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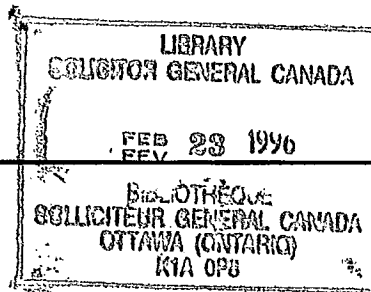
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SOME EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION THROUGH DELIBERATE MANIPULATIONS OF THE STRUCTURE OF SERVICE SYSTEMS*

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The paper reviews a series of examinations of three key principles of differential association: the contingency principle, the socioemotional principle, and the principle that criminal acts occur as a function of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of the law. The studies sampled a variety of correctional clients in a variety of correctional settings and in each there were explicit attempts to exert direct experimental control over the factors of theoretical interest as well as competing factors. In total, the findings support both the causal and the practical significance of differential association while documenting (a) structural effects on the contingencies within the service system, and (b) the effects of those contingencies on the criminal attitudes and behavior of individuals. The discussion critically contrasts such systematic testing of assumptions with related programs which have been operating for years with limited theoretical and practical returns. The paper suggests, in total, that systematic program evaluation provides the tools—and the opportunity—for a bridging of the gaps between general sociology and general psychology and between social science theory and social service.

This paper reviews a series of deliberate and explicitly experimental investigations of the causal and, hence, practical significance of certain principles of differential association theory (DA). The principles were divided into two broad sets: the conditions which promote criminal learning (differentials in exposure to

criminal and anticriminal patterns within intimate personal groups) and the conditions under which criminal learning becomes evident in criminal behavior (criminal behavior occurs when there is an excess of favorable definitions). Since controlled variations in the learning conditions were induced by way of structural interventions, the studies also speak to DA's frequently applauded ability to provide a theoretically consistent perspective at both the structural and individual levels (Akers, 1973; Cressey, 1960). An additional feature is the suggestion and documentation of an operational means of examining the "excess" principle as well as a means of experimentally analyzing the causal significance of symbolic interaction of the intrapersonal kind. Finally, and hopefully without attempting to blind the reader to the obvious limits of the specific studies, the review relates to a number of more general and recurring issues in the social sciences: the need to narrow the gap between social science theory and the design and evaluation of social services; the potential of a behavioral orientation as a complement to the still-dominant perspectives of symbolic interactionism and group dynamics theory; and the potential of an explicit, yet theoretically consistent, interdisciplinary approach to program evaluation. The

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paper opens with a summary of the current status of DA, reviews the series of investigations which test it, and closes with some recommendations and conclusions regarding DA and the more general issues just noted.

*The Status of Differential Association:
Toward Tests of Causal Significance*

DA has been the preeminent perspective on criminal conduct for most of its 40 years (Sutherland, 1939; Sutherland and Cressey, 1970). Many have argued that its survival value has more to do with ambiguity and untestability than with intellectual rigor and empirical support (for a review see Nettler, 1978). Others have evaluated DA relative to its competitors and on this basis its survival appears to be that of the fittest (Akers, 1973; Cressey, 1960; Glaser, 1962). More recently, a number of cross-sectional and predictive validity studies have confirmed Glaser's (1962) contention that thoughtful attention to association with both criminal and anti-criminal patterns would be rewarded by impressive gains in the predictability of criminal indices (Akers et al., 1979; Andrews et al., 1979; Buikhuisen and Hoekstra, 1974; Empey and Lubeck, 1971; Glaser, 1974; Harris, 1975; Linden and Hackler, 1973). However, the increasingly positive picture clouds when one looks for specific tests of causal and practical significance within an experimental (as opposed to descriptive) framework.

The promise of evidence regarding causal significance was inherent in systematic, empirical explorations of a "clinical sociology" (Cressey, 1955; Empey and Rabow, 1961), specifically, evaluations of guided group interaction (Empey and Erickson, 1972) and related programs (Hackler and Hagan, 1975) for delinquent or high-risk youths. The data are now in from a number of such experiments and the evidence is overwhelmingly clear. The massive and intrusive group and related programs were either no more effective or less effective than comparison programs such as routine individual probation supervision (Stephenson and Scarpitti, 1974). More disturbing than the

negative results has been the utter failure of the evaluations to provide even one explicit and direct examination of the DA-based assumptions on which the programs were designed. Cressey (1955) stated that the focus of the programs should be the attitudes, values, and beliefs of groups rather than of individuals; and he adapted Cartwright's (1951) group dynamics principles to the correctional scene. For over 20 years, with the possible exception of Klein (1971), there was not one controlled test of the importance of group cohesion nor of the competing structural means of inducing an anticriminal focus within groups (Andrews, 1979a; 1979b).

The paucity of theoretical, empirical, and practical gains can be traced to two related factors. Just as Schwartz (1961) warned in this journal in his response to Empey and Rabow's (1961) guidelines for guided group interaction, the clinical sociology tradition has been characterized by an inattention to, or lack of appreciation of, the efforts of other disciplines. The lack of cross-discipline exchange is clearly evident, even today, when one examines how many respected sociologists have reacted to the negative outcome of the grand experiments. Schur (1973:170) advises that as long as treatment must be offered, then "available evidence favors emphasizing relatively unstructured group sessions." Hackler (1978) advises a deemphasis of controlled evaluation and more careful attention to basic principles governing human behavior. What principles?—"cognitive dissonance" and "group interaction." Stephenson and Scarpitti (1974) conclude (somewhat lamely) that some incidental learning has occurred regarding program implementation and that, hopefully, more will be learned in the future. The conclusion is inescapable that those who have worked in the symbolic interaction and group dynamics traditions have been unaware of, or uninterested in, the behavioral revolution that has occurred over the last 15 years in the delivery and evaluation of social services. The self-critical yet self-correcting behavioral literature includes an increasing number of controlled and positive evaluations of correc-

tional programs (for reviews, see Andrews, 1979a; 1979b; Gendreau and Ross, 1978). The problem is not unlike that documented by Hirschi and Hindelang (1977) with reference to the inability of sociology to incorporate the well-documented relationship between IQ and delinquency.

A second and related reason for the failure of clinical sociology to advance significantly either understanding or service has to do with the style of the research. The evaluators compared structurally complex programs in terms of ultimate impact on recidivism without systematically documenting the effects of program structure on the actual process or contingencies of treatment, without documenting the relationship between process and the intermediate attitudinal gains thought to be mediating behavior change, and without documenting the extent to which the attitudinal gains (or losses) were associated with recidivism. The tenets of symbolic interactionism and group dynamics theory were accepted without challenge, as was the programmer's ability to create the appropriate conditions through structural means. Andrews and Kiessling (1979) have noted elsewhere the confusion possible when the links among structure, process, intermediate gain, and ultimate outcome are not specified and monitored.

Given this background of impressive heuristic and predictive value—yet an inadequate documentation of causal and practical significance—the most promising recent development has been the extension of DA's power and applicability through links with behavior theory (Adams, 1973; Akers, 1973; Andrews et al., 1974; Andrews et al., 1979; Burgess and Akers, 1966; and Howell's, 1972, use of Homans, 1961). Through behavioral reformulations, DA is freed from the descriptive and antiexperimental tradition of classical symbolic interactionism. The collections of Cressey and Ward (1969) and Rubington and Weinberg (1973) are probably most representative of that tradition in the study of deviance and, in the well-over-100 papers sampled, there is only one example of a controlled experimental study. The behavioral orientation

is strongly experimental, yet not insensitive to the potential of descriptive investigations or to other methodologies (Bijou et al., 1968). It is much more flexible and open to cognitive factors (Bandura, 1969; Meichenbaum, 1977) than its most derisive and ideologically committed critics in the area of deviance (Taylor et al., 1973) would have us believe. It promises, indeed demands, the systematic and empirical examination of DA's most basic tenets without necessarily severing ties to models—both of man and of behavioral influence—which emphasize reason and choice as well as interpersonal concerns.

The purest (and yet the weakest) of the operant reformulations of DA is that of Adams (1973). He systematically purged DA of any "mentalistic concepts," deemphasized the social nature of the learning and performance processes, and, in short, produced what Nettler (1978) would call a "true but trivial" statement. Statements to the effect that the acquisition, maintenance, and modification of criminal and noncriminal behavior are governed by similar principles do not constitute a theory of criminal behavior. They are statements concerning a general theory of behavior. Similarly, empirical documentations of the fact that the criminal and noncriminal behaviors of offenders and nonoffenders are under antecedent and outcome control do not constitute convincing support for a behavioral version of DA. Such demonstrations expand the literature on the applicability of behavioral principles and techniques to corrections, but they do not meaningfully advance our understanding of the causal significance of DA principles.

Experimental evidence relevant to DA, regardless of the theory and technology of behavioral influence associated with it, should involve tests of one or more of the key principles. The following principles are the ones investigated in the series of studies to be reviewed:

- (a) Criminal learning occurs by way of association with criminal patterns and relative isolation from anticriminal patterns. In behavioral terms, this is the contingency factor and refers to the criminal versus anticriminal nature of the patterns to which the individual is exposed (modeling) and the consequences

for the individual (reinforcement and punishment) of exhibiting criminal and anti-criminal patterns (Andrews et al., 1974).

(b) The principal part of learning occurs within intimate personal groups. This is the quality of interpersonal communication factor or the socioemotional/relationship factor. In behavioral terms, the most effective model is one who, among other things, controls a wide variety of high-quality reinforcers (or punishers) and who rewards the other for exhibiting demonstrated behaviors (Bandura, 1969). We will assume that the dimensions on which "intimate personal groups" are defined are the same dimensions on which variations in the reinforcing and punishing value of another's response may be classified (Homans, 1961). For example, an interpersonal situation characterized by mutual liking and respect, and by understanding and open communication is an "intimate" one, one within which the behaviors of the other are attended to (with the potential of enhanced modeling effects), and one in which the other is a potential source of powerful reinforcers and punishers.

(c) A person engages in criminal acts ("becomes criminal") when there is an excess of definitions of the situation favorable to violation of the law over definitions of the situation unfavorable to violation of the law. In behavioral terms, this is the self-management factor, a subset of the more general factor of discriminative stimulus control over criminal acts. There may well be situations or individuals wherein, or for whom, the objective properties of the immediate situation discount any set of motives, rationalizations, or beliefs which the individual brings with him (Wells, 1978), but that is not the concern of the studies reviewed. We assume that the products of the learning which has occurred by way of the contingency and relationship factors—products in the measurable form of attitudes, values, and beliefs—may (in some situations and under some conditions) be causally associated with criminal performance. Generally, there will be a greater correspondence between cognitions and behavior among individuals who engage in self-monitoring, self-instructing, and self-consequating than among individuals who less systematically practice such measurable and trainable self-management skills (Bandura, 1969; Meichenbaum, 1977).¹

¹ The designation of differential association or DA is used throughout this paper to refer to these principles. However, readers familiar with differential association literature will recognize that it is the behavioral reformulation that is being tested here.

In summary, the contingency and relationship principles have to do with the conditions under which criminal learning occurs, while the self-management principle has to do with the conditions under which criminal learning is translated into criminal acts. The causal implications of these principles may be inferred from controlled studies in which (a) deliberately induced variations in the learning situation are monitored for effects on criminal learning and, (b) deliberately induced shifts in the balance of favorable and unfavorable definitions are monitored in relation to criminal activity. Of particular interest to the general sociologist is the fact that the variations on the contingency and relationship dimensions may be induced through structural interventions within those miniature social systems which constitute the specific settings for intervention. Mayer (1972) has provided a compelling analytic base for the investigation of structural approaches to social problems, but, reflecting the state of the art and the science, he did not present one experimentally derived example. In the studies reviewed here, the dominant interventions were those of changing the membership composition of the treatment system and/or changing the role composition of the systems.

The value of any empirical study depends upon how well the factors of theoretical interest—as well as competing factors—have been brought under experimental control. Since it is naive to expect that any single study could discount all competing factors or could introduce simultaneous controlled variation on all factors of theoretical interest, integrated research programs—rather than isolated studies—are indicated. Each study, within the set to be reviewed, made a systematic attempt to control for competing factors not well attended to by other studies in the

rather than strictly the original theory as stated by Sutherland. The behavioral reformulation as stated above adds three elements to the original: the specification of modeling and reinforcement in the "contingency factor"; the linking of "intimacy" to the schedule and quality of modeling and reinforcement; and the linking of the causal significance of "definitions" to discriminative stimulus control through self-management.

set and/or to induce systematic variation in relevant factors which had been held constant in the other studies. In addition to such general problems of internal validity, there are also problems of external validity which can be dealt with only through systematic replication and extension to different types of subjects, settings, manipulations, and measures. Explicit attempts were made to sample from different settings and subject groups, but there are three obvious limits on generalizability: all of the studies involved official offenders who were serving formal sentences at the time of the studies; every study made use of the same attitude battery—a positive feature in terms of comparability within the set, but a negative feature in terms of external generalizability; and all studies were completed by the same research team—or at least by a professionally related group of researchers. Regarding the second limitation, we find that some of the studies have supplemented the attitudinal measures with recidivism data.

The Contingency Principle

The first set of studies involved evaluations of a coparticipant role for student and citizen volunteers in institution-based group counseling with the adult-male residents of two minimum-security prisons. Prior to these studies, several controlled evaluations of short-term structured group counseling had produced evidence that groups composed of prisoners and a non-prisoner leader were having effects on various attitudes and behaviors, including institutional adjustment (Andrews and Young, 1974), interpersonal skills and self-esteem (Daigle-Zinn and Andrews, forthcoming), and knowledge of legal rights (Wayne and Andrews, 1978). However, Wayne and Andrews (1978) were unable to obtain effects on the attitudinal measures most obviously relevant to the notion of definitions favorable versus unfavorable to violations of the law—that is, on measures having to do with respect for the law, courts, and police; with tolerance for law violations; and with identification with offenders. It appeared that the differentials in the qual-

ity of exposure to criminal and anticriminal expressions (differentials so well-documented by Buehler et al. [1966] at a girl's training school) were also present in our counseling groups. Thus, a structural change was introduced for those counseling groups which focused upon attitudes and beliefs regarding the law and law violation—specifically, a change in membership composition through the introduction of noncriminal others as codiscussants.

The Community Groups involved from four to seven citizen volunteers (primarily college students) and from four to seven prisoners, interacting for one evening a week for a period of eight weeks. Each group had a nonresident leader whose operational guidelines were to encourage open, warm, and frank communication while structuring discussions around preselected topics such as the function of rules, the validity and limits of common rationalizations for law violations, and a social learning perspective on self-control. All participants had responded to announcements at their respective institutions that Community Groups were being established. Details on the institutional settings and group procedures have been provided elsewhere (Andrews et al., 1974; Andrews and Gendreau, 1976).

The first study (Andrews et al., 1973) suggested that the Community Group model provided not only a potentially important service but also a vehicle for the systematic evaluation of the causal significance of DA. Inspection of the Client factor in Table 1 shows that the volunteers and prisoners differed, first, in the expected (and theoretically relevant) ways on the attitudinal measures of respect for the law, courts, and police; tolerance for law violations; and identification with criminal others. Secondly, participating residents showed reduced tolerance for law violation and reduced identification with offenders, at posttest, relative to a nonparticipant comparison group of residents, while the participating citizen volunteers were showing increased identification with criminal others relative to a waiting-list control set of volunteers. The triple interactions presented in Table 2 have since been replicated in detail by

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Table 1. A Summary of the Analyses of Variance in Criminal Sentiments by Type of Client, Program, and Pre-Post (Study I)

Source	df	Law, Courts, Police		Tolerance for Law Violations		Identification With Criminal Other	
		ms	F	ms	F	ms	F
Client (A)	1	6055.2	47.47***	684.45	22.66***	201.61	14.27**
Program (B)	1	8.45	<1.0	1.80	<1.0	10.61	<1.0
A x B	1	33.80	<1.0	20.00	<1.0	13.61	1.30
Error (b)	36	127.57		30.20		10.46	
Pre-Post (C)	1	12.80	<1.0	33.80	4.68*	3.61	1.67
A x C	1	8.45	<1.0	1.80	<1.0	0.11	1.0
B x C	1	24.20	<1.0	0.45	<1.0	0.31	<1.0
A x B x C	1	18.05	<1.0	31.25	4.33*	52.81	24.49***
Error (w)	36	25.85		7.21		2.16	

* $p < .05$.
 ** $p < .01$.
 *** $p < .001$.

