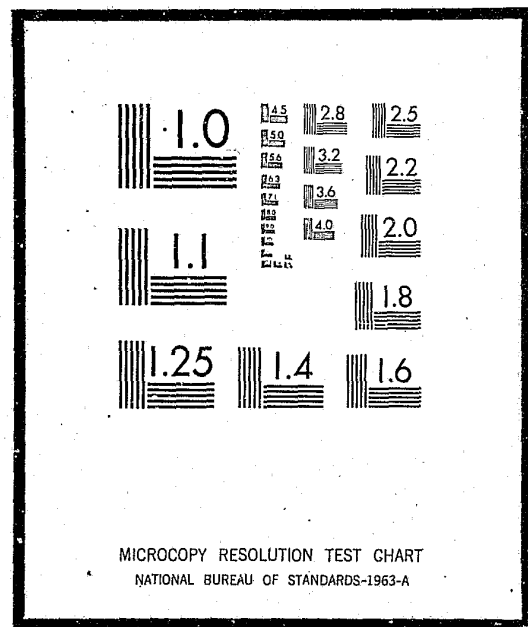# NCJRS

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20531

Date filmed 6/3/76

MTR-6860

NATIONAL IMPACT PROGRAM EVALUATION

A REVIEW OF SELECTED ISSUES AND RESEARCH FINDINGS RELATED TO PROBATION AND PAROLE

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JULY 1974

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ABSTRACT

This document presents selected issues and findings from three areas of research related to probation and parole. These areas are caseload size and treatment, worker roles and characteristics, and criminal typologies and offender characteristics. The discussion of significant issues and findings is oriented toward the examination of theoretical and empirical developments in each area and the consideration of the influence of these developments on applications in probation and parole.

PREFACE .

The High Impact Anti-Crime Program was launched by the Law Enforcement
Assistance Administration (LEAA) in 1972 to address the basic issue of
stranger-to-stranger crime and burglary in eight large cities.* Impact,
in a nutshell, was designed to reduce crime through the provision of
services, demonstrate the utility of crime-oriented planning as a rational
way to select these services, and implement program-wide evaluation as
a means for assessing the extent to which these services contributed to
a reduction in crime and crime-related problems.

The LEAA's National Institute and The MITRE Corporation are currently
involved in a national level evaluation of the Impact Program. This
evaluation provides for the examination of a range of program processes
and effects, both intra-city and inter-city, in the areas of program
planning, project implementation, and evaluation. In this context,
the National Institute and The MITRE Corporation have taken the oppor-
tunity provided by the evaluation to examine a number of commonly-held
assumptions underlying crime reduction strategies selected for imple-
mentation by various of the eight cities. The assumptions research in
probation and parole investigates the effectiveness of intensive supervision
as an approach to reducing recidivism among probationers and parolees.

An essential precursor of the methodological design of this
assumptions research has been the investigation and summary of
significant empirical findings and issues dealing with those
variables central to probation and parole projects in the Impact
Program. These variables, and the issues and empirical findings
related to them, have been aggregated into three subject areas.
These areas are:

- Caseload Size and Treatment.

- Worker Characteristics.

- Criminal Typologies and Offender Characteristics.

This document presents critical issues and selected research
findings for each of the three subject areas. While it represents
the theoretical and empirical context within which the assumptions
research in probation and parole is being conducted, the document
is not intended to serve as an exhaustive survey of contemporary
research or issues in corrections.

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* Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Newark, Portland (Oregon)
and St. Louis.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This document presents selected issues and research findings dealing with those variables central to probation and parole projects in the Impact Program. These variables have been aggregated into three topical areas:

- Caseload Size and Treatment
- Worker Roles and Characteristics
- Criminal Typologies and Offender Characteristics

The failure of many traditional probation and parole projects to rehabilitate offenders and reduce recidivism has led to increasing interest in intensive and specialized supervision as new and viable approaches to probation and parole. All of the eight cities participating in the LEAA's High Impact Anti-Crime Program have reflected that interest in projects they have selected for implementation. Underlying this interest, of course, is the assumption among many practitioners that the implementation of intensive supervision, through the reduction of caseload size, can lead to more effective treatment of clients. At the same time, however, there has been a shift in emphasis from mere reduction in caseload size to a concern for varying treatments and intensive supervision in accordance with the special needs and problems of clients.

Research dealing with the issues of the effectiveness of reduced caseload size and specialized treatment plans supports this shift in emphasis. A number of studies have revealed that the reduction of caseload size, in and of itself, may not be an effective strategy for the treatment of probationers and parolees. However, other studies have indicated that intensive supervision can be useful and important when the amount and nature of the supervision reflect the varying needs of clients, and individualized treatment plans are implemented on the basis of those needs. This has led to increasing recognition of the importance of matching the client with an officer who can establish a beneficial interpersonal relationship with his client and provide the services and treatment necessary for successful rehabilitation.

A consideration of the role and tasks of the probation and/or parole worker reveals a complex and demanding job that requires expertise in a variety of areas including management, diagnosis, counselling, and community resources. In addition to corrections expertise, the worker needs the interpersonal skills necessary to gain an understanding of his client and his client's experience and to communicate this knowledge effectively.

As a means of understanding the worker, a number of researchers, including Dembo, Ohlin, and Glaser, have attempted to define the nature of the philosophies, orientations, and styles that workers typically adopt. For instance, Dembo views workers in terms of their approach in dealing with offenders and employs a continuum ranging from a "police" approach

to a treatment approach. Ohlin and Glaser have developed a worker typology which characterizes four different types -- the punitive officer, the protective officer, the welfare officer, and the passive officer.

Along with the development of worker typologies, there has been increased research activity seeking to describe the actual skills, training, and attitudes of workers. Several investigations conducted within the California correctional system have revealed that probation and parole workers, as a group, are professionally unprepared in terms of the skills and expertise necessary for successful treatment of clients. However, increasing recognition of the importance of the worker's task and, more specifically, of the worker's relationship with his client, is leading to more sophisticated research in this area and more concern for the training and development of workers.

The success of workers and the treatments they implement is necessarily predicated on an understanding of the offender and of criminal behavior in general. Within criminology, there has been a long history of the construction of criminal typologies as tools for understanding and predicting criminal behavior. The most widely known kinds of typologies have been the legalistic, individualistic, and social typologies. In addition to typologies there have been a number of pervasive sociological models of criminal behavior. These include the anomic, subcultural, and ecological models. With the recognition of the many different types of criminal behavior and the variability in the social, psychological, and environmental factors associated with these different types, typologies have become more sophisticated in order to reflect this complexity. For instance, the typology developed by Clinard and Quinney explicates nine different criminal behavior systems on the basis of five theoretical dimensions.

More recently, researchers have begun empirical investigations of the multitude of factors associated with different types of offenses and offenders. Some central findings of this research include the continuous and developmental nature of criminal careers; the high rates of recidivism for many offenders; the importance of the cultural and social system in which the offender exists; and the importance of contacts with the legal system and the outcomes of these contacts. The growth of a scientific knowledge of criminals and their behavior will depend on the interactive and synergistic development of theoretical typologies and models of criminal behavior and continuing empirical investigations of the nature and causes of this behavior.

1.0 CASELOAD SIZE AND TREATMENT IN PROBATION AND PAROLE

1.1 Introduction

Traditional probation and parole projects have often resulted in unimproved recidivism rates among offenders identified as either chronic, hardcore, or high risk. Intensive special probation and parole projects are now being proposed nationally as viable substitutes for regular probation and parole projects. Intensive efforts, however, have proven to be far costlier on a per offender basis than regular supervision projects, because of the individual orientation and augmentation of services offered, as well as the smaller worker/client ratios they maintain. It has thus become a question of some increased urgency and importance to determine the effectiveness of intensive supervision in terms of recidivism reduction. This section of the document delineates a number of issues related to the implementation of intensive supervision and specialized treatment strategies, and reviews selected research which bears on these issues.

1.2 Caseload Size: The Search for the Ideal Number

One of the more important issues confronting the administrators and treatment directors of parole and probation agencies throughout the country revolves around the relationship between caseload size and treatment outcomes of offenders.[1] The major impetus for much of the concern is the existing belief among many parole and probation officers that treatment is more effective when supervision is expanded or intensified through reduced caseload size. For administrators, caseload size is thought to be directly related to the ability of the agency to achieve balance in caseload distribution among officers, whereas treatment directors view the reduction in caseload size as a necessary condition for increasing the rates of success in treatment outcomes for probationers and parolees. To test these assumptions, correctional authorities have undertaken research programs which have as their major objective the

determination of the most efficient and effective caseload size to be assigned to correctional officers. Often, however, this task has been simply a quantitative exercise rather than an effort to determine the parameters (including treatment methods) which would assure high success rates in rehabilitating offenders.

Such a numbers orientation has a long history in probation, and dates back to the early 1900's when a caseload of 50 was considered to be the ideal size for maximum effectiveness. Even as late as the 1960's, the concern with caseload size was quite prevalent and was most explicit in the Manual of Correctional Standards published by the American Correctional Association. It states simply:

> A probation officer should carry no more than a 50 unit workload. This is computed on a rating of one work unit for each probationer supervised by the officer and five work units for each presentence investigation completed and written by him in a given month.

Although the 50 unit caseload became a standard criterion for determining officer caseload, the figure was based on a consensus of probation administrators rather than the result of empirical research on caseload size and treatment outcome. This failure to employ empirical validation of treatment outcomes was based in part on the belief of many parole and probation officers that the treatment process did not lend itself to empirical research.

The numbers orientation was again evident in 1967 after the President's Commission, in advocating sweeping reforms for correctional institutions, had made several important recommendations for parole and probation agencies including a reduction in caseload units to 35 for each officer. Some of the more important recommendations are noted below:

(a) All jurisdictions should examine their need for probation and parole officers on the basis of an average ratio of 35 offenders per officer, and make an immediate start toward recruiting additional officers on the basis of that examination.

(b) Probation and parole officers should develop new methods and skills to aid in reintegrating offenders through active intervention on their behalf with community institutions.

(c) Caseloads for different types of offenders should vary in size and in type and intensity of treatment. Classification and assignment of offenders should be made according to their needs and problems.(2)

While all of the above recommendations are considered essential to improving both probation and parole, many agencies again focused their attention and energies on the question of caseload size, without giving equivalent emphasis to the nature of the relationship between supervisor and client and the manner in which this relationship is affected by the attitudes and life styles of the client and community in which he resides. Recent interest in prison reform and community-based correctional programs has placed new emphasis on the importance of the social milieu of the community, and its effect upon the offender's ability to successfully reenter society as a self-supporting member.

In an effort to de-emphasize the orientation of correctional agencies toward caseload size as an end in itself, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals recently noted that the engrossment of administrators and treatment directors with caseload size is not in the best interests of the client and may, in fact, provide those officers with large caseloads with an excuse as to why they cannot supervise clients effectively. In addition to this criticism the Commission also points out that the question of caseload size may be seized upon by administrators to increase the number of staff members, rather than attempting to determine the needs of the clients and the tasks that must be performed to meet these needs.

The reasons for this orientation toward caseload size are many, but one of the more important is related to the early and still prevalent philosophy of many parole and probation officers that considers

the client to be "out of balance" with society and in need of some form of treatment for this "illness."[3] This approach constantly overlooks or underplays the importance of the properties of the social system, and instead focuses its attention on changing the offender through officer-client contact and counsel, rather than on helping the offender reintegrate himself into his community by providing him with the services necessary for this process. In the past several years, however, there has been a major movement among correctional workers away from this "medical model" approach to one oriented around the availability of community resources. This trend toward providing support services to meet the offenders' needs within the community forms the major basis for developing a goal-oriented service delivery system. The development of such a system will hopefully diminish the practice among probation and parole agencies of seeking the reduction of caseload size as an end in itself, rather than as the means of providing the client with maximum advice and counsel.

1.3 Treatment Strategies

Essentially, probation and parole attempt to protect the members of society through the utilization of two major strategies for influencing behavior. The first revolves around the legal system, especially the criminal law, which serves as a deterrent force due to its potential for imposing various restraints and restrictions upon the conduct of the offender. The second method attempts through some form of "treatment" to reeducate the offender to be a law-abiding member of the community. While the degree to which legal constraints deter an offender from engaging in anti-social behavior is not clear, this uncertainty does not begin to approximate the confusion that exists as to the meaning of "treatment" for offenders. A cursory review of the literature dealing with treatment for parolees and probationers indicates the imprecision associated with the concept; almost anything which transpires between offender and officer has been labeled as treatment. The wide range of treatment programs that exist both within and outside correctional institutions

is noted in Table I provided below. These summaries were developed by Gibbons and can be divided into two major categories: environmental and psychotherapeutic.[4]

While there is no consensus as to what kinds of techniques can be properly labeled as treatment oriented, many programs can be classified according to the underlying assumptions of the treatment approach. For facility, we can classify programs into two major categories. The first approach assumes that criminal behavior is learned in the same manner as conforming behavior, and therefore, does not hold to the belief that the individual is "at fault" or ill. For most treatment programs that follow this approach, emphasis is on the social and cultural conditions affecting the individual. The second approach envisions criminal behavior as a manifestation of personality maladjustment -- the emphasis is on the person rather than society, with treatment normally involving some form of therapy.

