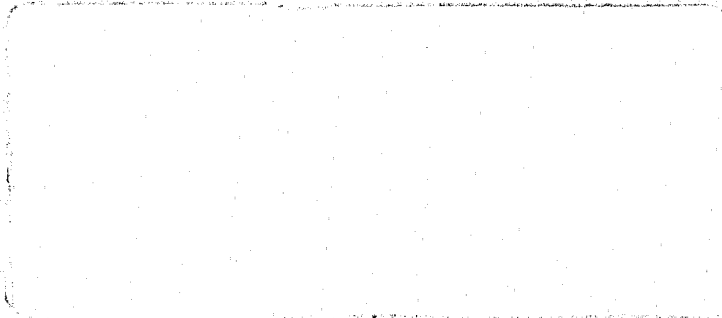
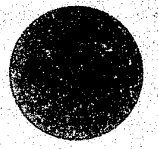




U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Corrections



1081801
BH1801

108149

108149

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

This document has been reproduced exactly as received from the person or organization originating it. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the National Institute of Justice.

Permission to reproduce this copyrighted material has been granted by

Public Domain/NIC
U.S. Department of Justice

to the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS).

Further reproduction outside of the NCJRS system requires permission of the copyright owner.

NCJRS

DEC 2 1987

ACQUISITIONS

JAIL CLASSIFICATION:

A REVIEW OF THE

LITERATURE

Prepared by:

Karen Whitlow
Bob Buchanan
James Austin
Daniel McCarthy

This report was funded by the National Institute of Corrections' Jail Classification Project under grant number GN-1. Opinions stated herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position of NIC.

Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
I. Introduction	3
II. History of Inmate Classification	6
A. The Move Toward Objective Classification Systems	7
B. Existing Guidelines For Inmate Classification	8
III. Classification Within The Context of a Jail	10
A. Distinctive Nature of Jail Operations	10
B. Overview of the Jail Booking and Classification Process	12
1. Intake and Booking	13
2. Initial Custody Classification	13
3. Custody Reclassification	16
C. The Assumed Advantages of Effective Jail Classification	17
IV. Issues In Implementing Objective Jail Classification Systems	20
A. Recent Approaches to Objective Jail Classification	23
B. Deciding Which Criteria To Use	36
1. Review of Research Literature	36
2. Policy Consequences	40
C. Assessing Inmate Program Needs	42
D. The Associated Effect of Jail Architecture and Security Design on Inmate Behavior	45
V. Impediments To Successful Jail Classification	48
VI. Summary and Policy Implications	54
Appendix	

Jail Classification: A Review of the Literature

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1984, there were over 8 million admissions into the nation's jails (BJS,1985). If each of these admissions represented a single person, it would mean that over three percent of the nation's population were admitted to jail each year. In fact, according to the U.S. Department of Justice, more people experience jail than any other form of correctional supervision (see Figure 1). Given these data, jail classification would seem to take on added importance as a means of enhancing management of inmates and agency resources and, as part of the nation's criminal justice and correctional process. Yet, because of their unique populations and operational requirements, most jails lag far behind other correctional agencies in developing and implementing effective classification systems. Information pertaining to jail classification is also lacking.

This review of the literature summarizes the following currently available information: 1) the history of inmate classification; 2) the specific classification peculiarities within jail settings including the distinctive nature of jail operations, an overview of the jail classification process, and the advantages of effective

FIGURE 1

AMERICANS UNDER CRIMINAL JUSTICE CONTROL

Adults	Annual Admissions	Annual Population
Jail ^{1/}	8,084,344	234,500
Prison ^{2/}	173,289	528,945
Probation	766,488 ^{3/}	1,711,190 ^{4/}
Parole	<u>132,562</u> ^{3/}	<u>268,515</u> ^{4/}
ADULT TOTAL	9,156,623	2,743,150
<u>Juveniles</u>		
Public Institutions ^{5/}	521,607	49,322
Private Institutions ^{5/}	88,806	34,000
Probation ^{6/}	337,000	337,000
Parole	<u>33,500</u>	<u>33,500</u>
JUVENILE TOTAL	980,913	453,822
TOTALS	<u>10,137,536</u>	<u>3,196,972</u>

Sources

- 1/ U.S. Dept. of Justice. Jail Inmates, 1984.
- 2/ U.S. Dept. of Justice. Prisoners in 1984 and Prisoner Count, 1986.
- 3/ Criminal Justice Institute. The Corrections Yearbook, 1986.
- 4/ U.S. Dept. of Justice. Probation and Parole, 1984.
- 5/ U.S. Dept. of Justice. Children in Custody, 1982 and 1984.
- 6/ National Center for Juvenile Justice.

jail classification; 3) issues in the implementation of objective jail classification systems including recent approaches to jail classification, the determination of valid criteria included in calculating custody requirements, assessment of inmate program needs, and the relationship between jail architecture and inmate behavior.

The review does not address pre-trial release risk assessment since this study focuses on in-custody management of inmates who have failed to secure immediate pretrial release. However, the two classification decision-making schemes are similar in structure and content, often relying on the same information especially in regards to initial classification criteria. The major difference lies in intent. Whereas pretrial release instruments seek to evaluate a defendant's suitability for release from pretrial detention, jail classification systems focus on the inmate's appropriate housing or custody designation within the jail's various facilities. Consequently, pretrial release instruments assess the likelihood of failure to appear and pretrial criminal activity while jail classification is concerned with inmate misconduct, e.g., violence against inmates and staff, and escape. Therefore, some but not all information used for pretrial release decisions are relevant to jail classification.

This report is an initial product of the National Institute of Corrections' Jail Classification Project (GN-1) whose broader goal is the implementation of objective custody classification schemes in

several of the nations jails. Based upon this larger effort, it is hoped that more effective, humane, and cost-effective classification systems can be implemented throughout the nations' jails.

II. HISTORY OF INMATE CLASSIFICATION

The history of inmate classification in the United States closely parallels the evolution of the nation's correctional philosophy. Prior to 1870, when corrections focused on retribution and punishment, classification was based primarily on type of offense. Inmates were classified for the purpose of determining the "appropriate" form of punishment. There was no need to extend the process further since all inmates were housed in comparable settings and occupied their time in a similar manner.

In the later part of the 19th century, however, corrections changed direction, introducing reform and rehabilitation as important goals. As these goals gained prominence and acceptance, classification began to ground itself in clinical diagnostic and treatment categories that stressed the "personal pathologies" of offenders. Inmates, by virtue of their arrest and conviction, were assumed to be deficient in personal growth and survival skills, and the task of classification was to identify such deficiencies so that these deficiencies could be corrected. Use of this medical model of classification proliferated during the twentieth century as the psychological and sociological causes of crime were explored and methods of assessing offenders grew more sophisticated. This trend continued into the early 1970s, when it started to lose favor due to

public frustration with rising crime rates, gratuitous violence, and perceived failure of treatment-oriented programs.

A. The Move Toward Objective Classification Systems:

Today, correctional philosophy in many jurisdictions is increasingly based upon a retributive (punishment), or "just-deserts" view of handling offenders. Previous assumptions regarding the efficacy of rehabilitation have been increasingly challenged. There has also been an increasing amount of litigation regarding inappropriate use of criteria for determining how inmates are housed and when and whether they are permitted to participate in correctional programs. Both of these developments along with the well publicized national prison and jail crowding crisis has impacted traditional classification strategies governing the management of inmates. Specifically, correctional classification systems have moved away from so called "subjective" models to "objective" models. Although a more detailed presentation of these two approaches to jail classification is presented in Section III, a brief discussion is presented here to acquaint the reader with the two concepts. Subjective models tend to rely upon informal and/or questionable criteria which often leads to inconsistency and error in staff decision-making. Conversely, objective systems rely heavily upon a narrow set of well defined legal (e.g., severity of current offense, prior arrests, etc,) and other personal characteristics (e.g., age, marital status, etc.). These items are then weighted and scaled within a well structured instrument which

is then used to assess an inmate's level of custody risk or program needs. Objective systems thus place greater emphasis on fairness, consistency, and openness in the decision-making process.

B. Existing Guidelines For Inmate Classification:

As long ago as 1973, the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals outlined standards pertaining to inmate classification. More recently, as a result of the increasing emphasis on classification as a management tool and the growing pressures to improve classification, considerable attention has been afforded to the process of classification. Guidance in structuring an effective process has been provided by many individuals and organizations. Among the most widely accepted guidelines are the 14 principles formulated by Solomon (1980) and subsequently adopted by the National Institute of Corrections (NIC):

- There must be a clear definition of goals and objectives of the total correctional system.
- There must be detailed written procedures and policies governing the classification process.
- The classification process must provide for the collection of complete, high-quality, verified, standardized data.
- Measurement and testing instruments used in the classification decision-making process must be valid, reliable, and objective.
- There must be explicit policy statements structuring and checking the discretionary decision-making powers of classification team staff.
- There must be provision for screening and further evaluating prisoners who are management problems and those who have special needs.
- There must be provisions to match offenders with programs; these provisions must be consistent with custody classification.

- There must be provisions to classify prisoners at the least restrictive custody level.
- There must be provisions to involve prisoners in the classification process.
- There must be provisions for systematic, periodic reclassification hearings.
- The classification process must be efficient and economic.
- There must be provisions to continuously evaluate and improve the classification process.
- Classification procedures must be consistent with constitutional requisites.
- There must be an opportunity to gain input from administration and line staff when undertaking development of a classification system.

A recent survey by the NIC Information Center (1984) found that a growing number of states have instituted jail standards, which usually address classification. While only 12 states set jail standards in 1966, 32 states had adopted standards by the end of 1984. (See Appendix A.) Twenty-five states now require mandatory compliance with explicit jail standards. In general, such standards are concerned with separation of the inmate population into discrete subdivisions. For example, males are to be housed apart from females, minors are to be isolated from adults, and pre-trial offenders are to be kept separate from sentenced offenders. However, as will be discussed later in this review, such separation requirements often complicate the use of classification for inmate management and may not constitute appropriate classifying criteria.

Other organizations, like the American Correctional Association and the National Sheriffs' Association, have also promulgated

standards for jail classification. These standards typically go beyond categorization of inmates and address policies and procedures for decision-making.