Note: The Program factor in Study I was Community Group versus Routine Institution Treatment (N=40:10 subjects for each Client-Program combination).

Wormith (1977). However, our first study did not directly vary exposure to anti-criminal patterns—a more crucial element of Sutherland's theory than exposure to noncriminal others—and, by virtue of the use of nonparticipant controls, the changes may simply have reflected an attention-placebo or demand effect.

The second study (Andrews et al., 1977) was an explicit attempt to hold attention and association with noncriminal others constant while varying the opportunity for the exposure of anticriminal patterns. Volunteers and prisoners were randomly assigned to either a Community Discussion Group (codiscussant roles) or a

Community Recreation Group (companion roles). In the latter, the participants engaged in various table-top games with no programmed opportunity to expose their sentiments regarding the law. There was a built-in replication with residents drawn from the two physically separate institutions which were located on the same grounds, one for first incarcerates and the other for recidivists.

Table 3 provides a summary of the analyses of variance in attitude change (postscores minus prescores). Within both institutional samples, any statistically reliable attitudinal gains on the indices of definitions unfavorable versus favorable

Table 2. Mean Criminal Sentiments at Pre- and Posttreatment By Type of Client and Program Participation: A Summary of the Pre-Post Effects in Study I

	Pre- (n=10)	Post- (n=10)	F	p
	Identification with Criminal Others			
Program Participants				
Prisoners	20.8	18.7	10.22	.005
Volunteers	16.9	17.9	2.32	.20
Nonparticipant Controls				
Prisoners	19.7	21.1	4.54	.05
Volunteers	17.4	15.4	9.27	.005
Tolerance for Law Violations				
Program Participants				
Prisoners	31.8	32.0	<1.0	ns
Volunteers	24.0	26.1	3.06	.10
Nonparticipant Controls				
Prisoners	29.1	32.1	6.24	.025
Volunteers	25.8	25.7	<1.0	ns

Table 3. A Summary of Analyses of Variance in Changes in Criminal Sentiments By Type of Client, Program, and Institution (Study II)

	df	Law, Courts, Police		Tolerance for Law Violations	
		ms	F	ms	F
		Client (A)	1	153.14	1.20
Program (B)	1	606.14	4.75*	9.00	<1.0
Institution (C)	1	31.64	<1.0	1.56	<1.0
A x B	1	40.64	<1.0	12.25	<1.0
A x C	1	415.14	3.25*	10.56	<1.0
B x C	1	6.89	<1.0	144.00	4.44*
A x B x C	1	26.27	<1.0	40.06	1.23
Error (b)	55	127.54		32.45	

* $p < .05$.

Note: The Program Factor was Community Discussion Group versus Community Recreation Group. There were no significant effects on the Identification with Criminal Others scale (N=64).

Table 4. Mean Change in Criminal Sentiments of the Codiscussants and the Companions (Study II)

	Codiscussants (n=32)	Companions (n=32)	F
Law, Courts, Police Tolerance for Law Violations ^a	6.09 -3.44	-0.06 0.31	4.75* 6.97*

* $p < .05$.^a Effect reliable only within the institution for first incarcerates.

to law violations were found following participation in the discussion groups but not found following participation in the recreation groups (Table 4). In fact, the changes found among prisoners in the recreation condition were no different from those found within a waiting-list control group of prisoners. Overall, the findings discounted an effect due to attention or to simple exposure to noncriminal others but, given the focused nature of the discussion condition, there was still the possibility of a Testing \times Treatment interaction.

The Relationship Principle

The third study (Andrews et al., n.d.[b.]) was an experimental investigation of the socioemotional factor as well as an attempt to discount the possibility of a Testing \times Treatment interaction. All residents participated in focused discussion groups, but the specific groups to which they were randomly assigned varied in terms of the interpersonal skills of participating citizens. Goodman's (1972) behavioral assessment technique was employed to obtain preassignment measures on the volunteer's openness, warmth, and understanding as rated by peers. Two types of Community Groups were formed, one including citizens who were above the median on peer ratings and the other including citizens who received below average peer ratings.

Table 5 provides a sample of the findings from the third study. The membership composition manipulation was effective in influencing the socioemotional climate in that the more-skilled volunteers and the prisoners in their groups reported

Table 5. The Effects of the Interpersonal Skills Level of Volunteers on the Socioemotional Climate and Interaction Process Within Groups and on Changes in the Criminal Sentiments of Prisoners (Study III)

	Groups With the Less Skilled Volunteers. (Prisoners $n=18$; Volunteer $n=20$)		Groups With the More Skilled Volunteers. (Prisoner $n=18$; Volunteer $n=21$)		F	p
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Socioemotional Climate (Participants Ratings)						
Openness	12.8	1.7	14.2	1.8	10.29	.002
Interaction Process						
Opinions (Asking for)	3.5	5.0	0.5	1.5	7.56	.008
Suggestions (Given by Volunteers)	6.6	7.4	11.6	5.8	4.67	.04
Prisoner Attitude Change						
Law	-1.3	6.3	2.1	5.8	2.75	.10
Courts	1.9	5.2	0.1	6.0	<1.0	ns
Police	-1.5	4.6	1.8	4.2	4.61	.04
				MANOVA	5.00	.006
Tolerance for Law Violations a	2.9	5.7	-4.7	8.1	5.72	.03
b	-2.4	2.3	1.0	4.5	4.22	.05

Note: There was a statistically reliable Interpersonal Skill \times Prisoner Anxiety interaction on the Tolerance change scores, $F(1/32) = 8.81, p < .006$. Similar interactions on the Law and Identification scales failed to reach reliable levels. The "a" values are for low anxiety prisoners; the "b" values, for high anxiety prisoners.

more open and emotionally frank communication than did the less-skilled volunteers and their prisoner coparticipants. The two types of groups did not differ on the Bales's (1950) interaction process measure of expressed opinions but, as indicated in Table 5, apparently the volunteers and residents in the less-skilled groups had to make more direct requests for the expression of personal opinions. The skilled volunteers were more likely to take a leadership role in the discussions by offering suggestions than were the less-skilled volunteers. Note that successful manipulation of the relationship factor was completed without concomitant variation of the contingency factor, in that peer ratings on interpersonal skills were statistically independent of the volunteers' pretested scores on the criminal orientation measures.

The outcome supported the relationship principle—particularly among those prisoners who were below the resident average on a pretested trait measure of anxiety (Table 5). Generally, the posttreatment changes on the attitudinal measures of a criminal orientation were most strongly in the anticriminal direction among those prisoners who had interacted with the more interpersonally skilled volunteers. However, it appeared that the confrontation format may have been dysfunctional with the more anxious residents, a finding anticipated by other group programs (Sarason and Ganzer, 1973).

The third study provided an additional opportunity to examine the relationship principle, an opportunity which was not reported in Andrews et al. (n.d.[b.]). At the end of the next-to-last session of the groups, individual volunteers and prisoners were asked to report on the extent to which there had been obvious divisions between volunteers and prisoners during the sessions. A group-dynamics perspective (Cressey, 1955) and social learning theory yield the prediction that the amount of attitude change would be a positive function of cohesion. However, the more interesting question is whether the direction of the relationship between cohesion and change depends upon the type of client. The first study (Tables 1 and 2), in conjunction with the contin-

gency principle, had suggested that volunteers and prisoners tend to become more alike in their criminal sentiments as a function of exposure to each other. According to the relationship principle, the prisoners should become more anticriminal in their attitudes, under association conditions of high perceived cohesion, while the citizen volunteers should move toward less anticriminal positions. An examination of the correlations between perceived cohesion and attitude change suggested that just such an interaction was present. The correlation of cohesion with changes in the tolerance for violations measure was $-.35$ ($p < .05$) within the prison sample but $.26$ ($p < .10$) within the volunteer sample. For changes in identification with offenders, the correlations were $-.33$ ($p < .10$) and $.34$ ($p < .05$) for the prisoners and volunteers respectively.

The Interaction of the Contingency and Relationship Principles

The studies had shown that anticriminal learning on the part of prisoners was a function of programmed differentials in the exposure of criminal and anticriminal patterns and that anticriminal learning was most evident under program conditions designed to promote positive interpersonal interactions. What was required was an examination of impact when the contingency factor and the socioemotional factor varied in combination. Specifically, DA predicts that there is a positive or negative relationship between the socioemotional factor and criminal learning, depending upon the relative exposure of criminal and anticriminal patterns.

The fourth study (Andrews et al., forthcoming) was conducted in two medium-security penitentiaries and involved adult recidivists serving sentences of over two years. The prisoners were randomly assigned to two types of groups: one, of the Community Group format; and the other, a discussion group focusing on the same topics but without citizen volunteers as coparticipants. Table 6 presents a summary of the findings. Important to the research program—but not unexpected—was the finding that the volunteers, known to be more anticriminal in

Table 6. The Effects of Volunteer Participation on the Socioemotional Climate and the Anticriminal Contingencies Established Within Groups, on Changes in the Criminal Sentiments of Prisoners, and on the Correlations between Socioemotional Climate Ratings and Changes (Study IV)

	Community Groups				Resident Groups				F
Socioemotional Climate (Prisoners' Ratings)									
Openness (Institution A)	13.50				10.43				6.35*
Openness (Institution B)	11.75				16.75				17.98**
Procriminal Arguments	1.63 (Volunteers)				2.63 (Residents)				34.91**
Prisoner Attitude Change Law, Courts, Police (Institution B)	.25				-9.75				7.98*
	Partials				Partials				
Openness Ratings in relation to Attitude Change	r	r ^a	r ^b	r ^c	r	r ^a	r ^b	r ^c	Z
Law, Courts, Police	.89**	83	86	85	-62	-56	-47	-29	3.24***
Tolerance for Law Violations	-.75**	-61	-79	-88	34	30	28	48	1.94*

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.

^a Controlling for Institution.

^b for Prescores.

^c for "faking good."

Note: See text for discussion of interactions (Prisoner N=16; Volunteer N=16).

their pretested attitudes, did in fact express more anticriminal sentiments within the groups than did the prisoners. During selected sessions participants were asked to provide arguments favorable versus unfavorable to specific violations, such as illegal parking, burglary, and armed robbery. Content analyses of typed transcripts prepared from videotaped portions of these sessions confirmed that the arguments of the prisoners were more favorable to each of the three types of violations than were those of the volunteers. Note that the presence of the volunteers had no detectable effect on the expressed arguments of the prisoners during the groups' meetings, but it was the case that anticriminal sentiments had a greater exposure within the Community Groups than within the Resident Groups.

The effects of volunteer presence on the socioemotional climate and on prisoner attitude change were less clear. Within one of the institutions, the presence of volunteers was associated with more open and frank discussion, according to the ratings by prisoners; the effect was exactly opposite within the other institution. Similarly, the effects on prisoner attitude change were less than impressive.

In only one of the institutions, and on only one of the criminal sentiment scales, was there a statistically reliable effect of volunteer presence. However, the impact of the two types of groups on the relationship between socioemotional indices and attitude change was more crucial to DA theory than was the impact of the groups on either, separately. Inspection of the correlations in the bottom portion of Table 6 reveals that interaction predicted by DA was evident. Within the resident-only discussion groups, the groups in which the criminal expressions had been less well-balanced by anticriminal expressions, positive prisoner evaluations of the socioemotional evaluations were associated with procriminal changes on the attitude measures. Within the Community Groups, positive socioemotional evaluations were associated with anticriminal changes. The reversal of effects, dependent upon type of group, was evident within both institutions and remained when statistical controls were introduced for prescores and any generalized tendency to "fake good."

Given the consistency of the above set of findings, from study-to-study and with reference to DA, it was time to manipulate

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experimentally both the relationship and the contingency factors and to monitor effects on behavioral indices. In conjunction with an attempt to produce a broad comparison of the volunteer and professional supervision of adult probationers (Andrews et al., 1979), the volunteers (n = 60) and professionals (n = 14) were pre-tested on a number of self-report attitude and personality scales, including three which were relevant to the contingency and relationship factors implicated by DA: the Hogan Empathy (EMP) scale which has excellent psychometric credentials as a measure of interpersonal skills (Grief and Hogan, 1973); the Gough (1969) Socialization (SOC) scale which is one of the more reliable and valid personality predictors of criminal activity and, hence, a solid measure of a conventional orientation; and the measure of Identification with Criminal Others (ICO) which had been successfully employed in the Community Group studies and whose positive correlation with the Hogan Empathy Scale had been discovered with volunteers in still another study (Andrews et al., n.d.[a.]). The prediction was now obvious: the most effective probation officers would be those who were interpersonally skilled (above the median on EMP), conventional in orientation (above the median on SOC), and not too enamored of criminal others (below the median on ICO).

Probationers (n = 190) were randomly assigned to either a volunteer or professional officer, and to officers within each category without reference to the officers' scores on EMP, SOC or ICO. The managers of the probation program, the officers and their clients, and the research staff were "blind" with reference to the personality scores of the officers prior to case assignment, as well as during the supervision and data collection periods.

The first question was to determine whether the membership composition manipulation of the contingency and relationship factors actually had measurable effects on probation supervision. The answer was an unqualified yes (Table 7). Program managers, including the screening interviewers and both the preservice and inservice trainers of volunteers, gave their most positive evaluations to those

Table 7. The Effects of Officer Empathy and Socialization on the Socioemotional Climate and Anticriminal Contingencies During Probation Supervision: Pearson *r*'s (Study V)

	Empathy Socialization	
Managers' Ratings of Volunteer Officers (N=60)		
Screening Ratings	.37**	.17
Training Ratings	.33**	.11
Quality of Supervision (Officers' Ratings, N=49)		
Relationship (Socioemotional)	.27*	.14
Helping	.19	.33**
Quality of Supervision (Probationers' Ratings, N=46)		
Relationship (Socioemotional)	.29*	.13
Helping	.14	.32**
Officer Behavior During Audiotaped Sessions with Probationer (N=48)		
Anticriminal Modeling	(ns)	.36*
Anticriminal Reinforcement	(ns)	.45**
Friendly Expressions	(ns)	-.40**

* *p* < .05.
 ** *p* < .01.

volunteers who were the more interpersonally skilled. The probationers assigned to the more interpersonally skilled officers—volunteer or professional—reported more open and warm relationships with their officers than did the probationers assigned to the less interpersonally skilled officers. Probationers' reports on the amount of real help and assistance offered by their officers varied positively with officer SOC scores. Finally, during audiotaped supervision sessions, it was the more conventionally socialized officers who were making more anticriminal statements—and who were most likely to approve of their probationer's anticriminal expressions and disapprove of their probationer's procriminal expressions. The more conventionally socialized officers were also less likely to offer noncontingent friendly expressions.

The in-program recidivism of the probationers was analyzed in a 2 (Officer EMP) × 2 (Officer SOC) × 2 (Officer ICO) format, with the professional status of officers and the probationers' age and sex as covariates. The main effects of the officer factors were not statistically reliable but there was an EMP × SOC interaction (*p* < .004). In a different setting, with different operational definitions of the contingency and relationship factors, and

Table 8. Proportion of Probationers "Recidivating" by Probation Officer Empathy and Socialization Levels (Study V)

Empathy	Socialization		<i>p</i> <
	Low	High	
Low	.163 (37)	.418 (31)	.02
High	.298 (48)	.148 (72)	.05
<i>p</i> <	.10	.01	

Note: The recidivism rates were adjusted for probationer age, sex and professional status of officer. The unadjusted rates yield the same pattern of results. The number of probationers on which the proportions were based are recorded in parentheses.

with a different measure of anticriminal influence, the interaction plotted in Table 8 was a direct confirmation of the Andrews et al. (forthcoming) findings, previously outlined in Table 6. With anticriminal contingencies in effect (high SOC officers), the relationship factor (officer EMP) was negatively related to recidivism: the probationers assigned to the more empathetic officers "recidivated" at lower rates than did probationers with the less empathetic officers. With the less anticriminal contingencies in effect (low SOC officers), officer EMP scores were positively related to probationer recidivism. The particularly poor performance of the probationers with the low-EMP/high-SOC officers (the austere moralistic officers in Grief and Hogan's [1973] terms) represents the first convincing empirical confirmation of Cressey's (1955) and Empey and Rabow's (1961) fear of establishing "rejection of the rejectors."