Based on the belief that both types of treatment programs are necessary to utilize if the wide range of offenders is to be treated successfully, there have been several attempts to combine both orientations into an operational treatment modality that addresses itself to the personality of the offender without negating the importance of the interactive relationships that exist between the offender and the community.

Based on this philosophy, there has been renewed interest and increased attention directed toward the development of offender typologies with special reference to the relationship between offender type and treatment configuration. In an obvious sense, the movement toward correctional reform has been based quite extensively on the attempts, however crude, to develop treatment typologies that could be used to distinguish between offender types.[5] From the separation of the young from the older, to the most sophisticated classification

TYPE	TREATMENT GOAL	NATURE OF THERAPIST	NUMBER OF CLIENTS OR PATIENTS	LENGTH OF TREATMENT PERIOD	FREQUENCY OF TREATMENT	TREATMENT CIRCUMSTANCES
1 Individual "Depth" Psychotherapy	Uncover individual problems, lead patient to insight, develop new patterns	Psychiatrist, clinical psychologist, psychiatric social worker	Only one patient in each therapy case-load or experience	Depends upon severity of problems, but frequently extensive	Normally, treatment should be intensive, i.e., several times per week	Private surroundings, such as private office of therapist
2 Group Psychotherapy	Same as individual therapy, but also, get person to see other's problems	Same as above, but patients are therapy agents too, to some extent	Small group, fifteen persons or less	Depends upon severity of problems, but shorter than individual therapy	Same as above	Private surroundings where patients not observed by outsiders
3 Client-Centered Therapy	Uncover individual problems, patient is led to analyze himself, change	Person trained in eclectic procedures of client-centered work	Only one patient in each therapy case-load or experience	Shorter time than "Depth" therapy, often a few weeks or so	Usually intensive, i.e., several times or per week	Private, quiet surroundings, such as private office of therapist
4 Group Therapy	Discover group pressures to problem behavior, develop new norms	Initially, some person called "therapist," but ultimately, group members	Small group, fifteen persons or less in most cases	Depends upon problem to be solved, but usually fairly long, i.e., one year	Fairly intense, once per week or more frequently	Private surroundings where patients are not observed by outsiders
5 Milieu Management	Develop new behavioral norms in more general living group than therapy group	Initially, some person(s) named as therapist, but ultimately, entire group	Living group or associational group of larger size than group therapy	Fairly lengthy to extremely long-term, may extend over several years	Treatment tends to be continuous rather than interwoven with non-treatment	Stable living group situation such as apartment or some similar arrangement
6 Environmental Change	Develop new behavioral norms in wider social environment than above	Usually, no specific person as therapist, in long run, environment	Usually, large group, often many members of large social environment	Fairly lengthy to extremely long-term, may extend over several years	Treatment tends to be continuous rather than interwoven with non-treatment	Social environment to be changed, such as community area

Source: Don Gibbons, Changing the Lawbreaker, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1965), pp. 146-147.

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process, the major intent has been the designation of those for whom certain programs or settings would be most appropriate. This is most explicit in the classification of inmates according to security requirements, resulting in maximum, medium, and minimum categories. While there are varied treatment programs (as indicated by Gibbons), the major problem is to develop a practical treatment typology that can successfully classify an individual while indicating the deficiencies of treatment alternatives for the same individual.

One of the most well known typologies designed to provide a basis for treatment intervention is the Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification that has been employed by the California Youth Authority. Based on the theory of interpersonal maturity,[6] the typology has been extensively applied to juveniles over a long period of time. The rationale behind the use of this diagnostic typology rests on the argument that delinquents are to be found predominantly at low levels of interpersonal maturity, and that they are involved in misbehavior as a consequence of the socialization deficiencies that characterize these youth. Non-offenders are assumed to be more interpersonally mature, and therefore, more insulated from juvenile lawbreaking. According to those who originated the Interpersonal Maturity Scale:

> The elaboration that came with the development of the Community Treatment Project was based on the assumption that although a diagnosis of Integration Level (I-Level) identified a group of individuals who held in common a certain level of perceptual differentiation, not all individuals in this group responded to this perceptual level in the same way. An attempt was made to classify within each I-Level according to response set. There appeared to be two major ways in which the Integration Level 2 (I_2) individual responded to his perceptual frame of reference. Similarly, there appeared to be three typical response sets among delinquent I_3's, and four typical response sets among delinquent I_4's. In this manner, the nine delinquent subtypes were identified.[7]

Later, based on experience derived from the Community Treatment Project, the classification scheme was further elaborated. The classification scheme utilized by the project followed that elaboration; it is summarized in Table II.

1.4 Caseload Size and Performance

While the dimensions of the growing body of correctional literature on caseload size and treatment outcomes prohibit a comprehensive analysis of the programs that are available, a brief review of some of the more important projects may be helpful for bringing the issue of caseload size into its proper perspective. For purposes of facility, the discussion is divided according to whether the clients who participated in the treatment program were on probation or parole. This distinction is essential, for while those on probation may have had previous institutional experience for earlier offenses, individuals on parole have usually completed a recent stay within a correctional institution and, therefore, may be operating under the influence of the inmate value systems prevalent in most institutions. Recently, Schwartz, in analyzing the origins of the inmate value system, has argued that if we are to understand the failure of the correctional process, great consideration must be given to the inmate's past, prior to commitment to a correctional institution.[8] According to Schwartz:

> The influence of pre-institutional effects on behavior may be taken as one measure of the prison's failure to level individual differences by erasing the influence of the inmate's past which... is the principal goal of total institutionalization.[8]

The impact of the inmate culture on the success rates for parole is an important consideration in trying to understand the dynamics of the post-institutional experience. If a parolee has already internalized the inmate value system (which holds that correctional officers cannot be trusted), then the size of the caseload and the degree of supervision will probably have little effect on the offender; the

TABLE II

INTERPERSONAL MATURITY SCALE CLASSIFICATION
(CALIFORNIA YOUTH AUTHORITY)

LEVEL	SUBTYPE	IDENTIFYING CONCEPT
2	Aa--unsocialized personality (aggressive type)	Demanding
	Ap--unsocialized personality (passive type)	Complaining
3	Cfm--conformist (immature personality type)	Conforming
	Cfc--conformist (cultural type)	Conforming
	Mp--Manipulator (psychopathic type)	Manipulating
4	(A) Neurotic	
	Nx--anxiety type	Defending
	Na--acting out with no felt anxiety	Defending
	(B) Non-Neurotic	
	Se--situational emotional reaction	Identifying
	Ci--cultural identifier	Identifying

parole officer will most likely be viewed as filling a role similar to correctional officers inside the correctional institutions.[9]

Thus, it is important to remember that parole is a part of the total correctional experience rather than an independent entity. Unlike probation, the success or failure of a parole program depends to a large extent upon the individual's prison experience, and the effectiveness of the prison treatment programs which precede parole. A negative prison experience may mean that those out on parole have already committed themselves to a criminal career, either out of necessity or through their own volition. In either of these situations, success rates may be less than those obtained for probationers who have never been institutionalized (see pages 19-21 below for a further discussion of similarities and differences in probation and parole). In order to highlight some of these issues, several such programs are discussed below.

1.5 Recent Selected Experiments with Reduced Caseloads and Varying Supervision Strategies

1.5.1 California Division of Adult Parole

One of the earliest attempts to test the effectiveness of reduced caseloads was carried out by the California Division of Adult Parole. From 1953 until 1964, caseload size ranged from 15 to 90 men, with no differences in violation rates being evident among the varied caseloads. Based on the assumption that more than caseload size was operating to produce these results, parolees were then classified according to the predicted risk of the offender. Under these conditions, "high risk" parolees violated parole extensively, regardless of caseload size; while "low risk" offenders seldom violated, whether they were in reduced or very large caseloads. Those classified as "middle risks," however, performed much better in reduced caseloads than those in large caseloads. The findings provided additional evidence for many correctional administrators to argue that there is a need for shifting the focus of research toward developing the optimal system for classifying offenders

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rather than dealing with caseload size per se. Within this orientation, emphasis can be directed to those offenders who need special care and services if they are to be reintegrated into the community.

1.5.2 California Narcotic Treatment Control Project

While the above research was underway, the California Department of Corrections attempted to determine the effectiveness of reduced caseloads for former addicts. Its goals were: (a) control of parolees released from prison who had a history of opiate use to prevent addiction and return to crime; (b) provision of treatment to help the former addict in his efforts to abstain from drugs; and (c) research to extend knowledge of addiction, its treatment and control. Offenders were assigned to 15- and 45-man caseloads and compared to those who had been assigned to the normal 70-man caseload size. While the results showed no difference in violation rates between those in the 15- and 45-man caseloads, both groups of offenders performed significantly better than the offenders assigned to the normal caseload. Utilizing the results from each of the programs noted above, the Department of Corrections in 1965 began to implement a classification system that would differentiate the major types of offenders on parole. The system was rather simple in concept and established three categories of offenders:

(a) Special – for difficult offenders

(b) Regular – for average offenders

(c) Conditional – for those offenders requiring minimal supervision

Each of these types was then given a weighted score: Special -- five units of time; Regular -- three units of time; and Conditional -- one unit of time. Parolees were then assigned to officers on the basis of this classification scheme, with a full caseload considered to be equivalent to 120 units of time. The results of the study indicated that parolees assigned to officers on the basis of the weighted unit approach performed much better than the conventional parolees, with

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fewer of the former being returned to prison. The primary benefit of this system is to allow the officer the capability of allocating more time and supervision to those offenders with special needs, while still maintaining contact with clients who are perceived to have a low probability of recidivating. Although many officers voice the need for more time to supervise properly, some studies have found that a decreasing caseload size does not lead to a corresponding increase in the amount of supervisory contact between the parole officer and parolee.

The important finding from the research in California is not that a reduced caseload per se leads to reduced violation rates, but rather the recognition that there exists a differential distribution of offenders who not only have different needs, but more importantly, require varied degrees of supervision. While the above programs were oriented to adult offenders, similar findings have been established for juveniles, as noted below.

1.5.3 California Youth Authority: Community Treatment Project

California's Community Treatment Project (CTP) has been discussed in an earlier section of this paper. It is mentioned again here because it is considered by many correctional researchers to be a prototype for a juvenile intensive supervision project. The project was organized around the typological approach developed by Sullivan, Grant and Grant and known as the Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification. Under this scheme, the delinquent is classified in two steps. First, he is diagnosed according to the level of perceptual differentiation or degree of complexity in his view of himself and others (see the discussion, page 7, above); and secondly, according to his response set, or way of responding to his perceptions of the world. Following the diagnosis, a treatment plan is developed with the express purpose of placing the youth in a supportive environment that will help him to perceive more accurately, and respond more

appropriately to the demands of society and its institutions. Each individual was assigned to a small caseload -- 12 youths per agent. In the first phase of the project (1961-1964), the researchers found that those treated in the community under intensive treatment had more success on parole than those who were institutionalized and later released. In addition, the CTP resulted in a major saving of money for each offender every year (CTP=$2,300, Institution=$5,800).

1.5.4 Los Angeles Community Delinquency Control Project

Based on the findings from CTP, the California Youth Authority commenced the Los Angeles Delinquency Control Project during 1966.[11] The program, which ended in 1969, was undertaken to demonstrate that selected Juvenile Court first admissions could be supervised in the community in lieu of institutionalization. The youths were between the ages of 13 and 18 and were randomly assigned to an experimental group with an intensive rehabilitation program and an average caseload size of 25. The centers to which they were assigned were located in the community, and they relied upon individual, group, and family counseling techniques with psychiatric group work consultation available to the staff. The findings indicated that the highly delinquent male adolescents did as well when assigned directly to the treatment program as those adolescents who spent an average of eight months in an institutional program before being directed to a regular parole program.

The differences were attributed to the four variables noted below, all of which are centered within the community:

(a) An association with non-delinquent friends;

(b) Having some employment;

(c) Having a concerned adult to intercede with employers; and

(d) Participation in organized community settings.[11]

The results of this program, along with those referred to above, point to the need to de-emphasize caseload size as an important variable in itself and instead to recognize: first, that there is a differential distribution of offender types among the wider offender population; and second, the need to develop a delivery service that is capable of meeting the varied needs of these offenders.

1.5.5 Minnesota Department of Corrections

A study[12] conducted in Minnesota during 1970 and 1971 had as its major objective the determination of whether juveniles released from institutional settings would adjust as well on parole without formal supervision from parole officers as a corresponding group receiving conventional parole supervision. Randomly selected male and female parolees were assigned to the two groups. The results at the end of a ten-month period indicated that significantly more subjects who were on conventional parole had their parole revoked than did the experimental group where no formal parole was required.

On the basis of the initial results, the author of the Minnesota study suggests that the assumptions underlying the treatment methods in parole and probation need to be re-assessed, and that such reassessments should include: (a) a more detailed look at the career of the offender and his interaction with the varied elements of the criminal justice system; (b) the nature of the organizational contexts within which the treatment is conducted; and finally (c) the nature of the treatment itself. A step in this direction is evident in the work of Wolfgang, Sellin and Figlio,[13] where the analysis of delinquency among a cohort of male adolescents revealed a group of chronic offenders who were responsible for a large proportion of the total offenses committed by the cohort, and who traveled further through the criminal justice system than the non-chronic offenders.

