have a positive impact on some kinds of offenders, a negative impact on other kinds of offenders, and be irrelevant to others. Psychotherapy, while not appropriate across-the-board, may well be the most appropriate treatment for a certain proportion of offenders, say 10-15%. Which of the offenders will do better if they enter parole through a stay in a half-way house? For which offenders is guided group interaction the treatment of choice? Who will be treatable in a community program and who will do better following incarceration?

If a study of any treatment program or aspect of a treatment program has been approved without providing for a classification of the study population, it can almost be guaranteed that more information will be concealed than will be discovered. As a result, the research report will end with that sad last paragraph, saying: "It is very likely that these inconclusive findings result from the program's positive impact on some individuals and its negative or irrelevant impact on others. Unfortunately, since a classification of subjects was not used, it is not clear which is who."

This position can be given strong support with examples of differential findings. Most of these examples are from work in the California Youth Authority. However, the list begins with a few examples from other programs:

(1) A study of Project Outward Bound in Massachusetts showed that program to be effective with those delinquents who were "reacting to an adolescent growth crisis" and not to be effective with the more immature, emotionally disturbed or characterologically deficient boys.¹

(2) A number of studies (SIPU, Phase IV² and a study by Berntsen and Christiansen of Denmark³) have showed individual counseling programs to be effective with cases in the mid-range of difficulty (as measured by Base Expectancy, for example) but not to be effective for either the "easier" or the "more difficult" cases.

(3) Several studies have shown the differential impact of a treatment program on various offense categories; for example, a study at the Medical Facility in the California Department of Corrections showed that a program of group psychotherapy had the greatest positive impact on robbers and on check writers. The same program conducted with offenders against persons appeared to diminish the offender's ability to make a community adjustment.⁴

(4) In a large sample of delinquent youths participating in California Youth Authority institution programs, the recidivism rate at a 15-month community exposure point was 50%. If this population is subdivided into eight categories on the basis of a typology, one finds concealed in that 50% failure rate, one subgroup whose recidivism rate at 15 months was 14%, another whose recidivism rate at that point was 68%, other subgroups falling somewhere in between.⁵

(5) Looking at the same subgroups of the delinquent population in a sample of 258 experimental cases of the Community Treatment Project, one finds violation rates for subgroups ranging from 13% to 43% - again these data reported for a 15-month follow-up.⁶

(6) In Phases I and II of the Community Treatment Project, data over a number of years showed the benefits of treatment in a community setting to be greatest for those offenders identified as Acting-out Neurotics, Cultural Conformists and Manipulators. Also consistent over the years has been the finding that the Cultural Identifier subtype may be more effectively handled in a program involving incarceration.⁷

(7) In a study conducted by Dr. Carl Jesness at the Preston School in California, it was found that homogeneity (by delinquent subtype) in the living units consistently decreased unit management problems, primarily for certain subtypes. Significantly fewer rule infractions and peer problems, as well as transfers out of the living units for closer confinement, were found primarily for three of six subgroups, those identified as Manipulator, Cultural Conformist and Acting-out Neurotics.⁸

(8) In a recently-concluded study by Dr. Jesness at two Youth Authority institutions - O. H. Close School and Karl Holton School - evidence is accumulating concerning the differential impact of Behavior Modification and Transactional Analysis programs on different subtypes of offenders. Data which includes such attitudinal assessments as taking responsibility for delinquency, alienation from adults, attitudes towards staff and towards self; academic progress while incarcerated; and recidivism rate - all of these data are rather consistently presenting evidence that the Behavior Modification program is particularly appropriate for delinquents identified as very low social maturity, Asocial individuals (I₂), and for delinquents identified as middle social maturity, Cultural Conformists. On the other hand, Transactional Analysis programming appears to be particularly appropriate for those delinquents identified as middle social maturity, Manipulators. For delinquents identified as high social maturity, recidivism data do not indicate at this point evidence in favor of either program; however, attitudinal data from the offenders themselves indicates a clear preference for the Transactional Analysis program.⁹

(9) A number of Guided Group Interaction studies within the California Youth Authority have indicated a more positive impact of the program on those offenders who were comfortable with confrontive interactions¹⁰ (for example, Acting-out Neurotic rather than Anxious Neurotics). Data collected in the Guided Group Interaction study conducted within the Community Treatment Project also showed the recidivism rate for Anxious Neurotics to be somewhat higher than that for Acting-out Neurotics following a GGI program.¹¹

(10) This example is a little ahead of program description; however, within the Community Treatment Project, treatment being conducted by workers whose style and stance were well-matched to the needs of the individuals assigned to them was a crucial factor in the success in some subgroups and irrelevant or nearly irrelevant in others. Matching was especially crucial for Acting-out Neurotics and somewhat less so for Manipulators.¹²

(11) In Phase III of the Community Treatment Project a question being asked is whether the likelihood of achieving specified treatment objectives with certain offenders would be considerably increased if treatment were to begin, not within the community proper, but within a differential treatment-oriented residential setting.¹³ Current data from the study suggest that the residential program offers considerable payoff for some subtypes, may represent a damaging effect for others, with evidence still unclear for other subtypes at this time. The residential program appears to have its most positive impact on individuals identified as Anxious Neurotics, and its most negative impact on individuals identified as Immature Conformists and Cultural Conformists.¹⁴

The preceding bits of evidence have been presented to make the point that looking at intervention programs without a system of classifying offender subgroups is a most wasteful procedure. Once having decided that a typology of offenders is important, the question remains - what kind of classification system should be used? Some systems are more useful than others when the goal is the planning of intervention strategies. In a paper entitled "Classification of Offenders as an Aid to Efficient Management and Effective Treatment,"¹⁵ an attempt was made to outline a wide variety of classification schemes and to indicate their relevance for management and treatment strategies. That ground will not be re-covered here. Rather, the presentation will focus on a classification system called