III. CLASSIFICATION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A JAIL

The history of inmate classification is primarily a history of classification in prisons. The use of classification in jails is a relatively new phenomenon. As recently as 1979, a national survey of jails conducted by the National Institute of Corrections found that most agencies did not have formal pre-trial classification procedures.

A. Distinctive Nature of Jail Operations:

The delay in implementing classification in jails is primarily a result of their unique functions and associated constraints they impose on classification. Unlike prisons, which confine only sentenced offenders, jails are responsible for detaining a diverse population: suspects awaiting investigation and charge, persons charged with an offense and awaiting trial, persons convicted of a crime and awaiting sentence, persons sentenced to jail terms less than one year and a day, offenders believed to have violated their probation or parole, individuals with detainers in another jurisdiction but no charges in the holding county or city, sentenced offenders awaiting transfer to overcrowded state prisons, and juveniles awaiting transfer to juvenile correctional facilities.

Classification of such a varied population is further complicated by the short length of stay for many persons. Frequently, inmates are released within 72 hours of their arrival, making it difficult,

if not impossible, for staff to obtain the information necessary to determine appropriate custody level and housing assignment. In most instances, staff must make decisions based only on inmates' charges, bond amounts, and self-reported medical histories. The lack of adequate verifiable information precludes staff from separating offenders into categories that would enhance inmate management.

Larger jail systems, moreover, must contend with a high volume of admissions. High annual admission rates, which greatly exceed average daily populations, tax existing resources, creating work overloads for staff and decreasing the time available to assess individual inmates. Rapid turnover in the population also necessitates quick decision-making, a condition that tends to constrain classification.

In addition, jail classification is hampered by the physical design of the facilities themselves. The large majority of jails are designated for maximum security, making it futile sometimes to categorize inmates by varying custody requirements. Older facilities, in particular, lack sufficient capacity and/or capability to physically separate inmates who have been classified differently.

In addition to such operational constraints, jail classification has been limited by a sort of benign neglect. Jail administrators traditionally have not accorded classification the central management role that prison administrators have. To an extent, this lesser role is a consequence of the problems discussed above. However, many jail administrators simply do not view classification

as an important component of detention operations. Others have been forced to short change classification due to inadequate staff resources. The lack of staff for classification functions stems from a variety of factors, including overall shortages of jail personnel, insufficient numbers of staff trained to perform classification activities, staff apathy in regard to classification assignments, and general constraints associated with budgetary allocations.

Daily operating factors like these have slowed the evolution of jail classification. At present, most jail classification systems are at a point similar to where prison classification was nearly 100 years ago: separation of males and females, adults and juveniles, and sentenced and unsentenced. However, a variety of other factors, including overcrowding of existing facilities, recognized need for improved resource allocation, and intervention by the courts, have generated countervailing pressures to enhance jail classification. Among jail administrators, there is a growing awareness of--and support for--the benefits that can be derived from valid and reliable classification systems.

B. Overview of the Jail Booking and Classification Process:

The process of jail classification varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, depending on such factors as the characteristics of the inmate population and the philosophy and style of agency management. Nevertheless, it is useful to obtain an overview of the classification process in order to understand the various decisions

that are made, points where problems may arise, and procedures that could be enhanced.

1.) Intake and Booking:

Typically, jail classification begins at the intake stage which occurs following the arrest. New arrivals are placed in a holding area, ranging in size from single or multiple cells to a "tank," where they may spend anywhere between a few hours and a few days awaiting pretrial release and arraignment. (In larger jail systems where separate holding facilities are available, formal classification is initiated after arraignment.) While in the holding area, offenders are searched, relieved of personal property, photographed, and finger-printed. During this time, intake staff, who are usually deputies but occasionally classification officers, often run a check of available records to obtain information pertaining to criminal history and outstanding warrants and detainers. In addition, trained personnel may conduct psychological and medical screening of inmates to detect serious problems requiring immediate attention.

2.) Initial Custody Classification:

Initial custody classification is initiated, in almost all cases, after the decision to hold the charged person over for arraignment is made. The custody classification process is not intended for persons who are quickly released through bail/bond securities, on their own recognizance, pending further investigation, or without being charged. Most of these events occur within 4-8 hours making

it impractical and unnecessary to conduct a detailed custody assessment.

Once it becomes evident that the inmate will be detained for a substantial period of time staff begin to classify inmates using information obtained from these screening assessments and records checks. Frequently, classification activities are conducted by intake staff. However, in recent years, many jail systems, particularly large ones, have established classification units to perform these functions. Due to the diversity of the population, inmates are generally separated into broad categories. Most jurisdictions, for example, distinguish between pre-trial and sentenced inmates, adults and juveniles, and males and females. Many also categorize inmates by amount of bond, if it has been previously set by statutes. Numerous jails attempt to separate the violent from the nonviolent or those charged with felonies from those charged with misdemeanors. In addition, some jurisdictions try to identify special management inmates (protective custody and suicide risk, etc.).

In making such separation placements, staff often rely heavily upon inmate interviews. Usually these interviews are conducted to obtain basic data about inmates; oftentimes they are also necessary to acquire information that is not available through the records search. Several days may then be required to verify self-report information, and by this time, the inmate may have already been released. In many cases the information cannot be verified at all. This dependence on self-report data, however, frequently lessens the

effectiveness of classification decision-making because whatever information is obtained may not be accurate.

Based on placement within separation categories, inmates are then given a housing assignment. As much as possible, jurisdictions normally attempt to house "incompatible" groups (e.g., adults and juveniles, pre-trial and sentenced) separately. Within these broad groupings, many larger systems also try to maintain a proportional distribution of inmate characteristics such as age and race. Larger jail systems can easily accommodate such distinctions, particularly if they consist of several facilities. But smaller jails may lack the capability of making any but the most fundamental separations. Housing assignment is generally under the purview of classification and intake staff, while cell assignment is the responsibility of the housing supervisor, who is more likely to know where appropriate bed space is available.

Decisions concerning program assignments may also be made during initial classification or intake. These, too, are based on the limited information obtained from record checks, medical and psychological screening, and inmate interviews. However, in many jurisdictions program assignments are postponed until it is known whether inmates will be released prior to trial. Due to rapid turnover in the population, some jails reserve programming primarily for sentenced inmates.

Typically, the entire intake/classification process takes from 2 to 6 hours. Larger jail systems generally conduct intake and classification round-the-clock, seven days a week. Smaller jails

may restrict these activities to 8-12 hours a day, Monday through Friday or Saturday, keeping inmates in holding areas during intervening times.

3.) Custody Reclassification:

Reclassification is a vital component of the classification process. Unlike initial classification which attempts to use items describing the inmates' demographic, offense, and criminal history data to determine custody level, reclassification criteria are principally dominated by measures of in-custody behavior. The premise of reclassification is that "errors" will be made at the initial classification stage and these errors should be corrected based on the inmate's demonstrated behavior. It is especially important for sentenced inmates who are facing lengthy incarceration terms and for defendants likely to spend several months awaiting a court disposition.

In practice, reclassification of jail inmates appears to be a function of three factors: change in inmate status from pre-trial to sentenced, inmate's conduct while incarcerated, and estimated length of confinement. The first factor automatically initiates a reclassification action. Satisfactory conduct may lead to reclassification so that an inmate can qualify for a trustee position, work release, or other job placement; misconduct may result in reclassification, a disciplinary hearing, or both. Some agencies also have policies requiring reclassification for sentenced inmates at set intervals. Thus, inmates who remain in jail for a lengthy period may be given consideration for reclassification

several times before they are released. Many sentenced inmates, however, may never be reclassified at all since their sentences may consist only of a few weeks or weekends in a jail setting. Reclassification may be requested by a variety of individuals, including classification staff, shift commanders, or inmates.

C. The Assumed Advantages of Effective Jail Classifications:

Regardless of its size and complexity, the primary responsibility of the jail is to safely and securely detain all individuals remanded to its custody. Classification is an essential element and management tool for performing this function. As Solomon and Baird (1982) have stated:

Corrections must recognize that classification is first and foremost a management tool. It should, in fact, be perceived as the veritable cornerstone of correctional administration. As a means of setting priorities, its purposes are to promote rational, consistent, and equitable methods of assessing the relative needs and risk of each individual and then to assign agency resources accordingly.

While such a statement may seem merely a laudable goal, it is rapidly becoming a practical necessity as the courts become increasingly involved in jail operations. Much of this involvement has been related to inmate classification. From a constitutional perspective, the courts have issued mixed rulings. Some have required the development of inmate classification as a matter of constitutional requirement (e.g., Jones vs. Wittenberg [1977] and Jones vs. Diamond [1979]); others have found that classification of prisoners is discretionary (e.g., Meachum vs. Faus [1976] and Newman vs. Alabama [1977]).

However, cases pertaining to other aspects of jail operations provide substantial justification for the application of an effective classification system. In examining published decisions of federal and state courts, Malouff (1984) found 13 damage awards against jails for classification-related mistakes or failures. In those cases decided since 1968, the average award was \$93,000. The most common basis for award was negligent failure to separate prisoners likely to be assaultive from those likely to be assaulted. Other common bases were negligent failure to keep inmates from intentionally or accidentally injuring or killing themselves and negligent failure to place prisoners where they would receive needed medical attention. In addition to the 13 cases involving a monetary award, Malouff cited 26 cases in which a court held that a damage claim should proceed to trial. These figures, however, should be considered very conservative estimates since they do not include unpublished out-of-court settlements and trial-court awards.

The advantages of classification are greater than the benefits of reduced litigation and resulting civil liability. Several generally accepted benefits can be derived from an effective classification plan:

- Provision of data that are useful in facility planning;
- Improvement of security and control of inmates by identifying and providing surveillance for the appropriate group;
- Assistance in the effective utilization of personnel based on an understanding of differential programming and security needs;
- Generation of information to be used in monitoring and evaluating program goals;

- Provision of a consistent and equitable process for decision-making; and
- Assistance in population management by identifying those inmate groups who may be eligible for various release programs (Jeffers, 1980).

Moreover, appropriate classification of inmates can lead to more cost-effective jail operations. However, it is not an expectation that classification by itself will reduce staffing levels in jail facilities. Accurate classification should allow for the redistribution of staff according to custody requirements of the inmates. The appropriate use of staff will allow for better daily and crisis management. Accurate classification systems should, with the reduction of false positive predictions, save money through the removal of inmates from high security/cost jails placing them in less secure/cost settings.