1.5.6 The San Francisco Project

The San Francisco Project[14] bears mentioning because of the important implications it has for any parole or probation agency that intends to provide intensive supervision to its clients. This demonstration project, in attempting to test the effectiveness of reduced caseloads, established four levels of supervision for offenders:

(a) Ideal – 40 cases

(b) Intensive – 20 cases

(c) Normal – 80 cases

(d) Minimum – no definite upper limit to the number of cases assigned to an officer

In the last category, the offender was required merely to submit written reports to the officer with no mandatory contacts with his officer being required after two years. An assessment of the performance of the offenders in each category indicated little difference. According to the researchers:

> The available data indicated that the number of contacts between an offender and the probation or parole officer is seemingly unrelated to success or failure under supervision when the assignment of offenders to caseloads is made on a random basis.(14)

One of the more interesting findings of the project pointed out that those under intensive supervision had a higher rate of technical violations while they were on probation. This unexpected result was attributed to the increased awareness on the part of the officers to these kinds of behavior, and points to the critical role that the parole officer plays in the observed violation rates of an agency as well as the need to utilize more specific indicators for determining the success or failure of intensive supervision programs.

In a similar study, Takagi[15] analyzed the violation rates of several parole districts and found that the proportion of cases sent back to

prison for technical violations varied from one district to another and depended upon whether the officer was "police-oriented" rather than treatment oriented. In the former case, officers were found to be less flexible and less tolerant of a client's violation of the rules of the agency than those in the latter category. Similar findings were also reported for the California Youth Authority's Community Treatment Project.

These findings emphasize the need for utilizing more accurate methods to measure the rates of recidivism for offender populations. One such possibility is the "recidivism index" developed by David Moberg and Richard Ericson.[16] Based on an analysis of the kinds of behavior for which offenders are subject to violation of parole, the authors have developed an index that involves a wide range of violations in which offenders engage. By utilizing this index, one is able to determine the "seriousness" of the violation instead of having to view all such behavior as being equivalent.

In addition to the above findings, the San Francisco Project demonstrated that minimum supervision of offenders was no less effective than intensive supervision, thus calling into question the need for _any_ supervision for certain kinds of offenders. Left on their own, the rate of failure may be no different than that obtained while under supervision. According to one critic of parole supervision:

> The real significance of supervision may well be in the probation and parole officer's ability to diagnose and act upon the specific difficulties encountered by the offender, not in routine normal contacts with the offender. We would now question the value of "all purpose" counseling and supervision and suspect that effective supervision deals with specifics, not generalities.[14]

The important point in all these studies is to determine when intervention strategies are more effective, not only in terms of need, but in terms of cost as well.

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1.6 Summary of Issues and Research Findings Related to Caseload Size and Treatment

Although it is clear that there has been a much-needed shift in the emphasis by parole and probation agencies from a "numbers" approach to a treatment-oriented approach, important data are still being sought regarding the appropriate kind of treatment for a particular offender. Further, the recognized importance of the interactive relationship between client and officer is now being analyzed in terms of the social and cultural milieu of the community in which the client resides. The importance of the community in the rehabilitative process has led a group of researchers to write that:

> It may well be that the dominant factor impacting upon supervision is community, not caseload size, and that community is of such significance that it may be necessary to reconstitute most current approaches to supervision.[17]

The studies reviewed here support the shift in focus from mere reductions in caseload size to a concern for the variation among clients in their need for intensive supervision and specialized treatment plans. The research conducted by the California Division of Adult Parole and the California Narcotic Treatment Control Project indicates that intensive supervision can be an effective strategy when it is allocated on the basis of offender type. At the same time, the work of the Community Treatment Project demonstrates the importance of designing individualized treatment plans on the basis of the client's needs and level of development. The importance of varying caseload size and treatment on the basis of client needs and characteristics is underscored by the research of the Minnesota Department of Corrections and the San Francisco Project which show that the reduction of caseload sizes, in and of itself, is not necessarily an effective strategy for the treatment of probationers and parolees.

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With the accelerating trend in the United States toward community-based corrections, there will be an increasing number of offenders under supervision within the community. This state of affairs will place added pressures upon parole and probation agencies to develop the capacity to classify offenders according to need and to develop a delivery service to meet these needs. Numbers of clients per officer should play a minimum role in assigning a client to an officer. The one overriding conclusion of most studies is that caseload size in and of itself has little impact on the success rates of parolees and probationers. In contrast, there is considerable evidence to indicate that success rates are closely related to the ability to match a client with an officer who is capable of providing the necessary services to meet the needs of that client.

2.0 SIGNIFICANT CHARACTERISTICS OF WORKERS IN PROBATION AND PAROLE AGENCIES

2.1 Introduction

It is clear that a large percentage of the offender population consists of persons with identified problems which are beyond the scope of their own handling. An important assumption of probation and parole today is that such individuals are in need of a brand of care that is too often unavailable to them due to improper and inadequate use of staff resources.

One of the corollaries of the assumptions research for which this paper provides background data speaks to the question of the education, training, and deployment of the various workers and counselors in probation offices and parole agencies. This question is germane because the attitudes of such workers are assumed to be a significant variable in assessing the effectiveness of intensive treatment as a means for reducing failure rates among identified offenders. This section therefore relates concepts of treatment to worker characteristics and summarizes selected research findings in the field.

Probation and parole will be addressed in concert inasmuch as the skills, resources, and techniques utilized in both agencies are often similar. As a concept, parole differs from probation in that parole occurs only after a period of confinement in an institution following conviction, whereas probation is a substitute for such confinement. Probation and parole, therefore, occur at different points in the criminal justice process but contain sufficient functional similarities to warrant grouping them for discussion here.

2.2 Similarities and Differences Between Probation and Parole

There has been a growing realization that prison commitments for most offenders can be avoided or at least abbreviated without significant loss of public protection. If the committed offender eventually returns to the community, it

is best that his commitment remove him for as short a time as possible. The principle has evolved: incarcerate only when nothing less will do, and then incarcerate as briefly as possible. The services provided by probation and parole should strengthen the weak, open new channels to the erratic, and avoid openly reinforcing the intimidation that is latent in the relationship between the offender and the state.[18]

Rising costs and the debilitating effects of institutionalization on inmate offenders have led to a movement away from the prison as a setting for rehabilitation, and toward community-based corrections. Along with diversionary programs, probation and parole are the treatment modalities currently accorded the best chance for changing offender behavior; this is to be done through the provision of a combination of services which, hopefully, can reintegrate the offender into the community by placing him in a social situation in which he can satisfy his needs without violating the law.

Probation specifically refers to the supervision and treatment provided to adjudicated offenders within the community under specified rules of conduct imposed by the court. It has been viewed by many experts as corrections' brightest hope.[18] Yet, there are at least two major issues related to probation and its ability to realize its full potential. The first issue concerns the determination of which offenders should be placed on probation, while the second issue involves the need to develop a probation system that enables offenders to receive the support and services they need so that eventually they can live independently in a socially acceptable way. This section makes no more than a cursory attempt to address the first issue since it relates to worker characteristics in only a peripheral way. The second issue, however, focuses upon support and services received by the offender and these concepts are directly linked to probation officers, their backgrounds, attitudes and training.

Parole is the "release of an offender from a penal or correctional institution, after he has served a portion of his sentence, under the continued custody of the state and under conditions that permit his reincarceration in the event of misbehavior."[19] One similarity between probation and parole arises from the fact that, in both processes, data are gathered on an offender and given to a decision-making authority with power to release the offender to community supervision under specific conditions. If the offender violates the conditions of probation or parole, he may be placed in, or returned to, a correctional institution.

As discussed earlier, one significant difference between probation and parole relates to the time each occurs within the criminal justice system. Probation usually is a privilege granted by a judge or magistrate in lieu of any kind of institutionalization, whereas parole implies a term of confinement in a correctional facility prior to release. A second way in which the two concepts differ relates to decision making. The granting of probation, considered a privilege, is always a court function; the granting of parole, sometimes due to mandatory release, is always an administrative process determined by a parole board (in the case of adults) or an institutional official (in the case of juveniles).

Finally, whatever the differences between probation and parole (and this cursory summary is quite inadequate to define them exhaustively), both of them must address the difficult task of "building or rebuilding solid ties between offender and community, reintegrating offenders into community life – restoring family ties, obtaining employment and education, securing in a larger sense a place for the offender in the routine functioning of society."[3]

2.3 Treatment Concepts and Worker Characteristics

In his role, the correctional worker is not interested in persons in the aggregate, but in the specific individual. Our goal...is to be able to know the offender's personality in action. We are

interested in his immediate environment, the way he reacts to frustrations and opportunities. We want to know his attitudes toward others and himself. From that point, we can assist him to gain a better self-understanding, thereby affecting his ability to function constructively in the community around him. (20)

The process described in the quotation above addresses some of the nuances of the treatment approach. There is no concept in the correctional lexicon that is in wider usage than that of treatment. Despite the sometimes negative connotations and the extraordinary confusion which such widespread usage may engender,[1] the terms "treatment" and "treatment approach" do convey a number of key ideas which are essential to an understanding of the work done with offenders in probation and parole. Among the most important questions to arise in the relevant research are the following: Is the treatment approach a more effective way of dealing with offenders than the non-treatment approach? What kind of individual makes the most effective treater? And for which cases, with which treatments? Is the professionally-trained worker more successful than the untrained worker? Is the paraprofessional with an understanding and acquaintance with the community a better choice than the volunteer with no personal knowledge or "feel" for the social environments in which the offender lives? How do one or both of the latter compare with the professional treatment agent or worker? Indeed, can we establish a valid basis for making such comparisons? And finally, does the treatment approach consider the offender, his needs, strengths and limitations as they differ from other offenders around him?

None of these questions is presently very well answered. However, it is clear from experience and research that the redirection and re-education of individuals who have exhibited anti-social and illegal behavior are intricate and complex matters requiring both time and skill. Implicit in this process is the capability to unearth those strengths

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[1]See page 4 of this document.

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within an individual offender that can be mobilized for constructive social behavior. Such an ability, therefore, requires workers who have the training and technical competence to provide need-oriented assistance, and who can, thereby, facilitate meaningful change.

Newman defines treatment as an interrelated, three-stage process consisting of investigation, diagnosis, and treatment supervision.(20) The role of the worker in this process requires great sensitivity and skill. First, the investigative phase must result in a complete picture of the offender's world, his personality, his relationship to others, and his immediate environment as perceived by himself. His strengths and liabilities, goals and objectives, value systems, idiosyncrasies, likes and dislikes need to be explored thoroughly. This process calls for considerable capability and knowledge because the extent to which all of these variables will become known to the worker is dependent upon the quality of the rapport established with the offender. The diagnostic phase offers the opportunity to synthesize what has been learned about the offender and to organize that data in such a way as to lay the groundwork for establishing future treatment goals. As more is learned about the offender over time, diagnosis will need to be adjusted and treatment objectives modified. This calls, once again, for worker understanding and knowledge. An integral part of the treatment supervision phase, according to Newman, is the worker's task of giving the offender relevant feedback concerning the nature of the offender's behavior and personality. In this way, the offender can gain a more realistic appraisal of his own behavior; it is thought that such an understanding will thereby enhance his ability to function more acceptably in the community.(20) Yet such success clearly depends upon the ability of the worker to communicate effectively with the offender.

The major focus of concentration for the worker in a probation or parole setting is treatment-oriented supervision or counseling.

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While this variable has some surveillance aspects to it, in practice these are minimal since the worker, at best, can only sample offender behavior at various time intervals. While it is hoped that a worker will be able to detect indicators of risk and danger (both to the community and to the offender), surveillance is basically a police function and involves techniques which even the most skilled worker in a probation or parole setting is unable to handle in a maximally effective manner.

Given the nature of treatment and the problem of limited counseling contact, there is a real need for the worker in a probation or parole setting to be able to recognize, understand and deal effectively with as well as obvious shifts in the behavior and personality of subtle an offender. Paying attention to the nuances and non-verbal cues which may be indicative of problematic change in offender behavior can often lead to the identification and treatment of a potential difficulty before it has had the opportunity to evolve and to become dangerous.

Every offender who is placed on probation or parole is instructed to abide by a series of rules and regulations that are imposed by a court or by a parole board (or an institutional official, in the case of juveniles). These rules may or may not get at behavioral problems which relate directly to the offender. In fact, they are usually written in broad generalities, to give the worker in a probation or parole setting the latitude needed in working with the unique circumstances of the particular offender. While it is true that such generalized rules are imposed to make explicit the imposition of a number of controls upon offender behavior, they can have therapeutic value if they are adjusted in order to reflect an understanding of the prior behavioral pattern of the offender upon whom they are imposed. The effective worker or treatment agent, therefore, needs to view the rules of probation or parole as an integral part of the treatment process rather than as a set of

external controls which are imposed by the court or parole board and which the worker must reluctantly enforce. Such a treatment process necessarily includes the setting of realistic limitations on offender behavior based upon thinking that is firm but not unnecessarily authoritarian or arbitrary in nature. In short, consistency has been shown to be a key factor which should govern worker behavior in the probation or parole setting. This consistency, however, does not require that a worker become inflexible or dogmatic in his approach. Rather, current probation and parole practice emphasizes the view that a warm and empathetic relationship can greatly benefit from a practical and consistent set of rules and limits for the offender's behavior.