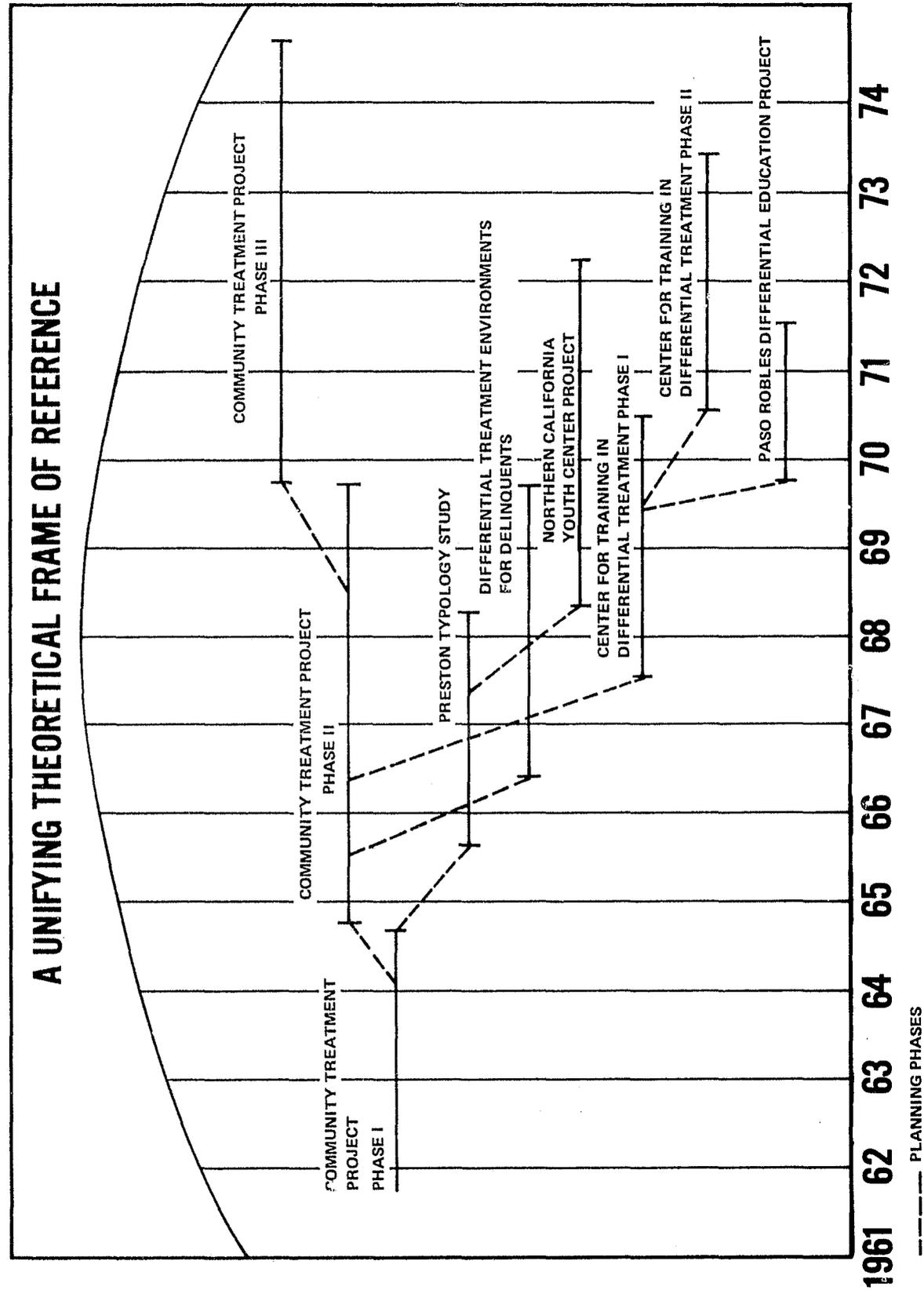
Interpersonal Maturity Level, I-level for short, a classification system underlying a general programmatic thrust which includes a series of Differential Treatment projects. In focusing on this classification scheme, it is not intended to suggest that others have less treatment-relevance. The Herbert Quay behavior classification system, for example, is being utilized in an attempt to describe differential treatment strategies in the Robert F. Kennedy Center at Morgantown.¹⁶ The focus on I-level and the Differential Treatment programs which follow from it is a simple matter of knowing the California Youth Authority data best.

The discussion so far has focused on classification systems which characterize the offenders. Other elements or components of intervention strategies may also be classified. Settings in which intervention is to occur may be classified; workers who play an important interpersonal role in the intervention strategies may be classified; and treatment methods may be classified as well. Having these various classifications schemata available, one can then proceed to "match" environments, treaters, and methods with types of offenders in a manner calculated to bring about maximum positive impact. Using such a classification approach, one can begin to sort out the various intervention elements and their contribution to outcome, rather than looking at the intervention package as a whole. This sorting out will help investigate some of the complexities which interact in the correctional treatment process.

This process can be illustrated with a chart which shows the development of a number of research studies around the Differential Treatment theme. A number of these studies have already been mentioned in connection with giving evidence for differential impact. Here, the studies will be utilized to describe the successive pinning-down of these four major, co-existing interactions - interactions between type of client, type of treatment environment, type of worker and type of method.

First a word about the underlying theory and classification system. I-level theory had its first application in a study of treatment of a military offender population, beginning in the early 1950's.¹⁷ The first major elaboration of the theory occurred in 1960-1961 with the beginnings of the Community Treatment Project. Subsequent elaborations have occurred through the projects shown in the chart.

DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH STUDIES ON DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT: HOW ONE QUESTION LED TO ANOTHER



The original theoretical formulation described a sequence of personality (or character) integrations in normal childhood development.¹⁸ This classification system focuses upon the ways in which the individual is able to see himself and the world; that is, his ability to understand what is happening between himself and others as well as among others. According to the theory, seven successive stages of interpersonal maturity characterize psychological development. They range from the least mature, which resemble the interpersonal reactions of a newborn infant, to an ideal of social maturity which is seldom or never reached in our present culture. Each of the seven stages, or levels, is defined by a crucial interpersonal problem which must be solved before further progress toward maturity can occur. All persons do not necessarily work their way through each stage, but may become fixed at a particular level. The range of maturity levels found in an adolescent delinquent population is from Maturity Level 2 (Integration Level 2 or I₂ to Maturity Level 5 [I₅]). Level 5 is infrequent enough that, for all practical purposes, use of Levels 2 through 4 describes the juvenile delinquent population. Level 5 individuals are found more often in adult offender populations. It should be stressed that interpersonal development is viewed as a continuum. The successive steps, or levels, which are described in the theory, are seen as definable points along the continuum.

The elaboration that came with the development of the Community Treatment Project was based on the assumption that although a diagnosis of Integration Level (I-level) identified a group of individuals who held in common a certain level of perceptual differentiation, not all individuals in this group responded to this perceptual level in the same way. An attempt was made to classify within each I-level according to response set. There appeared to be two major ways in which the Integration Level 2 (I₂) individual responded to his perceptual frame of reference. Similarly, there appeared to be three typical response sets among delinquent I₃'s, and four typical response sets among delinquent I₄'s. In this manner, the nine delinquent subtypes were identified. These nine subtypes were originally described in 1961 - as part of the proposal for CTP, Phase I - by lists of item definitions which characterize the manner in which the members of each group perceive the world, respond to the world, and are perceived by others. The description of the nine delinquent subtypes, with predicted most effective intervention or treatment plans, combined to make up the original statement of the Differential Treatment Model. A more recent edition was published in 1966 as one product of CTP I and II.¹⁹

Brief descriptions of the three maturity levels (Integration Levels or I-levels), as well as the nine empirical subtypes, found in the juvenile delinquent population are given below:

Maturity Level 2 (I₂): The individual whose interpersonal understanding and behavior are integrated at this level is primarily involved with demands that the world take care of him. He sees other primarily as "givers" or "withholders" and has no conception of interpersonal refinement beyond this. He has poor capacity to explain, understand, or predict the behavior or reactions of others. He is not interested in things outside himself except as a source of supply. He behaves impulsively, unaware of anything except the grossest effects of his behavior on others.

Subtypes: (1) Asocial, Aggressive (Aa) responds with active demands and open hostility when frustrated. (2) Asocial, Passive (Ap) responds with whining, complaining, and withdrawal when frustrated.

Maturity Level 3 (I₃): The individual who is functioning at this level, although somewhat more differentiated than the I₂, still has social-perceptual deficiencies which lead to an underestimation of the differences among others and between himself and others. More than the I₂, he does understand that his own behavior has something to do with whether or not he gets what he wants. He makes an effort to manipulate his environment to bring about "giving" rather than "denying" response. He does not operate from an internalized value system but rather seeks external structure in terms of rules and formulas for operation. His understanding of formulas is indiscriminate and oversimplified. He perceives the world and his part in it on a power dimension. Although he can learn to play a few stereo-typed roles, he cannot understand the needs, feelings, and motives of another person who is different from himself. He is unmotivated to achieve in a long-range sense, or to plan for the future. Many of these features contribute to his inability to predict accurately the response of others to him.