It is also anticipated that accurate classification will reduce escapes and escape attempts, suicides and suicide attempts, unnecessary incarceration of non-threatening inmates, and unwarranted inmate on inmate assaults. All of these outcomes will conserve valuable expenditures in the areas of legal fees and court costs, overtime pay, medical expenses, and pain inflicted on victims of crimes perpetrated by inmates.

For example, a study of classification in one urban jail (Malouff et al., 1983) suggests that classification with corresponding placement significantly reduced the rate of violent acts, lowering security and maintenance expenditures.

IV. ISSUES IN IMPLEMENTING OBJECTIVE JAIL CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS

As Austin and Litsky (1982) have pointed out, every jail has a classification system of some type:

Each day decisions are made by staff about where to transfer inmates, what programs they will be allowed to participate in, how inmates will be punished for disciplinary infractions, who will receive medical attention, and so on. The process may be extremely formal or may be carried out by inmates and staff making informal, intuitive, or "gut" reactions. Decisions may involve the simple choice of placing an inmate in one of two available cells that look pretty much alike, or it may require a much more complex choice from a diverse range of housing, security, and program options.

As mentioned earlier, all classification systems can usually be grouped into two basic categories: subjective and objective. The classification systems used in most jails can be characterized as subjective; that is, they require independent assessments on the part of the person(s) making the classification decision. Consequently, these systems emphasize subjective expertise and clinical judgment in determining the custody and programming needs of each inmate.

Under the subjective approach, decision-making is governed principally by broadly defined criteria related to the agency's correctional philosophy, the jail's physical design, and the inmate's own characteristics (Clements, 1981). The overriding premise in these systems is that experienced staff know the inmates and will make the most appropriate decisions. The problem is that not all staff are experienced nor do they possess the ability to make classification decisions in a consistent or valid manner. In large jails it is also unlikely that staff will become familiar

enough with inmates to allow for a complete picture of the offenders' history for accurate subjective classification.

Objective systems, on the other hand, take a more formalized approach to classification, emphasizing equity and explicitness in decision-making. These systems are dependent upon staff use of a standardized form such as a checklist or scoring sheet to assess an inmate's custody and/or program needs. Completion of the form results in recommendations pertaining to custody designation and programming. The role of staff expertise and judgment is confined to agreement or disagreement with these recommendations. Objective classification systems are characterized by the following elements:

- Use of test and classification instruments that have been validated for inmate populations;
- Use of the same components and scoring/classification approach for all inmates;
- Promotion of similar decisions among classification staff on comparable cases;
- Assignment of inmates to custody levels consistent with their background; and
- Structuring of classification decision-making authority while minimizing overrides.

Imbedded in these statements are the two essential properties of objective classification systems: reliability and validity. Validity refers to whether the items being measured have some reasonable expectation of predicting a certain outcome. In other words, have the items selected to be included in the classification system been found to have some statistical relationship with the outcome being addressed. For jail classification, the question becomes "Do the

items have any relationship to inmate misconduct or escapes?" If not, then one must present other grounds for inclusion in the system or have them removed.

Reliability, which is the most essential ingredient of an objective system, has to do with the degree of consistency or equity in classification. The methods and procedures used to arrive at a classification disposition must be explicitly stated and consistently used in the classification of all inmates. Objective classification systems purposely seek to limit discretionary decision making to ensure uniformity in agency operations and minimize the potential for unfavorable litigation.

It should be emphasized that a system which meets the condition of reliability may not be wholly valid. Nor is it imperative that the quality of an objective classification be narrowly limited to these two measures. Certain information needs to be considered when making a classification decision regardless of its predictive ability. For instance, the seriousness of the current offense and sentence length are frequently weighted heavily in most objective systems despite limited evidence that there is an inverse relationship between these items and inmate misconduct (see NCCD, 1984). Nonetheless, it may be proper to weight these items in such a manner due to public attitudes and sentiment. The escape of a single murder suspect or convicted murderer would have a disastrous effect on the public's confidence in corrections. Research may indicate that murderers are less likely to be assaultive while incarcerated

yet for reasons of retribution, they should be held more securely (initially) than a person who perpetrates a less heinous crime.

The goal of structuring decision-making through objective systems raises the issue of overrides. Technically, overrides reflect decisions by classification staff that depart from the inmates' scored custody level. Overrides are an essential part of objective classification as these allow for proper handling of exceptional cases. If a system had a low override level (e.g., less than 2 or 3 percent) it would be too rigid and would not allow for the expertise of the staff. By the same token, a system utilizing excessive overrides (e.g., 25 to 50 percent) would no longer be objective because it would have lost its consistency.

A. Recent Approaches to Objective Jail Classification:

Objective inmate classification systems first surfaced in the nation's prison systems during the late 1970s (NCCD, 1984). The Federal Bureau of Prisons implemented the first objective system on a system-wide basis in 1977. The California Department of Corrections followed in 1980 with its own unique custody system. Since then NIC has urged states to adopt such systems and developed its own prisoner classification system in 1980 which has been adopted by many other states (Buchanan and Whitlow, 1986). While objective classification in local jurisdictions has in the past been confined primarily to pre-trial screening, some jurisdictions have recently developed additive scoring instruments to determine, or assist in determining, an inmate's custody level.

The Oxford County (Augusta), Maine, Jail, for instance, has devised a printed scoring form (Figure 2) to assign custody levels and program needs. During initial classification, the inmate participates in a structured nondirective interview and is assigned points. The inmate is scored a second time following verification of information elicited during the interview. The classification instrument separates all inmates (pre-arraignment, pre-trial, pre-sentence, and sentenced) into three classification categories (minimum, medium, and maximum) depending on prior legal and demographic information. The scale allows for a verified and non-verified score. However, it does not appear that the different scores produce different classification outcomes. The instrument also does not allow separation according to membership status such as gang affiliation or protective custody.

The Macomb County Correctional Facility (Michigan) employs a decision-tree system developed by the Community Justice Alternatives (CJA) agency. According to CJA, the decision-tree system is superior to a point system because it is easy to use, classification can be accomplished quickly, little writing is involved, and it does not require arithmetic. These characteristics are thought to be beneficial for training and use by correctional staff.

The decision-tree system allows for classification into seven security levels (2 maximum, 2 medium, and 3 minimum) depending on an inmate's 1) current type of conviction - felony or misdemeanor and assaultive behavior, 2) prior assaultive convictions, 3) escape history, 4) prior adjustment to institutional confinement, 5) prior

Figure 2

OXFORD COUNTY JAIL INTERIM CLASSIFICATION SCORE FORM

Resident's Name _____ DOB _____

Status: Pre-arraignment Pre-trial Pre-sentenced Sentenced

Interviewer _____ Date _____

INT. VER.

I. PRESENTLY BEING HELD OR SENTENCED ON A

- | | | | |
|----|----|---------------|---------------------------------|
| -2 | -2 | Class A Crime | |
| 0 | 0 | Class B Crime | * use most severe crime class |
| 2 | 2 | Class C Crime | if held on more than one charge |
| 3 | 3 | Class D Crime | |
| 4 | 4 | Class E Crime | |

II. PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

- | | | |
|----|----|--|
| -4 | 4 | No criminal convictions |
| .2 | 2 | No criminal convictions in the past year |
| 2 | 2 | One C, D, E criminal conviction in the past year |
| .1 | 1 | 3 or more class C,D,E convictions |
| -1 | -1 | 2 or more class A,B convictions |

III. OTHER PENDING COURT ACTIONS

- | | | |
|----|----|---|
| 4 | 4 | No pending court action |
| 3 | 3 | Pending class D,E charge |
| 0 | 0 | Presently on Probation/Parole or pending Class C crime |
| -2 | -2 | Pending class A or B charge |
| | | *includes crimes not used in section one, if being held on more than one charge |

IV. ESCAPE RISK

- | | | |
|----|----|---|
| 4 | 4 | No escapes or attempted escape convictions |
| 2 | 2 | Has failed to appear on bail |
| -1 | -1 | Has a walk away history or has been convicted of escape from a mental health institute or minimum security correctional institute |
| -2 | -2 | Has an attempted escape or escape conviction from a correctional institution |
| | | *for each additional escape, attempted escape conviction subtract one point |

V. DEPENDENCY PROBLEM (mental illness history, suicide circle one attempts, drug abuse, alcohol abuse)

- | | | |
|---|---|---------------------------------|
| 3 | 3 | No dependency problems |
| 2 | 2 | Prior problem/occasional abuser |
| 0 | 0 | Current dependency problem |

VI. RESIDENCE

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 4 | 4 | Present residence in Maine 3 years or more |
|---|---|--|

3	3	Present residence in Maine 1-3 years
2	2	Present residence in Maine 6-11 months
0	0	Present residence in Maine less than 6 months
-1	-1	Transient

VII. LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

4	4	Owns home
2	2	Rents
2	2	Lives in family home
1	1	Lives in friends home, no cost
0	0	Lives in institution (AMHI, VA, MCC, MSP, MYC, OTHER)
-1	-1	No living arrangements

VIII. FAMILY TIES

4	4	Lives with spouse and has contact with other family members
3	3	Lives with spouse or parents
1	1	Lives alone with family contact*
0	0	Lives alone with no family contact

IX. EXTENT OF EDUCATION

3	3	Completed post H.S. education or training
3	3	High School graduate or obtained GED
2	2	8-11 grades completed
1	1	Less than 8th grade completed

X. EMPLOYMENT

4	4	Present job 1 year or more
3	3	Present job 6-11 months
2	2	Present job 3-5 months
1	1	Current job less than 3 months or:
		1. unemployment 3 mos. with at least 9 mos. or more prior job
		2. supported by family
		3. receiving unemployment compensation or welfare (SSI, WIN, VA, Disability)
		*deduct one point from the first 3 questions under employment if job is a. not steady; b. no salary involved or c. resident has no investment in it
0	0	Unemployed receiving no compensation

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS _____ Score; _____ Classification,

Classification Scale

<u>Points</u>	<u>Housing</u>
23-38	Minimum-security Cell Block C
16-22	Medium-security Cell Block B
5-15	Maximum-security Cell Block A