An effective worker in a probation or parole setting is thus asked to facilitate the therapeutic process by providing the offender with both services and support, and rules and limits. In such a situation, the offender is supposed to understand the worker's role as a representative of the legal system and, at the same time, look to the worker for services which respond to his social, physical, psychological (and other) needs. This complex perception of the worker, however, is not easily achieved and yet the present review of the literature indicates that it is a primary responsibility of the worker to establish such a perception of himself on the part of the offender. The importance of this kind of multifaceted perception is that it allows the development of certain types of interrelationships which are not only desirable but essential.

Interactions between worker and offender at least from the worker's viewpoint are always focused upon the offender's experience and personality. This requires that the worker be able to look knowledgeably at the world from which the offender comes, making the influence of variables such as family, home and neighborhood key considerations as the offender moves toward successful reintegration into society. A worker in the probation or parole setting needs to keep constantly before him, despite

frustration and discouragement, the concept that behavior and thinking are shaped by experience. Yet the complex nature of both an individual's experience and the innumerable influences on that experience makes it difficult to assess. This assessment requires enormous expertise and flexibility on the part of the worker if he is to be successful in meeting the needs of the offender. Often this entails merely Rogerian-type listening and feedback of what has been said, without interjections of worker values. At other times, however, especially when individual response patterns reflect a lower developmental level, the worker may find it necessary to become more directive in helping the offender to learn socially acceptable behavior patterns as he copes with serious problems. Thus, the worker must be flexible enough to assume the role, whether it be supportive or directive, necessary to achieve treatment objectives.

Few studies have dealt with the subject of worker characteristics outright; however, several correctional researchers have attempted to examine the interactive effects between worker and offender, and to determine how this process relates to treatment supervision. Additionally, there have been a number of research efforts conducted in California by its Youth Authority and Department of Corrections which have as their central focus offender traits and characteristics but which also treat the important question of worker characteristics as an ad hoc parameter. The next part of this section looks at the findings and theoretical approaches and models derived from some of the studies which are concerned with the role, attitudes and characteristics of the worker in the probation and/or parole setting.

2.4 Recent Research Findings and Theoretical Approaches Related to Worker Characteristics

2.4.1 Orientation and Activities of the Parole Officer: Richard Dembo

In a recent study of parole officer orientation and activities, Richard Dembo has outlined two major approaches to understanding the role of the parole officer as a supervisor of offenders.[21] The first approach

emphasizes the development of an attitude profile of workers in a parole setting and is reminiscent of the work of Lloyd Ohlin (which will be discussed later in this section). The second approach focuses on attempts at inferring worker attributes and activities through an appraisal of the officers' underlying philosophies of the parole process. Based on the early work of Rowan,[22] three social-psychological orientations were developed. Although each dimension differs analytically, they are interrelated and form the basis for the officers' perception of offenders under supervision. The first two of these three dimensions are important to an understanding of the subject matter under discussion and will therefore be elaborated upon here.

The first dimension involves the manner in which the parole officer perceives his client. According to Dembo, parole officers tend to evaluate an offender's background along a continuum, ranging from a view of the offender as antisocial to a view of the offender as an individual. The latter perception he viewed as an affirmative or positive position, while the former perception is seen as a negative position which tends to stigmatize and further isolate the individual from the wider society. Thus, Dembo believes that, by labelling the offender as antisocial, the worker may create a self-fulfilling prophecy in which the offender is expected to fail while under supervision. When failure occurs, the agent or officer becomes convinced that his perception of offenders as antisocial is not only an accurate perception, but is also a meaningful and predictive classification.

The second dimension focuses on the approach involved in dealing with deviant or criminal behavior. In terms of probation and parole, this approach is seen as ranging from a "police" orientation, in which the officer works for the safety of the community (and thereby relegates rehabilitation to a secondary level of importance), to a treatment orientation in which the officer works for the successful reintegration of

the offender in the community. In this latter orientation, the agent
or officer focuses his efforts on the rehabilitation of the offender
and relegates the safety of the community to the rehabilitative process,
thereby placing special emphasis "on the social and emotional disabili-
ties that hinder parolee commitment to law-abiding community participa-
tion."[21]

2.4.2 Worker Typologies: Lloyd Ohlin and Daniel Glaser

The early work of Lloyd Ohlin[23] deserves attention here because
he has developed a typology of worker orientations which explicitly
characterizes the approach of each worker type and which suggests that
these approaches have a major influence on offender behavior. In this
research, Ohlin and his associates developed a typology of probation/
parole officers which characterizes three different styles as noted
below.

(a) The punitive officer who perceives himself as the guardian
of middle-class morality; he attempts to coerce the offender
into conforming by means of threats and punishment, and
emphasizes control, the protection of the community against
the offender and the systematic suspicion of those under
supervision.

(b) The protective officer who vacillates literally between
protecting the offender and protecting the community. His
tools are direct assistance, lecturing, and alternately,
praise and blame. He is perceived as ambivalent in his
emotional involvement with the offender and others in the
community as he shifts back and forth in taking sides with
one against the other.

(c) The welfare officer who has as his ultimate goal, the improved
welfare of the client, achieved by aiding him in his individual
adjustment within limits imposed by the client's capacity.
Such an officer believes that the only genuine guarantee of
community protection lies in the client's personal adjustment
since external conformity will be only temporary, and in
the long run, may make a successful adjustment more difficult.
Emotional neutrality permeates his relationships. The
diagnostic categories and treatment skills which he employs
stem from an objective and theoretically-based assessment
of the client's needs and capacities.[23]

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Daniel Glaser, building on Ohlin's research, added a fourth
category which he labelled the "passive officer."[24] Such officers
were characterized as perceiving their jobs as "sinecures requiring only
a minimum effort."[24] Given the four types of workers developed in his
work (in concert with Ohlin's), Glaser categorized each worker in the
traditional probation or parole setting according to whether that
officer emphasized "control" or "assistance" in dealing with his clients.
The four types of officers and their respective orientations to each of
these variables are summarized in Figure 1.

Emphasis on Control

FIGURE 1

A TYPOLOGY OF PAROLE SUPERVISION OFFICERS

Source: Glaser, D. The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole
System. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), p. 431.

It is generally believed that the typologies of Ohlin and Glaser
adequately characterize the style and orientation of the vast majority

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of workers in probation and parole settings. Although little is known at the present about the precise or even relative proportions of workers falling into each of their categories, present indications are that the welfare officer group forms a very small minority of the total population of client-serving workers.

2.4.3 The California Cooperative Behavior Demonstration Project

The California Youth Authority's Cooperative Behavior Demonstration Project (CBDP),[25] although a relatively new intensive supervision project (using behavior modification techniques as its major treatment modality), is of particular interest to the subject matter of this paper since the findings reported in its first annual report focus almost exclusively on the training and role behavior of parole agents and probation staff in community treatment settings. CBDP's major outcome objective is the reduction of the incidence of chronic delinquency through the application of behavior modification techniques.

Probation units from seven Northern California counties and two parole centers are participating in the study which began officially on April 1, 1972 when the development of a training package was begun. After these training materials were prepared, supervisory staff attended seventy-two hours of training which was completed on schedule September 13, 1972. The training of field staff began almost immediately after the supervisor-trainees had completed their initial training. Overall, eight months (July 1972-February 1973) were devoted to the intensive training of selected probation and parole supervisory staff and the initial training of all parole agents, probation officers, and other county personnel involved in the project. Phase four, the actual development and implementation of the behavior modification strategies and the advanced training in intensive supervision casework, began March 1, 1973 and was to run until September 30, 1974 (nineteen months).

Data collection, follow up, and the writing and disseminating of the final report are the tasks of the fifth phase, scheduled to be performed October 1974 through March 1975.

The project is innovative, and encourages diversity. In making individually-oriented applications of behavioral techniques and principles, the staff will examine the efforts of the following variables: (a) the extent to which paraprofessionals and volunteers are used as mediators; (b) the extent to which group techniques are used; and (c) the extent to which a match between the personalities of staff and client is implemented.

Although no hard data were available at the time of publication of the first annual report in March 1973, a number of revealing and significant observations were noted by the research staff and are reported below.

(a) The expectations that probation and parole staff might be waiting in eagerness to become trained in and to carry out new methods proved fallacious. What supervisory staff perceived as a felt need for training on the part of their staff was rather a desire for more of the same kind of "training" they had received previously - mostly consisting of their passive exposure to the vocabulary of some current variation on the familiar treatment theme. It is, of course, difficult for some kinds of planning to be done by consensus; and virtually impossible to have staff set reasonable performance goals for themselves. Granted those generalizations, more time should have been spent in discussing the project with line staff. What has come as a special shock to line staff has been the vigorous holding to established performance objectives.

(b) Most probation and parole agents do not have the skills necessary carry out effective treatment, regardless of the type of treatment that may be in effect. Project staff find most field workers unskilled in interviewing, in observing behavior, and in specifying and defining treatment goals.

(c) Most supervisors have had little effective training in supervision. Most lack the interpersonal skills to enable them to supervise their staff from a position of strength. Training in assertiveness provided by the project has proved to be a small but hopeful start; supervisors performance can be measurably improved with a relatively small investment of time.

(d) Can field agents be expected to provide effective treatment? Can they be held to specific performance requirements? It is glaringly apparent that field agents have to be held accountable for meeting specified performance objectives. (Most of them have for years run on a self-determined schedule that leaves little time for the most demanding task - treatment.) However, the objectives must differ considerably from one situation to another. Caseloads above fifty can consume all of a field agent's working time in tasks other than treatment. He is on call from principals, police, parents, probationers (and project trainers). The project plan specified that each participant should carry three cases in active treatment at any one time - so few as to make the task imminently feasible. Not so. The large caseloads carried by some guarantee that no effective service can be performed if the worker is to do the administrative chores expected of him.

(e) Experience to date indicates that the most effective training is possible where the immediate supervisor does the training... A trainer having no authority over the trainees is placed in the difficult role of evaluating the performance and making demands on staff who are responsible to someone else. This point cannot be overemphasized, and project staff are being scrupulously careful to ensure that the expertness lies with the supervisors.

(f) Providing technical assistance to community agencies requires more than a casual effort. An intensive, carefully planned effort is required that includes direct training of supervisory personnel, quality control, systematic feedback, and incentives based upon performance.(25)

California's position at the vanguard of the correctional field is virtually unquestioned by both practitioners and researchers in corrections. Given that position, the CBDP findings are highly significant and strongly suggestive of a problem area given far too little attention to date. If inferences can be drawn from the above report on CBDP's findings, it would appear that probation and parole workers in the nation's most progressive correctional system are largely ineffectual and are characterized by a commitment to the "routine" in treatment; are unskilled in interviewing, observing behavior, and in specifying and defining treatment goals; have ineffectual supervisory skills

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lacking, in particular, in interpersonal dynamism; and tend toward the perpetuation of the status quo while performing in an autonomous fashion that is neither goal-directed nor treatment-specific.

CBDP's initial findings, though preliminary and not based on hard data, raise serious questions relative to worker effectiveness in the probation and parole setting. A recent visit to California's Youth Authority to talk with Carl Jesness (author of the annual report discussed above) revealed that the problem of worker ineffectiveness has become more clearly pronounced in the year since CBDP's first annual report. The CBDP experience is strongly suggestive of the need to give at least equal focus, in ensuing research efforts treating the probation and parole subsystems, to the study of worker characteristics and attitudes in such settings.

2.4.4 Education, Training, and Deployment of Staff: A Survey of Probation Departments and the California Youth Authority

The Education, Training and Deployment Survey[26] of client-serving staff was funded by the California Council on Criminal Justice under contract with the Youth Authority. The survey's chief aim was to focus on workers' basic social characteristics, as well as on previous educational and work experience, type of job assignment, and other factors of organizational deployment. The survey's other intent was to provide baseline data to promote the planning, development and administration of worker training models.

The target population included all full-time, salaried, client-serving workers funded by and through the 60 probation departments and the Youth Authority. Such workers were defined as those whose job involved diagnosis, investigation, supervision, counseling, instruction, or placement relative to clientele, as well as those who provided direct administration of staff functions.

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Because of the large number of client-serving workers (N=2420) in Los Angeles County, a random sample was drawn consisting of 29.6 percent of those Los Angeles County probation officers who provide direct case services (N=1714). All of the remaining client-serving workers (N=706) were also surveyed.

The survey instrument devised for client-serving workers focuses on (a) the social background characteristics of staff; (b) previous education and related work experience; (c) extent and types of training received; (d) appraisal of staff preparedness with respect to specific areas of job skills and knowledge; and (e) staff deployment in various kinds of assignments.

An overview of the survey findings suggests a number of generalizations concerning the extent to which staff training is needed, the scope of such training, and staff readiness for training. The key findings reported are listed below.

(a) There is a clear need for more extensive training embracing all workers as is exemplified by the fact that seventy percent of all workers interviewed indicated that formal training was not provided on a regular basis in their departments.

(b) There is a need for more formal training addressed to specific worker groups. In particular, relatively little training had been provided for workers in probation departments.

(c) There is a need for expanded training in a wide variety of job areas of correctional skills and knowledge. Examples of areas in which workers had insufficient training include the development and use of community resources, and management and administrative techniques.[26]

In light of the above generalizations, the following recommendations were made:

(a) That formal training be expanded and directed to meet the needs of diverse worker groups in critical areas of job functioning. Periodic surveys were also recommended as a basis for planning training programs and to keep top echelon administrators informed of worker training needs.