Subtypes: (3) Immature Conformist (Cfm) responds with immediate compliance to whoever seems to have the power at the moment. (4) Cultural Conformist (Cfc) responds with conformity to specific reference group, delinquent peers. (5) Manipulator (Mp) operates by attempting to undermine the power of authority figures and/or usurp the power role for himself.

Maturity Level 4 (I₄): An individual whose understanding and behavior are integrated at this level has internalized a set of standards by which he judges his and others' behavior. He can perceive a level of interpersonal interaction in which individuals have expectations of each other and can influence each other. He shows some ability to understand reasons for behavior, some ability to relate to people emotionally and on a long-term basis. He is concerned about status and respect and is strongly influenced by people he admires. Identification at this stage is with an oversimplified model - a model which is based on dichotomous definitions of the "good" and the "bad". Neither ambiguities nor "shades of gray" are allowed for. Because of the rigidity of these standards, the person at this stage often feels self-critical and guilty.

Subtypes: (6) Neurotic, Acting-out (Na) responds to underlying guilt with attempts to "outrun" or avoid conscious anxiety and condemnation of self. (7) Neurotic, Anxious (Nx) responds with symptoms of emotional disturbance to conflict produced by feelings of inadequacy and guilt. (8) Situational Emotional Reaction (Se) responds to immediate family or personal crisis by acting-out. (9) Cultural Identifier (Ci) responds to identification with a deviant value system by living out his delinquent beliefs.

Maturity Level 5 (I₅): The individual at this stage is able to perceive and handle more ambiguities in people and situations. He is increasingly aware of complexity in himself and others, aware of continuity in lives, more able to play roles appropriately. Empathy with a variety of kinds of persons becomes possible.

It is with respect to the nine delinquent subtypes in Maturity Levels 2 through 4 that the various projects have sought differentially to define treatment goals as well as the various elements - environments, methods, worker styles - of the treatment strategies.

Now, looking at the experimental programs shown in the chart:

(1) Community Treatment Project, Phase I - a study of the differential impact of intensive community treatment vs. incarceration on the various subtypes of the delinquent population - was primarily a study of setting.²⁰ Within each classification category, random assignment was made to (1) an intensive treatment program located in the community or (2) the regular Youth Authority program (primarily institutionalization). The community alternative appeared to be preferable for about 50% of

the population; however, it was not clear whether success could be attributed to avoidance of the institution, superior staff, receptivity of particular communities, or treatment methods (Differential Treatment Model) being used.

- (2) Community Treatment Project, Phase II - study of the differential impact of the Differential Treatment Model program a la CTP I vs. a Guided Group Interaction program on various subtypes of delinquents - was a study of treatment methods.²¹ Within classification categories, a three-way random assignment was made to (1) a community program using the Differential Treatment Model, (2) a community program using a Guided Group Interaction model, or (3) the regular Youth Authority program. The effects of several factors were sorted out. Success in community programs did not appear to be the result of simply avoiding the institution, superior staff nor specific community receptivity. Differences between the success rates of the two community programs appeared to result from the treatment models used.
- (3) Preston Typology Study - a study of the differential impact of homogeneous living units (that is, only boys of one subtype in a unit) vs. heterogenous living units on various subtypes of the delinquent population - was a study of setting or treatment environment.²² Within each of seven classification categories, random assignment was made to homogeneous or heterogeneous units. Although clear management advantages were shown for homogeneous assignment, no long-term treatment effects were shown.
- (4) Differential Treatment Environments for Delinquents - a study of five types of group homes, each home representing a treatment environment specifically related to the growth and development needs of particular types of delinquent youths - was a study of treatment environments,²³ but it was also a study of types of workers.²⁴ All of the differential Treatment studies include an attempt to "match" worker style with appropriate subtype of offender. In the group home study, this involved matching group home parents' style with type of offender. Data from the Community Treatment Project show a large recidivism rate difference for youth well-matched with their workers - a difference which holds up two years beyond discharge from the agency.

- (5) Northern California Youth Center Project - a study of the differential impact of Behavior Modification and Transactional analysis on various subtypes of delinquents - was a study of treatment methods in an institutional setting.²⁵ Both the application of the theoretical models to specific kinds of offenders and the differential impact of the two programs on kinds of offenders were studied.
- (6) The Paso Robles and Ventura Differential Education Project - a study of the differential impact of homogeneous classrooms with matched teachers vs. the regular school program - is a study of settings and workers.²⁶ For each of five subtypes of offenders, characteristics of preferred teaching plans (atmospheres, methods, motivation procedures, control strategies, curriculum) are being defined. Comparisons between experimental and regular classrooms are being made using achievement and attitudes measures.
- (7) Community Treatment Project, Phase III - a study of Differential Treatment begun in a residential setting vs. a community setting on various types of offenders - is a study of treatment setting.²⁷ An attempt is being made to increase the chances of success for types of offenders previously unsuccessful either in the community or institution programs. Within the study, a comparison of matched (or specialist) workers with generalist workers is being made.
- (8) Center for Training in Differential Treatment, Phases I and II, has had as its purpose the development of a training model for teaching Differential Treatment concepts to staff of a broad range of correctional agencies.²⁸ The focus has been on how to implement Differential Treatment programs in operating agencies.

This series of studies in Differential Treatment has been rather successful in teasing out some of the many complexities which interact in the correctional intervention process. A beginning has been made in identifying the differential contributions to success, or lack of it, made by offender characteristics, worker characteristics, treatment atmospheres, and treatment methods. Much remains to be done in areas which can be described as the "who" and the "what" of correctional programs. The "who" question

involves a greater concern with the characteristics of the offender which, in interaction with his environment, brought him into a correctional system, as well as the relationship between those characteristics and what will be required to get him out of the correctional system permanently. The increasing specification of the "who" calls for further developments in theoretical under-pinnings as well. In the past, many causal theories, purporting to explain "delinquency," have described only one segment of the total offender population. Differential association theories, social disorganization theories, role theories, psychogenic theories - all appear to have validity when applied to some segment of the offender population, but none of these theories alone is sufficiently complex to account for the total range of causal factors. Theory, which should guide program development, is often missing, leaving the rationale for intervention procedures unclear. Pressure for further theoretical work builds as empirical findings indicate the heterogeneity of the correctional population and thus the complexity of the intervention task.

The "what" question involves a concern with studying various intervention elements and their contribution to outcome, rather than looking at the treatment package as a whole. Although this paper has tried to list some of the bright spots, much more is needed in an effort to pin down more precisely the ways in which specific program elements are aimed at intervening in specific aspects of offense behavior.

Illustrations in this paper have all focused on the correctional process. Similar classification and intervention issues arise all along the criminal justice continuum when thinking about diversion strategies at the law enforcement level or decision alternatives at the court level. Who can be diverted and to which resources? Who should go to court and who to informal probation? Who shall the court return to the community and who send on to prison systems?

In all of these developments, two major research strategies are called for: (1) a tied-down experimental design whenever possible so that hard data are available; and (2) process-oriented exploratory research, which permits the detailed viewing of complexities and interactions among the intervention elements, and which is guided in the direction of systematic hypothesis development.