A close inspection of Table 8 might suggest that both the low-EMP/low-SOC and high-EMP/high-SOC combinations represented relatively neutral conditions,

while the other two conditions were associated with the active production of criminal behavior. Note that there was not a significant difference in outcome between the low-EMP/low-SOC and high-EMP/high-SOC conditions. We expected, however, that the recidivism rates for the high-EMP/high-SOC officers were inflated by the fact that EMP and ICO are positively correlated: the more empathetic officers identified most with offenders ($r = .23, p < .05$). Thus, and in view of the a priori significance of ICO, officers in the high-EMP/high-SOC categories were further split on the basis of ICO. Relative to the probationers assigned to the other types of officers, the probationers of the high-EMP/high-SOC/low-ICO officers "recidivated" at significantly lower rates (Table 9). However, splitting the low-EMP/low-SOC officers on ICO had no such effect on the recidivism of their probationers.

To maintain continuity with the Community Group studies and to compare behavior (recidivism) with verbalization, probationer attitude change was also monitored as a function of officers' interpersonal skills and conventional orientation. Consistent with the Community Group studies and DA, it was those probationers assigned to the high-EMP/high-SOC officers who not only "recidivated" least, but also showed both the greatest increases in respect for the law courts, and police, and the greatest reductions in tolerance for law violation and identification with offenders. The attitudinal effects were evident regardless of probationers' age, sex, prescores, "faking good" or the professional status of their officers (Table 9).

Table 9. Mean Change in the Criminal Sentiments of Probationers and Recidivism by Officer Empathy and Socialization Levels (Study V)

	High Empathy, High Socialization Officers	Other Officers	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Law, Courts, Police	4.41	1.23	4.98	.03
Tolerance for Law Violations	-2.35	-0.35	5.81	.02
Ident. with Criminal Others	-1.19	-0.09	3.51	.06
Recidivism (%)	5.37	25.2	5.19	.02

Note: The tabled mean attitude change scores have been adjusted for prescores, probationers' age and sex, changes on the "faking good" scale, and professional status of officers. See text regarding the recidivism effects.

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In sum, the studies have provided strong and consistent evidence that the contingency and relationship principles of DA have causal significance with reference to both criminal attitudes and criminal behavior. The self-management factor remains to be reviewed.

The Self-Management Principle

A recurring problem for reviewers of DA has been that of defining "excess." The suggestion here is that one way we can avoid the problem of operational counts of the number of criminal and anti-criminal definitions is by focusing, instead, on *changes* on measures relevant to definitions. The focus then becomes that of examining the behavioral correlates of induced *shifts* in the balance of definitions. This can readily be done, assuming we have measures of definitions at two separate points in time, the theoretical and technical wherewithall to induce the changes, and an independent measure of criminal behavior at time two and/or at a later follow-up period.

Toward this end, Andrews et al. (1979) examined the correlations between probationer attitude change and recidivism with statistical controls introduced for probationers' prescores, the professional status of the probationer's officer, and probationer age and sex. In a battery of 24 attitude and personality scales, only six measures of change were reliably predictive of reduced recidivism: more positive attitudes toward the law, courts, and police ($-.20, p < .01$); decreased tolerance for law violations (.15, $p < .05$); decreased identification with offenders (.15, $p < .05$); increased socialization ($-.17, p < .05$); decreased psychopathy (.18, $p < .01$); and decreased wish to exert control over others (.14, $p < .05$). While there may be discussion about the relevance of the latter two change-measures to DA, the first four rather clearly represent shifts in the direction of definitions unfavorable to violation of the law. The multiple correlation between attitude change and recidivism was .48 ($p < .05$), a figure of impressive magnitude, given the well-known problems associated with self-report measures and the fact that we did not have an

independent measure of self-management skills.

The above-noted finding is generally consistent with DA—but not sufficiently convincing when one adopts a behavioral perspective on self-management, since the functional process has not been identified. Recall the assumption that changes at the level of attitudes and beliefs would be most evident at the behavioral level when the individual possesses and practices self-management skills. In a study which might well chart an exciting new course for symbolic interactionism, Wormith (1977) attempted to isolate experimentally the conditions under which attitude and belief change become evident in deviant versus conventional behavior. In a 2×2 factorial design, he independently manipulated the quality of an attitude-change program to which prisoners were exposed, as well as the programmed opportunity for enhancement of self-management skills. The attitude-change manipulation involved random assignment of prisoners to one of two types of Community Groups: one, in which the volunteers were trained to explicitly model and reinforce anticriminal expressions; and the other, a routine Community Group. The self-management program involved systematic training of prisoners in behavioral principles, including self-observation, self-instruction, and self-consequence. The comparison level of the self-management training factor was participation in a Community Recreation Group. Wormith monitored the behavioral effects of the four program conditions on two reliable institutional-conduct indices involving prosocial versus antisocial changes in participants' behavior toward staff and peers. The analyses revealed a clear Attitude Training \times Self-Management Training interaction on prisoner behavior outside of the training context. Those residents who received self-management training, plus high-level attitude training, showed behavioral changes in the prosocial direction; while those who received self-management training, in combination with the lower-level attitude change program, exhibited behavioral changes in the antisocial direction. The Wormith study, like the other

Community Group studies, awaits follow-ups regarding impact on postprogram recidivism.

Summary and Conclusions

The studies and findings have suggested and supported a number of general conclusions regarding how social and behavioral scientists may approach matters concerning the causal and applied significance of their theories:

(a) The Community Group and Ottawa Probation projects, in conjunction with the findings of other controlled evaluations of correctional programs reviewed elsewhere (Andrews, 1979a; 1979b), provide impressive evidence in total that the principles of DA have causal significance and that the principles are of immediate importance to those involved in the design and management of correctional programs. Without due and joint consideration of the contingency and relationship factors, correctional programming may inadvertently produce not simply *zero* impact—but perhaps *negative* impact—on correctional clients. Similarly, although the data-base is still very light on the point, it may be worse than unproductive to focus on criminal learning without equal attention being paid to the processes by which learning is translated into performance.

(b) The analytic and technological power as well as the conceptual flexibility that a behavioral orientation can bring to the study of deviance is too great to be glibly dismissed, as has been done by sociologists strongly committed to symbolic interactionism. Similarly, a commitment to the development of a "clinical sociology," a commitment still strongly associated with the group dynamics tradition, cannot continue to blind programmers and evaluators to the paucity of their returns, relative to complementary behavioral approaches.

(c) Systematic, controlled, and theoretically integrated research programs should precede the design and implementation of large-scale and intrusive interventions in the lives of individuals. If a few small, but careful, investigations of the assumptions underlying guided-group

interaction programs had been completed prior to their wide-scale implementation, then many young persons would have been spared the massive intrusion which such programs represent, relative to routine probation. In rejecting the clinical tradition, the clinical sociologists also overlooked a key ethical principle: the explicit testing of the assumptions underlying intervention as opposed to ideological commitment to those assumptions.

(d) Glaser's (1962; 1974) increasingly impassioned pleas for a bridging of the gap between theory and practice will be more systematically adhered to as practitioners recognize the guidance which theory can provide, and as theorists recognize the potential of rigorous program evaluation as a means of testing the causal significance of theoretical principles. The studies reviewed spoke to both concerns.

(e) Program-evaluation research provides an opportunity for sociologists to examine the effects on individual behavior of controlled variations on basic structural factors such as the membership, role, and status composition of social systems. Some of the studies in the review provided concrete examples of the Durkheimian "social fact"—albeit, examples derived from social systems so miniature that Durkheim might have yawned.

(f) Program-evaluation research provides a unique opportunity for interdisciplinary (yet theoretically integrated) research on how structure maintains the contingencies within social systems, and on how those contingencies, in turn, influence the attitudes and behavior of the individuals within the system. This was a major implication of the Burgess and Akers (1966) reformulation of DA; and the studies reviewed in the present paper provide evidence relevant to both levels of analysis. Hopefully, it will be not just sociologists and psychologists who participate in such research. The emerging but still distinctly atheoretical policy and management sciences might do well to consider that it is primarily through role changes (for example, by the training of workers on practice-relevant dimensions), status changes (for example, by policy statements on rights and obligations), and changes in membership composition (for

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example, by selecting workers on practice-relevant dimensions) that significant organizational change may bring about more cost-efficient attainment of publicly stated goals. An ongoing study of probation services is examining the effects of simultaneously controlled variation of each of these three major elements of social structure (Andrews and Kiessling, 1978).

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A MODEL FOR CONCEPTUALIZING INTERVENTIONS IN SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

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ABSTRACT

A model of direct intervention as it operates in social service agencies is presented. The basic postulate of the model is that the ultimate outcomes of the intervention process are a function of the main effects and interactions among six sets of interacting factors. The latter include setting, client, worker, programme, and process factors, as well as intermediate outcomes. The model was developed in response to some criticisms of the traditional counselling model and from some recent theoretical and empirical developments in the direct intervention literature.

The direct intervention strategy has been the guiding paradigm in the human services area for some time. The basic assumption underlying this strategy is that most human problems have their sources within the individual, the family group, or the immediate situation. Therefore, treatments are directed at the personal, interpersonal, and situational levels. This model underlies most of the counselling and therapy efforts in social service agencies. It is represented, for example, in programmes of individual psychotherapy for depressed teenagers, group counselling of abused women, and behavioural treatment of alcoholics. All involve direct interventions in human problems by professional personnel.

This direct intervention strategy has, however, come under attack from a number of directions. Criticisms of the approach are not new, and the usual tendency is to ignore them and get on with the task at hand. There are nevertheless some good reasons why the criticisms should not be ignored. First, they may in fact identify weaknesses in our techniques and lead therefore to improved interventions. Second, there is an increasing emphasis on accountability in social service agencies, particularly publicly supported agencies, and it is becoming more and more important to address criticisms of the services provided.

It is for these reasons that we address some of the criticisms that have been advanced against these direct intervention strategies. We begin by

discussing and evaluating three sets of these criticisms. We then present a model of the processes involved in direct intervention strategies that we feel answers some of the more valid criticisms, and that represents a better guide for conceptualizing the intervention process, a better guide for research on the process, and a better guide for programme planning.

Sources of Criticism of the Direct Intervention Model

Structural Criticisms

The roots of structural criticism reside in the disciplines of history, political science, and sociology. We will show that there are several versions of the structural position, some more extreme than others, but the position may be characterized very generally by the assumption that human problems stem more or less directly from social-political-economic forces. It is further assumed that the attack on individual problems will most effectively come through an attack on those external forces giving rise to the problems. Advocates of this position tend to view direct intervention strategies as mere "tinkering" and accept fundamental structural changes as the only meaningful goal.

The most extreme version of this type of criticism can be found in the writings of Marxist critics, such as Marcuse (1964), who have developed the thesis that the traditional view of mental illness and the traditional therapies, including those represented in direct intervention strategies, represent part of a larger plot to oppress the poor and ensure capitalist hegemony. A somewhat less extreme version of this position is represented in the writings of theorists such as Szasz (1974) who have developed the thesis that the entire concept of mental illness represents a fabrication created to serve various political and

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social ends. There are, however, some less extreme versions of the structural position that do not deny the reality or importance of individual dynamics or individual interventions but do place an emphasis on the importance of the social and political context in which the individual is functioning and from which the problems have arisen. Bronfenbrenner (1979), Rappaport, Davidson, Wilson, and Mitchell (1975), and Bailey and Brake (1980) are among the writers who have developed the thesis that human development, human problems, and direct intervention must be viewed in the larger social-political context.

We accept the assumptions in this latter position and see some clear implications for the development of a model of the direct intervention strategy. It seems obvious that the model must make some effort to take account of these social-cultural and political-economic variables. The socioeconomic class structure of the community, the dominant community values, the distribution of family structures, and the attitudes and values of the institution providing service are all relevant to the intervention process and must be represented in any efforts to conceptualize that process. The model developed below represents, as we will show, an effort to take account of these types of variables.

Prevention vs. Cure

The second source of criticism of the direct intervention strategy stems from the position that a focus on pathological conditions is misplaced. Instead, our emphasis should be on the prevention of disorder. To put the issue another way, our emphasis should shift from a focus on pathological conditions and toward a concern for the removal of factors that give rise to those conditions. This is a concept that has been developed by a number of writers, including Cowen (1973), Danish, D'Augelli, and Ginsberg (1984), Goodstein and Sandler (1978), Iscoe (1974), and Mayer (1972). The roots of this position reside in the medical, sociological, and social-psychological literatures.

There are actually two separate strategies represented in this prevention position, and they have somewhat different implications for direct interventions. The emphasis in the first strategy is on the modification of environmental conditions that give rise to the psychological conditions. This strategy is represented in certain

facets of community psychology (e.g., Trickett, Kelly, & Todd, 1972) and of social work (e.g., Brake & Bailey, 1980), and it arises from the structural type of position outlined above. Thus, the concern is with altering economic conditions or the quality of the neighbourhood or the schools, all in an effort to alter conditions creating human problems. Our position is that this focus is not incompatible with the individual intervention model. They co-exist more or less peacefully in most child welfare, family service, and mental health facilities that have strong advocacy and community development aims.

The second strategy encountered in this prevention approach involves a focus on the development of personal resources and general competencies. Here the concern is not so much with the modification of environmental reality, but more with the development in the individual (or couple or family) of attitudes, behaviours, and skills that are necessary for coping with the stresses of modern life. Cameron and Meichenbaum (1983) and Patterson (1983) are among those who have recently developed this point of view.

Perhaps it is obvious that there are some clear implications here for the direct intervention strategy. The suggestion is that, within our interventions, we shift our focus somewhat from the amelioration of pathological states and toward the development of coping skills in the individual, the couple, or the family unit. This, in turn, has implications for our assessments of clients and for the selection of targets and of interventions. There are also consequences for the conduct of evaluation research, as is shown in the model to be developed below.

Lack of Empirical Support

A third source of criticism of direct intervention derives from an interpretation of the available empirical data regarding the effectiveness of direct intervention. Several major reviews of the intervention-outcome literature over the past three decades are available that report the conclusion that the various therapeutic and counselling interventions encountered in the direct intervention model are ineffective in producing significant outcome gains. The earliest of these reviews was that in which Eysenck (1952) reported the conclusion that psychotherapy was no more effective in producing changes in neurotic symptomatology than no treatment. Two

follow-up reviews (Eysenck, 1961, 1966) reported similar conclusions. Other reviewers have reached similarly negative conclusions on the basis of reviews of intervention efforts within social service agencies (Fischer, 1978; Wood, 1978) and criminal justice settings (Annis, 1981; Martinson, 1974) and in the treatment of delinquency (Lundman & Scarpitti, 1978). The general conclusion in all cases was that direct intervention efforts were proven neither statistically nor clinically significant.

These negative conclusions have been widely publicized, have been accepted with more or less enthusiasm by some individuals, and have sometimes influenced social policy. Our position is that this negative assessment of direct intervention is not supported by the data, although we do feel that there are some clear lessons in the research results for the design of intervention strategies and assessment studies.

Our major point here is that the negative assessments are contradicted by a large number of studies that demonstrate positive results for direct intervention efforts and by other reviews of the literature that reach conclusions quite different from those of Eysenck and the other critics.

Thus, we can cite by way of positive examples Kazdin's (1976) successful efforts to enhance assertion skills through the use of behavioural intervention techniques, Andrews and Kiessling's (1980) report of positive results for an intensive counselling programme aimed at probationers, and Klein, Alexander, and Parsons's (1977) successful use of a family systems approach in the treatment of high-risk children and families. This positive type of conclusion is also supported by several reviews of the direct intervention literature, including those by Bergin and Lambert (1978), Beutler (1979), Gendreau (1981), Landman and Dawes (1982), Ross and Gendreau (1980), Shapiro and Shapiro (1982), and Smith and Glass (1977).