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(b) That the implementation of training programs be followed by systematic evaluations to determine the extent to which requisite training was acquired and its impact upon job effectiveness.

(c) That a systems approach be employed on a pilot basis in selected training programs. Such an approach would develop standards and procedures to ensure that the training results in more efficient and effective rehabilitative services.

Although completed on a sample of workers in the California correctional system, the survey results are, nevertheless, quite helpful in light of California's forefront position in the corrections field and are suggestive of the type and kind of training both needed and received by workers in other state systems of probation and parole. Interestingly, most workers surveyed exhibited a relatively high degree of preparedness in the areas of general social sciences and general casework techniques, but were least prepared in the areas of development of community resources, management and administrative techniques, law enforcement techniques, and a comprehension of the law as it affects both the worker and the offender. What the study clearly points to is the need for more extensive and specialized training of workers in a wider variety of correctional skills and knowledge than is generally recognized by administrators and policy decision makers.

2.5 Summary of Issues and Research Findings Related to Worker Characteristics

The high costs and proven ineffectiveness of institutionalization as a rehabilitative setting and approach have led to increasing reliance on (and optimism in) probation and parole as correctional alternatives. With the use of probation or parole, the setting for rehabilitation typically becomes the offender's community and the focus of treatment becomes the one-to-one relationship between worker and client and the treatments implemented within the context of this relationship. Because the worker-client relationship has become the focus of the treatment approach, researchers in the corrections field have shown increasing

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interest in the nature of the worker's task, his style, orientation, training, and skills, all of which are thought to bear directly on the quality of this relationship and, thus, its effectiveness as a treatment approach.

Almost any analysis of the worker's functions and goals points to a tremendously difficult and complex task that requires a high level of professional training and expertise and a wide range of interpersonal skills. The worker must be able to investigate and gain an understanding of the client's experience, especially those features of his experience (such as his family, peers, or job) which most directly influence the client's behavior and his ability to make a successful adjustment to society. This understanding and knowledge forms the basis for a diagnosis of the client's strength, liabilities and needs, while the diagnosis, in turn, leads to the specification of treatment approaches and plans. Part of the success of the treatment plan depends on the worker's ability to implement what are often sophisticated treatment modalities and, at the same time, to effectively communicate his knowledge to the clients so that the latter can develop greater self-understanding. Often, the worker carries out these functions and activities within the context of two competing role demands - one implying the task of protecting society and the other the task of successfully treating the offender.

The conflicts among the various role demands, philosophies, and treatment approaches of probation and parole that confront the worker are implicitly resolved by the worker's adoption of certain characteristic perceptions, philosophies, and styles in his work. The work and research of Dembo, Ohlin, and Glaser are significant attempts at defining the nature of the orientations and styles that workers adopt. Dembo's work illustrates the importance of understanding the underlying

philosophies of the worker since these affect the worker's perceptions of the offender and of the proper approaches for dealing with the offender. Ohlin and Glaser have contributed explicit typologies of workers in which each type is described in terms of the worker's goals, perceptions of the offender, and treatment approach.

Perhaps more important than the work describing worker typologies and characteristic worker orientations, however, is the research which has investigated the actual attitudes, skills, and training of workers. The observations of the CBDP research staff and the survey of client-serving workers by the California Youth Authority both portray the typical worker as unprepared for the complexities and demands of his work. The CBDP findings indicate that many workers lack those skills (such as interviewing, observing behavior, and specifying treatment goals) that seem essential to successful treatment. In accord with these findings, the California Youth Authority survey revealed the need for extensive training of workers, especially in areas such as the development and use of community resources, management, and administrative skills.

The above findings clearly reveal the need for more training of workers in a wide variety of areas related to correctional skills and knowledge. Much of this training may have to take place in the probation and/or parole department itself, since the specific needs of any group of workers may vary from individual to individual and are likely to change with time. At the same time, basic research explicating effective worker-client matches and effective worker approaches is sorely needed so that training can take advantage of and reflect this knowledge. This section has offered a portrait of the worker's task and functions as extremely complex and demanding, while presenting research findings suggesting that many workers are ill-equipped for this work. At the same time, the simultaneous development of more sophisticated correctional research and training programs addressing the worker's role and needs signifies both the recognition of these problems and the recognition of the importance of the quality of the worker-client relationship.

3.0 SELECTED RESEARCH IN CRIMINAL TYPOLOGIES AND GENERIC OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

3.1 Introduction

There are some criminal patterns in which role-performance is begun and terminated in a single illegal act, and there are others in which involvement in the deviant role continues over several decades or more, as in the instance of professional criminals. Some delinquent roles lead to adult criminality, whereas other delinquent roles are terminal ones, for they do not normally precede or lead to involvement in adult deviation. In turn, some criminal roles have their genesis in juvenile delinquent behavior, whereas certain other forms of adult criminality develop in adulthood and are not presaged by delinquent careers. Then, too, some role careers involve more changes in the component episodes of the pattern than do others. Semiprofessional property offenders are one illustration. This pattern begins at the onset of minor delinquent acts in early adolescence. Such a career line frequently leads to more serious forms of delinquency with advancing age: repeated police contacts, commitment to juvenile institutions, "graduation" into adult forms of illegal activity, and more contacts with law enforcement and correctional agencies. Over this lengthy development sequence, the social-psychological characteristics of offenders also change. For example, the degree of hostility toward policemen and correctional agents exhibited by the adult semiprofessional criminal is likely to be considerably greater than the antagonism demonstrated by the same person at an early age. The same comment could be made regarding changes in self-image, attitudes, and other matters.[4]

Professionals in the criminal justice sector, informed laymen and social scientists have long been intrigued with the elusive quest for an exhaustive typology by which criminal behavior can be predicted or, at the very least, explained. With the development of criminology as a professional discipline and extensive research focusing on causation and treatment, there have been serious attempts to develop testable typologies of delinquents and criminals which are geared toward the management, treatment and etiological understanding of such offenders.

Each complex society has a legal system through which it attempts to regulate and control the behavior of its members. The system consists of laws and regulations, appropriate penalties to be imposed on the violators of such laws and regulations, and the institutional machinery through which the violators are identified and the penalties imposed. Those who have been officially designated as violators, and on whom the penalties have been imposed, are labelled delinquents and criminals. Such individuals are often designated as failures from the standpoint of the legal system of control; they may also quite properly be designated as failures from the point of view of the socializing agencies and institutions as well.

The legal system, with penalties ranging from verbal censure to capital punishment (in extreme cases), is based fundamentally on ideas of punishment for violation of group norms. The growth of the social sciences has led to new perspectives on the causes of human behavior, including the basic assumption that the behavior of an individual at any particular time is related to, and partially determined by, earlier experiences in the family and the community. Given this perspective, it follows logically that delinquent behavior may be as natural as any other type of behavior and that treatment must take the form of new efforts to affect and modify the experience of an individual, and thereby, to help him redefine his goals.

In the past, many professionals in the correctional field assumed that criminals could be differentiated from non-criminals without first determining how criminals differ from one another. This view led to an artificial dichotomy of criminals versus non-criminals and the assumption that these were two homogeneous groups. While it is true that some criminologists have demonstrated that offenders as a class share some psychological and sociological characteristics, this fact does not preclude significant differences among offenders.[27] The question is: What are these differences, and on what behavior and personality dimensions may they be measured?

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The assumptions research in probation and parole for which this paper provides background data, asks, in part, with what offenders are intensive supervision projects most likely to be successful? An understanding of the offender in terms of his self-concept, value system and environment is essential to answering this question.

The following section of this document will, therefore, examine research tying typologies of offender behavior to generic offender characteristics in an attempt to identify those factors which may be related to recidivistic behavior. Past research[28] seems to indicate that specific patterns of criminality result from rather specific sets of social and psychological background variables and that variables common to one particular pattern of criminality would vary significantly from those variables common to other offender types. The review presented here is hardly exhaustive and is best considered as only indicative of major typological and research approaches.

3.2 Types of Criminal Behavior and Common Typologies: A Brief Review

Typologies have been used for hundreds of years in the study of human phenomena. Today, they are very much in use in the study of criminal behavior. Not only do they allow more systematic observation of the behavior under study, but they also lay the groundwork for assumptions testing and serve as guides for research. Hemple[29] feels that the constructed type can serve as a theoretical system in itself by "(1) specifying a list of characteristics with which the theory is to deal, (2) formulating a set of hypotheses in terms of those characteristics, (3) giving those characteristics an empirical interpretation, and (4) as a long range objective, incorporating the theoretical system as a 'special case' into a more comprehensive theory."[29]

As discussed above, a large part of the problem of correctly assessing criminal behavior was the wide range of activities included

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under the generic heading of crime. Now that it is more generally understood that crime refers to a large spectrum of behaviors, criminology has focused more and more upon the study of criminal typologies which allow for better identification, classification, and description of types of criminal behavior. Although numerous typologies of crime and criminals have been constructed in the past, the most widely known have been the legalistic, individualistic, and social crime typologies.

3.2.1 Legalistic Crime Typologies

In typologies based on the legal definition of an offense, most usually the classification is made in terms of the seriousness of the offense when linked with the type of punishment to be legally meted out. This type of scheme presents several serious problems. First, the ambiguity associated with the lack of clear-cut distinctions between major offense types (e.g., felonies versus misdemeanors), is due to jurisdictional limitations, and the punishment prescribed also varies from one jurisdiction to another and from one time to another.

Second, labeling the offender in terms of specific criminal acts also presents serious problems. According to Clinard and Quinney, such labeling "(1)...tells nothing about the person and the circumstances associated with the offense, nor does it consider the social context of the criminal act, as in the case of rape or the theft of an auto; (2) it creates a false impression of specialization by implying that criminals confine themselves to the kind of crime for which they happen to be caught or convicted; (3) it is a common practice in order to secure easy convictions to allow offenders to receive a reduced sentence by 'plea copping'...to a lesser charge that may only slightly resemble the original charge or offense; (4) because the legal definition of a criminal act varies according to time and place, the legal classification of crime presents problems for comparative analysis;

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and (5) most important of all, the use of legal categories in a classi-
fication assumes that offenders with a certain legal label, such as
burglars, robbers, auto thieves, and rapists, are all of the same type
or are a product of a similar process."[29]

A third major problem with legal typologies of crime relates to
the controversy, still unsettled, over what behaviors and what persons
really should be considered criminal.[30] Too large an area for sub-
stantive discussion here, it nevertheless raises the question of whether
crime typologies ought or ought not to include persons and behaviors
regardless of the status of official legal action. Hence, despite the
validity of using certain legal categories of crime to help explain the
process by which behavior becomes defined as criminal, it is clear
that such typologies have inherent and difficult problems associated
with their use.

3.2.2 Individualistic Crime Typologies

Italian criminologists[31] of the Positivist school were the first
to make use of typologies describing offenders in terms of groups of
personal characteristics. Psychologists and psychiatrists have, since
the fourth decade of the twentieth century, identified criminal offenders
by either single personality traits or groups of such traits. Hence,
offenders have frequently been grouped together in terms of particular
traits generally thought to represent unhealthy or abnormal behavior
(e.g., hostile, aggressive, immature, antisocial, etc., personality
patterns).

These kinds of classifications, it is now believed, have limited
merit because the criminal development of particular offenders may bear
no relationship at all to such factors as personality, and even more
importantly, such approaches to classifying offenders assume that in-
dividuals with particular personal characteristics are prone to commit

certain types of crime. There is, however, no concrete evidence to sup-
port the latter contention and consequently, such classifications are
thought to be of minimal value in understanding the true nature of
criminal behavior.

3.2.3 Social Crime Typologies

Social typologies of crime define criminal behavior in terms of
the social context of the criminal offender and the criminal act. Mayhew
and Moreau, two European criminologists of the nineteenth century, sug-
gested crime typologies based on the way in which crime is related to
the various activities associated with being criminal. They labeled
criminals as professional, accidental, and habitual. Lindesmith and
Dunham, on the other hand, devised a continuum of criminal behavior
commencing with the individualized criminal and ending with the social
criminal.[32] As they describe these criminal types, the deviant acts
of the individualized criminal are committed for varied but unique rea-
sons, with little or no cultural support for the particular behavior
in question, whereas the acts of the social criminal are both supported
and prescribed by group norms. In between these two extremes are
criminal types who, to varying degrees, share the characteristics of one
or the other of the polar types.

A third criminal type developed by Lindesmith and Dunham is termed
the habitual-situational criminal. Within this type, the authors place
all offenders who habitually are in trouble with the law, and who com-
mit a number of serious crimes that are interspersed with legitimate
economic pursuits. Their trichotomy of crime types, while certainly
useful, is by no means exhaustive in nature. White-collar crime, as
the authors themselves point out, is one type of crime which fits
none of their three major crime categories. Additionally, research
subsequent to the development of their typology indicates that there
are both group and social factors associated with such offenses as

forcible rape and murder. Such multiple factors they fail to acknowledge in their typology and, in fact, treat all such offenses as individual types.

Another typology, developed by Gibbons[29] and based principally on role-careers in which identifiable changes occur in different offender types, appears to be a more representative example of social typologies than those discussed thus far in this paper.