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CLASSIFICATION REQUIREMENTS IN THE PROCESS
OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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In order to make a discussion of this topic of value in planning action, it would appear appropriate to limit the scope of the effort to dealing with change in the criminal justice system. It is a popular cliché to view the problems and even the social institutions of the criminal justice system as symptoms of a malfunctioning society. Cries are then raised to treat the "sick" society. It is readily acknowledged that there are many aspects of our social organization that are contributory to crime and delinquency and that could well be modified or improved. But for the purposes of this paper, that task will be left for other agencies, other social reformers. The thrust of this presentation will be upon the criminal justice system and how to change the way it functions. Emphasis will be upon "treating" the system rather than the people who are caught up in the process of that system. Many of the views presented have been derived from an earlier paper¹ which stressed the examination of decision points and the possible modification of system behaviors, while suggesting a lower priority for efforts at changing offenders.

A quick review of the findings of treatment efforts would seem to be in order. Stuart Adams² in studying the Pilot Intensive Counseling Organization (PICO) project in the California Department of Corrections found that a cost/benefit analysis suggested that the expenditure for special counseling could be just about offset by the savings resulting from reduced costs for reconfinement of the treated group. Such findings fail to be very impressive. In a study of group psychotherapy with prison inmates³, it was found that the return-to-prison rate was lower for those treated by this modality than for a comparison group. The difficulty of determining what constitutes a comparison group tends to cloud the issue somewhat. But even if the difference in outcome did turn out to be a reliable one, would the differences be sufficient to balance the cost? It must be remembered that psychotherapy is usually conducted by professionally trained staff, a commodity both expensive and difficult to locate. How about group counseling? Wouldn't that be less expensive? Indeed it is. But what is the level of effectiveness? Earlier group counseling was evaluated on a department-wide basis⁴ and positive "treatment effects" were found even when differences in comparison groups were controlled by base expectancy.⁵ However, when a more rigorous research design was applied involving

randomization of assignment of treatment and control groups by Kassebaum, Ward and Wilner⁶, findings failed to support the hypothesis that group counseling had an effect on subsequent parole adjustment or even an adjustment to prison confinement.

Rita Warren has contended⁷ that many such findings are inconclusive because the beneficial effects of the treatment program on some individuals, together with the detrimental effects on others may mask or cancel each other. Perhaps a review would help. In the case of the PICO project, the crude classification in "amenable" and "nonamenable" categories did indeed make a difference.⁸ The study of group psychotherapy revealed that some offender groups seemed to be able to respond in a more profitable way⁹ in terms of parole outcome. The application of group counseling seems to be uniformly ineffective; in the correlational study, conflicting suggestive evidence was developed in which no trends at all were noted in the more systematic study.

Other kinds of institutional programs such as camp placement and vocational training have been investigated.¹⁰ Again the results are equivocal. A summary of findings suggest the following conclusion - correctional programs can train inmates, some people who are trained get jobs in their trade, but neither being trained or getting a job is related to recidivism.

The matter of the use of institutionalization as an intervention strategy has been raised by Rosett¹¹ with some implication that if not too severe, it may have some deterrent effect. A series of studies in California¹² have found positive parole outcomes associated with lesser periods of incarceration or no differences in outcome associated with length of time. Here again some suggestive evidence is forthcoming that different offender groups seem to react differently to longer or shorter periods of incarceration.¹³

Treatment strategies have been based upon the assumption that the problem is related to some maladjustment within the individual and that programs have to be developed to "correct" the individual. The evidence for this assumption has been seriously questioned.¹⁴ Studies conducted have usually been designed to find evidence to support the position that offenders are different and have seldom examined the alternate phenomenon that many people who are as seriously maladjusted as the offender population do not become embroiled in the criminal justice system. While not supporting this position wholeheartedly, it seems safe to ascribe some validity to this position. Such a view suggests that if the criminal justice system is to change, the thrust of research will be relatively more profitable if it is directed toward something other than the usual treatment intervention programs.

Having now determined in what direction not to go, what direction might be profitable? The thesis to be presented is that changing agency and societal decisions about offenders will result in more positive outcomes than attempting to change the client. Further, an attempt will be made to relate changes in decision-making to research functions and activities; namely, the providing of feedback information to decision makers about the outcome or results of their decisions.

A basic assumption that is necessary if such an approach is to be viable is that decision-making is a rational process. Decision-making is clearly not always, in every instance, responsive to factual information. There are economic considerations, political influences, personal biases, and sometimes the capriciousness of chance. But on the whole and over time, the system is moving toward an approach involving planning, evaluation and measurement. Given this hopeful sign, it seems safe to proceed toward trying to influence the system through rational feedback systems.

Is there any evidence that such a strange approach has any chance of really working? It would appear that some starts have been made, at least in California. The story of Probation Subsidy is presented as a case study, drawing on the work of Wilkins and Gottfredson.¹⁵

Starting with an assumption that not all people incarcerated in institutions needed to be there, research was conducted¹⁶ to evaluate a sample of intake into the state-level correctional institutional program. From the findings, it was estimated that 25-30 percent of the intake did not require the controls provided by prison placement. Findings were recognized as significant in terms of taking the strain off an overburdened correctional system as well as avoiding the negative influences of incarceration both in terms of the experience, in and of itself, as well as the imposition of a prison record. Having determined that acting on the information obtained was of positive social and economic value, the feasibility of changes in the system was examined. It soon became clear that many judges were quite willing to consider alternative sentencing practices but felt that more people could not be referred to understaffed and inadequately trained probation departments. Top correctional administrators clearly saw a solution to this problem--give the counties the money necessary to bring probation departments up to standards already established. However, when this concept was presented to legislators, it met with little enthusiasm. All kinds of problems were raised having to do with taxation, distribution of funds, local autonomy, etc.--all concerns of a governmental nature and more understandable to a political scientist. This did not stop the correctional administrators. A new plan was devised. In the new approach, counties would be paid on the basis of not sending people to state-level correctional

facilities. The measurement would be based on the number that would have been expected to have been sent had the commitment rate remained at past levels. To insure that resulting payments were not simply used to support existing service, proposed legislation included requirements that any monies received must be spent on special supervision programs. The amount of reimbursement (\$4,000) was based on "career costs" derived from a systems study of corrections by the aerospace industry.¹⁷ This new plan was introduced in the Legislature only to drift into limbo when it failed to gain sufficient support to be moved out of committee.¹⁸

How can a story be told if the hero is killed in the first chapter? Needless to say, this temporary set-back was not seen as the death-knell of the program and eventually legislation was passed and the program placed into operation. What have been the results? No one is really sure, but one thing is clear--the population of adult male felons in California's prisons is considerably less than it was in 1966 (16,952 vs. 22,666). This reduction occurred during a period of increased police activity and a strong public sentiment for "law and order". Is all this reduction due to Probation Subsidy? Not at all. The contention is that there has been a confluence of effects to bring about a changed attitude on the part of decision makers at the local level. Part of the push has been increased capability of probation departments in addition to the special strengths provided to the counties by the Subsidy Program. Judges have come to view the rehabilitative aspects of community programs as potentially more beneficial than incarceration. The thrust toward community-based programming can be seen not only in the brochures distributed by LEAA but also in a general lowering of prison populations in various states across the nation in the last few years. In California, two additional factors contribute. First, there now has been a long series of judges sentencing conferences with top correctional administrators interacting with judges and supplying information as to what the prison system can and cannot provide in the way of corrective services. The second program that plays a part in the changing picture is the presentence observation and diagnostic service provided by the Department of Corrections. If a judge feels that more information is needed before he decides whether a man should be placed in prison or again tried in the community, he may send the man to one of the reception-guidance centers for special study. Within 90 days, the individual is returned to court with a complete diagnostic evaluation along with a recommendations as to disposition. Remember, these are recommendations and as such are not binding on the court. However, the agreement between these recommendations and court disposition in terms of state-level commitment or not is quite high, running between 70 and 85 percent over the last few years. As can be seen, this program also provides

the court with increased understanding of what kinds of services the correctional system can provide.