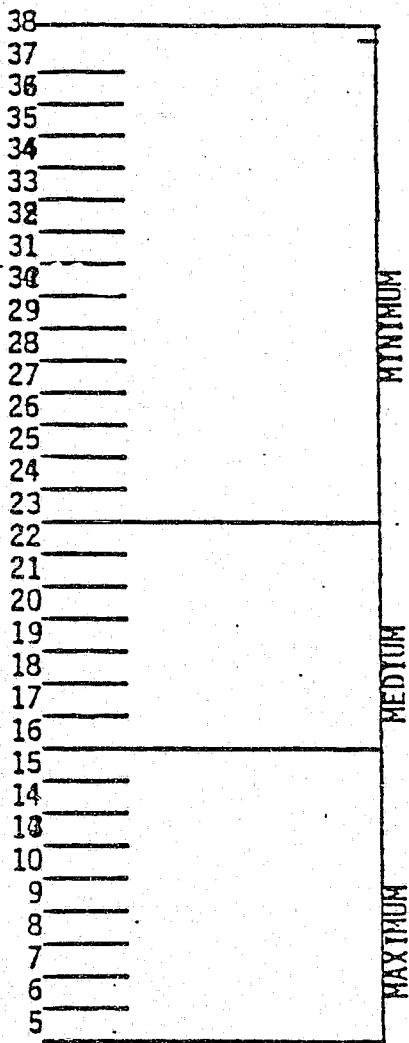


Figure 3

**Macomb County Correctional Facility
Classification Notice**

Name: _____
(last) (first) (middle)

Desc. #A _____ D.O.B. ____/____/____ Race _____ Sex _____ SS # _____

Charge(s) 1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____

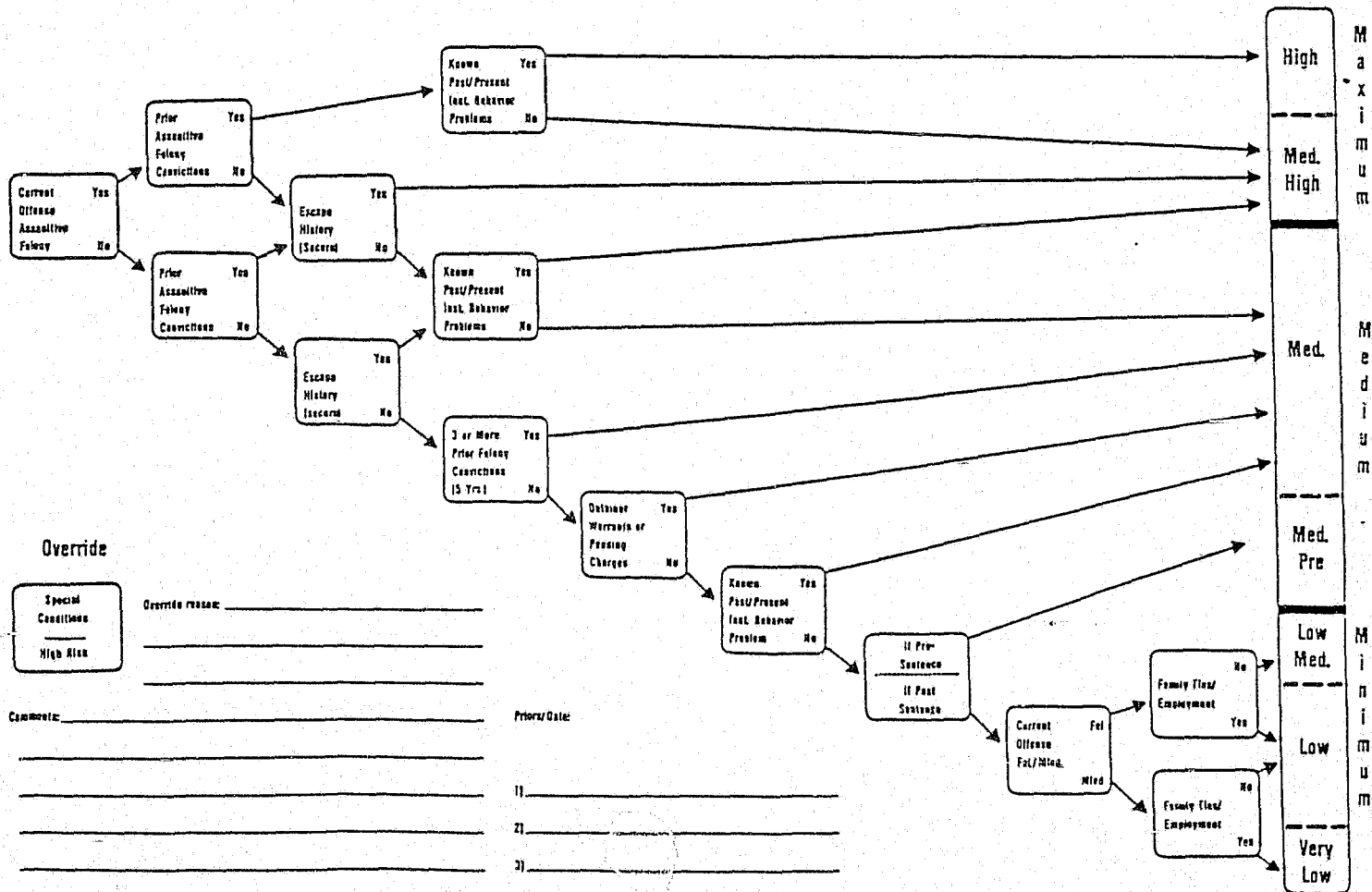
You have been placed in the following classification: _____ by the Macomb County Jail Classification Bureau. This classification is determined by: current/past convictions; current/past institutional behavior; pending charges or holds in other jurisdictions (if any); sentenced or unsentenced; and/or any other information that may be deemed appropriate with regard to your personal security or the security of the facility. NOTE: Your classification can change when: charges are altered or reduced; you are sentenced; due to administrative hearings; due to regular periodic review; and/or other reasons recommended by the jail staff.

Appeal Process: Any inmate who so desires may appeal his/her classification (in writing) in any of the three basic areas (security level, housing assignment or programs), within ten (10) days of the primary classification or reclassification by addressing the appeal to: CLASSIFICATION BUREAU - APPEAL OF CLASSIFICATION.

Comments by staff: _____

Classified by: _____ Date: ____/____/____

PRIMARY SECURITY LEVEL ASSIGNMENT



criminal history within the last five years of street time, 6) pending security-risk warrants, 7) sentencing status - pre or post, and 8) family ties. The system allows for system overrides based on subjective or factual need. The system also allows for attention flags to be set based either on special conditions such as physical or mental handicaps, diet restrictions, or chemical abuse withdrawal, or high risk cases defined by inmates who are suicidal or are deemed to be system risks. The flags may or may not require deviations from the original decision-tree classification level designation.

The advantage of this system is its ease of application and straightforward categorization process. Its main disadvantage is its inability to factor in various combinations of relevant information necessary in allowing for appropriate classification. For example, to be classified at the maximum security level an inmate must meet all of the following criteria: 1) have been convicted of an assaultive felony, 2) have a prior assaultive conviction record, and 3) have a prior recorded institutional adjustment problem. A negative response to any one of the three listed criteria will prevent an inmate from being classified in the highest security range. It will, therefore, require a system override to appropriately place a high-risk inmate who does not meet one of these criteria. Another hinderance is the problem associated with missing information. If a response to one of the decision-tree steps is unknown an assumption will have to be made whether to over or under classify that individual.

UNSENTENCED INMATE
CLASSIFICATION SCORE SHEET

INMATE: _____ COUNTY ID: _____

TOTAL BAIL: _____ CLASSIFICATION & HOUSING: _____ / _____

1. CHARGE, COURT INFORMATION & SEVERITY RATING

LOW	0	SCORE
LOW MODERATE	1	
MODERATE ..	2	
HIGH	4	
HIGHEST	6	

2. PRIOR ASSAULTIVE OFFENSE HISTORY (Convictions Only - Within the Past 5 Years)

MODERATE	2	SCORE
HIGH	4	
HIGHEST	6	

3. ESCAPE HISTORY (Rate Last 3 Years Of Incarceration)

WALKAWAY:		SCORE
OVER ONE YEAR AGO	1	
WITHIN THE LAST YEAR	3	
ESCAPE FROM MEDIUM OR ABOVE CUSTODY, WITH ACTUAL OR THREATENED VIOLENCE:		
OVER ONE YEAR AGO	5	
WITHIN THE LAST YEAR	7	

4. ALCOHOL/DRUG ABUSE

ALCOHOL OR DRUG OFFENSE	1	SCORE
CAUSING OCCASIONAL LEGAL & SOCIAL PROBLEMS	2	

5. ADDITIONAL WARRANTS/CASES/DETAINERS

IMMIGRATION HOLD	0	SCORE
MISDEMEANOR CASE/WARRANT/DETAINER	1	
FELONY CASE/WARRANT/DETNR/CYA OR CDC HOLD	4	
EXTRADITION INITIATED - FELONY	6	

6. PRIOR FELONY CONVICTIONS (Within The Past 5 Years)

ONE	2	SCORE
TWO OR MORE	4	

7. INMATE ACTION REPORTS & STAFF COMMENTS

MINOR	1	SCORE
MAJOR	2	
COMMENTS	

8. STABILITY FACTORS

AGE 24 OR OVER	+2	SCORE
HIGH SCHOOL/GED/EMPLOYED/VETERAN	+1	

CLASSIFICATION DEPUTY _____

TOTAL SCORE _____

CLASSIFICATION SCALE:
 MED. 4 (D) ... 7 POINTS OR MORE
 MED. 3 (C) ... 4 - 6 POINTS
 MIN. 2 (B) ... 1 - 3 POINTS
 MIN. 1 (A) ... MINUS - 0 POINTS

ATTACHED REPORTS:
 SPQH: Y N
 RAP: Y N

WCC CLASSIFICATION
CHEAT SHEET

Classification is based on three major sections; each section is important, but in the housing assignment of inmates, the third section is the critical one.