In his typology, Gibbons employs what are termed "definitional dimensions" and "background dimensions" criteria. The former includes: (a) the nature of the offense behavior; (b) the interactional setting with others where the offense occurs; (c) the offender's self-concept; (d) attitudes relative to society and agencies of social control; and (e) the steps in the role career of the offender. The latter category includes: (a) social class; (b) family background; (c) peer group relationships; and (d) contact with reference agencies such as the courts and the police.

The 24 types derived by Gibbons, 15 adult and 9 juvenile, are listed below.

THE GIBBONS TYPOLOGY

Adult Types
Professional thief
Professional "heavy" criminal
Semiprofessional property criminal
Property offender - "one-time loser"
Automobile thief - "joyrider"
Naive check forger
White-collar criminal
Professional "fringe" violator
Embezzler
Personal offender - "one-time loser"
"Psychopathic" assaultist
Violent sex offender
Nonviolent sex offender - statutory rape
Nonviolent sex offender - nonviolent "rape"
Narcotics addict - heroin

Juvenile Types
Predatory gang delinquent
Conflict gang delinquent
Casual gang delinquent
Casual delinquent, non-
   gang member
Automobile thief -
   "joyrider"
Drug user - heroin
Overly aggressive delinquent
Female delinquent
"Behavior problem" delinquent

A major criticism of the Gibbons typology focuses on the too general nature of the various characteristics which allows for areas of overlap among some categories. Clinard and Quinney, in particular, found that some of the Gibbons types "depart from an essentially general group and cultural frame of reference and present a largely individualistic psychological orientation which is somewhat contradictory to the overall frame of reference."[29]

Whatever the problems are with the Gibbons typology, it still represents a noteworthy attempt to properly categorize offender behavioral characteristics and is a far cry from the crude instruments developed by the late nineteenth century criminologists of the Positivist school.

3.2.4 Three Theoretical Models

In addition to typological approaches to criminal behavior, there are a number of pervasive sociological approaches or models which emphasize the relationship of the individual to the social forces which shape his experience. It is worth briefly discussing three of these models which have influenced and continue to affect much of modern criminological theory. These three models are: (a) the subculture model; (b) the anomic model; and (c) the ecological model.

The subculture model of crime views criminal behavior as conformity to a deviant culture or subculture. For instance, Cohen[33] has explained the criminal activity of the juvenile gangs he studies in terms of the pressures for conformity to and acceptance of the norms and values of the gang. This model emphasizes the fact that the criminal is only deviant from the perspective of the larger or dominant culture and that his criminal behavior may be part of the terms of his acceptance into a social or peer group and a means of maintaining status in his group.

The anomic model views criminal behavior as a means of relieving the strain resulting from a large discrepancy between actual social

and/or individual conditions and desired or expected conditions. As originally expressed by Durkheim,[34] the condition of anomie can result when a society extols certain rewards and goals while the social structure restricts access to these rewards and goals. Individuals who suffer these restrictions can become anomic or alienated and normatively unanchored, and may resort to criminal activity as a means of reducing frustration and reaching goals through deviant means.

The final model, the ecological model, construes criminal behavior as the result of numerous factors and circumstances. This model is reflected in William Healy's[35] empirically-oriented multiple causation approach to explaining delinquency. The underlying assumption of this model is that crime has its genesis in a large number and great variety of factors including the community, group relations, and the family. This approach attempts not only to define the variety of causative factors, but also to account for their level of influence and the systematic nature of these influences. Thus, while the subculture model emphasizes the social forces of the subculture and the anomic model emphasizes pressures created by certain types of social discrepancies, the ecological model attempts to systematically account for these forces and numerous others which influence an individual's behavior.

3.3 Selected Studies of Offender Characteristics
3.3.1 A Typology of Criminal Behavior Systems and Empirical Evidence: Clinard and Quinney

The typology developed by Clinard and Quinney[29] represents one of the most ambitious to be found in the literature. Perceiving categories of crime as behavioral systems, they proceed to define these as means..."by which concrete occurrences can be described and compared within a system of theoretical dimensions that underlie the types."[29]

There are five theoretical dimensions, as they perceive them, indigenous to their types and they are enumerated below.

(a) Legal Aspects of Selected Offenses.

(b) Criminal Career of the Offender.

(c) Group Support of Criminal Behavior.

(d) Correspondence Between Criminal and Legitimate Behavior.

(e) Societal Reaction and Legal Processing.

Within these dimensions, an attempt is made to account for the range of variables associated with crime, i.e., the formulation and administration of criminal law, the development of persons and behaviors that may be defined as criminal, etc. These dimensions and the authors' explanations of the kinds of data each category contains are listed below.

Legal Aspects of Selected Offenses. Crime is a definition of human conduct that is created by authorized agents in a politically organized society. Criminal laws are formulated by those segments of society that have the power to translate their interests into public policy. Criminal laws thus consist of behaviors that are regarded as threatening to the ruling class. The social history of particular criminal laws is a reflection of changes in the power structure of society.

Criminal Career of the Offender. The behavior of the offender is shaped by the extent to which criminally defined norms and activities have become a part of the individual's career. The career of the offender includes the social roles he plays, his conception of self, his progression in criminal activity, and his identification with crime. Offenders vary in the degree to which criminally defined behavior has become a part of their life organization.

Group Support of Criminal Behavior. The behavior of offenders is supported to varying degrees by the norms of the groups to which they belong. Those who are defined as criminal act according to the normative patterns learned in relative social and cultural settings. Group support of criminal behavior varies according to the associations of the offender with differential norms and the integration of the offender into social groups.

Correspondence between Criminal and Legitimate Behavior. Criminal behavior patterns are structured in society in relation to legitimate and legal behavior patterns. Within this context persons develop and engage in actions that have relative probabilities of

being defined as criminal. Criminally defined behaviors thus vary
in terms of the extent to which they correspond to legitimate pat-
terns of behavior in society. The behavior of the offender is
viewed in relation to the norms of the segments of society that
have the power to formulate and administer criminal law.

Societal Reaction and Legal Processing. Criminally defined behaviors
vary in the kind and amount of reactions they receive from the
public and from the society in general. The social reactions range
from the degree of approval or disapproval to the official sanc-
tioning procedures. Different policies of punishment and treat-
ment are established and administered for each type of criminal
behavior. Social reactions are also affected by the visibility of
the offense and the degree to which the criminal behavior corresponds
to the interests of the power structure of society. Finally, the
types of criminal behavior vary in the ways that they are pro-
cessed through the legal system. Patterns of detection, arrest,
prosecution, conviction, sentencing, and punishment exist for each
type of criminal behavior.[29]

Clinard and Quinney have constructed a typology of 9 criminal
behavioral systems based upon the 5 previously stated dimensions
(see Table III). The nine behavioral systems are listed below.

(a) Violent Personal Criminal Behavior.

(b) Occasional Property Criminal Behavior.

(c) Public Order Criminal Behavior.

(d) Conventional Criminal Behavior.

(e) Political Criminal Behavior.

(f) Occupational Criminal Behavior.

(g) Corporate Criminal Behavior.

(h) Organized Criminal Behavior.

(i) Professional Criminal Behavior.

In the matrices that follow, these 9 behavioral systems are
each summarized in terms of the 5 dimensions developed by the authors.
It should be noted that the kinds of offenders within the intensive
supervision projects included in the sample for MITRE's assumptions
research in probation and parole fall within the first four systems.

...IOR	PROFESSIONAL CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR
...laws have been ...pt to control ...especially those ...NS, prostitution, ... The government ...y enacted special ...order to in- ...ed criminal activ- ...p business and ...t since organized ...tied to the gen- ...nomy, these laws ...he privacy of all ...than to control	Professional crimes are distin- guished by the nature of the criminal behavior rather than by specific criminal laws. Such professional activities as confidence games, pickpocketing, shoplifting, forgery, and counterfeiting are regulated by the traditional laws that pro- tect private property.
...as a livelihood. ...ssion in crime ...isolation from ...ty. A criminal ...evelops.	A highly developed criminal career. Professional offenders engage in specialized offenses, all of which are directed toward economic gain. They enjoy high status in the world of crime. They are committed to other professional criminals.
...ized criminal ...ved through an ...tructure, a code ...ribed methods ...a system of ...offender is ...rganized crime.	Professional offenders associate primarily with other offenders. Behavior is prescribed by the norms of professional criminals. The extent of organization among professional criminals varies with the kind of offense.
...rime may be ...ed, charac- ...rican society ...rganized crime. ...lying organized ...tent with those ...he enterprise	Professional criminal activity corresponds to societal values that stress skill and employ- ment. Some of the offenses de- pend upon the cooperation of accomplices. The operations of professional crime change with alterations in the larger society.
...ic toleration ...ns. Offenses ...isible to the ...y of offenders, ...ffective organ- ...detection and ...ions are usually ...es.	Considerable public toleration because of the low visibility of professional crime. Offenders are able to escape conviction by "fixing" cases.

TABLE III
TYPOLOGY OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR SYSTEMS

TABLE III
TYPOLOGY OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR SYSTEMS

DIMENSIONS	VIOLENT PERSONAL CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR	OCCASIONAL PROPERTY CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR	PUBLIC ORDER CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR	CONVENTIONAL CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR	POLITICAL CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR	OCCUPATIONAL CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR	CORPORATE CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR	ORGANIZED CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR	PROFESSIONAL CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR
Legal Aspects of Selected Offenses	The criminal laws of homicide, assault, and forcible rape are of ancient origin. Yet the legal categories are qualified and interpreted in their respective social and historical contexts...	Criminal laws protect the material interests of the propertied classes. Specific laws prohibit forgery, shoplifting, vandalism, and auto theft.	Specific criminal laws embody the moral sense of particular segments of the community. Such offenses as prostitution, homosexuality, drunkenness, and drug use are disturbing to some community members. Many of the crimes are "victimless" in that only willing participants are involved...	The laws that protect private property include such crimes as larceny, burglary, and robbery. Since the primary interest is in protecting property, general laws regarding property do not need to distinguish the career nature of many property offenders.	Criminal laws are created by governments to protect their own existence. Specific criminal laws, such as conspiracy laws, as well as traditional laws, are made to control and punish those who threaten the state. Yet the government and its officials often violate criminal laws. Political criminal behavior thus includes crimes against government and crimes by government.	Legal regulation of occupations has served to protect the interests of occupational groups, and in some cases to regulate harmful occupational activities. The legal codes that control occupations and professions tend to be made by the occupations and the professions themselves, representing their own material interests.	With the growth of corporations, criminal laws have been created to regulate such activities as restraint of trade, false advertising, fraudulent sales, misuse of trademarks, and manufacture of unsafe foods and drugs. Criminal laws – especially administrative regulations – have been established by the corporations themselves to secure a capitalist economy.	Many traditional laws have been used in the attempt to control organized crime, especially those regarding gambling, prostitution, and drug traffic. The government has more recently enacted special criminal laws in order to infiltrate organized criminal activity in legitimate business and racketeering. But since organized crime is closely tied to the general business economy, these laws tend to invade the privacy of all citizens rather than to control organized crime.	Professional crimes are distinguished by the nature of the criminal behavior rather than by specific criminal laws. Such professional activities as confidence games, pickpocketing, shoplifting, forgery, and counterfeiting are regulated by the traditional laws that protect private property.
Criminal Career of the Offender	Crime is not part of the offender's career. He usually does not conceive of self as criminal.	Little or no criminal self-conception. The offender does not identify with crime. He is able to rationalize his behavior.	Most offenders do not regard their behavior as criminal. They do not have a clearly defined criminal career. Ambiguity in self-concept produced in continued contact with legal agents.	Offenders begin their careers early in life, often in gang associations. Crimes committed for economic gain. Vacillation in self-conception. Partial commitment to a criminal subculture.	Political offenders do not usually conceive of themselves as criminals and do not identify with crime. They are defined as criminal because they are perceived as threatening the status quo (as in crime against government), or they are criminal when they violate the laws that regulate the government itself (crime by government).	Little or no criminal self-conception. Occasional violation of the law, accompanied by appropriate rationalizations. Violation tends to be a part of one's work. Offenders accept the conventional values in the society.	The violating corporate official and his corporation have high social status in society. Offenses are an integral part of corporate business operations. Violations are rationalized as being basic to business enterprise.	Crime is pursued as a livelihood. There is a progression in crime and an increasing isolation from the larger society. A criminal self-conception develops.	A highly developed criminal career. Professional offenders engage in specialized crime, all of which are directed toward economic gain. They enjoy high status in the world of crime. They are committed to other professional criminals.
Group Support of Criminal Behavior	Little or no group support. Offenses committed for personal reasons. Some support in subcultural norms.	Little group support. Generally individual offenses. Associations tend to be recreational.	Offenses such as prostitution, homosexual behavior, and drug use grow out of, and are supported by, rather clearly defined subcultures. Considerable association with other offenders.	Behavior supported by group norms. Early association with other offenders in slum areas. Status achieved in groups. Some persons continue primary association with other offenders.	Support is received by particular groups or by segments of society. They identify or associate with persons who share similar values. Behavior is reinforced by specific norms.	Some occupations, or groups within occupations, tolerate or even support from similar, even competing, businesses and officials. Lawbreaking is a normative pattern within many corporations. Corporate crime involves a great amount of organization among the participants.	Crime by corporations and corporate officials receives support from similar, even competing, businesses and officials. Lawbreaking is a normative pattern within many corporations. Corporate crime involves a great amount of organization among the participants.	Support for organized criminal behavior is achieved through an organizational structure, a code of conduct, prescribed methods of operation, and a system of protection. The offender is integrated into organized crime.	Professional offenders associate primarily with other offenders. Behavior is prescribed by the norms of professional criminals. The extent of organization among professional criminals varies with the kind of crime.
Correspondence between Criminal and Legitimate Behavior	Violations of values on life and personal safety.	Violations of value on private property. Offenders tend to be committed to the general goals of society.	Some of the offenses are required by legitimate society. Much of the behavior is consistent with legitimate behavior patterns.	Consistent with goals of economic success, but inconsistent with sanctity of private property. Gang delinquency violates norms of proper adolescent behavior.	Crimes against government usually correspond to basic human rights. The actions and beliefs, however, are opposed by those who are threatened by these freedoms. Crimes by government correspond to contrary behavior patterns that promote the sovereignty of government rulers.	Behavior corresponds to the pursual of business activity. "Sharp" practices and "buyer beware" philosophy have guided work and consumption patterns.	Corporate crime is consistent with the prevailing ideology that encourages unlimited production and consumption. Only recently has an alternative ethic developed that questions practices that support corporate crime.	While organized crime may be generally condemned, characteristics of American society give support to organized crime. The values underlying organized crime are consistent with those valued in the free enterprise system.	Professional criminal activity corresponds to societal values that stress skill and employment. Some of the offenses depend upon the cooperation of accomplices. The operations of professional crime change with alterations in the larger society.
Societal Reaction and Legal Processing	Strong social reaction. Harsh punishments. Long imprisonment.	Social reaction is not severe when the offender does not have a previous record. Leniency in legal processing. Probation.	Strong reaction by some segments of society, weak reaction by others. Only a small portion of the offenses result in arrest. Sentences are strong for some offenses, such as the possession of narcotic drugs.	A series of arrests and convictions. Institutionalization and rehabilitation of the offender. Agency programs that preserve the status quo without changing social conditions.	Official reactions tend to be severe in the case of crimes against government. Considerable harassment may be experienced and heavy sentences may be imposed. Public acceptance of political offenses depend on the extent to which the policies and actions of the government are accepted. Reactions to governmental crime depends on the consciousness of the public regarding the activities of the government.	Reactions have traditionally been mild and indifferent. Official penalties have been lenient, often restricted to the sanctions administered by the professional association. Public reaction is becoming less tolerant.	Strong legal actions have not usually been taken against corporations or their officials. Legal actions have been in the form of warnings and injunctions, rather than in terms of criminal penalties. Public reactions and legal actions, however, are increasing in respect to corporate crime.	Considerable public toleration of organized crime. Offenses are not usually visible to the public. Immunity of offenders, as provided by effective organization, prevent detection and arrest. Convictions are usually for minor offenses.	Considerable public toleration because of the low visibility of professional crime. Offenders are able to escape conviction by "fixing" cases.