If the original observation--25-30 percent entering prison could be handled suitably by local-level corrections--could be restated in terms of goals and objectives, it might appear something like this:

Goal: To place in state-level incarceration only those for whom local alternatives cannot be developed.

Objective: Within five years to decrease the intake from courts of new commitments by 25 percent.

Has this objective been met? A significant approach has been made to it. The commitment rate has not increased as it has in the past. There was a slowdown in the increase of actual numbers of commitments. And the action at this point in the system had effects throughout, exercising some influence, making some contribution to an overall reduction in California's prison population (adult male felon) from 22,666 at the end of 1966 to 16,952 at the end of 1971.

Are there other areas of study that might provide evidence that the approach under consideration has impact? Two programs come to mind, both in the area of parole supervision.

The first of these again grew out of a study of available data. It was observed that a very high percentage of people on parole who completed the first two years under supervision managed the third year quite well with most gaining a satisfactory discharge from parole. The question then becomes, why keep them under parole supervision? In dealing with this question, the matter found its way into legislative action and a mandatory review after two years of satisfactory parole became a part of the Penal Code (2943 P.C.). A study of the results of actions taken under this provision revealed that those discharged at this point got into somewhat less difficulty than those retained under supervision. Those continued on parole, however, became entangled in technical parole violations for activities for which discharges would be only mildly punished by society.¹⁹

Growing out of this experience a researcher raised the question, why two years? Again turning to an examination of the data, it was seen that 35 to 40 percent of any release cohort managed to get through the first year on parole "clean"; that is, free from arrest for anything more serious than traffic violations. Following these people through the system, it was found that nearly 90 percent made it through the next year on parole without major difficulty. Why not

review these people at the end of one year, discharge those seen as appropriate for such action and redeploy the parole resources thus freed, to more intensive work with parolees in that threatening transition period of re-entry into the community? Here administration moved with alacrity. Relying on internal policy rather than legislation, the Adult Authority (the paroling authority in California) adopted a resolution (A.A. Resolution 284) and moved into action. The amount of parole supervision time saved in this manner resulting from Adult Authority actions during just the last half of 1971 amounted to resources for redeployment worth over one and one-half million dollars. This gives some clue as to the extent of impact resulting from alterations in decision making patterns.

The concerns just addressed could be phrased in another way, "How long must one adjust before he can be viewed as having 'adjusted'?" This seems like a simple question but there are many jurisdictions where people remain under parole or probation supervision for three, five and ten years. In other areas, of course, the length of supervision is greatly curtailed with periods of three years being reserved for unusual cases. But in those situations where longer periods of supervision are involved, it would appear that great savings of limited available resources could be gained by terminating those individuals who demonstrate their ability during the first year or two under supervision.

In pulling all these bits of evidence together, the main theme would be that changing decision-making patterns at key decision points by feedback of results of past actions can have a greater therapeutic effect than attempting to change the individuals who are the clients of the system.

An example might help clarify the matter in terms of comparison. If a correctional treatment program could be found that had a ten percent differential positive effect over no such treatment (and no such program is presently in sight), it would appear to be sufficiently powerful to put it into operation. However, most such programs require either highly trained professional personnel or expensive equipment. For the sake of argument, the assumption might be made that this will be an all-out program. It seems likely that no more than ten percent of those going through any correctional system would become involved in such a program, because of the many limitations inherent in the situation--limited budget, limited availability of qualified staff, and general operational restraints. The result is, then, that ten percent of a population is affected by a ten percent shift in outcome--a net change in overall outcome of one percent!

In changing the way decision makers view a situation, a change in outcome of five, ten or even thirty percent is not inconceivable.

Relationship to Classification and Other Matters

As can be seen only the most rudimentary classification approach is required to apply the principles being suggested. The basic criterion is often known behavioral information--did this individual suffer an arrest during the last year? Under the Probation Subsidy program the decision is somewhat more difficult, but no elaborate classification system has been required. The key factor seems to be feedback of results of decisions which allows for the development of an implicit classification and selection process. The provision of knowledge about the effects of decisions was not discussed by Professor Rosett²⁰ in his discussion of discretion. He presents the term "discretion" in a somewhat unusual sense to imply deviation from announced norms or, stated another way, "substantive normlessness"²¹ leading to ineffectiveness and injustice. The dictionary,²² however, lists as one definition of the term, "... individual choice or judgment .. and power of free decision or latitude of choice within certain legal bounds" (emphasis added). The very manner in which the concern is presented suggests a part of the solution. The lack of norms could be corrected by the development and acceptance of a coherent general policy to guide decisions at every step of the process. As these policies are implemented through the delineation of specific objectives, the need for a more clearly articulated classification system will emerge. The goals seen by some as appropriate for correctional processes need only slight modification to encompass control of the use of custodial restrictions at any step in the criminal justice process. These guiding principles might be formulated along the following lines:

- Permit entry into any confinement phase of the system only those for whom no suitable alternative can be developed.
- Retain people in the confinement stage for the shortest possible time consistent with the safety of the community.
- Following a period of institutional stay, return to confinement only those for whom no suitable community-based alternative can be developed.
- Remove from the criminal justice system all those who have demonstrated a reasonable potential for adjustment and as soon as this potential can be identified.

Perhaps an attempt to apply these policies to a likely situation will serve to illustrate the utility of the procedure. Suppose a judge is considering pretrial release of an individual. He has the alternatives of detention, high bail, low bail or O.R. release. Rather than considering whether the particular offense is distasteful to him, or whether detention will serve to deter others or whether the individual can afford a high bail, he faces only two questions-- what is the known threat to society if the individual is released and what is the probability of the individual returning to court to stand trial? Rosett²³ has provided a social reinforcement model to enhance the chances of the decision being toward the less restrictive; that is, establishment of a review procedure whereby the decision maker is granted broad powers not to invoke the sanctions of the system but given strong assurances that if he decides to impose custody he must be prepared to formally defend the reasons for his action.

Another aspect of the environment that must be modified if decisions are going to be away from the imposition of the controls of custody is that of information. If adequate records are kept the probability of certain kinds of outcomes can be ascertained. Knowing that 85 percent of those released on O.R. will return for trial, the judge is likely to be more willing to entertain this alternative than if the chances are 50/50. In too many areas, the information is non-existent, leading to intuitive and often erroneous decisions or to overcautious approaches. In cases where information is available but does not provide an obvious preference of one alternative over another, the development of a classification system may be indicated. It may be that within the undifferentiated group there are those who could be released with a high probability of conforming behavior.

If a policy such as the one suggested comes into general practice, and information systems are developed to support the implementation, the result should be that those segments of the system in which isolation from society is involved will contain only those individuals for whom some alternative of lesser severity could not be developed. It is at this point that the maximum effort must be made to develop classification schemes that can assist in the management and treatment of this residual population.