** First section: RACE: W for White.
B for Black.
M for Hispanic.
O for Asian/Others.

** Second section: SIZE: 1 for Small - 5'4" and less.
2 for Med. - 5'5" to 5'8"
3 for Large - 5'9" and up.

(Note: proportional weight, and built for each category)

** Third section: CLASSIFICATION:

- 3 - Unsentenced with State History.
- 4 - Unsentenced without State History.
- 5 - Sentenced with State History.
- 6 - Sentenced without State History.

State History: Any inmate that has done time at, or is sentenced to CYA, CDC, or Federal Prison. Exception - 90 day observation.

NOTE: There are also suffixes that go along with the three major sections and they are:

- 1 - Assaultive/Escapes (Officer Safety).
- 2 - P.C. or Medical.
- 7 - Juvenile.
- 8 - Civil Inmate.
- 9 - SWP or WFF Roll up.

A fourth section is used in identifying the security level of each SENTENCED AND UNSENTENCED inmate.

<u>CLASSIFICATION</u>	<u>AUTHORIZED HOUSING</u>	<u>SECURITY LEVEL CODE</u>
MINIMUM ONE	SENTENCED - B DORM	A
	UNSENTENCED - D DORM	A
MINIMUM TWO	SENTENCED - B DORM	B
	UNSENTENCED - D DORM	B
MEDIUM THREE	SENTENCED - C DORM	C
	UNSENTENCED - E DORM	C
MEDIUM FOUR	SENTENCED - C DORM/MAX	D
	UNSENTENCED - E DORM/MAX	D

INFORMATIONAL CODES ONLY

SENTENCED DETAINER FROM OTHER AGENCY. P
WEEKENDER (48 HOURS OR LESS) W

SENTENCED INMATE
CLASSIFICATION SCORE SHEET

RELEASE DATE: _____

INMATE: _____ COUNTY ID: _____

SENT. DATE & DAYS: _____ / _____ CLASSIFICATION: _____

1. SEVERITY OF CURRENT SENTENCE

LOW	0	SCORE
LOW MODERATE	1	
MODERATE (CHARGE:)	2	
HIGH	4	
HIGHEST	6	

2. PRIOR ASSAULTIVE OFFENSE HISTORY (Convictions Only - Within the Past 5 Years)

MODERATE	2	SCORE
HIGH	4	
HIGHEST	6	

3. ESCAPE HISTORY (Rate Last 3 Years Of Incarceration) WALKAWAY:

OVER ONE YEAR AGO	1	SCORE
WITHIN THE LAST YEAR	3	
ESCAPE FROM MEDIUM OR ABOVE CUSTODY, WITH ACTUAL OR THREATENED VIOLENCE:		
OVER ONE YEAR AGO	5	
WITHIN THE LAST YEAR	7	

4. ALCOHOL/DRUG ABUSE

ALCOHOL OR DRUG OFFENSE	1	SCORE
CAUSING OCCASIONAL LEGAL & SOCIAL PROBLEMS	2	

5. CURRENT DETAINER

IMMIGRATION HOLD	0	SCORE
MISDEMEANOR HOLD/WARRANT	1	
FELONY HOLD/WARRANT/CYA OR CDC HOLD	4	
EXTRADITION INITIATED - FELONY	6	

6. PRIOR FELONY CONVICTIONS (Within The Past 5 Years)

ONE	2	SCORE
TWO OR MORE	4	

7. STABILITY FACTORS

AGE 26 OR OVER	-2	SCORE
DIPLOMA/GED/MILITARY HISTORY/EMPLOYED	-1 / -2	

8. IN-CUSTODY PERFORMANCE

RULES INFRACTION: (Includes Roll-Use)		SCORE
MINOR VIOLATION	-1	
MAJOR VIOLATION	-2	
CURRENT GOOD BEHAVIOR (Max. Of 14 Points)		
FIRST 30 DAYS	-1	
COMPLETION OF 60 DAYS	-1	
COMPLETION OF 90 DAYS	-1	
WORKING INMATE DURING A RATING PERIOD	-1	

TOTAL SCORE

CLASSIFICATION DEPUTY: _____

SWP: DENIED APPROVED

CLASSIFICATION SCALE:

MED. 4 (D) ... 7 POINTS OR MORE
MED. 3 (C) ... 4 - 6 POINTS
MIN. 2 (B) ... 1 - 3 POINTS
MIN. 1 (A) ... MINUS - 0 POINTS

RAP: Y N
SPQH: Y N
P.O.: Y N
PSYCH TEST: _____

SEVERITY SCALES FOR
SENTENCED INMATE SCORE SHEET

HIGHEST: 6 POINTS

ARMED ROBBERY (Multiple, Threat)
ASSAULT AND BATTERY WITH DANGEROUS WEAPON
(Serious Injury, Risk Of Death Or Disfigurement)
ESCAPE (Closed Institutions)
EXPLOSIVES (Detonation - Potential Risk Of Injury)
KIDNAPPING
MURDER
RAPE
SEX CRIMES AGAINST CHILDREN/FORCE OR VIOLENCE

HIGH: 4 POINTS

ARMED ROBBERY, OTHER (e.g., Demand Note).
EXPLOSIVES (Possession, Transportation).
EXTORTION
MANSLAUGHTER
SEX CRIMES AGAINST CHILDREN

MODERATE: 2 POINTS

BREAKING AND ENTERING
BRIBING OF PUBLIC OFFICIAL
CONTEMPT OF COURT
COUNTERFEITING (Over \$20,000 - Manufacturing, passing
Possession).
DRUGS (Sales/Felony)
ESCAPE (Open Institution Or Program - Included Bail
Jumping).
PROPERTY OFFENSES (Burglary, Embezzlement, Forgery,
Fraud, Larceny, Grand Theft).
SEX CRIMES/MISDEMEANORS (314PC & similar charges)
AUTOMOBILE THEFT
WEAPONS (Possession).

LOW MODERATE: 1 POINT

ALCOHOL LAW VIOLATION
ASSAULT AND BATTERY (No Injury).
COUNTERFEITING (\$1,00 - \$20,000).
DRUG OFFENSES (Misdemeanors).
PROPERTY OFFENSES (Misdemeanors).
SOLICITATION FOR SEXUAL ACTIVITY

LOW: NO POINTS

COUNTERFEITING (Under \$1,000)
TRAFFIC OFFENSES (Other Than Alcohol/Drugs Related).

The San Mateo County (Redwood City), California, jail has developed a classification instrument modeled along the lines of the NIC prison classification system (Figure 4). This instrument is applied to both sentenced and unsentenced inmates. Besides housing and custody status needs, the system scores inmates according to their medical needs, history of assaultive behavior, and escapes. The classification instrument for both sentenced and unsentenced inmates employs seven measures of legal behavior and one measure of non-legal behavior including: 1) severity of current charge, 2) prior assaultive offense history, 3) escape history, 4) chemical dependency involvement resulting in legal action, 5) warrants or detainers, 6) prior felony convictions, 7) recorded inmate behavior, and 8) a stability factor comprised of age, employment history, and educational attainment.

Inmates are classified into housing units according to point calculations derived from the above criteria and also according to race, physical stature, legal attributes (sentencing information and prior state criminal records), and status group affiliation such as protective custody, juvenile, civil case, and assaultive and escape history. The San Mateo system has developed an objective classification instrument utilizing justice-based and status group affiliation information with the additional goal of maintaining racial and physical size balance in their jails.

The movement toward objective classification systems has been prompted by several factors. As noted earlier, the courts have frequently mandated a process based on considerations that are

uniformly applied to all inmates. In addition, overcrowding has created pressure to implement more efficient and cost-effective policies and procedures for classifying inmates. With objective systems, most decisions can be made relatively quickly by line staff who have been trained to complete the assessment form and have sufficient experience to identify those few cases requiring special handling. Moreover, use of a valid, equitable classification system can reduce over-classification, thereby decreasing costs associated with unnecessary incarceration or excessive security requirements (Bohnstedt and Geiser, 1979; Clements, 1982; Buchanan et al., 1986). Finally, the desire to receive American Correctional Association (ACA) accreditation has led many correctional administrators to adopt objective classification systems.

While complete objectivity in classifying inmates is not possible, supporters of objective systems contend that this approach:

- Controls discretion by permitting overrides of the classification process, but only within explicitly stated parameters;
- Assures everyone is aware of the rules for decision-making by including rules that are highly visible;
- Improves information-gathering by promoting accurate, consistent, and comprehensive accumulation of information;
- Enforces consistency in decision-making by requiring decision-makers to use standardized criteria and apply them in the same manner each time; and
- Provides for easier evaluation/monitoring by using standardized decisional criteria and procedures that facilitate review and assessment (Library Information Specialists, 1983).

B. Deciding Which Criteria to Use:

Although guidelines exist for regulating jail classification, they tend to be relatively general in nature. The specific process of assessing inmates' security and supervision requirements is usually left up to individual jurisdictions. This process, in turn, is generally dependent on an agency's correctional philosophy.

As noted previously, many jails continue to use a subjective/treatment orientation for classification. Thus, it is not surprising that a 1978 survey of jails conducted by the American Justice Institute found considerable reliance on psychometric instruments and clinical diagnosis in assessing inmates' potential for escape, violent behavior, and suicide. More recently, Austin and Litsky (1982) concluded that the treatment philosophy was the driving force behind the classification systems used in four jails of differing size and security rating. Often, as in one metropolitan detention center, the overriding goal of classification was simply to have inmates "get along together" while incarcerated.

1. Review of Research Literature On Criterion Variables:

Some classification systems have placed a greater emphasis on prediction. They assume they are able to identify those inmates likely to cause problems as well as those likely to benefit from rehabilitative treatment. Commonly, items pertaining to an inmate's life history, successes and failures, psychological test scores, or family situation are used as predictors of violent behavior and crime. However, studies do not always agree on which items

constitute valid and reliable indicators of future conduct, particularly violent behavior.

For instance, Monahan (1981), having reviewed research on factors most consistently related to violence, states: "If there is one finding that overshadows all others in the area of prediction, it is that the probability of future crime increases with each prior criminal act." Yet Buchanan et al. (1986) examined the objective classification systems used by three state agencies and found that initial classification factors related to criminal behavior (e.g., current offense, prior convictions, and escape history) demonstrated relatively weak correlations with prison misconduct. Similarly, Wenk et al. (1972) concluded that a history of violence by itself has proved a poor predictor in parole survival.