It would be less than honest, however, to assert that the situation here is totally without ambiguity. The safest conclusion at present is that under some circumstances, and for some people, some kinds of interventions are effective in producing some degree of positive change. Unfortunately, we are not able at present to specify in any detail what these contingencies are. The main problem, as we see it, is that much of the evaluative research here has been guided by inadequate conceptualizations of the direct

intervention process. The conclusions from the research have, therefore, been of limited use in evaluating the interventions and in guiding therapy. What is needed is a conceptualization of the intervention process that takes account of all of the elements involved in the process, and the model developed below is designed to meet this criterion.

This view is consistent with Borgen's (1984) position that we must get away from simplistic assumptions about direct links between interventions and outcomes and begin addressing questions about links among specific elements of the intervention process. He believes that only in this way will we begin to develop meaningful conclusions about the effectiveness of our interventions. A similar kind of assumption underlies the prescriptive model as discussed by Beutler (1979), Dimond, Haven, and Jones (1978), and Hosford, Burnett, and Mills (1984). This model seeks to link specific treatments with specific client problems and characteristics in an effort to optimize treatment effects. The development of these prescriptive rules depends, however, on the establishment of a sound empirical base linking treatment, client, worker, and process variables. This, in turn, requires the existence of an adequate conceptualization of the intervention process.

A Descriptive Model of the Direct Intervention Process

The model to be presented here has been developed as relevant to direct intervention efforts in social service agencies. The model endeavours to identify the factors relevant to the outcomes of interventions, and it postulates the existence of interactions among the factors. It is presented as a framework for understanding the dynamics of the process as it operates in these settings and as a guide for research on the process. The model has been developed, in part, in response to the criticisms just reviewed and, in part, from an awareness of the current empirical and theoretical literature respecting the therapy-counselling process. In particular, we owe a debt to the earlier theoretical efforts of Andrews and Kiessling (1980), Orlinsky and Howard (1978), and Wholey (1977).

The theoretical framework is outlined in Figure 1. There are seven sets of factors represented in the model: Setting Factors, Client Factors, Worker Factors, Programme Factors, Counsel-

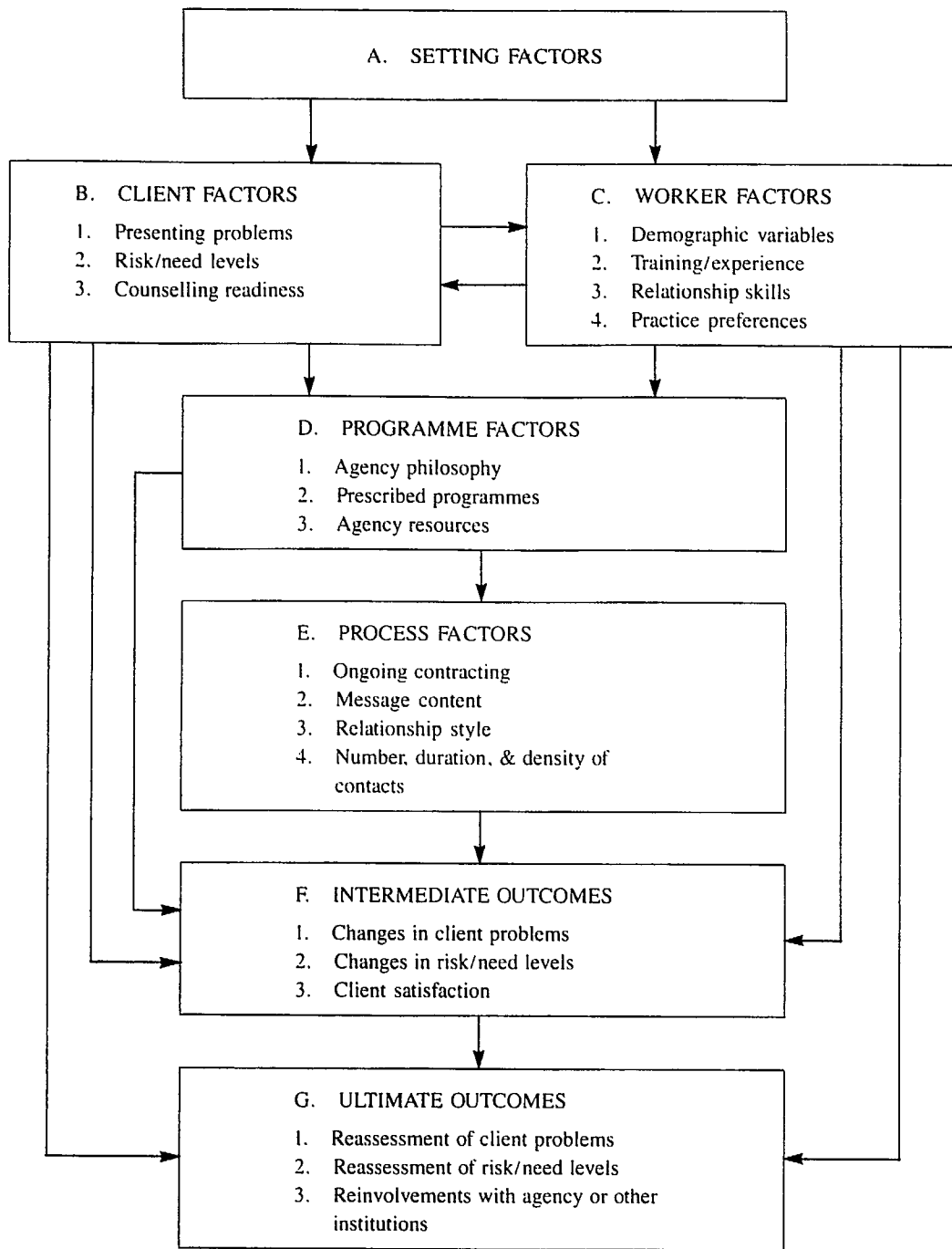


FIGURE 1

A model of the direct intervention process as it operates in social service agencies

ling Process Factors, Intermediate Outcomes, and Ultimate Outcomes. As well, interacting links among the factors are indicated by the arrows. We will provide brief discussions of these factors and the postulated interactions here.

Setting Factors

Included here are situational factors that inhere in the client's community. Examples would include levels of unemployment, attitudes toward unemployment, availability of housing, and size of community. The general postulate of the model is that these factors have a bearing on the development of individual and family problems, help shape intervention efforts, and also bear on the outcomes of the intervention processes. The inclusion of this set of factors in the model is partly a response to the structural criticisms discussed above and partly a response to empirical demonstrations of the relevance of these situational factors for the development of human problems (Brenner, 1973; Dohrenwend, 1979; Moos, 1974; Moos & Moos, 1976).

Client Factors

These constitute the second set of factors in the model. The general postulate is that client factors have a direct bearing on the outcome of the intervention process and also, as will be elaborated later, interact with worker, programme, and process factors to affect outcomes. This postulate derives from theoretical developments within the counselling literature (Beutler, 1979; Garfield, 1978; Highlin & Hill, 1984), as well as empirical demonstrations of the role of client variables in the intervention process (e.g., Andrews & Kiessling, 1980; Andrews, Robinson, & Balla, in press; Frank, 1974; Mathews, Johnston, Shaw, & Gelder, 1974; Sobel & O'Brien, 1979; Wattie, 1974).

There is an issue with respect to the choice of bases for characterizing these client variables. There are a number of alternative approaches, including the use of personality, attitudinal, and behavioural constructs. We have chosen to deal with the issue in the model in terms of three concepts: presenting problems, risk/need, and counselling readiness. Our assumption is that assessments of clients should focus, first, on a consideration of the specific problems being brought to the agency. Second, there should be a broad assessment of the levels of risk and need for service exhibited by the client. The latter

would include a survey of external stresses, sources of social support, general competencies of the client, and the like. Finally, an assessment should be made of the level of readiness of the client for intervention services.

This represents a more comprehensive approach to client assessment than is usually encountered in intervention models, but we believe such a broad evaluation can be justified on a number of grounds. First, as we saw above, the various summaries of the available empirical data have made clear that our intervention efforts and our evaluation efforts must be guided by more complex models. This requirement entails, among other things, the inclusion of a broad range of client variables in the model. Second, the structural critics have made clear that assessments of clients must take account not only of internal psychological states and immediate problems, but also of the broader social and family environment in which the individual is functioning. We have attempted a broader inclusion with our risk/need concept. Third, the prevention approach has called for attention not only to the immediate problem of the client, but also to some broader concept of personal resources. Such resources, too, we have represented in our risk/need concept, for it is designed to include a broad range of coping skills.

There is also a question to be raised with respect to the development of operational definitions of these concepts and of practical measures. There are real difficulties in this respect, but we can also cite ample evidence that progress is being made in the development of client assessment services. This evidence comes from the psychotherapy area (Phillips & Bierman, 1981), the criminal justice field (Andrews, 1983), the juvenile delinquency area (Brodsky & Smitherman, 1983), the assessment of families (Forman & Hagan, 1983), and the assessment of children (Hoge, 1983). We can also cite as specific examples of progress in this respect our own efforts at developing tools for client assessment in the probation and parole (Andrews, 1982), child welfare (Andrews, Robinson, & Hoge, 1984), and family service areas (Hoge, Andrews, Robinson, & Hollett, 1985). These instruments are particularly designed to assess risk/need levels.

Worker Factors

These, the third set of factors in the model,

refer to attributes associated with the counsellor providing the intervention. They too are factors that have often been ignored in earlier intervention models with their concern for the establishment of direct links between interventions and outcomes. However, recent reviews of the empirical literature (Highlin & Hill, 1984; Hosford, Burnett, & Mills, 1984; Parloff, Waskow, & Wolfe, 1978) provide ample evidence that therapist and counsellor variables have direct and indirect bearings on the outcomes of therapy. Further, it is quite clear from the evaluative reviews discussed earlier in the paper that adequate assessments of the therapies cannot be conducted where these variables are ignored. It seems likely that a good deal of the variability observed within treatment types arises from variations in worker characteristics (cf. Andrews & Kiessling, 1980).

Here too there are a number of alternative approaches to the conceptualization of the variables. We have chosen to represent them in this model in terms of four sets of variables: demographic, training/experience, relationship style, and practice preferences. There are, to be sure, serious measurement problems associated with the assessment of these variables, but encouraging progress in this area can be noted (e.g., Alcorn & Torney, 1982; Frank, 1974; Porche & Banikiotes, 1982).

Programme Factors

The fourth set of factors include what we term programme factors, which operate at the level of the agency or institution in which the counselling is provided. The general philosophy of the agency, its prescribed programme, and employee morale are all variables that may be expected to have an impact on the outcomes of services provided by the agency. A particularly important element of group programmes is the structural composition of treatment groups, wherein the social structure of the groups influences the roles enacted by participants (e.g., Andrews, 1980). Similarly, guidelines on time limits on counselling may be important (Wattie, 1974). Problems exist in the conceptualization and measurement of this type of variable, but it seems essential that some effort be made to include them in the model. The overall point is expressed as follows by Highlin and Hill (1984):

To some extent, the context within which coun-

selling is offered will influence the operation of change factors. The length of client contact, types of psychological problems dealt with, and agency philosophy and resources will all affect to varying degrees the change elements occurring in therapy. Methodological problems inherent in isolating specific effects of situational parameters have made the task of examining their moderating role rather difficult. However, empirical scrutiny of potentially important factors needs to be undertaken. (p. 364)

Counselling Process Factors

Included here are indices of actual transactions between client and counsellor. The traditional practice, of course, is to depend on global descriptions of treatments. Thus, interventions are described as psychotherapeutic or client-centred or behaviourist. There now seems rather general agreement (see, for example, Gottmann & Markham, 1978; Sechrest, 1982) that these global constructs are of little utility.

The current trend, and the one represented in our model, involves a focus on specific aspects of the counsellor-client interaction. Recent reviews of this literature — Greenberg (1981), Hill (1978, 1982), Highlin and Hill (1984), Orlinsky and Howard (1978), and Strong and Claiborn (1982) — indicate a variety of approaches to the conceptualization and measurement of these processes. We have chosen to represent the factor in our model in terms of several variables: ongoing contracting, message content, relationship style, and the number, duration, and density of contacts. Some of these concepts have been discussed by Hill (1982).

Outcome Factors

The final set of factors in our model relates to outcomes of the intervention process. We have chosen to represent these in terms of two sets of factors. First, there are what we term *intermediate outcomes*. These involve indices of changes in client problems, movement on risk/need factors, and client satisfaction. These are measures collected at the termination of intervention. The *ultimate outcomes* involve longer-term assessments of problem changes and risk/need levels, but also include indices of re-contacts with the agency and other agency or institution contacts.

Our approach to the selection of outcome measures reflects several principles that we feel should be followed in assessing outcomes. First, it seems important to include a wide range of

outcome variables representing a variety of data sources. It now seems clear that part of the confusion in the intervention-outcome literature arises from narrow and inconsistent choices regarding outcome measures (Andrews, 1983; Bergin & Lambert, 1978; Orlinsky & Howard, 1978; Yeaton & Sechrest, 1981). We have therefore attempted to include a broad range of outcome variables.

Second, outcome measures should reflect a situational and coping orientation as much as possible. As we saw earlier, the structural critics have presented rather convincing evidence that a complete understanding of client problems must include a consideration of external stresses. Further, the prevention kind of position insists that we should be focusing, as far as possible, on the development of personal resources and general competencies. Both of these requirements can be accommodated within our client problem and risk/need constructs.

Our third principle bears on the means whereby these outcome variables are assessed, and it is to the effect that we attend as closely as possible to the psychometric properties of our measures. This seems like an obvious point, but many surveys of the relevant literature have revealed that inadequacy of measures constitutes one of the weakest areas in the evaluation field (e.g., Bergin & Lambert, 1978; Goldstein & Stein, 1976). A related point is that we must also begin attending more closely to the issue of clinical significance in the evaluation of outcomes. Several writers, including Garfield (1981), Jacobson, Follette, and Revenstorf (1984), and Yeaton and Sechrest (1981), have discussed our dependence on statistical significance and the problems it creates.

The Interaction Component

A general postulate of the model is that the setting, client, worker, programme, and process factors operate as main effects in the determination of outcomes. It is also postulated, however, that these variables sometimes interact with one another and impact in that fashion on outcomes. This interaction-among-variables component is represented in Figure 1 by the arrows linking the variable sets. The need to consider interactions within the counselling process arises rather clearly from some of the evaluative reviews cited earlier in the paper. For example, Beutler's (1979) meta-analysis provides some evidence

for the existence of Client \times Intervention interactions; some therapies are more effective for some kinds of clients than others. Further, according to the risk principle of case classification, it is the higher-risk, higher-need cases who have the most to gain from intensive services (Andrews et al., 1986). The existence of such interactions is also suggested by the structural positions that were reviewed earlier in the paper.

Problems of Implementation

The direct intervention model proposed here represents the outcomes of interventions as a product of the main effects and interactions among setting, client, worker, programme, and process factors. It is felt that this type of model represents a better basis for conceptualizing the intervention process than earlier and more simplistic models. It is also presented as a better guide for research and for the development of case management systems. There are, however, some problems with the implementation of this type of model. We are not primarily concerned in this article with methodological problems, but we will briefly address some of those problems here, particularly those arising in connection with the design of research studies.

The first problem has to do with the definition and measurement of the variables represented in the model. Community attitudes, client risk levels, therapist style, and therapeutic techniques all represent types of variables that are very difficult to measure. We have tried to show in the previous discussion, however, that great progress is being made in the assessment of these kinds of variables. The recent work of Hill (1978) in the development of therapy process measures, of Moos (1974) in the description of programme environments, and of Alcorn and Torney (1982) in the development of counsellor attribute measures represents just three examples of the exciting work going on in this area. The important point, we feel, is that these measurement problems should not be used as an excuse for continuing to employ a simplistic model of the therapy process. Rather, the more complex conceptualization should serve as an impetus for continued progress in the measurement area.