Source: Clinard, M. B., and Quinney, R. _Criminal Behavior Systems_, (N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston). pp. 18-20

TYPOLOGY OF

The largest part of the sample fits into the categories: (a) Violent Personal Criminal Behavior, and (b) Conventional Criminal Behavior. These categories of offender behavioral patterns will therefore be discussed in greater detail.

3.3.1.1 Violent Personal Criminal Behavior

In the violent criminal behavior category, Clinard and Quinney treat only the offenses of criminal homicide, aggravated assault and forcible rape. In terms of the legal aspects associated with these offenses and their perpetrators, it is pointed out that the sanctions and prohibitions against such crimes have been with us throughout cultural history. Offenders in these categories, however, do not usually perceive themselves as criminals. Murderers and assaulters, research indicates, often do not exhibit patterns of criminal behavior. Forcible rapists, on the other hand, tend to have fairly extensive criminal records for other offenses, particularly property offenses. The authors report the following data from several studies in the crime categories of assault, criminal homicide, and forcible rape.

> In a St. Louis study, the majority of the [assaultive] offenders had no prior arrest records, and of those who did, relatively few were for crimes against the person. Two-thirds of the cases in the age bracket of 20-34, however, had a prior arrest record. In another St. Louis sample of eighty-eight male offenders, it was found that persons arrested for crimes of violence are rarely arrested for crimes against property and that the reverse holds equally true for property offenders. On the other hand, of those convicted of murder between 1957 and 1968 in England and Wales, between one-half and two-thirds had a criminal record of some type, primarily offenses against property.

> A Philadelphia study of criminal homicides found that 66 percent had been previously arrested for offenses against the person (48 percent for aggravated assault) and only 34 percent had any record for property or other offenses. Of those offenders with an arrest record, a larger proportion had a record of aggravated assault involving wife beating and fighting than all types of property offenses combined. In a Wisconsin study, it was found that about half (46.7 percent) of ninety-six Wisconsin prisoners serving time for murder had never been arrested before, whereas only one in three of the sex offenders and only one in eleven of the property offenders had such a record.

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One study of 1292 forcible rape offenders in Philadelphia showed that 50 percent of them had a past arrest record, and there was little difference in the extent of this past record between black and white offenders. Only 20 percent of those with a past arrest record, however, had previously committed a crime against the person, with blacks far outnumbering the whites in this respect. Approximately one in ten (9 percent) had committed rape in the past. Another study has shown that by the age of twenty-six, 87 percent of forcible rapists had been convicted of some crime; two-thirds had been convicted of a felony, half of them non-sex offenses. For slightly more than half, the forcible rape was their first sex offense, and for about one-quarter, their second. A substantial number had a record of juvenile offenses, 22 percent of the sample, but only 5 percent for sex offenses. In another study aggressive sex offenders showed few sex offenses but many non-sex offenses, a ratio quite different from that of other sex offenders.[29]

Although the studies reported on represent a fairly mixed sample, the data would certainly appear to support the following conclusions:

(a) That persons who commit assault are quite likely to have no prior criminal offense histories.

(b) That murderers do tend to have some prior criminal arrest history in between one-third and two-thirds of the cases sampled in a Philadelphia study, but that a large percentage of this arrest activity involved wife beating and fighting.

(c) That murderers are, however, less likely to have prior offense histories than are either property offenders or sex offenders.

(d) That convicted forcible rapists are quite likely to have prior offense histories although the vast majority (eight out of every nine sampled) do not have prior rape convictions in their prior criminal offense histories.

(e) That offenders with prior criminal offense histories of any kind are more likely to recidivate than offenders with no prior criminal offense histories.

Group support of the offender's behavior here is limited, and this support, the authors postulate, is in terms of subcultural norms. It is from Wolfgang and Ferracuti that the authors most directly borrow the concept of subcultures of violence or normative systems of a group or groups smaller than the larger society. This point of view allows for the development of different attitudes among various social

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classes and/or ethnic groups relative to the use of violence. The propositions set forth by Wolfgang and Ferracuti, which are cited below, can be seen as a set of principles for the subculture model of criminal behavior discussed earlier.

(a) No subculture can be totally different from or totally in conflict with the society of which it is a part. A subculture of violence is not entirely an expression of violence, for there must be interlocking value elements shared with the dominant culture.

(b) To establish the existence of a subculture of violence does not require that the actors sharing in these basic value elements should express violence in all situations. The normative system designates that in some types of social interaction a violent and physically aggressive response is either expected or required of all members sharing in that system of values. That the actors' behavior expectations occur in more than one situation is obvious. There is a variety of circumstances in which homicide occurs, and the history of past aggressive crimes in high proportions, both in the victims and in the offenders, attests to the multisituational character of the use of violence and to its interpersonal characteristics. But, obviously, persons living in a subcultural milieu designated as a subculture of violence cannot and do not engage in violence continuously, otherwise normal social functioning would be virtually impossible.

(c) The potential resort or willingness to resort to violence in a variety of situations emphasizes the penetrating and diffusive character of this culture theme. The number and kinds of situations in which an individual uses violence may be viewed as an index of the extent to which he has assimilated the values associated with violence.

(d) The subcultural ethos of violence may be shared by all ages in a sub-society, but this ethos is most prominent in a limited age group, ranging from late adolescence to middle age. We are not suggesting that a particular ethnic, sex, or age group all share in common the use of potential threats of violence. We are contending merely that the known empirical distribution of conduct, which expresses the sharing of this violence theme, shows great localization, incidence, and frequency in limited subgroups and reflects differences in learning about violence as a problem-solving mechanism.

(e) The counter-norm is nonviolence. Violation of expected and required violence is most likely to result in ostracism from the group. Alienation of some kind, depending on the range

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of violence expectations that are unmet, seems to be a form of punitive action most feasible to this subculture. The juvenile who fails to live up to the conflict gang's requirements is pushed outside the group. The adult male who does not defend his honor or his female companion will be socially emasculated. The "coward" is forced to move out of the territory, to find new friends and make new alliances.

(f) The development of favorable attitudes toward, and the use of violence in a subculture usually involve learned behavior and a process of differential learning, association, or identification. Not all persons exposed - even equally exposed, - to the presence of a subculture of violence absorb and share in the values in equal portions.

(g) The use of violence in a subculture is not necessarily viewed as illicit conduct and the users therefore do not have to deal with feelings of guilt about their aggression. Violence can become a part of the life style, the theme of solving difficult problems or problem situations. It should be stressed that the problems and situations to which we refer arise mostly within the subculture, for violence is used mostly between persons and groups who themselves rely upon the same supportive values and norms. A carrier and user of violence will not be burdened by conscious guilt, then, because generally he is not attacking the representatives of the nonviolent culture, and because the recipient of this violence may be described by similar class status, occupational, residential, age, and other attribute categories which characterize the subuniverse of the collectivity sharing in the subculture of violence.[36]

The subcultural norms developed by Wolfgang and Ferracuti are most helpful in understanding the cultural mores of ethnic and minority groups operating within their own social milieu. As Clinard and Quinney perceive him in this subsystem within a system, the offender is more likely to resort to violence as he becomes more integrated into the subculture of violence. He is also not likely to experience pangs of conscience because the victim of his crime usually belongs either to the same subgroup or to another subgroup perceived as being an exploiter of the offender and his ethnic peers.

Some of the more interesting data Clinard and Quinney report on in the third dimension of Violent Personal Criminal Behavior is based on a series of studies on race and group support:

The major findings are reported below:

A study of victims and slayers in Philadelphia, between 1948 and 1952, indicated the role of group factors in defining the use of violence. Murder was found to be highest among blacks, males, those in the age group 20-24 and 30-34, and those from the lower social classes. The rate was also found to be related to certain occupations.

The rate among blacks was found to be four times that of the whites in the Philadelphia study, indicating the role of the subculture of the slum and the isolating effects of segregation from the general norms of society. The highest rate, in fact, was reported among recent black migrants from the South to the city. A Cleveland study showed that while 76 percent of the offenders in homicide cases were black, only 11 percent of the population were blacks. In a Houston study blacks made up only 23 percent of the population but accounted for 63 percent of the offenders. In a Chicago study the criminal homicide rates for nonwhites was approximately ten times that of white males. Homicides are known to be more common among southern than northern blacks, but the major correlate of the rates of black homicides in the North is the proportion of blacks in a given area who had been raised in the South and this is not a product of the migration itself. A St. Louis study of blacks convicted of carrying weapons showed something of the cultural definitions of the use of violence in the slum areas from which they came. Approximately 70 percent said that they carried weapons because of fear of attack from others. While other reasons were given, such as to commit a crime or to collect a debt, they generally "felt a concern about being attacked and the need for self-defense and assumed automatically that others in their environment were also carrying weapons, or if not actually carrying weapons 'acted as if they were.'"[29]

The findings, based mainly on a group of studies completed more than a decade ago, are likely to raise more questions than they will answer. Nevertheless, the subculture model makes an effort to explain the racial disparity in arrest rates for crimes of violence. Blacks, for example, are arrested for homicides at a rate ten times greater than

whites. This is supported by the National U. S. rate per 100,000 for 1966 which reflected a black arrest rate for homicide of 24.1 as compared with 2.5 for whites. The fact of the larger number of homicides committed by Southern blacks and Northern blacks who have recently migrated from the South (as compared to the number of homicides committed by their Northern counterparts) is clearly documented in all but one of the studies reported on. A major concern with these, however, is the lack of sufficient numbers of non-black ethnic and minority groups being reported on. According to the subculture model and depending on the ethnic group in question, it seems likely that the disparity between black violence and that of other nonwhite subgroups would not be nearly so great as that between blacks and whites. The propositions of Wolfgang and Ferracuti lend credence to this position.

3.3.1.2 Conventional Criminal Behavior

Offenders in this crime category usually commit crimes for personal gain, and make all or part of their living by pursuing activities that are defined as illegal. Crimes in this category include larceny, burglary, and robbery. Most such offenders begin their criminal careers while juveniles, and their early life histories reflect a pattern of deviant behavior including truancy, property destruction, street fighting, and membership in delinquent gangs. It is gang delinquent behavior which many criminologists and sociologists view as the precipitant for conventional career criminal behavior. For example, the following citation from a study of black armed robbers demonstrates the progression of these offenders from early juvenile gang delinquency to adult conventional crime.