Marguerite Warren²⁴ argues for a strong theoretic base in the development of a classification approach. Solomon²⁵ discussed two types of factor analysis--assignment procedures and cluster analysis. In the first instance the attempt is made to assign cases to pre-determined classes. This might be likened to hypothesis testing growing out of theoretical formulations. The second approach, cluster analysis, is a procedure which evaluates natural groupings and attempts to determine common characteristics. This approach is in contrast to

the theoretical attack and might be described as more inductive than the deductive approach of theory building. Which is the better road to take?

To determine whether to place heavy emphasis on theory or take a more inductive approach it might be well to examine what it is that is being demanded of the classification system. If the aim is broad understanding, then the testing of the tenets of various theories will probably provide the best results. If, however, the goal is to provide a framework for action or treatment, then more inductive studies seem more appropriate. At this stage of development it may be less important how the arm has been broken than to know the fact that it is broken and something about what to do about broken arms. At some later stage of development of the system it may be possible to examine causative factors and work toward prevention. In the case of the broken arm, safety precautions around dangerous machinery may be necessary. In taking this stance, support comes from Gibbons who states the following:

...insofar as the search for typologies turns out to be profitable in corrections, it will be as a consequence of the further development of statistical classifications such as the base expectancy system of analysis or predictive attribute analysis. These techniques of inductive analysis involve relatively modest goals, centering around the development of classificatory devices based on specific groups of offenders within certain limited correctional settings.²⁶

Hood and Sparks also make the point that classification systems can be developed having treatment utility independent of causal components.²⁷

Thus it is argued that the first obligation of research is to develop and test classification systems related to differential treatment while continuing a secondary effort in the direction of etiological processes that society may wish to modify. While the highest priority goes to that activity where the potential for early success is most likely, the effort to learn about causal factors cannot be neglected for at some point the criminal justice system should be more concerned with arranging conditions in such a way as to minimize criminal behavior rather than "correcting" those who have already committed an illegal act.

Some Recommendations

Every research effort should lead to recommendations for action. Otherwise it falls into the "very interesting" classification wherein can be found innumerable dusty research reports.

The first recommendation is but a reaffirmation of the basic policy upon which this symposium is based--continuation is urged for the social support for diversion from the system.

In order to maximize the probability of occurrence, information systems must be improved at all levels of the system to insure that decision makers learn the consequences of their actions.

As the implementation of the diversion efforts gains momentum, classification systems should be developed to further refine decision making.

The fourth recommendation is to develop classification schemes related to differential treatment for those for whom diversion from the system is not presently possible.

Next, it would be desirable to work toward the development of classification approaches that examine etiological aspects with the long range goal of developing preventive measures.

Overriding all of these recommendations are two considerations. First all efforts made should be structured within the framework of a systems approach. The work of Blumstein²⁸ and Klein, Kobrin, McEachern and Sigurdson,²⁹ provides a good background for safeguards in this area.

The other consideration has to do with a strategy for research. The present state of knowledge concerning classification is in some state of coherence but knowledge in the field in general is almost totally unorganized. Before much more federal money is disbursed for research there must be an attempt made to comprehensively survey the field to determine what is known, what needs to be known (where the gaps are), and what needs to be discovered first. Such an effort would involve segmenting the criminal justice field into categories into which existing knowledge could be fitted. A small group of highly skilled researchers would be called together to pool their understanding about what studies have been completed and the value of these studies to an understanding of the subject under consideration. By systematically arraying known research contributions in a cross-classified manner, missing elements could be readily identified. The areas of need could then be evaluated in terms of necessity vs. desirability;

short term impact vs. long range planning; and ready feasibility vs. massive effort.

With a set of research priorities the determination could be made as to which kinds of projects should be encouraged by federal funding and which kinds should be dealt with on a state and local level. Without this kind of framework within which to plan and work, efforts will be scattered and ineffective. In many situations no research at all will be accomplished, for those allocating funds are already inclined to favor action over research; this tendency can be expected to be increased when there is no coherent plan for research expenditures.

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SOCIAL CONTROL FUNCTIONS OF DIAGNOSIS

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It has been a characteristically difficult task for members of the helping professions¹ to assess the social control aspects of their practice. Although concerns are expressed from time to time, the general feeling appears to have been that social control is an important issue, but hardly a crucial one. It is probable, however, that as the present ferment in society is exacerbated, the helping professions will be forced to reassess their roles and the norms underlying professional role expectations. The social control aspects of "helping" will become more obvious as the larger society begins to seek "help" from these professions in defining, identifying, and controlling deviance within the framework of a scientific rationale. The helping professions of every era and society have been traditionally involved in direct social control functions as carriers and indirect enforcers of culturally defined values or socially defined norms and roles.

Looking at situations surrounding cases such as those of Ezra Pound or General Edwin Walker, one could reasonably assume that prevailing ideologies influence otherwise professional decision-making and practice. This is not to dispute the validity of the diagnoses given. It is, however, to question the events surrounding the application of the diagnosis and the relevancy of the diagnosis in light of those events. More importantly, this concern invites focus upon the latent functions of otherwise "objective" professional practice.

The concept of latent function is essential to an understanding of social control in the helping professions. It is to this type of question that Szasz indirectly addresses himself when he asks whose "agent" a psychiatrist must be.² This is a legitimate concern. Unfortunately, the "either-or" phrasing of the question tends to lead to deceptively simple conclusions. Social control factors are present in the helping professions by the very existence of these groups. "Help" in psychiatry, social work, or psychology is, for the most part, culturally influenced and socially determined. At least half of the equation of what constitute help in these areas is a social definition. The clinician, in being called upon by either a "patient" or "client" or by representatives of social groups or systems surrounding that person,

is immediately involved in issues relevant to the transmission of prevailing norms, and is, in a sense, partially involved in social control. It will not be the task of this paper to pursue issues relative to such concepts as "self-determination" in psychoanalytic and non-directive therapies versus "influence" in directive or behavior-oriented treatment approaches, though these issues remain of vital importance. Rather, the focus will be upon the latent social control functions of psychiatric, psychological and social work practice specifically as these relate to the diagnostic process.

Sociologists have been justly criticized for engaging in the fallacy of rationality in the development of theories of crime, delinquency and mental illness. The helping professions have engaged in a similar fallacy through the focus upon medical or psychological diagnostic systems. Often these systems are used and applied as though they were, in fact, removed from the social processes which, to a great degree, determine not only the types of diagnostic categories, but also the prognostic assessment and treatment approaches. Diagnosis must ultimately affect the stability of the social systems from which the patient or client arises. It is this latter issue which must be explicated if the diagnostic process is to be understood.

The concept of latent function, more familiar to anthropologists than the sociologists or clinicians, provides a useful construct within which to analyze the diagnostic process as it occurs within the helping professions. Merton defines it as follows:

a standardized practice designed to achieve an objective which one knows from accredited physical science cannot be thus achieved. This would plainly be the case, for example, with Pueblo rituals dealing with rain or fertility.³

In using this definition, it should not be assumed that psychiatric and psychological diagnostic procedures are presented here as similar to rain dance rituals in their validity. However, even valid procedures are tied to social structures and processes and, thereby, have latent functions in addition to manifest functions. One of the latent functions of psychiatric or psychological diagnosis is social control. This is becoming a more manifest function as the professions enter into community programs and move away from classic medical or behaviorist models. The traditional models allow for selective inattention of social processes while "disease entities" or "habits" are identified and categorized. It is of the essence of pan-medical or pan-psychological approaches that social control functions remain latent. One can anticipate, however, that as the helping professions in general move into the public arena (as they

have begun to do in their focus on family therapy and community approaches) that social control functions will become more manifest and less latent. This situation is likely to force ethical confrontations which will be both painful and necessary if the helping professions are to remain viable in any traditional sense.