The second problem area relates to design and analysis. It is often said that complex models of the sort presented here are unrealistic guides for research because it is impossible to assess complex interactions among the large set of variables

involved there. Our response is that, although there are serious problems of design and analysis represented in this research, the significant progress being made in the development of new and more powerful statistical techniques means that we are also becoming increasingly adept at solving these problems (Yeaton & Sechrest, 1981; Sechrest, 1982).

There is one final point to be made. There is no question that there are serious methodological barriers associated with the implementation of this conceptualization of the direct intervention process. The existence of those barriers must

not, however, be used as a basis for rejecting the model. The outcomes of interventions are determined by complex interactions among setting, client, worker, programme, and process factors, and this complexity must be acknowledged in research, evaluation, and management contexts. The internal and external validity of the research and evaluation results and the effectiveness of the case management systems depend to a great extent on the recognition of this state of affairs (Andrews et al., 1986). That recognition should also serve as a powerful stimulus to the solution of these methodological problems.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente un modèle de l'intervention directe telle qu'elle est pratiquée par les organismes de services sociaux. Ce modèle part du postulat suivant : les résultats finals du processus d'intervention sont fonction des effets principaux et de principales interactions de six séries de facteurs qui agissent les uns sur les autres. Ces facteurs incluent, entre autres, le cadre, le client, le travailleur, le programme, le processus, ainsi que les résultats intermédiaires. Conçu pour répondre aux critiques portant sur le modèle traditionnel de consultation psychologique, ce modèle se base sur les données théoriques et empiriques que fournissent les récentes études sur l'intervention directe.

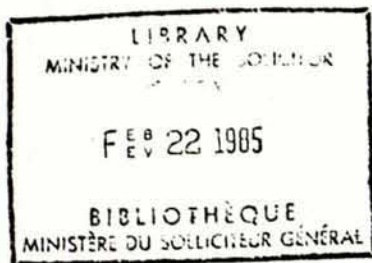
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APRIL 1982

**THE SUPERVISION OF OFFENDERS:
IDENTIFYING AND GAINING
CONTROL OVER THE FACTORS WHICH
MAKE A DIFFERENCE**

1984 - 65

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Executive Summary

The purpose of this report is to outline a broad methodological and theoretical framework which may be used to address research issues in respect to parole and similar types of supervision. Corrections, like any other area of human and social service, must be concerned with fairness and efficiency, as well as participant and public satisfaction with its efforts. This paper focusses on the mandate specific to correctional agencies: managing the sentences imposed by the court and minimizing the likelihood of recidivism. While it is now generally accepted that correctional agencies cannot be held accountable for rehabilitating offenders ("The Role of Federal Corrections in Canada", 1977) it is understood that they do have a mandate to seek out policies and programs that will minimize recidivism rates. It is suggested here that the mission of a correctional agency is best served by the adoption of a "functional" orientation wherein it seeks to increase its (and hence the public's) understanding of the sources of variability in recidivism rates. A major component of this increased understanding would be a clear statement of the conditions under which the sources of variability in recidivism are subject to reasonable and ethical interventions that produce reductions in recidivism.

Six major categories of the sources of variability in outcome are evident:

- 1) clients;
- 2) workers;
- 3) intervention practices;
- 4) program-level factors;
- 5) intermediate changes in the situations of clients; and
- 6) the broader setting factors which surround programs

These six factors may be measured independently of each other and are conceptually and operationally distinct categories for purposes of intervention planning and implementation. A major source of confusion in the literature is due to reviews that have failed to keep these categories distinct. When variations in recidivism are observed within any given program, it is impossible to correctly attribute these variations to the constants of that program or the surrounding system of which the program is a part. For example, since all clients were on parole in a particular community, it is logically impossible for relationships found between recidivism and worker (or client, or practice) factors to be due to the "mere fact" that the clients were on parole, or that the surrounding community was of a particular type. However, program-level factors, when measured by organizational or ecological indices, may well account for the variations in recidivism observed between

two or more programs. Similarly, actual variations in the setting factors may account for variations in recidivism, but aspects of the surrounding community which are constants for any given program are, by definition, not sources of variation in recidivism.

Among all of the existing theoretical positions in respect to personal/social problems, a broad social learning perspective appears most promising when it comes to the prediction and control of recidivism through measurement and intervention at the client, worker, practice, program and setting levels. Client-based measures which tap the density of the rewards and costs in effect for criminal and noncriminal behaviour may greatly increase our ability to forecast recidivism. A comprehensive list of client factors would include personal values and beliefs, access to criminal resources and models, access to noncriminal resources and models, behavioural history and competencies, and characterizations of the groups and situations with which the client is associated in terms of the reward-cost contingencies they maintain for criminal and noncriminal behaviours. Like the reintegration/opportunities model which is emerging in Canadian corrections, social learning places particular emphasis upon increasing the variety of satisfactions and responsibilities associated with noncriminal pursuits.

A social learning orientation provides some concrete guidance regarding the types of intervention practices which are

likely to bring about intermediate client gains. Any service, whether offered by the correctional agency directly or by the community, is judged to have its impact through some combination of the use of authority, antirriminal modelling and reinforcement, and concrete problem-solving, within the context of reasonably open and warm communication between workers and clients. The social learning intervention literature provides a number of examples of effective practices in mental health and corrections.

Program and setting-level factors have been subject to few empirical examinations within corrections. Both constitute important areas for future research. Policy formulation and managerial practices represent two key approaches to program-level interventions. Some examples include the selection and training of workers, prescribed reporting requirements and the addition of new roles (e.g. volunteers). Setting-level factors refer to attributes of the broader social system within which the parole process operates, and would include variables such as the level of community support for integration of parolees.

A commitment to identifying and gaining reasonable control over the major sources of variability in recidivism is required when one adopts a functional perspective. Such a commitment represents a primary way in which Canadian corrections may pursue and be seen to pursue its public mandate. It also ensures that correctional efforts and their assessments will contribute to

the development of the human and social services in general. The time has passed when inattention to the basic and recurring issues in corrections may be excused. Similarly, the time has passed when knowledge regarding the importance of one source of variability in recidivism may be allowed to be dismissed or "smeared" by illogical appeals to some other source of variability. A fusion of the intimately-connected concerns of policy, operations and research is indicated through integrated research programs which: a) measure and intervene at the levels of client, worker, practice, programs and setting factors, and b) document the links which exist among and within the major sources of variability in recidivism.

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INTRODUCTION

As Axon (1982) recently documented, the traditional conceptions of supervision represented in the criminological literature appear inadequate to the task of describing what happens during supervision, what happens as a consequence of supervision, and what directions policy, operations and research might take to further goal attainment through the supervision function. Given the political, economic, human and moral questions which surround the issues of incarceration, the use of supervision programs which avoid or shorten periods of incarceration are highly attractive. Recidivism rates associated with community-based supervision appear to be no greater than those associated with incarceration and, where differences have been found, those differences favour the choice of community-based alternatives. While parole and probation thus appear to be "successful", the current perspectives on supervision yield a startling conclusion. Since the traditional components of direct supervision - treatment, control, and assistance - were judged to have never been delivered, the apparent success of probation/parole must be due to: a) the "mere fact" of being on probation/parole rather than the officers' supervisory efforts; and b) the initial selection of probationers/parolees with low risks of recidivism. Surely, what needs to be done at this point is to actually deliver specific elements of supervision and monitor what effects they might have on recidivism rates. Clearly, there is no basis for discarding supervision, considering that it is judged not to have been systematically tried.

The position taken in this paper is that the contributions of the efforts of probation/parole officers cannot possibly be appreciated or understood until such efforts are examined within a functional framework. One cannot make judgments about the relative value of different types of supervision practice until such practices are examined in relation to the goals of the agency. The same point must be made with reference to offender characteristics and program factors.

For purpose of policy, operations and research, the analysis of probation and parole supervision demands a general perspective which allows the identification of the major sources of variability in outcome. The perspective should also permit discussion and analysis of one source without the introduction of irrelevancies concerning the other sources of variability in outcome. A major problem in the current literature is that offender, worker, practice and policy-level discussions proceed without a clear distinction between the different levels of analysis and often without awareness of the quite different implications for research and decision-making which follow from these different levels of analysis. The notion of developing clear and useful links among the different levels of analysis is equally important.

This paper will focus on one objective of corrections about which there appears to be consensus: "protection of the public" or, as it sometimes is called, "crime control". At a

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minimum, "protection of the public" would translate into the expectation that probationers and parolees refrain from criminal activity during the period of their official sentence. The public mandate of the correctional agency, as well as intellectual curiosity and professional responsibility, would lead to the consideration of a further question: Does the importance of client, worker and other factors change when one examines them in relation to different measures of outcome, including postprogram recidivism? It is unlikely that any agency would develop policies and methods for reaching the goal of reducing inprogram recidivism, if they had the effect of increasing the likelihood of postprogram recidivism. One could envision supervision strategies based on incapacitation which might well reduce inprogram recidivism while increasing postprogram recidivism.

Highlighting the objective of reducing the likelihood of recidivism is not a popular approach in the current criminological literature. Indeed, Axon (1982) suggests that an emphasis upon recidivism may interfere with the objective of creating a just, humanitarian and cost-efficient criminal justice system. I would argue that designing programs with the intent of reducing recidivism is an appropriate mandate of a correctional agency, and that in doing so, justice and humanitarian concerns are best served.

The correctional system, like any other system in the human and social services, is charged with fulfilling its responsibilities in accordance with the principles of fairness, justice,

cost-efficiency, the "right to treatment", "informed consent", and consumer and participant (defined broadly) satisfaction. What makes the correctional system unique is its focus upon the management of a court-imposed sentence and the public mandate to reduce the likelihood of recidivism during the period of sentence. Hopefully, corrections will take a lead in documenting how agencies may pursue their specific public mandates in accordance with the sensitivity due to economic, humanitarian and moral issues. The emphasis in this report is on the pursuit of corrections' public mandate and not these general issues which corrections shares with all other human and social agencies.

A Functional Perspective on Supervision

The potential sources of variability in recidivism are tremendous in number and variety. Some meta-level classification system is necessary in order to know where to begin. At a minimum, some of the variation may be attributed to characteristics of offenders, some to workers, and some to practices. When we find variations in recidivism between different programs, some of that variation may be attributable to factors at the program level. When we find variations between similar programs in different settings, some of that variability may be due to differences in the settings or the surrounding systems of which the program is a component. Some variations may also be due to the use of different definitions of recidivism, but that is not of concern here.

The minimal classification of sources of variability in recidivism is simple, yet its implications for policy, operations and research, are profound. It is possible to measure client, worker, practice, program and setting factors independently of each other and to examine the relationships between these factors and recidivism. It is also possible to introduce variation within each class of factors and observe the effects of such variation on recidivism. Further, it is possible to conceptually and empirically establish links among the major sets of factors and see whether the effects of one set depend upon the other set.

The functional perspective suggest that it may be worse than useless to select factors within a given set to meet some presumed ideal which bears no obvious relation to recidivism. This is well illustrated by Axon's (1982) discussion on matching of officer (or client) perceptions with the ideals of casework. Because of the casework model, officers tend "to see offenders' problems as personal problems" (p. 8). Similarly, officers complain about their clients' reluctance to engage in sophisticated verbal analyses (p. 10), and officers feel uncomfortable with the authority aspects of their role. Officers sense that authority interferes with their ability to establish meaningful relationships with clients (p. 20). The clients report that parole fails to provide any significant assistance (p. 29).

All of the above are relevant in terms of gaining an understanding of participant perceptions of supervision and their

satisfaction with supervision. However, they constitute seriously incomplete and possibly irrelevant findings when one's concern is to reduce the likelihood of recidivism. Do officers' perceptions of client problems as personalistic versus social relate to impact? Does the client's verbal behaviour during supervision sessions relate to impact? Are clients' reports on the assistance they have received predictive of recidivism? It may well be that the authority role lowers the quality of the relationship established between officers and clients, but it is logically possible that anything approaching a "meaningful" relationship will only translate into a reduced likelihood of recidivism when the officer makes use of his/her authority. The point is that failing to adopt a functional approach, and presuming that there is an ideal for parole officers to emulate, leads us nowhere.

The issue is clear. Observations of the situation and conditions of supervision - participant reports or objective-behaviour records - take on meaning only by way of the relationships they share with the goals of supervision. A functional orientation toward the analyses and development of supervision demands that observations and interventions within the context of supervision be examined in relation to the outcome of supervision.

The following pages will develop the implications of the general methodological perspective for investigating probation/parole supervision. Let me first introduce two key meta-level distinctions that will be helpful in the analysis of policy opera-

tional and research concerns. One has to do with how factors may relate to recidivism, and the other with a dimension relevant to the selection of factors.

Observations of the attributes of clients, workers, programs and settings may relate to recidivism in three basic ways: as predictors, as moderator variables and as dynamic variables. The distinctions are very basic for purposes of deciding how knowledge regarding the sources of variability in recidivism may be used:

- 1) Predictors: variables which relate to future instances of criminal behaviour;
- 2) Moderators: the relationship found between one variable and recidivism varies with the values of a third (moderator) variable; and,
- 3) Dynamic factors: changes on a given variable are associated with variations in recidivism (retest scores and change scores may be predictive of recidivism above and beyond the predictive validity of the pretest scores).

In brief, factors which have predictive validity may be very useful in making decisions which require an assessment of the probability of recidivism and in documenting the limits of any given program. Factors which function as moderator variables may be useful in decisions regarding differential treatment. For example, certain types of clients are most responsive to certain types of workers, practices, programs or settings, and certain types of workers are most effective within certain types of programs. Dynamic factors are most interesting because they suggest

the intermediate targets or goals of intervention. If we wish to reduce recidivism, what changes in what attributes or situations of clients would be helpful in reaching that goal? Similarly, we may ask what attributes of a program are reasonably amenable to change in order to reduce recidivism rates?

Another important meta-level distinction is where chosen measures fall on the "fixed-historical" - "momentary-state" continuum. Measures falling at any point on the continuum may have predictive or moderator validity, but only measures at the less-stable end of the continuum may be shown to possess dynamic validity. For example, having been reared in a low-income neighbourhood may be predictive of recidivism and may influence how other variables relate to recidivism, but the average income level of one's early environment is not amenable to change. Theories and research efforts which focus on "fixed-historical" factors cannot address the matter of selecting intermediate objectives of supervision.

Client factors. Client-based factors refer to observations of the attributes of clients and their situations. Client-based measures may include measures of biophysical functioning and states, scores on conventional attitude, personality, aptitude and ability scales, and socio-historical indices. Client factors also include measures of the structural or cultural aspects of social systems or groups of which the client is or has been a member. It

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is potentially important to recognize, for example, that possessing personal sentiments supportive of crime and being a member of a group where the dominant sentiments or norms are supportive of crime may make independent and even interactive (moderating) contributions to the prediction of recidivism. It would be a costly mistake to limit the issue of measuring and modifying client factors to a strictly psychological, or sociological, analysis.

Client factors are the most important class of factors in a very special sense. A major outcome variable in supervision - recidivism - is itself a client variable in that it is a score or value assigned to clients. Unlike "crime rates" which constitute aggregate measures, "recidivism rates" must be tied directly to the criminality of individuals. The broad methodological questions are: a) which client factors forecast or predict recidivism? b) which client factors influence how other variables relate to recidivism? and c) which client factors, if changed, are associated with subsequent variations in recidivism?

Client factors were the focus of a number of the recommendations made in Axon's (1982) recent report on supervision of offenders. Predictive client factors represent candidates for inclusion in the design of risk-classification instruments. Client-moderator factors represent candidates for inclusion in instruments or strategies aimed at differential supervision decisions. Such strategies include matching clients to the most appropriate types of workers, to the most appropriate types of

intervention practices, to the most appropriate programs, and even to those offices which have the most appropriate surrounding conditions.

Client factors with demonstrated or suspected dynamic significance are particularly interesting. Such factors may serve as "intermediate targets" of supervision, and appropriate changes in these factors would be associated with a subsequent reduction in the probability of recidivism. As our understanding of the dynamic factors involved in crime increases, we may expect that preparole and presentence investigations may yield increasingly useful suggestions regarding the formal conditions of supervision established by Parole Boards and the Courts. In the general sense, the overall intermediate objective of supervision would be to move the individualized dynamic indicators of risk in the reduced-risk direction.