Monahan (1981) also found that current research points to a strong relationship between age and crimes of violence. Young offenders are, proportionately, more likely to engage in recidivist violence. And not only current age but also age upon first contact with the police appear to relate strongly to recidivist criminal behavior. In a study of initial assessment factors used by three objective prison classification systems, Buchanan et al. (1986) found age to be the only factor consistently associated with serious institutional misconduct, although the correlation was moderate. Significantly, seriousness of the offense and sentence length also proved to have weak to inverse relationships with inmate misconduct.

Sex and race have also been correlated with violent crime. (See, e.g., Webster, 1978; Kelley, 1977; Silberman, 1978; and Hindelang,

1978.) However, while such information about inmates is generally known by jail staff, constitutional and civil rights considerations tend to preclude its use for classification purposes other than housing assignment (separation of males from females, and, maintaining racial balance in housing and program assignments).

In a review of predictors of criminal recidivism, Pritchard (1977) reported that in eight of nine studies with relevant data, an offender's pre-prison income was related to parole performance. Further, 72 of 76 studies on pre-prison employment stability found a lack of stability to indicate greater likelihood of parole failure. However, such information may be of limited use in jail classification because it is almost always obtained from inmate self-report and is time-consuming for staff to verify.

Another factor sometimes correlated positively with criminal recidivism is substance abuse (Pritchard, 1977). Tittle et al. (1978) found that 33 percent of a sample of inmates in California state prisons cited money for drugs and alcohol as the reason for their continuing in crime. Age may play a role in such findings, however. Evidence of a three-way relationship between drug/alcohol abuse, age, and prison misconduct has been found (Flanagan, 1980).

Less powerful relationships have been found between violent behavior and factors such as estimated IQ, marital status, and residential mobility (Monahan, 1981). However, Flanagan (1980) contends that the relationship between marital status and violent behavior is lessened with the introduction of age, and IQ and that

residential mobility data are frequently obtained from sources of questionable reliability.

Thus, while it would appear that few of these factors have consistently been found to be valid and reliable predictors of violent behavior, most jails continue to employ them, subjectively or objectively, in classification. Factors related to risk prediction are especially likely to be used in making decisions concerning security and/or custody classification (Brennan, 1985).

An additional problem for classification, as well as jail management, comes in the application of even the most valid predictors. As both Monahan (1981) and Austin and Litsky (1982) point out, the predictive relationships established for classification criteria apply to groups of offenders rather than individual inmates. Consequently, these factors have only limited ability to predict the behavior of any given person. For instance, an individual may belong to a group, 55 percent of which will engage in violent behavior. However, it is not possible to determine if that individual will fall into the 55 percent subgroup. Moreover, the capability of any given factor to predict behavior is highly dependent on the prevalence of the behavior within the population in question. The lower the frequency of the behavior, the less accurate the prediction will be. Violent incidents are relatively rare occurrences even in the most populous jails. Therefore, reliable prediction models of inmate violence will not easily be developed.

There are also serious concerns regarding the use of implicit predictions, which are widespread in the criminal justice system, versus using explicit predictions which are based on consistent and verifiable information (see Morris and Miller, 1987). The use of predictions of dangerousness have been criticized on the grounds that they are inaccurate and that it is unfair to predict individual behavior based on group behavior. The inconsistent and non-conclusive nature of research findings in prediction studies support the contention that its use should be limited unless and until a reliable and valid predictors can be identified.

2. Policy Consequences:

These limitations on the use of predictors to classify inmates have two notable consequences. First, prediction results in a substantial amount of misclassification, especially when a subjective approach is used. Ennis and Emery (1976), for instance, have suggested that predictions of dangerous behavior are wrong about 95 percent of the time. Inappropriate classification, usually to a higher than appropriate custody level, misuses valuable and limited resources. Second, as Monahan (1981) notes, the use of predictors raises questions about the violation of an individual's civil liberties because it provides the impetus for preventative or therapeutic intervention based upon a prediction of future behavior rather than an assessment of past conduct.

Consequently, objective systems need not be wholly predicated upon their capacity to predict with great accuracy. But at a

minimum, they should consist of a reasonable set of objective criteria ensuring a more equitable and workable alternative to the subjective classification systems. This mixture between prediction and objectivity we refer to as "justice based" models.

Figure 5 below, displays the key attributes of subjective, prediction-based and justice-based systems. Note that both forms of objective classification improve consistency in decision-making and are amenable to on-going research and evaluation.

FIGURE 5

<u>Characteristic of Jail Classification System</u>	<u>Method of Classification</u>		
	<u>Subjective</u>	<u>Objective/Prediction</u>	<u>Objective/Justice-based</u>
structure	informal	formalized	formalized
criteria used	broadly defined	measured behavioral attributes	measured behavioral attributes
criteria defined by	independent assessment	relevant predictor variables	relevant legalistic predictor variables
use of scales	no	yes	yes
level of discretion	high	low	low
evaluation of system	not possible	essential/prediction	necessary/process

Even among proponents of objective classification, however, there is some disagreement about the assessment criteria to be used. As has already been demonstrated in this review, current models of objective classification differ greatly in the number, type, and scaling of classification criteria. Much needs to be learned on what constitutes the most appropriate variable stock to use for jail classification.

C. Screening for Inmate Special and Program Needs:

Thus far, our discussion has emphasized the use of point system instruments to assess custody designation. However, jail classification systems must also identify inmates with special housing or program needs which are not captured by point systems. Rather, they reflect a process by which trained intake and classification staff use standardized screening and diagnostic processes to ensure that inmates with special needs are handled appropriately. These "special" need areas should include but not be limited to medical, mental health, suicide, and special security issues (e.g., active membership in violent gangs, protective witnesses, etc.)

Little research has been conducted in regard to inmate needs assessment in jails. That which has been completed, however, suggests that such evaluations are both limited and inadequate. For example, surveys of jails have shown most facilities to be lacking in proper procedures for identifying and treating health care problems (Goldfarb, 1975, and National Sheriffs' Association, 1982).

The National Sheriffs' Association (NSA) survey found that nearly 49 percent of 1,098 of jails surveyed were performing no initial medical screening. In general, only the larger systems included an infirmary. The average hours per day worked by a licensed physician was 3.9, with most small jails utilizing an on-call doctor supplemented by county nurses.

The NSA survey found a similar picture in regard to mental health care. Just 34 percent of the respondents provided psychiatric services, although almost 50 percent afforded some type of personal counseling. Clearly, even if jails had the time and resources to conduct thorough psychological needs assessments--which they do not--many would be unable to provide services adequate to meet identified needs.

Assessment of educational and vocational needs is typically based on unverified information obtained through inmate interviews. Consequently, the assessment itself is of dubious value. The validity of these data is almost a moot question, however. The NSA survey found that only 29 percent of jail respondents offered a general equivalency degree (GED) program, 14.4 percent had an adult basic education program (ABE), and just 8 percent provided any type of vocational training. Moreover, the short length of stay of many inmates diminishes both the impact and the target population of existing programs, substantially decreasing the cost-effectiveness of their operation.

Inmate self-report, along with staff observation, is the principal means of identifying special needs inmates. Again, such

information may or may not be reliable, and it is usually quite difficult to verify. Yet it provides the basis for most treatment afforded these inmates. Inmates who require protective custody, for example, and those who are vulnerable to sexual assault are normally housed separately from other inmates. Inmates who acknowledge or exhibit suicidal tendencies, a major concern for jail staff, are placed in special observation cells, where available, or are monitored more closely by staff.

Some jurisdictions have also begun using a special booking interview form, which was developed by the NIC National Jail Suicide Task Force to assist in the identification of potentially suicidal inmates (Special Commission to Investigate Suicide in Municipal Detention Centers, 1984). Inmates suspected of drug and/or alcohol abuse are frequently housed initially in detoxification cells, where they can be periodically checked. Resources for subsequent counseling, however, are limited. Only 38 percent of the 1,015 jails responding to this portion of the NSA survey (1982) provided substance abuse counseling, and most of these programs were found in large systems and staffed primarily by community volunteers.

Equally disturbing is a finding that in one large urban jail only 13.6 percent of the inmates with a history of alcohol abuse and none of the inmates with a history of drug abuse were engaged in substance abuse programming (Austin and Litsky, 1982). And while it may be possible for most jails to identify inmates with chronic health problems or severe mental deficiencies, again only larger systems are equipped to provide these inmates with the care they

require (NSA, 1982). Smaller jurisdictions generally transfer these inmates to another agency or an institution with secure facilities.

On the whole, then, jail classification must also ensure proper screening of inmates with special medical and mental health problems. Due to the specific characteristics of jail operations (i.e., being plagued with high volume/turnover, short terms of incarceration), and limited programming budgets, efforts to provide most inmates with meaningful participation in rehabilitative programs such as educational, vocational, and substance abuse during a relatively brief jail term will be difficult and perhaps quite futile. Consequently, the inclusion of a detailed program needs assessment as part of the classification process will be of value for only those inmates with the longest jail terms

D. The Associated Effect of Jail Architecture and Security Design on Inmate Behavior:

Very little "solid" research has been conducted concerning the relationship between jail architecture and inmate conduct. The research question needing exploration is what difference does it make if similarly situated inmates are housed in dissimilar housing or cell arrangements. This issue is especially critical in today's era of expanding jail and prison construction.

In a study of the costs and benefits of various housing alternatives, Jay Farbstein (1983) suggests that inmate misconduct is suppressed by single cell housing. Farbstein argues that compared with multiple cells and dormitories, single cells are easier to

monitor and require fewer security staff and less time for observational purposes.

However, the research conducted to date does not always support these claims. In a review by Gaes (1985) of relevant research on the effects of single versus double bunking, there was no evidence that inmates in single-bunked cells had higher rates of victimization or associated health problems. However, there is a growing body of literature, as reviewed by Gaes (1985), which supports single cell versus dormitory configurations. These studies show that dormitory and double-bunked cells may increase tension which can lead to increased levels of assaultive behavior. (There are, however, other factors which can influence whether assaultive behavior will occur in institutions heavily double-bunked e.g., the level of overcrowding, the spatial constraints in cell or dormitory design, and the amount of out-of-cell activity allowed each inmate.) Single-bunked cells also enhance opportunities for staff to differentiate among inmates and become more familiar with them. As a result, single cell housing lessens pressure on intake and classification staff to correctly assess or predict inmate behavior. In essence, it leaves staff with a little more margin for error when classifying inmates. The reverse can also be stated, if double bunking is being used then accurate classification becomes an essential to successful inmate management.