One need not focus only upon inappropriate overextension of a medical or psychological model to see how latent functions contribute to social processes in professional practice. In corrections, for example, prisons have long fulfilled latent functions which are characteristically at odds with the manifest function of rehabilitation. The screening process (diagnosis) and handling (treatment) of prisoners has been a classic example of latent function at odds with manifest function. Such practices invite social or psychological theories which will lend congruence to the actual practice.

In order that the latent functions remain latent, it is necessary that social or psychological theories be developed which lend credence to the manifest functions. Diagnosis becomes an integral part of this process. D.L. Howard, the British criminologist, clearly describes how English prison practice of the late 19th Century found a felicitous ally in Lombrosian theory regarding the diagnosis of the "criminal". He makes note, thereby, of the latent functions of punitive bureaucracy in prison management introduced by Lt. Colonel Edmund Du Cane as director of the prison commission.

The Du Cane regime, far from following public opinion, was successful in directing it to some extent. Men and women went into prison as people. They came out as Lombrosian animals, shorn and cropped, hollow-cheeked, and frequently, as a result of dietary deficiencies and lack of sunlight, seriously ill with tuberculosis. They came out mentally numbed and some of them insane; they became the creatures, ugly, and brutish in appearance, stupid and resentful in behavior, unemployable and emotionally unstable, which the Victorian middle classes came to visualize whenever they thought of prisoners. Much of the prejudice against prisoners which remains today may be due to this conception of them not as the commonplace, rather weak people the majority of them really are, but as a composite caricature of the distorted personalities produced by Du Cane's machine.⁴

Chapman sees the same process existing today, though adjusted to contemporary social conditions.

The Theories of Lombroso and others on criminal types, and the Victorian stereotype of the criminal was identical. Prison produced the criminal type, scientific theory identified him even to the pallor of his skin, and the public recognized him: The whole system was logical, water-tight, and socially functional.⁵

He goes on to add that the present system is more complex in that a large number of the public would wish to modify or abolish the prison systems, while a larger number of the public and of legislators believe in punishment and social isolation. Chapman then identifies a similar process as it involves the role of contemporary helping professions. Although they are engaged in diagnosis of the prisoner, criminal, or delinquent, they are again involved in fulfilling latent functions of social control.

In such a system, the change of prison conditions proceeds at a rate rapid enough to satisfy the pressures of reformers, while continuing to produce the stereotyped 'old lag', the 'abnormal' the 'psychologically motivated', the 'inner-directed' delinquent whose maladjustment is 'deepseated' and often 'intransigent to treatment' and who, in his turn, becomes the scapegoat needed by society and the data for the latter-day Lombrosos whose social function is to provide the 'scientific' explanations required by the culture.⁶

This assessment of latent function as found in closed prison settings may have more than passing relevance to similar functional relationships existing between the helping professions and other "rehabilitative" or "treatment" settings. All such settings, from the most closed to the most open, reflect larger social systems and are related to them at least partially in terms of social control functions.

One must question how the helping professions come to assume latent functions of social control. It is also important to know something of the rationale for assigning certain aspects of social control to help-giving agencies rather than frankly punitive agencies.

Chapman draws upon the thesis of W. I. Thomas which states that when people define things as real, they are real in their consequences. This is seen as reflecting a need for "systematic study of the symbolic systems by which persons represent themselves to themselves".⁷ He sees the problem as existing at two levels.

The first is that of comprehending the symbolic system, the second that of tracing the social processes which have been selected out of the infinite range of alternatives, which occur by chance and are maintained because they 'fit' the belief system.⁸

It might be added here that many of the practice settings, roles, skills, etc. of the various helping professions are part of such social processes. In this sense, they represent a response of belief systems (families, communities, societies) to definitions made by those systems. This is the very reason for the existence of the helping professions. It is this phenomenon that must be of concern to these professions as they examine social control features in their practice.

Social control becomes an acute issue at the point of diagnosis since diagnoses often serve direct social control functions. Social control functions can be readily seen in the use of such terms as "psychopath", "impulsive personality", "sociopath", "asocial personality", etc. The terms themselves invite social control measures. More frequently, however, diagnosis is used with reference to an "objective condition" which is somehow viewed as able to be so labeled apart from the social function of the labeling process. It is in these cases that latent social control functions become a major consideration.

Psychiatrists, social workers and others have characteristically been interested in the social functioning of the individual in his environment. The matter of how to draw the connection between the personality system and the social system, however, has been hazy in clinical practice. Usually, there has been primary focus upon the person "with a problem". This is an appropriate, though narrow perspective. It has been in the tradition of clinical diagnostic work that if the individual person is understood in depth, his behavior will be understandable and meaningful by his subjective lights. The implication of this, however, with reference to

"disturbed" persons, is that the patient has misperceived parts of reality, or has been unable to meet social demands with mature responses. However, with clinical interest in such matters as family diagnosis, "double-bind" theories of schizophrenia, and community psychiatry, there has been an authentic concern with social systems as being not only formative of "pathological" personality patterns but as maintaining norms and roles which though "irrational" may be functional for a given system. It is at this point that the clinician begins to consider social control as related to diagnosis, but as a phenomenon which may or may not be consonant with classical diagnostic categories. Certain "pathological" patterns of behavior may provide social control functions for the system whereas other "mature" or "normal" patterns may be at times dysfunctional to social control in particular systems. This is often a hard truth for helping persons to absorb, since clinicians themselves are tied to system definitions at most basic levels of their own professional and personal identities. Unfortunately, it is usually an easier task to isolate out a patient's "pathology" or even the "pathology" of patients' family, than it is to attempt to understand the reasonableness of the "pathology" as seen within larger systems, or perhaps more to the point, to assess the "pathology" or "irrationality" of the larger systems, the community, or the society.

It is this phenomenon that must be of concern to the professions as they examine social control features of their practice. The helping professions represent one of a host of alternatives which are responsive to the belief systems of a particular society at a particular time and place. An essential feature of professional practice rests upon these belief systems, be they "scientific" or "mythological". The selection of factors for consideration in diagnosis ("criminal" vs. "non-criminal", "psychotic" vs. "non-psychotic") itself reveals a symbolic stance related to social control in a given society.

Social control becomes an acute issue at the inception of the diagnostic process since diagnoses so often serve direct and manifest social control functions which force functional though inappropriate diagnoses of deviant sub-systems. In this sense, psychiatric diagnosis may serve aspects of social control unrelated to the merit of the diagnosis itself.

As the helping professions move into the public arena, the issues surrounding social control functions become more apparent. Although the deviant is a fit subject for diagnosis, it is a dicey game for the clinician to look at wider social contexts as fit matter for diagnostic assessment. One then finds a situation, in

a sense, forced upon the clinician, which is inauthentic, if not itself irrational. One need only recall the recent court-martial for "mutiny" of U.S. Army military prisoners involved in a sit-down, singing anti-war songs as a protest against Vietnam, stockade conditions, and the killing of a fellow-prisoner by a guard. No less than fourteen psychiatrists were presented by the defense to testify as to the existence of mental illness and emotional disturbance in the defendants. One is not surprised as to the extent of emotional disturbance present, but one must be concerned with the way in which the helping person is placed in an inauthentic role, allowing very real issues of wider societal import to be obscured and, in effect, invalidating those whose condition or behavior would call attention to wider issues.