Worker factors. Worker factors are of the same type as client factors with the obvious difference that they are based on actual observations of workers (including officers, managers and volunteers) and not solely on clients' reactions to them. As Axon (1982) suggests, there are indications from Canadian and American studies that attributes of officers are related to the outcome of supervision. Such factors have obvious implications for the selection of probation and parole officers, whether they are professionals or volunteers. Equally interesting is the question of the

dynamic significance of worker factors. For example, can training workers produce changes on selected variables which are associated with subsequent reductions in the probability of recidivism among the clients assigned to those workers?

Practice factors. Practice factors refer to the nature and quality of the interactions between workers and clients (i.e., the process of supervision or intervention practices). In other words, they refer to operationalizations of treatment and support, control and surveillance, and service and assistance. Intervention practices may correlate with measures of worker and client factors but practices may make independent contributions to the ability to predict and control recidivism. An empathic officer may tend, on average, to establish high-quality relationships with clients, but variations in the interactions with different clients may be associated with variations in the recidivism of those clients.

As Axon (1982) has documented, the traditional concepts of treatment, control and assistance are so vague that they are difficult to operationalize, although it is the opinion of officers and clients that they have not been delivered. Another problem is that the practices involved in supervision are often confused with the objectives of supervision. A reconceptualization of supervision practices is desperately required if useful policy, operational and research recommendations are to be derived.

Program factors. Program factors are the ecological, organizational and socio-cultural aspects of a given program, office or agency, depending upon the focus. They are factors which may be measured or manipulated independently of the attributes of workers and clients and of the interactions of workers and clients within a given program, office or agency. Very often, relevant program factors are summary, average or aggregate measures based on measures of individual workers and clients or on measures of practice factors. One program may differ from another in terms of the proportion of male clients served, the average "empathy" levels of officers, the number of MSWs versus MCAs, or the average number of revocations for status offences. Other organizational factors might include the number of typewriters in an office, the average salary of officers, or the number and nature of official forms which must be completed. The important point is that program-level factors may relate to recidivism quite independently of the characteristics of workers, clients and practices and may even influence how the more individually-based factors relate to recidivism.

By definition, program-level factors cannot account for the variations in outcome observed within a given program. However, program-level interventions may have profound effects. Such interventions normally represent, for example, the addition of resources, changes in the rules by which resources are allocated, the creation of new roles (such as volunteer officers), explicit policy and operational guidelines, the selection of workers on

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practice-relevant factors, and the training of officers for their roles. The conditions under which program-level interventions have effects on the outcome of supervision are discussed later in this paper. Needless to say, policy changes do not automatically affect the achievement of the publicly-stated goals of an agency in a direct or even indirect way.

Setting-factors. Setting factors refer to attributes of the broader community or systems of which any given program is a part. Setting factors, by definition, cannot account for variations in the outcome of any given program insofar as those surrounding setting factors constitute constants. The particular blend of capitalism and socialism in effect in one area of Canada cannot account for the variations in recidivism rates found within any given program in that area. However, when programs are offered in different political-economic situations, such setting factors may well account for any between-program variations observed.

Setting factors are of particular interest within Canadian corrections in view of the questions raised regarding the willingness of surrounding communities to fully participate in the reintegration of the offender and the availability of appropriate services in that surrounding community. While probation and parole officers may be assigned the role of facilitating radical changes in the surrounding community, it would be a mistake to equate such efforts with the day-to-day supervision of individual clients.

Even to introduce the notion of a "radical social change" orientation is nonsensical within the context of the supervision of individual clients. It is far from nonsensical when community development is prescribed as an extra-supervisory role.

Federal and provincial correctional agencies in Canada are beginning to recognize the potential of a broad system-and-prevention perspective, and have established various inter-ministry and inter-governmental committees. The Solicitor General's Consultation Centre provides an avenue to the facilitation of major setting changes. The contributions of probation and parole officers to wide-scale setting changes are likely to arise primarily from their ability to document the value of supportive settings; the identification of gaps in existing services; and from their day-to-day demonstrations to the community that they place high value upon reintegration of the individuals under their supervision.

Fitting the Factors Together

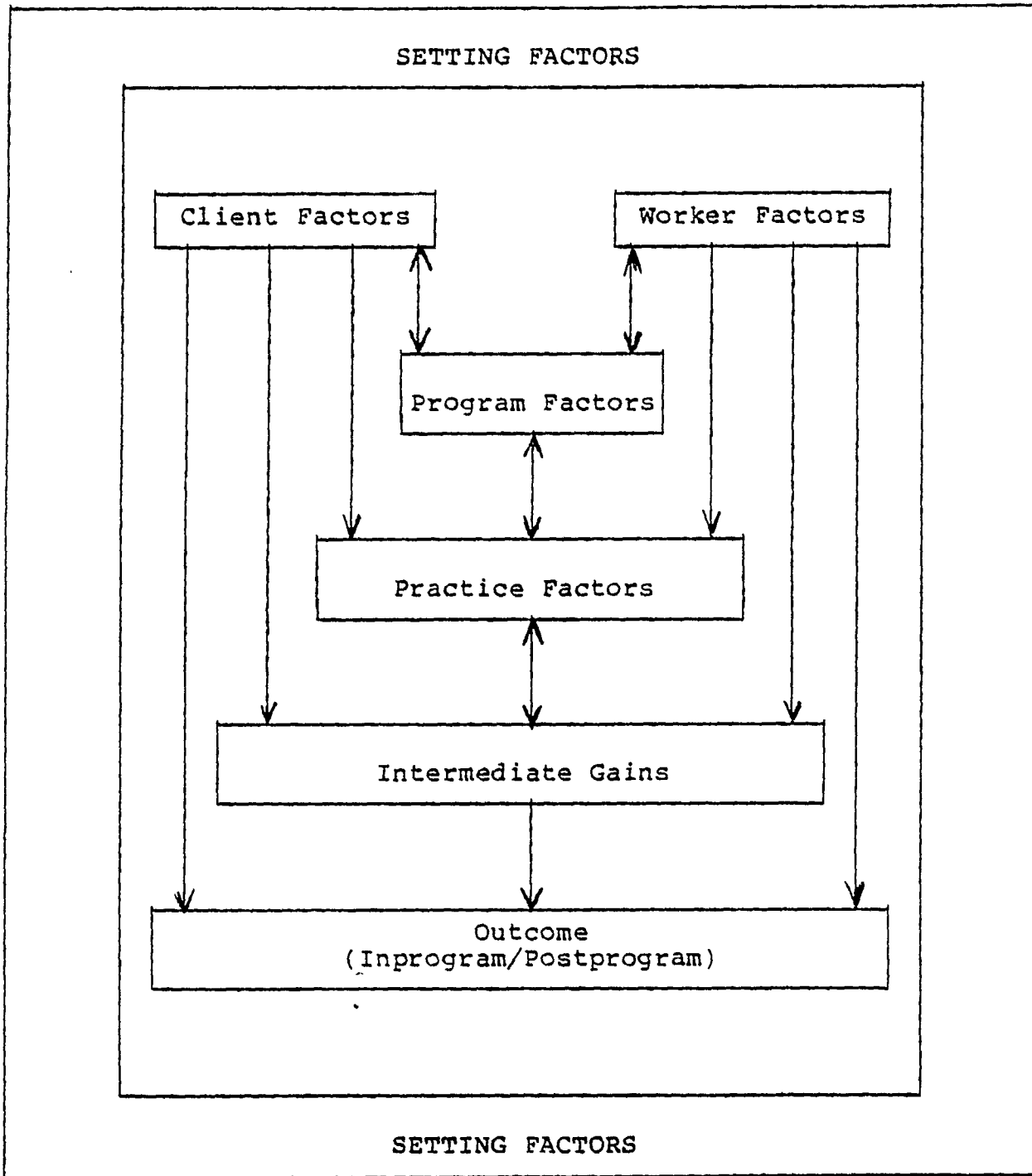
The derivation of useful recommendations regarding policy, operations and research requires more than a listing of the major categories of factors likely to relate to variations in the outcome of supervision. A second requirement is an ordering of the basic categories in a way which facilitates causal inferences and hence, meaningful policy and operational planning. One such

ordering of factors was implied in the preceding discussion and has been further developed elsewhere (Andrews & Kiessling, 1979, 1980; Kiessling & Andrews, 1980).

Figure 1, adapted from Andrews & Kiessling (1979, 1980), provides an ordering of the categories, and suggests some links among them. Logically, client, worker, practice, program and setting factors all precede outcome. While intervention practices also precede outcome, these practices are likely to be dependent upon client, worker and program factors. Program and setting factors may not be able to account for variations in outcome within any given program, but variations at the program and setting levels may influence outcome, often by way of the selected or achievable intermediate targets and intervention practices which are encouraged or discouraged. Similarly, the characteristics of individual workers and clients may contribute to program effects. The characteristics and practices of managers are also of potential importance for the goal of reducing recidivism as well as their more obvious relation to officer satisfaction (Kiessling & Andrews, 1980).

With this model, the overall task of the correctional agency in relation to the supervision of offenders is not only to deliver the services, directly or by contract, but also to enhance understanding of the contributions of the various components of the

Figure 1



Some Major Elements of Program Operations and Evaluation
(Adapted from Andrews & Kiessling, 1979).

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model to outcome. In addition, the task requires intervention at those points in the system which are amenable to change, in order to maximize the reduction in recidivism.

Policy experts, correctional managers, and correctional practitioners are faced with a variety of choices at each level of analysis. Within the context of community and professional standards and ethics, a sensible overall sentiment would be to adopt what Campbell (1975) has called an "experimenting" as opposed to "trapped" position. Rather than commit oneself to a particular policy, program or strategy, the "experimenting" position suggests that the focus be on achieving the goals. Thus, "reasonable" (i.e. justifiable by current standards and knowledge) policies, programs and strategies are adopted and then maintained, modified or eliminated in accordance with the extent to which they achieve their goals. Research and evaluation thus truly become integral components of management and operations.

The client could be exposed to the same "experimenting" sentiment from the beginning of preparations for supervision. The officer makes clear his role: "My task is to make reasonable efforts to assist you in your efforts to avoid trouble with the law while you are on probation/parole. We have a range of options available in terms of what we can hope to achieve over the next few months and in terms of how we can achieve them. Which ones are you willing and ready to experiment with? No! -- leaving this office at this moment is not a reasonable choice!"

The methodological model has profound implications for the way research in corrections proceeds and sensitizes one to the inter-disciplinary nature of correctional concerns. As Axon (1982) somewhat unfairly noted, tiny studies produce tiny findings. This is true when the "tiny" findings of the "tiny" studies are not located within the broader picture. One common research approach in criminology which has yielded many "tiny" findings -- the search for the correlates and predictors of criminality -- has major significance when the results are pooled to yield classification instruments, and in conjunction with theory, to yield suggestions regarding the more powerful intermediate targets. The fields of psychology and psychiatry abound with "tiny" studies documenting attitudinal and behavioural influence processes. The pooling of such studies yields concrete suggestions regarding intervention practices -- suggestions clearly more concrete than the referents of terms like "treatment" or "assistance". Social psychology and sociology provide research-based models for ecological and structural effects. The problem is not that the studies have been "tiny". It is that the interpretations have been naive and the conceptual systems have been inadequate in the task of drawing relevant conclusions.

Figure 1 suggests that methodologically sound studies which succeed in documenting the links between the major sets of factors for given programs and settings, may advance knowledge when pooled in conceptually meaningful ways. When we begin to conduct

studies that independently measure and manipulate variables within more than two of the major sets of factors, knowledge should advance dramatically.

The Social Learning Perspective

The methodological model outlined above is sufficiently broad and flexible that it can accommodate any theory and practice. However, I submit that the fields of criminology and corrections have progressed beyond the need for ad hoc accounts of findings, flights to the current fad, and subsequent retreats to traditional casework models of supervision. The social learning perspective represents a conceptual and operational approach which, by many criteria, seems worthy of serious exploitation when addressing policy, operational and research concerns. These criteria include generality, flexibility, documented predictive validity, and an ability to generate guidelines for action which is unprecedented in the human and social services. Most important, the social learning perspective is sensitive to the different levels of analysis required to reach an understanding of criminal behaviour.

The social learning approach is of such generality in its applicability that it has been employed in the analysis of deviant behaviours as divergent in form and significance as inappropriate splashing in public urinals (Siegel, 1977), through the classic problems of mental health, drug abuse, and crime (Neitzel et al,

1977). Its flexibility is evident from the ability to encompass the concerns of the classical but narrower perspectives on deviance and crime such as the psychodynamic, the motivational and the control perspectives (Akers, 1977; Andrews, 1980a). Surveys of adolescents and young adults employing indices derived from social learning have yielded impressive evidence of cross-sectional and predictive validity with reference to alcohol and drug use and abuse (Akers et al., 1979; Donovan & Jessor, 1978; Jessor et al., 1973; and Sadava, 1973). The ability to distinguish between official offenders and nonoffenders has attained success rates of over 85% in several studies employing a comprehensive social learning battery (Andrews, Kiessling et al., 1979; and Wormith, 1977). The potential of social learning approaches for intervention in the mental health and correctional systems is apparent by perusal of recent edited collections and texts (Bandura, 1969; Craighead et al., 1976; Leitenberg, 1976; Neitzel et al., 1977; Meichenbaum, 1977; Ross and Gendreau, 1980; Ullman & Krasner, 1975; and the annual collections of Franks & Wilson). Neitzel et al., (1977) and Andrews (1980a, b) are most relevant regarding the ability of a social learning approach to accommodate and encourage multiple levels of analysis (i.e. bio-physical, personal, situational and socio-cultural).

It is impossible to do justice to the social learning perspective in a few paragraphs, but some expansion may be helpful to suggest the substantive implications for policy, operations and research. The most basic point is that behaviour, criminal or

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noncriminal, is examined in relation to the environment. That environment may be internal or external with reference to the actor. In brief, criminal and noncriminal acts are considered to be under the control of the relatively immediate environmental antecedent conditions and/or under the control of the consequences of prior acts. Consequences refer to rewards (which increase the chances of recurrence) and costs (which decrease the chances of recurrence). Antecedent control may be understood by reference to the general notion of specific outcomes (rewards and costs) for given behaviours being signalled by the immediate environment. Those signals may include instructions, personal standards, social norms, the availability of the necessary resources for specific actions, or the presence of stimulus conditions which were present during prior rewarded (or costly) actions. Since many forms of criminal behaviour become multi-functional, it must be noted that the rewards may be sensory, affective, material, personally-mediated evaluations such as "good" or "bad", or the evaluative reactions of others. The density* of outcome events may vary. It is through recognition of the variety of possible rewards for crime that the social learning perspective is able to encompass the many narrower versions of motivational theory (e.g., frustration-aggression, anomie, subcultural, conflict and other value-oriented

* Density refers to the number, variety, quality and magnitude of consequences as well as the immediacy, frequency and regularity with which they occur.

theories, and even the possibility of highly idiosyncratic motives). Similarly, there is a multitude of potential costs associated with criminal and noncriminal behaviours. Thus, social learning theory encompasses the corresponding variety of control, containment and deterrence theories. Again, the costs may be sensory, affective, material, personally-mediated negative self-judgments or interpersonal disapproval and loss of affection or esteem.

The social learning perspective accommodates the major points of the opportunity/reintegration model which is emerging in Canadian corrections. Personal responsibility is recognized through the inclusion of personally-mediated antecedents and consequences. In addition, the social learning perspective suggests a direct link between the reward/cost density for crime and the reward/cost density for conventional (noncriminal) behaviours. If the noncriminal behavioural repertoire can be enhanced, and the density of rewards and satisfactions derived from community pursuits increased, i.e., reintegration accomplished, the motives for crime will decrease while the potential costs for crime will increase dramatically. A social learning perspective would caution that if the rewards to be derived from crime are not deliverable by noncriminal pursuits, then the functional significance of reintegration is greatly reduced. In addition, reintegration will be less than powerful if personal sentiments remain supportive of

crime or if the necessary personal-interpersonal life skills are inadequate for the maintenance of performance at rewarded or normative levels in noncriminal settings.