> An early patterning of stealing from their parents, from school, and on the street; truancy, and suspension or expulsion from school; street fighting, association with older delinquents, and juvenile delinquent gang memberships, all were usually evident in their social backgrounds. When compared with the men in the other criminal categories, it was found that there was more destruction of property in their delinquent activities, and there

were more frequent fights with schoolmates, male teachers, and delinquent companions. There was a higher incidence of "mugging" and purse snatching. They had more often been the leaders of delinquent gangs, and they claimed they were leaders because of their superior size and physical strength.[4]

In the group support dimension of this category, Clinard and Quinney develop some interesting points relative to the high degree of correspondence between juvenile gang delinquency and slums. Indeed, it would appear that their conventional offender is largely a product of slum environments. The authors view slums as a way of life, representing a subculture with its own set of norms and values. Deviant behavior and the characteristic attributes of apathy and social isolation are reflections of the subcultural value system operating in slum areas. One study[37] tracked offenders who had first appeared before the juvenile court in 1920. As adults, over half (58.3 percent) of the total sample had records of rearrest, and the highest proportion (65.5 percent) of those subsequently arrested came from slum areas of high delinquency. The study resulted in the following conclusion:

> The criminal career is frequently the result of a gradual process of habituation to forms of illegal behavior. It does not, of course, indicate that proportion of adult criminals developed by this process, but since more than 60 percent of all juvenile delinquents have adult criminal records, and since a large proportion of these are known to have engaged in serious offenses, this group, in the aggregate, must constitute a large part of the criminal population.[37]

3.3.2 Criminal Careers of Former Juvenile Delinquents: Shaw and McKay[37]

This study attempted to survey the development of criminal careers in relation to the community background and antecedent delinquent behavior of a group of youths and to ascertain the extent to which data recorded on juvenile offenders at the time of their first appearance in court furnishes clues as to the likelihood of subsequent appearances as adult offenders. As such, this study uses the approach to criminal

behavior suggested by the ecological model. The study also attempts
to determine the extent to which the variations in the proportion of
delinquents who continue in criminal activity may be attributed to:
(a) community background, (b) family background, (c) characteristics
of individual offenders, (d) the nature of the delinquent act, and
(e) the nature of the court's reaction to the delinquent act.

The study group consisted of all juvenile males living in Chicago
in 1920 who in that year appeared in the Juvenile Court of Cook County
for the first time on petitions alleging delinquency. Data were re-
corded from each social history in the files of the court, except in
a number of cases for which no folders could be located. A third of
the total sample of 1300 cases was selected for more intensive study
by arranging all the names alphabetically and selecting every third
case without regard to data availability for the special study.

Despite exhaustive data searches employed, it was still not possi-
ble to obtain, in every case, a complete criminal history for all offenders
in the study sample. Indices of criminal behavior selected included:
(a) the total number of arrests in the official court records exclusive
of traffic violations, (b) conviction on any offense, and (c) commit-
ment to a penal institution. The major findings of the study are
summarized below.

    (a) About sixty percent of the juvenile delinquents were
        arrested as adults and about forty percent were convicted.

    (b) Many of those who were arrested as adults were habitual
        offenders; those delinquents arrested as adults were
        arrested an average of 4.4 times.

    (c) Higher adult arrest rates were found for delinquents from
        areas of the city where delinquency rates were higher and
        for delinquents who had delinquent brothers.

    (d) Rearrest rates were higher for delinquents who had been
        officially truant than for those who had not been truant.

    (e) Adult arrest rates were positively related to the number
        of delinquency petitions for these juveniles.

    (f) Adult arrest rates were higher for delinquents who
        appeared before the Juvenile Court once and were put
        under supervision or incarcerated than for delinquents
        who appeared before the Juvenile Court once and were
        dismissed.

    (g) No significant variations in adult arrest rates were
        found based on comparisons of parental status, types of
        juvenile offense, or number of companions involved in
        the juvenile offense.

3.3.3 Characteristics and Recidivism of Juvenile Arrestees in Denver: Carr and Molof

This recidivism study[39] completed by John Carr and Martin Molof
furnishes data on characteristics of juvenile arrestees in Denver. It
represents the first effort of its kind that is a direct output of the
High Impact Anti-Crime Program. The study was conducted to provide
baseline recidivism data to be used in evaluating the recidivism reduc-
tion goals of juvenile offender projects funded by the Law Enforcement
Assistance Administration (LEAA) via the Denver Impact Program.

All juvenile offenders with arrest histories in the files of the
Denver Police Department's Delinquency Control Division (DCD) were
studied and those who had been arrested on charges of assault, robbery,
burglary, manslaughter, murder, forcible rape and attempted rape
between July 1, 1970 and June 30, 1971 were included in the baseline
group. This process produced a cohort of 2,203 youths on whom arrest
records were collected for a one- and two-year period subsequent to
the arrest which brought them into the baseline group during the time
frame June 1, 1970-June 30, 1971. Data were obtained on arrests, charges,
referrals to court, and time until first rearrest. Additionally, some
demographic and criminal history data were collected from the arrest
cards maintained by DCD. The major findings of the study are
summarized below.

(a) Males had more extensive delinquency histories than females in terms of number of arrests and the number of Impact[2] arrests.

(b) Mexican-Americans and Blacks had more extensive prior arrest records in terms of Impact arrests and court referrals than Anglos.

(c) More than half (53.2%) of the juveniles were rearrested within one year and close to two-thirds (64.5%) were rearrested within two years.

(d) The average number of rearrests in the two-year period was 2.5 for the entire sample and 3.8 for those juveniles rearrested.

(e) Rearrest rates were higher for males than females and were higher for Mexican-Americans and Blacks than Anglos.

(f) Burglary and robbery arrestees were most likely to be rearrested, while rape arrestees were least likely to be rearrested.

(g) The "12 and Under" group was less likely to be rearrested than the "13 to 15" and "16 and Over" groups.

(h) Both one-year and two-year rearrest rates increased as the number of prior arrests or prior court referrals increased.

(i) Prior arrest and prior court referrals were the best predictors of rearrest rates.

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[2]Impact offenses are stranger-to-stranger murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary.

3.4 Summary of Issues and Research Findings Related to Criminal Typologies and Offender Characteristics

The history of criminology can be partially characterized as a search for an exhaustive typology which would provide an adequate explanation for criminal behavior and allow reliable predictions of this behavior. The early development of typologies was followed by empirical research which revealed tremendous variability in the kinds of criminal behavior and in the social, psychological, and environmental factors related to each kind. Thus, criminologists have moved from the search for a criminal type to the development of complex typologies which address themselves to this variability among offenders, their characteristics, and their crimes. In addition to serving a descriptive and classificatory function, these typologies can be viewed as mini-theories which serve as guides for empirical research.

The most widely known kinds of typologies have been the legalistic, individualistic, and social crime typologies. Because legalistic typologies are usually based on the seriousness of the crime and the legal punishment meted out, there are numerous problems associated with their use. Perhaps the central problem with legalistic typologies is that offenders are often classified by legal labels (for instance, rapist or burglar) without regard for differences in the circumstances of the offense or in the processes, variables, and forces which may be related to the behavior. Individualistic typologies have a long history in criminology despite the fact that there has never been much evidence supporting specific relationships between certain individual traits and particular crimes. The individualistic typology attempts to describe offenders in terms of particular personality traits such as aggression, immaturity, or regression.

Social typologies describe offenders in terms of the social context of the offender and his offenses. For instance, Gibbons has developed a typology that employs criteria such as the interactional setting of the crime, the offender's social class, family background, and peer group relationships as a means of developing 24 types. In addition to typologies, it is possible to identify certain models which represent pervasive theoretical approaches to the offender and crime. Three of these are the subcultural, anomic, and ecological models. While the subcultural model emphasizes the role of the normative pressures of the offender's social groups, the anomic model perceives criminal activity as a function of alienation. The ecological model attempts to account for criminal activity in terms of a number of influences represented in the variety of social systems (including peers, family, and community) in which the offender operates.

One of the most ambitious typologies is Clinard and Quinney's typology of criminal behavior systems. This typology characterizes nine different kinds of criminal behavior through the application of theoretical dimensions related to legal aspects of the crime, the criminal career of the offender, the group support for criminal behavior, the correspondence between criminal and legitimate behavior, and the societal reaction. In addition to attempting to develop a complex and exhaustive typology, Clinard and Quinney have tried to relate a variety of empirical data to each of their nine criminal behavior systems. The most interesting facts presented by the authors (and considered germane to the MITRE assumptions research in probation and parole) are stated below.

The value systems of some subgroups within the larger society sanction and provide group support for violent behavior which may lead to the commission of crimes.

Murder is generally disapproved by all subgroups. It carries the stiffest penalties and is, therefore, the least probationable of offenses. Murderers, however, are less likely than non-murderers to have a prior history of arrest for any crime, and studies indicate that they are the least likely of all offenders to recidivate. The punishment is severe, then, not because murderers constitute a serious threat to the larger society, but rather, because of injury to the individual, and in the hope of general deterrence of future crime.

Murderers, assaulters, and forcible rapists are not career criminals, nor do they perceive of themselves as criminals, rarely identifying with crime and criminal behavior. Most crimes of violence have at their base subcultural norms derived from social class, ethnic group, sex, neighborhood, etc. Often the crimes committed by such offenders are victim-precipitated.

Gang delinquents often drift into adult criminality due to early arrest records which lead to a series of rejections by the larger society as the record of arrest increases.

Conventional criminals spend large percentages of their time in prisons and institutions. In terms of the law, such offenders have often been handled according to certain prescribed notions about their characteristics and behavior. Because intensive special probation and parole projects represent an attempt to use large-scale community support and self-help to overcome the subgroup norms and value systems which contribute to recidivistic behavior on the part of juvenile offenders and adult criminals, it is believed that such projects may well be successful in obtaining positive behavioral change.

Shaw and McKay conducted an extensive empirical investigation of the relationship between the development of adult criminal careers and a number of antecedent factors including characteristics of the offender and his community and family background, the nature of the offender's delinquent acts, and the nature of the court's response to the delinquent acts. The study revealed that over half (58.3 percent) of the sample of delinquents were rearrested as adults and that these individuals averaged over four ($\bar{X}$=4.4) arrests as adults. The vast majority (74.0 percent) of these offenders were arrested as adults before the age of 21. This study revealed a pattern of continuous development in the criminal careers of offenders from early, non-serious delinquent arrests to more serious and more frequent arrests as adults. This development was found to be related to the nature of the offender's community and family, and the nature of the court's action for delinquent offenses. The study indicates the need for developing programs and projects geared toward the prevention of developing criminal careers and which commence the treatment process early enough to allow effective intervention in the offender's life.

The Denver recidivism study conducted by Carr and Molof presented rearrest rates, Impact rearrest rates, and specific Impact crime rates for the one- and two-year period analyzed in terms of a number of offender characteristics including sex, ethnic group, age, baseline offense, prior number of arrests, and prior dispositions. Results indicated that males had more extensive prior criminal records in terms of number of arrests and number of Impact arrests than females. The analysis of data by ethnic group showed that Blacks and Mexican-Americans had more extensive prior delinquent records than White arrestees. More than half of the 2,203 juveniles (53.2 percent) were rearrested within one year and 64.5 percent were rearrested within two years. Rearrest rates varied considerably by sex and ethnicity, with males and Mexican-Americans more likely to be rearrested. Burglary and robbery arrestees were most

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likely to be rearrested, while rape arrestees were least likely to be rearrested. The analysis by age revealed that the "12 and Under" group were considerably less likely to be rearrested than the "13 to 15" and "16 and Over" groups. Both one- and two-year rearrest rates increased as the number of prior arrests or prior court referrals increased.

A multiple regression analysis was also conducted to determine the best predictors of rearrests. Prior court referrals and prior arrests were the two variables most predictive of rearrest on any charges or Impact charges. In other words, the degree of prior involvement in the criminal justice system was the best predictor of rearrests.

Although the empirical studies reviewed here are only a limited sample of the sum of empirical research on offender characteristics, there are a few generalities concerning these findings which should be noted. These are:

(a) the high rates of recidivism for many offenders and the continuous and developing nature of criminal careers;

(b) the importance of community and ethnic background as influences on criminal behavior (it is this evidence which lends credence to the subculture model);

(c) the importance of the nature and outcomes of contacts with the courts as influences on criminal careers; and,

(d) the tremendous variation in characteristics and backgrounds of offenders who commit different crimes and who are different kinds of criminals.

The development of effective probation and parole programs must proceed from an understanding of the nature and causes of criminal behavior. To help reshape and redefine the experience of offenders for constructive purposes, it is necessary to understand the offender's experience and its influences on him. The development of typologies as theories of criminal behavior will not lead to the necessary understanding unless these typologies are continually modified to reflect

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the growing body of empirical knowledge concerning the nature of crime and criminals. At the same time, theoretical models and typologies are necessary to guide the selection of relevant research questions and to provide frameworks for the interpretation of research answers. Criminal behavior is only a part of the complete range of human social behavior. As such, our knowledge of criminal behavior will grow and accumulate in the same manner as our scientific understanding of other types of human behavior, that is, through the interactive and synergistic development of theory, empirical research, and their application in the real world.

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