Some correctional practitioners assert that the need for accurate assessment of inmate risks is also diminished in facilities using direct supervision. (See, e.g., Nelson, 1983.) Direct

supervision--that is, continuous face-to-face contact with inmates-- is said to enhance staff-inmate relationships and improve the monitoring of an inmate's in-custody behavior. It also is thought to facilitate an anticipatory approach to misconduct and, thus, decrease response time. Again, such improvements in jail security and custody are believed to alleviate pressure on intake and classification staff. It should be noted, however, that direct supervision is most cost-effective in larger jails with housing dorms containing at least 50 beds (Jay Farbstein, 1983).

Architectural design is closely aligned with security and custody features of jails. In contrast to custody requirements, security needs refer to the structural or architectural features needed to keep an inmate safely confined. The range of architectural design in jail settings is, however, limited. Living arrangements vary the most between jails, ranging from large holding tanks, with and without bunks, to single-bunked cells. The structural design of jail buildings usually does not include perimeter walls or fences mainly because inmate activity is limited to inside areas. However, when outside activity takes place, perimeter walls or fences with security barbed-wire and guard towers are normally constructed. Jail structures normally do not exhibit the range that prison structures do. Therefore, for the classification instrument, we need not be concerned with security requirements as much as custody requirements.

Custody refers to the level of staff supervision required to safely house the inmate. High custody ratings indicate that the

inmate is a management problem, has a history of violent behavior, is a known drug dealer or heavy user, and/or has a history of escape attempts or successes. Inmates with high custody ratings usually are placed in locations with high visibility, are not allowed many programming options, and are given limited visiting privileges.

Architectural design can impact custody issues through careful attention given to the layout of living units. Living units which are easily monitored by correctional staff from a centralized viewpoint will increase custody coverage. Custody implies supervision; architectural design controls ease of supervision and increased ease of supervision assists staff in custody performance.

V. IMPEDIMENTS TO JAIL CLASSIFICATION

Several factors keep many jail classification systems from operating as intended. Among the more severe constraints are: 1) lack of diverse programming/housing environments; 2) chronic overcrowding; 3) lack of or inadequate existing standards for jail classification; 4) poor management practices; and 5) inadequate classification data.

Classification aimed at identifying and managing inmates who present a threat to the secure, safe, and orderly operation of a jail--and, conversely, those who do not--is often rendered almost useless by the physical design of the facility itself. The physical plants of most facilities listed in the National Jail and Adult Detention Directory (American Correctional Association, 1986) have only one security designation, generally maximum. Thus, in these

jails all inmates are subjected to the same security environment, regardless of their individual security needs. However, actual supervision of inmates can be varied since administrators may alter staffing assignments to correspond more closely with offenders' supervision requirements.

Another design problem in many jails, particularly older facilities, is the limited number of single cells. Sometimes this leads staff to disregard all but the most flagrant security and supervision needs and house inmates by their perceived ability to get along with other prisoners (Austin and Litsky, 1982). In one large system, physical design forced staff to essentially ignore security classification:

Part of the classification policy...is to separate felons and misdemeanor. Misdemeanant are thought to be less aggressive than felons charged with more serious and sometimes more assaultive offenses. However, since felons so outnumber misdemeanor (2,348 felons versus 162 misdemeanor admitted), the less secure but more available tanks must be used. Consequently, felons are placed in the least restrictive setting (Austin and Litsky, 1982).

Effective classification is further distorted when jails become overcrowded. When intake and classification staff experience work overload, they tend to "streamline, simplify, and routinize" their work (Brennan, 1985). Routinized classification, in turn, encourages subjective judgments while minimizing attention to individual cases, and it often results in misclassification (Lipsky, 1980).

Lack of available bed space frequently leads to what is commonly referred to as "capacity-driven" classification decision-making. Housing and program assignments are determined not by

formal policies and procedures, but by available bed space and program openings. In essence, classification is used to meet the facility's rather than the inmate's needs. And as Clements (1980) has pointed out:

If services, programs, and facilities aren't available, there is strong pressure to not classify inmates as needing them. This approach results not only in poor programming for the individual but also in a costly failure to collect and analyze valuable information for purposes of long-range planning.

Thus, the stage is set for continued operational problems as a "vicious cycle" develops. Overcrowding, and its resultant potential for violence, creates pressure to over-classify inmates in an attempt to increase security and custody throughout the jail. However, over classification results in needless confinement and longer stays, exacerbating the crowding problem (Clements, 1980, and Brennan, 1985).

Ironically, standards pertaining to jail classification have also created problems. As noted previously, most states, along with several professional organizations, have developed standards grounded in the traditional practice of separating the diverse jail population into groups defined by sex, age (juvenile and adult), and legal status (pretrial and sentenced). The majority of jails attempt to comply with these standards either because they are legally mandated or because they have been adopted as agency policy. But while such standards are intended to ensure safe and appropriate inmate housing, they have also proved to be a serious impediment to effective inmate management. For after dividing inmates in line with such standards, jails all too frequently lack the capability to

further separate inmates according to such management factors as security risk and program and service needs. In some cases, agencies even find it difficult to separate inmates into all the groups specified in the standards.

A classic example of both of these situations occurred in New York. In 1976, the state legislature devised a detailed set of standards that mandated 12 separate categories of inmate classification. Implementation of this law, however, was devastating to jail operations. As the New York State Commission of Correction (1985) concluded:

...the mandate did not allow county facilities to utilize available jail space to the maximum degree possible. The law exacerbated the severe problems associated with jail overcrowding as partial tiers literally lay unused as a result of the mandated classification categories....[The law] saddled facilities with a rigid classification scheme that hindered administrators from being able to deliver a battery of programs and services that are available for incarcerated persons.

To comply with the mandated standards and alleviate crowded conditions, some agencies transferred inmates to other, oftentimes distant, facilities with more appropriate available bed space. Thus, overcrowding, coupled with the law's 12 separation categories, "almost paralyzed correctional administrators from effectively and efficiently managing their facilities" (New York State Commission of Correction, 1985). The law has since been revised, with the 12 categories collapsed into 4 and provisions added for "gauging" an inmate's custody, psychological, physical, educational, and vocational needs.

The American Correctional Association also acknowledged drawbacks to traditional separation categories when it revised its Standards for Adult Local Detention Facilities. The new standards call for "separate management," as opposed to separation, of the following categories of inmates:

- Female and male inmates;
- Other classes of detainees (witnesses, civil prisoners);
- Community custody inmates (work releases, weekender, trusties);
- Inmates with special problems (alcoholics, narcotics addicts, mentally disturbed persons, physically handicapped persons, persons with communicable diseases);
- Inmates requiring disciplinary detention;
- Inmates requiring administrative segregation; and
- Juveniles (ACA, 1984).

Another serious obstacle to effective classification is inadequate management practices. Brennan (1985) has examined this area of classification in considerable detail and has noted several administrative weaknesses that promote misclassification. For instance, jail administrators are subject to a variety of external pressures (e.g., local politics and community attitudes) that influence agency policies. Typically, these pressures fall into two extreme, diametrically opposed positions: one that stresses the rights of inmates and the non-legal principle of least restrictive custody and one that emphasizes restrictive custody and incapacitation in order to ensure public safety and orderly facility operations. These conflicting pressures further complicate the

already difficult job of managing a jail. Failure to strike a balance between them, according to Brennan, can lead to serious problems involving misclassification.

Many administrators also have difficulty translating agency policy into operational procedures. As a result, classification manuals are "too voluminous, unwieldy, and contradictory" to be of much practical use. In some instances, policies and procedures may not even be formally written down. This may encourage line staff, who generally receive little training in classification, to develop and implement their own informal policies and procedures--ones tinged with personal beliefs and biases. This situation is often exacerbated by inadequate supervision of line staff. Supervisory personnel typically lack both the data and the performance measures for assessing the classification decisions made by line staff. Moreover, amid policy and procedural ambiguities, line staff often succumb to pressure to over-classify inmates. Fearing that they will be held accountable for any serious incidents stemming from classification decision-making, line staff may attempt to protect themselves by assigning inmates a higher security and/or custody level than warranted or even by incarcerating offenders needlessly. The end result of such practices is over-classification and a subsequent miss-utilization of agency resources.

Finally, as noted earlier, intake and classification staff routinely lack timely, verified information for effective decision-making. In contrast to their prison counterparts, these staff do not have anything resembling a pre-trial investigation report upon

which they can base initial classification decisions. Instead, they must rely on records checks and inmate interviews, which yield information relatively quickly, but are not always complete and accurate. Some jurisdictions, however, wait several days before making permanent classification decisions. This practice allows additional time to collect and verify information, and, since most inmates are released within 72 hours of booking, it also reduces staff workload.

Austin and Litsky (1982) found that all of the four jurisdictions in their study experienced high levels of missing data (often exceeding 50 percent), indicating that prior record information was not readily available or easily accessible for classification purposes. Sometimes, reliable information is not available at all. Gettinger (1982) noted that presentence investigation reports are the exception rather than the rule in most counties in Georgia, severely limiting their use in classifying sentenced inmates.

VI SUMMARY AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Although classification is commonly viewed as a valuable management tool, its application in the nation's jail systems is currently limited. Moreover, few studies have carefully examined the process and impacts of jail classification. Existing research suggests that most jail classification is in a primitive state. Due to the absence of timely and verified data, a rapid turnover in population, and an emphasis on the personal deficiencies of

criminals, classification actions tend to be characterized by subjective assessments and judgments, which vary both over time and by staff member. In all but the larger jails, inmates are separated into only the most basic classification categories--male and female, adult and juvenile, low bond and high bond, and pre-trial and sentenced. Similarly, inmate needs assessment and provision of programs and services is at best minimal in most jurisdictions.

Recent attempts to enhance jail classification have focused on the use of legalistic factors and standardized forms in determining inmates' security and/or custody level. Yet these factors represent exactly the kind of information most likely to be lacking at point of initial decision-making. Standardized forms frequently rely on criteria with low predictive validity and overly complicated instructions, both of which impede effective classification.