Client Factors and the Prediction of Recidivism

It is very much in the interest of corrections to increase its ability to predict recidivism and to document the levels of that ability. The predictability of recidivism is ultimately related to the goal of "protection of the public" and to the additional goal of promoting public awareness and understanding of crime and corrections. The obvious points need not be belaboured. Valid assessments of risk may assist in decisions regarding the level of security and surveillance required, may help make the guidelines for probation and parole decision-making more explicit and hence fairer, and may help in documenting what corrections is managing to accomplish and under what conditions it is so doing.

The social learning perspective suggests that the major predictors of criminality will be measures which reflect the density of the rewards and the density of the costs in effect for criminal and noncriminal behaviours. Thus, we may consider conventional types of measures of clients and their past and current situations. However, the predictive value of those measures is assumed to relate to the response capabilities (or competencies) and to the contingencies* which exist for the individual.

Table 1 provides a survey of some of the major predictors of recidivism suggested by the social learning perspective. While not purporting to be exhaustive, the list of client factors provides a reasonably comprehensive survey of factors which may be predictive of recidivism. The predictability of recidivism may be increased still further when potential interactions within the set are explored. For example, our own on-going research suggests that self-esteem may be a positive or a negative correlate of criminality depending upon the personal and social supports for crime. If Canadian corrections wishes to pursue an objective of increasing the predictability of recidivism in community-based programs, the list suggests a variety of factors which should be explored systematically. The social learning perspective suggests that traditional predictors such as age, sex, and socio-economic status are of value because they correlate with the more direct indicators of competencies and contingencies sampled above.** The available empirical evidence regarding the above-noted factors is largely derived from samples of young persons engaging in less

* Contingencies refer to the relationship between given types of acts and rewarding or costly environmental events.

** Relatively fixed bio-social-historical factors such as age, criminal history, education, stability of prior employment are known to yield efficient prediction of recidivism. A more comprehensive social learning assessment may be a more "costly" approach to prediction but it also yields more implications for practice.

Table 1
A Sample of Predictors of Recidivism From A
Social Learning Perspective.

A. Personal Values (Motivation)

1. Value excitement and thrills; sensation-seeking.
2. Value independence.
3. Value short-term hedonism.
4. Value "trouble", "smartness", "toughness", "beating the system".
5. Devalue conventional success.
6. Devalue self-control, self-discipline or a "fit" between behaviour and beliefs.
7. Devalue rights, feelings of others.
8. Idiosyncratic needs served by crime (for example: need for punishment; relief from withdrawal distress; certain sexual needs; signs of pain in another person).

B. Personal Beliefs and Attitudes

1. Alienation.
2. Social criticism.
3. Generalized tolerance for deviance.
4. Specific tolerance for law violations.
5. Low expectations of conventional success.
6. High expectations of criminal success.
7. Positive functions of crime exceed costs of crime.
8. Costs of noncriminal activities exceed rewards.
9. Low self-esteem.
10. Unrealistic ambitions.

Table 1 (Cont'd)

C. Personal Behavioural History

1. Alcohol/drug abuse (early).
2. Prior criminal activity (early).
3. Frequency and type of prior criminal activity.
4. Low rates and quality of participation in conventional pursuits (home, school, work, church).
5. Generalized rule violations (lying, aggression, traffic offences) and trouble at home/school/work.
6. Rule violations during incarceration or during periods on probation or parole.
7. High levels of tension/anxiety.

D. Personal Abilities and Skills (Competencies)

1. Below average on measures of general intelligence and on traditional measures of academic-vocational aptitude.
2. Social and life-skill deficits.
3. Interpersonal skill deficits.
4. Self-management skill deficits.
5. Anomalies in sensitivity and/or responsivity to physiological cues (autonomic functioning).
6. Limited range of coping responses to tension/anxiety/frustration/stress/boredom.

E. Social Supports

1. Access to criminal resources and models.
2. Limited access to conventional resources and models.
3. Affective ties to criminal others.

Table 1 (Cont'd)

4. Weak affective ties to noncriminal others (conventional settings are aversive, hostile, rejecting; or the contingencies in conventional settings are not sufficient to influence behaviour).
 5. Associations with settings or groups wherein the "average" or "dominant" value/belief/behavioural history tends to press in the procriminal direction.
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The above draws upon the following sources: Akers, 1977; Akers et al., 1979; Andrews, 1980a, b; Andrews, Kiessling et al., 1979; Bandura, 1969; Gendreau et al., 1979; Glaser, 1964; Hare & Schalling, 1978, Jessor & Jessor, 1977; Waller, 1974; and Wormith, 1977.

serious forms of deviance than that to which corrections is accustomed. Studies employing similar variables with adult correctional samples should be useful to corrections while also advancing the social learning approach.

Client Factors and the Selection of Intermediate Targets

Client factors of the dynamic type constitute potential intermediate targets for supervisory programs, i.e., those attributes of clients and their situations which are reasonably and ethically amenable to influence with a subsequent reduction in the likelihood of recidivism. The number of factors with some documented dynamic validity is very small. In fact, if we were to demand utterly convincing empirical evidence regarding dynamic validity, the list of factors would be an empty set.

Axon's (1982) discussion of the treatment and support component of supervision focuses upon personality and attitude change as a traditional intermediate target of supervision. However, the 1968 National Parole Board report which Axon quotes (p. 6) clearly stated that the goals of supervision extended beyond attitude change.

The idea of supervision is to get the paroled inmate to change his attitudes about committing crimes, to help him in his social adjustment to becoming a law-abiding citizen. This means he has to learn many things including respect for authority and for the rights of others, an

acceptance of responsibility for his actions and for the care and support of those who are dependent upon him and the developing of proper controls on his actions and behaviour.
(Canada, N.P.B. 1968: 1)

In fact, the N.P.B. statement reads like a summary of our list of predictors, recast as dynamic factors: changes in attitudes about committing crime; improved social adjustment with an emphasis on the law-abiding; increased self-management; increased respect for the system; and deeper involvement in conventional activities.

One develops the feeling that everyone "knows" that there is a variety of appropriate intermediate goals which, if achieved, would be associated with reduced recidivism. What is lacking in corrections is a systematic attempt to document, on either a special program or routine basis, whether, and under what conditions, changes in attitudes, social adjustment, self-management and other skills do, in fact, relate to recidivism. If there is a need for a comprehensive research program identifying client-based variables as predictors of recidivism, there is an equal need to retest on these variables to identify which among them have dynamic validity.

From a social learning perspective, the overall intermediate target is to alter the density of the rewards and the density of the costs for criminal and noncriminal behaviours such that the noncriminal are favoured. This reduces to some combination of:

- 1) increasing the density of the costs for crime;
- 2) reducing the density of the rewards for crimes;
- 3) increasing the density of the rewards for noncriminal behaviour; and,
- 4) reducing the density of the costs for noncriminal behaviour.

By referring to the rewards and costs of behaviour, attention is immediately focused upon the actions of the client in relation to the environment. Thus, it is not simply a question of increasing the behavioural repertoire of clients but of altering the opportunities the environment affords the client and the feedback the environment provides. The specifics that are most feasible will vary from client to client, given individual differences in behavioural repertoires and competencies, and given individual differences in access to noncriminal settings and associates. However, we may well expect that a focus on increasing the density of the costs for crime will be of limited value unless noncriminal opportunities for the attainment of rewards and satisfactions are developed.

Supervision Practices

Almost any classification of supervision practices is going to be artificial and arbitrary. Effective supervision practices are those which succeed in enhancing noncriminal behavioural repertoires and competencies and which alter the contingencies such that noncriminal behaviours are favoured. The effective practices

reduce to operations such as reinforcement, punishment, scheduling, modeling, successive approximation, etc., and to the design of structures which maintain the preferred contingencies.

One system of classifying and measuring supervision practices which we have found useful, makes reference to the use of authority, anticriminal modeling and reinforcement, problem-solving, advocate-broker activity and the quality of the relationships established among program participants. The classification system is relatively easy to understand, has been helpful in training workers, and has brought some degree of order to the literature on evaluations of correctional programs. These practices have been reviewed in detail elsewhere (Andrews, 1979a, b; 1980).

Reflecting the state of the current correctional literature, Axon (1982) makes many references to the classic role-conflict in corrections, i.e. between authority and the establishment of "meaningful" relationships. Axon goes so far as to suggest experimentation of a new "non-authority" role for probation/parole officers. Yet, to this author's knowledge there is no evidence in the human and social services that the quality of the relationship between workers and clients has any positive effect on outcome except in combination with the more directive elements of counselling or supervision. I do not doubt that officers feel their authority position dampens the quality of the relationship which they can establish with their clients.* However, what would be the impact of a non-directive, evocative, relationship-oriented approach by parole officers?

A number of relatively well-controlled program evaluations speak to the issue. Contrary to armchair speculation, such an approach in the absence of more directive aspects of counselling or supervision has been associated with increases on various indices of "recidivism" among young troubled boys (Goodman, 1972), predelinquents (McCord, 1978), young gang members (Klein, 1971), serious young psychopaths (Craft et al., 1964), heroin addicts (Murphy, 1972), immature military offenders (Grant and Grant, 1959) and prisoners (Adams, 1975) as well as among probationers (Andrews, Kiessling, et al., 1979). Similarly, in the absence of experimental or statistical controls for the directive aspects of supervision, positive participant opinions or ratings of the quality of relationship have been found to be either unrelated to recidivism, or actually associated with increased recidivism (Andrews, 1979a, b).

A social learning perspective on the relationship factor is quite explicit. The positive versus negative impact of relationship practices depends upon the procriminal versus anti-criminal nature of the contingencies established through the more directive aspects of supervision. It is not a question of

*The very limited available evidence suggests that it is a good sign that a majority of officers do not enjoy their "control" function. Officers who are predisposed to enjoy interpersonal domination have been found in two different studies to be the less effective officers (Scheier et al., 1973; and Andrews, Kiessling et al., 1979).

"meaningful" or "pleasant" relationships versus direction. It is a question of a combination of both. A relatively open and warm relationship suggests that an officer has relatively high-quality rewards and costs to deliver. However, if such rewards are delivered in a noncontingent manner or for frankly procriminal expressions on the part of the client, then increased recidivism may be expected. When anticriminal positions are demonstrated and rewarded, some reduction in the probability of recidivism may be expected.

Problem-solving practices represent attempts to increase the frequency and quality of rewards and satisfactions which may be derived from noncriminal activities, in noncriminal settings with noncriminal others. They constitute explicit efforts to increase the rewards from noncriminal activities in order to reduce the incentives for exploring criminal pursuits, while simultaneously increasing the costs for crime, should it be detected. Given a background of rewards from noncriminal pursuits, there is more to lose should criminal activities be detected.

The specific practices include the following:

- 1) reviewing sources of current reward deficits or costly excesses;
- 2) developing plans to increase the rewards;
- 3) assisting in skill and repertoire development where necessary to increase performance to rewarded (normative) levels;

- 4) assisting in gaining entry into those settings (work, school, recreational, etc.) which would deliver the rewards; and
- 5) monitoring client-setting interactions in order to ensure that the rewards are being delivered when performance is normative.

An important aspect of problem-solving is that its completion is signalled by the attainment of the intermediate objective, i.e. increased rewards/satisfactions for noncriminal pursuits. Assignment to a vocational program is not sufficient problem-solving unless the program is successfully completed and the client obtains a rewarding job. Assignment to family or marital therapy is not sufficient for problem-solving unless the therapy succeeds in altering the contingencies in effect with the family or marital situation. Increasing a client's social skills is not sufficient unless the client is able to gain entry into settings where the practice of those skills will be rewarded.

The major components of a social learning perspective on problem-solving are well represented by a variety of classic evaluations of programs in corrections and related areas: Sarason and Ganzer's (1973) use of the principles of observational learning, Alexander and Parson's (1973) family work, the Azrin studies on community-reinforcement (Hunt & Azrin, 1973; Azrin, 1976), Sobell and Sobell's (1973) detailed review of their individualized social learning approach, and Andrews, Kiessling et al's (1979) operationalization of problem-solving. All provide concrete examples of the problem-solving strategy within a social learning

framework. Notable within each is the attempt to assist the client in gaining some control over the contingencies under which he operates. Also notable is that the problem-solving efforts were very active, comprehensive, individualized, and practical.

Advocate-broker activity represents only one component of problem-solving and not necessarily the most effective component. In fact, our reviews of the literature have found only one investigation of a primarily advocate-broker orientation which has been associated with positive impact, and this was not evident until the postprogram period (Andrews et al., 1981). The grand experiments in social casework appear to have been very much designed on the advocate-broker as opposed to the direct-service model and the failure of those experiments is well documented (Berleman et al., 1972). The development of community resources appears to be a worthy extra-supervision role for probation/parole officers, but advocacy-brokerage efforts as the primary supervision practice appear to be on weak ground indeed.

Worker Factors

On the basis of the social learning perspective, the effective officer would be one who, by virtue of the characteristics brought to the situation of supervision, is predisposed to engage in effective practices. As the preceding discussion would

suggest, there is the widespread belief that the interpersonal skills of the worker are important. The stress on interpersonal skills is evident within a number of theoretical orientations including group dynamics (Cartwright, 1951), humanistic counselling (Rogers, 1957), radical behaviourism (Wolf, 1978), an eclectic-cognitive orientation (Krumholtz, 1966) and a "gut-level", pragmatic orientation (Leenhouts, 1970). Again, however, there is also the theoretical position, albeit less evident in practice, that the worker should bring something else to the situation. That "something else" has been called a task orientation (Cartwright, 1951), an action orientation (Carkhuff, 1969), relevant knowledge and skills (Krumholtz, 1966) or simply being a mature, responsible and capable person (Leenhouts, 1970). As suggested by a behavioural reformulation of differential association theory (Andrews, 1980b), attributes of the officer which are relevant to the supervision of offenders include a positive socio-emotional orientation (the relationship principle) in combination with the ability to establish anticriminal contingencies (the contingency principle).

The literature on the characteristics of effective workers in the human and social services is, in fact, quite weak (Korchin, 1976). In this author's opinion, the most convincing empirical evidence for the importance of worker personality comes from corrections; specifically, the Canadian Volunteers In Corrections (CaVIC) findings regarding the joint importance of officer empathy and officer socialization levels, the evidence

regarding interpersonal domination as a trait factor (Scheier et al., 1973) and the Alexander et al. (1976) findings regarding the importance of therapist characteristics to the outcome of therapy for families of delinquents. Goodman's (1972) work with the GAIT, a behavioural assessment technique for interpersonal skills, also appears promising (Rappaport, 1977).

That now classic concern in corrections for the indigenous worker remains unexplored in any way which directly documents impact on outcome indices (Gartner & Riessman, 1977). One small piece of evidence suggests that worker-client similarity in terms of social situation and background only relates to positive outcome when the workers also present the preferred personality orientations, i.e. are interpersonally skilled and socialized (Andrews, Kiessling et al., 1979).

The monitoring of worker characteristics in relation to the recidivism of assigned clients constitutes a major area for future research. An important intermediate set of factors to be assessed here, is the actual supervision practices employed by the workers. While the high-socialization officers studied by Andrews, Kiessling et al. (1979) were clearly engaging in effective anti-criminal modeling and reinforcement practices, the CaVIC studies failed to find any objective practice-level factors which related to the natural interpersonal skills which workers brought to the situation of supervision. Although the clients and the program

managers gave high ratings to high-empathy officers, we were unable to discover what the high-empathy officers actually did which was different from the practices of the less empathic officers.

Managers in probation/parole, like officers, also bring characteristics and attributes to their jobs. To our knowledge, the issue of whether the characteristics of effective management relate to the characteristics of an effective officer has never been explored in a systematic, empirical way. Kiessling and Andrews (1980) have suggested some direct links between the practice of supervision of clients and the supervision of staff, but empirical evidence is lacking. Effective use of authority, modeling and reinforcement, and problem-solving, all within the context of a relatively pleasant interpersonal situation, appear to constitute categories equally relevant to the supervision of clients and staff.