The diagnosis relieves strain on the system by allowing focus upon the deviant who is in large part a product of the inconsistencies existent in the system. The humane clinician may very likely be the most vulnerable, in this situation, in that to play the game with other rules (e.g., to demonstrate the "reasonableness" of the client in response to an "unreasonable" social system) would likely insure the punitive handling of his client. In this sense, it would be difficult to identify who is more the true agent or advocate of the patient or client.

Ronald Laing notes that the diagnostic process which denies social intelligibility to behavior

sanctions a massive ignorance of the social context within which the person was interacting. It also renders any genuine reciprocity between the process of labeling (the practice of psychiatry) and of being labeled (the role of patient) as impossible to conceive as it is to observe. Someone whose mind is imprisoned in the metaphor cannot see it as a metaphor. It is just obvious.⁹

Laing summarizes this process and relates it to social control.

The unintelligibility of the experience and behavior of the diagnosed person is created by the person diagnosing him, as well as by the person diagnosed. This stratagem seems to serve specific functions within the structure of the system in which it occurs.¹⁰

If this is so, it presents some very real dilemmas for the helping person. It says that an essential part of the diagnostic process is a social stratagem fulfilling latent social control functions for the larger society. This is not to say that such should not be the case. Indeed, such will always be the case in clinical practice. It is important, however, that these functions be clearly identified and explicated so that helping professionals know well in what processes they are involved in clinical diagnostic work. It follows from this that they must then assume more responsibility for the social effects of the diagnostic process. Speaking of diagnosis, in another place Laing has commented:

the label is a social fact and the social fact a political event. This political event, occurring in the civic order of society, imposes definitions and consequences on the labeled person. It is a social prescription that rationalizes a set of social actions.¹¹

If one views the diagnostic process within the context of a political event with predictable consequences in the civic order, the person who makes the diagnosis is immediately related to that civic order as a social control agent whether or not he wishes to be. The diagnostic act, thereby, carries responsibilities far beyond those of identifying an "objective" medical or psychological condition. The diagnosis is, in part, a social control mechanism which provides the larger system with the means and "scientific" sanction to disregard the products of its own internal value, normative, or role contradictions.

Within the context of the binding characteristics of social systems, the question of whose agent the helping person is, can be misleading. It may be that in performing entirely as the agent and advocate of the patient or client (manifest function), the clinician is, in fact, performing other latent functions for the society which are ultimately destructive of the patient's own best interest. By the same token, it may be that in assuming a role as agent of a social system, a court, an institution, a university, etc., the helping person inadvertently hastens the restructuring or demise of that system due to latent functions concomitant with, but in opposition to the more manifest functions.

For example, the psychiatrist who in court acts as "agent" for his patient in demonstrating the subjective reasonableness of the patient's "criminal act" may, by that process, insure the severity of the court's sentence. The psychiatrist who invalidates the patient's action by labelling it "psychotic" may, by the same token, influence the court decision in the direction of mercy. If psychosis were an easily definable and scientifically demonstrable condition in all cases, it is still probable that the dilemmas surrounding diagnosis and criminal responsibility in court settings would continue to plague the helping professions. This is because the source of the dilemma has to do with the latent functions of the diagnosis. Most psychiatrists perceive that certain social and political processes will predictably follow from the fact of diagnosis. The dilemma is, therefore, moral rather than scientific. It is a question of human responsibility, not only of the patient, but more importantly of the diagnostician.

If the position of the helping person who acts as an agent for his patient or client is ambiguous, a similar dilemma confronts the helping person who views himself as totally the agent of a particular system or of specific institutions (court, school, agency) within the society. The clinician who assumes this role eventually restricts his own professional identity and helping role to such a degree as to diminish his usefulness outside the narrow definitions and confines of the agency. In so doing, he hastens petrification of the system he would serve, insofar as agencies evolve through authentic listening to the fluid feedback of clients. Such a process presumes some ability of the agent of the system to detach himself and assume some agent functions for the individual. This alters professional role models and agency structures and ultimately diagnostic categories and treatment modalities. Society is such that the professional cannot isolate a small segment and deal with it to the exclusion of other concerns. His role as a professional involves him in functions for a variety of systems from the micro-systems of the individual personality on through other systems and meta-systems, ranging from the family through the political order. Because of the pervasive characteristics of social control functions as they relate to professional practice, the helping person may feel immobilized in a series of double-binds. He must then begin to address himself to ways to extricate himself from such situations.

Regardless of the particular orientations of the various helping professions to social control, it is crucial that they begin outlining theories and approaches relevant to this important area. It may be that the professions will have to move away from social control functions by assuming roles which enhance what Etzioni has called the process of authentic societal guidance.

We refer to the combined sources of social regulation and change, the downward and the upward flows, as social guidance, while we reserve the term social control for downward flows and consensus formation for upward ones.¹²

The diagnostic process as fulfilling latent functions of social control will be more consonant with democratic systems to the degree that it is open to alteration and change not only in its application, but in its redefinition. Central to the idea of societal guidance is that of "authenticity". Etzioni has noted that:

A relationship, institution, or society is inauthentic if it provides the appearance of responsiveness while the underlying condition is alienating. ...Authenticity exists where responsiveness exists and is experienced as such. The world responds to the actor's efforts, and its dynamics are comprehensible. ...Authenticity requires not only that the actor be conscious, committed, and hold a share of the societal power, but also that the three components of the active orientation be balanced and connected. It is the fate of the inauthentic man that what he knows does not fit what he feels, and what he affects is not what he knows or is committed to do. His world has come apart. The alienated man, in comparison, is likely to be excluded to a greater extent from all three societal sources of activation, laboring in someone else's vineyard, laboratory, or army.¹³

The helping professional is basically concerned with those who are defined as "deviant", or as having "problems", or who so define themselves. Perhaps the diagnostic role of the clinician should concern itself with serving as a touchpoint between the deviant and the defining systems, allowing for inter-communication. The helping person assumes the role of negotiating a "dynamic social contract"¹⁴ between social systems and outsiders, between definers and defined. This implies that there will be "authentic" listening by the clinician engaged in diagnosis. This is much different than the common practice in which the listener often hears only with reference to what fits pre-defined diagnostic categories. The authentic listener will have to widen or change the focus of these categories, thereby, altering the latent functions served in the labeling processes. He may thus bring the life-space and "rationality" of the deviant to the defining

social systems, and in that process contribute to the evolution and alteration of those systems in ways authentically responsive to the condition of those being diagnosed.

If the diagnostic process is to be socially authentic, it must reflect responsiveness to the person diagnosed, not only insofar as those categories are open to change and reinterpretation on the basis of the life experiences and perceptions the patient, or client, or groups of clients bring to the diagnostic situation. In this sense, the "mentally ill", the "criminal", the "disturbed", the "deviant" in our society will be less likely to be made alienated victims of social control as a latent function of professional practice. The authentic professional provides an essential role in society of mediating and relaying new information between the person "in need of help" and his relevant social systems, contributing both to the adjustment of the individual and the evolution of the society.

NOTES

1. In this context, the term "helping professions" is meant to refer to those characteristically offering planned interpersonal help, e.g., psychiatry, psychology, social work, counseling.
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