Additional problems are encountered when a facility is not designed to provide for several housing alternatives (dorms, multiple cells, and single cells) or when a facility is overcrowded. In these instances, classification is usually shaped to fit the facility's requirements rather than the inmate's needs.

While troublesome, these obstacles are not necessarily insurmountable. Effective management, if not potential litigation, argues forcefully for improved jail classification. The system requirements for successful implementation of an objective classification system include but are not limited to the following items:

- The development/adoption of an objective inmate classification system which includes a reclassification phase.
- Structural facility design allowing for the separation of inmates according to classification needs.
- An initial and ongoing training program for classification staff.

- The development of a system-wide computerized data retrieval system allowing for the collection of legalistic information.
- A method of supervising daily implementation of the classification process.
- The development of an ongoing evaluation process.

There is a great need for a model jail classification system, similar in many respects to those developed for prisoner populations, that can be adapted for use with a divergent population of inmates in a wide range of jail settings. The benefits of such a model--better risk screening, more appropriate use of available bed space, and enhanced inmate management--are of vital importance to the future of jail operations. For many agencies these objectives will be achieved only through incremental adaptation rather than through overall system transformations.

APPENDIX A

State Jail Inspection Programs

	Program	Agency	Inspection/ Interval	Enforcement Authority
Alabama	N	--	Y/6 mos.	--
Alaska	State-Operated Jails		--	--
Arizona	N	--	N	--
Arkansas	Y	Jail Standards Board	Y/12 mos.	State Circuit Court
California	Y	State Standards Board	Y/24 mos.	Vol./except new const.
Colorado	N	--	N	--
Connecticut	State-Operated Jails		Y/12 mos.	--
Delaware	State-Operated Jails		Y/regularly	--
Florida	Y	DOC	Y/4-6 mos.	DOC
Georgia	Y	DOC	N	Voluntary
Hawaii	State-Operated Jails		N	--
Idaho	Y	ID Assn. of Counties	Y/12 mos.	Voluntary
Illinois	Y	DOC	Y/	Attorney General
Indiana	Y	DOC	Y/12 mos.	State Circuit Court
Iowa	Y	DOC	Y/12 mos.	DOC
Kansas	Y	DOC	Y/12 mos.	Voluntary
Kentucky	Y	DOC	Y/6 mos.	DOC
Louisiana	Y	Commission on Law Enforce.	N	State-funded new const. only
Maine	Y	DOC	Y/12 mos.	DOC
Maryland	Y	State Standards Agency	Y/18 mos.	State Standards Agency
Massachusetts	Y	DOC	Y/6 mos.	State Courts
Michigan	Y	DOC	Y/12 mos.	Attorney General
Minnesota	Y	DOC	Y/12 mos.	District Court
Mississippi	N	--	Y/6 mos.	DOC
Missouri	N	--	N	--
Montana	N	--	N	--
Nebraska	Y	Jail Standards Board	Y/12 mos.	District Court
Nevada	N	--	N	--
New Hampshire	N	--	N	--
New Jersey	Y	DOC	Y/12 mos.	DOC
New Mexico	N	--	N	--
New York	Y	State Standards Comm.	Y/3 mos.	State Standards Comm.
N. Carolina	Y	Dept. Human Resources	Y/6 mos.	Dept. Human Resources
N. Dakota	Y	Attorney General	Y/12 mos.	Attorney General
Ohio	Y	Dept. Rehab./Correction	Y/irregular	Dept. Rehab./Correction
Oklahoma	Y	State Health Dept.	Y/3 mos.	District Court
Oregon	Y	DOC	Y/12 mos.	State Circuit Court
Pennsylvania	Y	DOC	Y/6 mos.	DOC
Rhode Island	State-Operated Jails		N	--
S. Carolina	Y	DOC	Y/12 mos.	DOC
S. Dakota	N	--	N	--
Tennessee	Y	Jail Training Agency	Y/12 mos.	Voluntary
Texas	Y	Jail Standards Board	Y/12 mos.	Jail Standards Board
Utah	Y	Sheriffs Association	Y/12 mos.	Voluntary
Vermont	State-Operated Jails		Y/6 mos.	--
Virginia	Y	Board of Corrections	Y/6 mos.	Board of Corrections
Washington	Y	State Standards Board	Y/12 mos.	State Standards Board
West Virginia	N	--	N	--
Wisconsin	Y	DOC	Y	Dept. Health/Human Svcs.
Wyoming	N	--	N	--

REFERENCES

- American Correctional Association. National Jail and Adult Detention Director, 1986-1988. College Park, MD: ACA
1986
-
- . Standards for Adult Local Detention Facilities. 2nd ed. College Park, MD: ACA.
1984
- American Justice Institute. Classification Instruments for Criminal Justice Decisions, Vol. 3: Institutional Custody Sourcebook. Sacramento, CA: AJI.
1979
- Austin, James and Paul Litsky. Multi-Jail Classification Study Final Report. San Francisco: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.
1982
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. Jail Inmates, 1984. U. S. Department of Justice
1985
- Bohnstedt, Marvin and Saul Geiser. Classification Instruments for Criminal Justice Decisions. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Corrections.
1979
- Brennan, Tim. Offender Classification and Jail Crowding: Examining the Connections Between Poor Classification and the Problem of Jail Crowding and Developing Some Preventative Interventions. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Corrections.
1985
- Buchanan, Robert A. and Karen L. Whitlow. Guidelines for Developing, Implementing, and Revising an Objective Classification System. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice.
1986
- Buchanan, Robert A., Karen L. Witlow and James Austin. "National Evaluation of Objective Prison Classification Systems: The Current State of The Art." Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 32 (3), 272-290.
1986
- Clements, Carl B. "The Future of Offender Classification: Some Cautions and Prospects." Criminal Justice and Behavior (March), pp. 15-38.
1981
-
- . The Relationship of Offender Classification to Problems of Prison Overcrowding. Birmingham, AL: Department of Psychology, University of Alabama.
1980

- Ennis, Bruce J. and R. Emery. The Rights of Mental Patients--An
1978 American Civil Liberties Union Handbook. New York: Avon.
- Flanagan, Timothy. Long-Term Inmates: An Analysis of Institutional
1980 Incidents. Working Paper 21. Albany, NY: Criminal
Justice Research Center.
- Gaes, Gerald G. "The Effects of Overcrowding in Prison."
1985 _____ University of Chicago Press.
- Gettinger, Stephen. "Objective Classification: Catalyst for
1982 Change." Corrections Magazine (June), pp. 24-37.
- Goldfarb, Ronald. Jails: The Ultimate Ghetto of the Criminal
1975 Justice System. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press.
- Hindelang, Michael J. "Race and Involvement in Crimes." American
1978 Sociological Review, Vol. 43, 93-109.
- Jay Farbstein & Associates. Housing Pretrial Inmates: The Costs
1983 and Benefits of Single Cells, Multiple Cells and
Dormitories. Sacramento, CA: Sacramento County Board of
Corrections.
- Jeffers, Janie L. "Report on Classification in the New York City
1980 Department of Correction."
- Kelley, Clarence M. Uniform Crime Reports--1977. Washington, D.C.:
1977 U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Library Information Specialists, Inc. Jail Classification.
1983 Corrections Information Series. Boulder, CO: National
Institute of Corrections Information Center.
- Lipsky, Michael. Street-level Bureaucracy. New York: Russell
1980 Sage.
- Malouff, John. "Damage Awards Against Jails Due to the Lack of a
1984 Sensible Classification System." A report written at the
request of the National Institute of Corrections Jail
Center, Boulder, CO.
- Malouff, John, Jayne Russell and Martin Sloan. "A Prevention
1984 Program That Worked: Reducing Violence in a Jail Through
Classification of Inmates." A paper presented at the
Western Psychological Association Convention in San
Francisco.

- Monahan, John. Predicting Violent Behavior: An Assessment of
1981 Clinical Technique. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Morris, Norval and Marc Miller. "Prediction of Dangerousness in the
1987 Criminal Law" in Research in Brief. National Institute of
Justice, Department of Justice. Washington, D.C.
- National Council on Crime and Delinquency. Current State of the Art
1985 In Prison Classification Models. San Francisco, CA: NCCD
- National Institute of Corrections. Prison Classification: A Model
1981 Systems Approach. Washington, D.C.: Department of
Justice.
- National Institute of Corrections Information Center. State Jail
1984 Standards. Corrections Information Series. Boulder, CO:
NIC Information Center.
- National Sheriffs' Association. A Handbook on Jail Security,
1974 Classification, and Discipline. Washington, D.C.: NSA
-
- . The State of Our Nation's Jails--1982.
1982 Washington, D.C.: NSA.
- Nelson, William R. "New Generation Jails." Corrections Today
1983 (April), pp. 108-112.
- New York State Commission of Correction. The Classification and
1985 Housing of Inmates in County Correctional Facilities--First
Annual Report, March 1, 1985. Albany, NY.
- Pritchard, D. "Stable Predictors of Recidivism." Journal
1977 Supplement Abstract Service, Vol. 7, p. 72.
- Silverman, Charles E. Criminal violence, Criminal Justice. New
1978 York: Random House.
- Solomon, Larry. "Developing an Empirically Based Model for
1980 Classification Decision-making." Prison Law Monitor, Vol
2(9), 217-232.
- Solomon, Larry and S. Christopher Baird. "Classification: Past
1982 Failures, Future Potential." In Classification As a
Management Tool: Theories and Models for Decision-makers.
College Park, MD: American Correctional Association, pp.
5-10.

Special Commission to Investigate Suicide in Municipal Detention Centers. Final Report: Suicide in Massachusetts Lock-ups, 1973-1984. Boston: Commonwealth of Massachusetts Special Commission.

Tittle, Charles R., W. Villemez and D. Smith. "The Myth of Social Class and Criminality: An Empirical Assessment of the Empirical Evidence." American Sociological Review, Vol. 43, 643-656.

Webster, William. Crime in the United States--1977. Washington, 1978 D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Wenk, Ernst A., James O. Robison and Gerald W. Smith. "Can Violence Be Predicted?" Crime and Delinquency, 18:393:402.