Program Factors

A relatively neglected area of investigation is the systematic exploration of between-office variations in outcome and how those differences may be traced to program-level factors. Although Moos (1974, 1975, 1976) concentrates upon participant-based measures of the social climate of programs, he has provided or reviewed the major examples of the few studies available. The impact of membership composition, role additions and deletions, and formal changes in the rights and obligations of program partici-

pants remains virtually unexplored in the human and social services. We do not intend to imply that the literature is not filled with concerns regarding program-level factors, it is that systematic empirical investigations of the relation of these factors to recidivism are almost totally lacking.

This paper has been suggesting that effective and useful knowledge in corrections would be greatly increased by commitments to research programs which seek to identify and control the major sources of variation in recidivism. Those factors include client factors, worker factors and practice factors. We now suggest that such a research program also characterize offices in terms of the characteristics of the participating workers and clients and in terms of the practices which are dominant within offices. The suggestion is that some of the variation found in recidivism may be due to such program-level factors and may be quite independent of that variation in recidivism attributable to individual workers, clients and the practices evident in particular worker-client matches. For example, an appropriate balance of certain types of workers in an office may have dramatic impact on the practices of all officers within that office. We are arguing for a truly sociological investigation in which variations in the attributes of offices are examined in relation to variations in the behaviour of the individual participants.

What might be anticipated by social learning theory? Offices which serve a relatively large proportion of high-risk cases may be expected to differ in a number of ways from offices serving a smaller proportion of high-risk cases. These differences would likely extend to the ways in which the low and high-risk cases are supervised in both types of offices and what effects this has on recidivism. What about offices which include a predominance of empathic officers? Might between-office differences be expected on worker and client satisfaction indices as well as on the intervention practices and recidivism rates? There is already at least one study which suggests that the average revocation rates in different offices influenced the way in which intensive supervision related to recidivism. Martinson (1974) traced the positive effects of intensive supervision to those California parole offices in which revocation was practiced. This is another example of an authority-by-relationship interaction, but this time at the office level.

The discovery of worker factors which relate to recidivism has obvious implications at the management and policy level, i.e. to recruit workers, volunteer or professional, who possesses those characteristics which relate in desired ways to supervision practices and recidivism. The practical implications dramatically increase in importance if worker composition, as a program factor, has additional effects on practices and recidivism. Similarly, the encouragement through training of specific types of practices within a given office may have both an individual and a structural impact.

According to Axon's (1982) review, knowledge regarding the potential of roles for citizen volunteers is increasing, but very little is known about the addition of roles for volunteers as a program-level factor. Clearly, the addition of volunteers may not simply mean the services are amplified but also that the roles, practices and effects associated with professional supervision may change. Such issues can only be explored at the program or office level and require comparisons between programs or offices. Ideally, one would like to compare the recidivism rates between offices with and without volunteers, as well as differences in outcome within offices between professional and volunteer supervision.

We have at various points returned to the issue of authority. Authority may be analyzed as a worker factor, a practice factor and as a program factor. Among Axon's recommendations was a bold suggestion that authority be evaluated as a program factor. This is an interesting proposition. A systematic and controlled between-program examination of voluntary parole supervision would indeed yield some powerful information for policy and operations. It would be important that the evaluation of voluntary supervision include an examination of its effects on intervention practices and intermediate goal attainment as well as recidivism.

An on-going study in the Ottawa probation and parole office is attempting to examine three program-level manipulations within the context of a single controlled experiment. Different types of volunteers, defined through pretested empathy and socialization levels, are being assigned randomly to training for traditional versus directive supervision roles. They are then randomly assigned to probationers in two different reporting conditions, intensive versus nonintensive supervision. Here, the program-level factors are being examined within a given office. This study should yield strong data on program-level factors in relation to recidivism. Those program-level factors may be examined both in isolation and in combination. However, because it is confined to a single office, many important issues must remain unexplored. We cannot learn how a concentration of specific types of volunteers, or how an emphasis on a certain approach to training for one's role might have influenced the office as a whole.

A final but not unimportant issue at the program-level, concerns the way in which variations in some of the more common administrative indices such as head counts of workers and clients, support staff, dollars assigned, etc. relates to variations in recidivism rates across offices.

Setting Factors

We hear over and over again that the community which surrounds any given correctional effort must share responsibility for the initial criminal activity of offenders, as well as for

recidivism rates. Within a social learning perspective, political-economic and geographic features may produce pro-criminal contingencies which are community-wide. Socio-cultural factors may maintain such contingencies. These community contingencies in turn influence the behaviour of individual members of the community. A major problem is that of empirically documenting the processes of influence and the specific links between variations in recidivism rates and the broader setting factors. I am not aware of any empirical evidence that variations in recidivism rates may be attributed to broader setting factors, except of course, where client factors such as age, socio-economic status, or ethnic background are misrepresented as setting factors.

The model outlined in this paper suggests that setting or surrounding factors may account for between-setting variations in recidivism. Canadian corrections would make a great contribution to the field of criminology as well as a contribution toward its public mandate if systematic demonstrations of setting effects could be established. Variations across settings in levels of unemployment and other socio-political indicators, measured independently of the clients being studied, are likely to be associated with variations in recidivism. Certainly such measures have been related to crime rates but that is not the same as documenting an effect on recidivism. A systematic exploration of the conditions under which setting effects are important would greatly strengthen Canadian correctional efforts aimed at the development of the role of the community.

Differential Treatment

As Axon's (1982) report makes clear, it is only through the development of classification systems for clients, workers, and practices that differential treatment decisions may be facilitated. We would add that programs or settings must be equally amenable to classification if they are to enter into differential-treatment planning. As in the case of the examination of worker factors, it appears that in the human and social services, corrections has made the greatest progress in nonmedical, differential-treatment approaches. That is not to say that the area of differential treatment is well understood; it is just to say that there has been some demonstrable progress (Palmer, 1975; Glaser, 1974).

The following is a summary regarding differential treatment, suggested by the CaVIC research. A systematic replication and extension is currently underway.

- 1) Authority practices appear to be equally effective with all types of clients.
- 2) Anticriminal modeling and differential reinforcement on the part of the officer are particularly effective with clients who are interpersonally sensitive and who already possess personal and social supports for conventional behaviour.
- 3) Problem-solving practices are of greatest value for those clients who do not possess the personal and social supports for conventional behaviour.
- 4) Non-directive, relationship-oriented practices may be of some value for the interpersonally-sensitive client, but may produce recidivism when relied upon with the interpersonally-insensitive client.

On several occasions Axon (1982) makes reference to what she and many others call the "case-work paradox": programs are only of value to those who least need them. This is an unfortunate misreading of the literature. It is typically the case that those who enter programs with the lowest probability of recidivism are those who do prove to be the least likely to recidivate. However, one cannot make inferences about differentials in responsivity to a specific program without introducing some comparison program. Employing an intake risk scale, we may find the following distribution of outcomes within program "A":

High Risk: 80% of offenders are recidivists.

Low Risk: 20% of offenders are recidivists.

Clearly the high risk offenders assigned to Program A presented a higher post-program recidivism rate than did the low risk cases. However, what might have been the outcomes if the offenders had been assigned to program "B"?

High Risk: 95% of offenders are recidivists.

Low Risk: 10% of offenders are recidivists.

Again, we see that the higher risk offenders recidivated at a higher rate than did the lower risk offenders. From the point of view of assessing the "case-work paradox", one needs to compare the high risk cases assigned to program "A" with the high risk cases assigned to program "B". Similar comparisons are required with the low risk cases.

% Recidivists

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Difference</u>
High Risk	80	95	-15
Low Risk	20	10	+10

Program A produced a better outcome than Program B for the high risk cases, while the reverse was true for the low risk cases. The prediction of outcomes on the basis of attributes of clients within a given program is irrelevant to the issue of differential treatment. The differential treatment issue has to do with the differential predictive validity of offender factors when offenders are assigned to different treatments.

Quite the contrary to the suggestion of a "paradox", the available literature suggests that many forms of treatment have the greatest demonstrable impact upon the higher-risk clients. This appears to be the case in the volunteer literature (Andrews, Kiessling et al., 1979; Ku et al., undated) where the intensive problem-solving and other efforts of volunteers are, in a sense, wasted on low-risk cases who present few problems.

This also appears to be the case with certain types of employment-related programs in corrections. The results of Jeffery and Woolpert (1974) quite consistently show that, across a range of risk indicators, work furlough as an alternative to incarceration

has its greatest impact on the higher-risk cases. The interpretation is similar to that offered for the differential impact of problem-solving practices. Since the low-risk cases on average are the types of clients who can readily find employment, the provision of employment-related services is not going to be as much benefit to them as it would be to the higher-risk cases.

The crucial methodological point here is that type-of-client by type-of-treatment interactions can only be found when both type of client and type of treatment vary, i.e. when the possibility of moderator factors is actually explored. Client characteristics must be examined in combination with "treatment", and the "treatment" factor may be a practice, worker, program, or setting factor.

→ Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this paper has been to develop a functional orientation toward corrections and criminal behaviour. While recognizing the political-economic and human-moral context within which policy, operations and research are embedded, the focus was on one major objective of corrections: the reduction of recidivism.

The functional orientation toward corrections was highly methodological in emphasis. Variability in recidivism was reviewed as traceable to six sets of factors: clients, workers, practices,

programs, broader settings, and intermediate changes in the attributes of offenders and their situations. The perspective was "functional" in the sense that the emphasis was placed upon the relationships between the factors and recidivism. The important point is not that clients are of Type A, that workers are of Type B, or that practices C, D and E are going on. The important matters concern the relationships that type of client, worker, and practices enter into with recidivism. A second implication of the methodological perspective was that the different levels of analysis should not be confused, as they often are in the correctional literature. For example, it was noted that the "mere fact" of being on parole/probation cannot possibly account for variations in the recidivism of parolees and probationers.

A third implication was that the methodological perspective allows for the accumulation of studies to contribute to policy and operations. The documentation of the links which exist between intervention practices and intermediate client changes are important when viewed within the total picture. A related implication is that even in the absence of controlled experimental methods, descriptive studies may help document the links among the different categories and corresponding levels of analysis.

The functional orientation toward criminal behaviour (recidivism) was also substantive in nature, drawing as it did on social learning theory. If occurrences of criminal behaviour may be understood to reflect the reward/cost contingencies for criminal

and noncriminal behaviour, then the intermediate objective of supervision must be to alter those contingencies so that noncriminal behaviours are favoured. A list of potential predictors of recidivism was presented. The ones with dynamic potential are those which, if changed, would reflect an altering of the contingencies. In brief, the task was seen to be that of enhancing the client's noncriminal behavioural repertoire and competencies, and assisting the client in gaining entry to those groups or settings in which the natural reward/cost contingencies favour the occurrence of noncriminal behaviour.

The paper suggests that Canadian corrections consider an explicit functional orientation toward its public mandate where, in combination with the provision of services, it: a) takes on the task of documenting the major sources of variability in recidivism, and b) introduces controlled changes in those factors which are reasonably and ethically amenable to influence, in order to monitor and document the effects of such interventions on recidivism.

I conclude that there is some basis for quiet optimism in Canadian corrections. I would hope, however, that Canadian corrections does not leave itself open to every minor shift in the popularity of various conceptions or strategies in criminology and corrections. A commitment to the careful and controlled development of its current efforts in the area of community-based programs appears most appropriate. Knowledge in the area of criminology and corrections is desperately needed, both within and outside Canada.

By adopting a functional perspective which includes a commitment to the documentation of findings, Canadian corrections will not only fulfill its own obligations but also take a distinguished position internationally in the area of human and social services.

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CHAPTER 7

Assessment of Outcome in Correctional Samples

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Most agencies in the human and social services share a number of objectives: humane and ethical practice; fairness; cost-efficiency and cost-effectiveness; the promotion of human welfare; social development; social protection; the satisfaction of clients and significant others, workers, and managers and representatives of other agencies; and the satisfaction of accountants, lawyers, politicians, and the public at large. Providing a classic illustration of "agency centrism," criminologists have recently proclaimed these nonspecific concerns "criminal justice objectives." A concern unique to corrections is the management of criminal penalties imposed on individual offenders by the courts (Haley & Lurette, 1981). An objective associated with that concern is specific deterrence or the control of recidivism: reduction of the probability of future law violations on the part of those whose sentences are managed. The assessment of that objective is the primary focus of this chapter, with special reference to those variations in outcome that may be attributed to psychosocial interventions. Variations in the level and type of psychosocial services offered those imprisoned or on probation and parole represent variations in the management of the sentence (Andrews, 1981, Reference Note 1 at end of the chapter). A related problem is the assessment of changes in those attributes of offenders and their situations that are thought to mediate subsequent variations in criminal activity. There are practical, methodological, and theoretical reasons for consumers of evaluation studies to insist that researchers monitor

not only effects on crime but also on influencing intermediate targets (Andrews, 1981, Reference Note 1; Andrews & Kiessling, 1980).

A first step, perhaps best employing the small-scale designs typical of the psychotherapy literature, is to document that effects on intermediate targets can be achieved (Andrews, 1980). A focus on the objective of specific deterrence requires a few preliminary comments. To focus on crime control is not to imply that the concerns of fairness, cost-efficiency, and consumer satisfaction are unimportant. Interventions and assessments of outcomes are value-laden efforts in any context, and where possible, evaluations will monitor indices relevant to those values. In fact, inequalities in the distribution of power within correctional agencies require that special attention be paid to the ethical issues of intervention and assessment.

Second, it is likely that psychosocial professionals in corrections spend most of their time not on the crime-control objective, but on attempts to reduce the human misery and administrative entanglements that a penalty such as incarceration carries. In brief, efforts to assist at the level of offender (and staff) "adjustment" to the prison environment, including the redesign of that environment and the development of alternate environments, are worthy objectives that need not be linked to crime control for their justification. Finally, it is necessary that evaluators and consumers of evaluations not confuse recidivism rates with crime rates; the former refer to the criminal activity of individuals, whereas the latter are measures of the extent of criminal activity within a geographically or socially defined unit. As is noted later, a major policy issue is whether the pursuit of the correctional objective of controlling recidivism rates is a cost-effective means of controlling community-wide crime rates. Rhetoric to the contrary (Martinson, 1976), the relationship between recidivism and crime rates, has simply not been the object of systematic empirical exploration. It remains to be seen whether prevention programs (broadly defined), correctional programs, or some combination of both may influence crime rates in socially significant ways.

RECIDIVISM

Recidivism: an offense or some offenses committed during a specified follow-up period by a person who has previously been convicted for an offense or, by a person whose future offensive conduct has been judged of interest in preventive or descriptive studies.

The definition is a modification of one preferred by Waldo and Griswold (1977, p. 229). Four aspects of the definition are noteworthy because they avoid some problems associated with alternate definitions.

1. The definition specifies that a longitudinal design is necessary for the assessment of recidivism. This is obvious, perhaps, but some of

more widely accepted and grossly inflated estimates of recidivism rates were derived from cross-sectional surveys of the criminal records of current prisoners (Glaser, 1964, Chapter 2).

2. The definition avoids terms such as "habitual," "tending toward repetition," and "proneness to continue to crime" (Waldo & Griswold, 1979). Such phrases may describe "risk assessments," but assessments of risk, like assessments of offense history, are nominally and analytically distinct from assessments of recidivism.
3. The definition is not tied to any particular conception of the essence of crime. Whether crime is viewed as a "disease" or "an assertion of human dignity within a corrupt state," the definition applies equally well.
4. The definition may be applied in descriptive studies as well as evaluations of both correctional and prevention programs. When intake samples include both offenders and nonoffenders, what must be avoided are the sorts of definitional games documented by Hawkins et al. (1977) in the following example.

Where a program serves some persons without an offense history, there is a tremendous opportunity to confuse and mislead consumers of outcome research through the selective inclusion or exclusion of "offense history" in the computation of "recidivism" rates. For illustrative purposes, Hawkins et al. (1977) seized the opportunity and showed how "recidivism" rates could be manipulated in their sample of 510 juveniles, only 142 of whom had been "arrested" prior to program contact. If recidivism referred only to the post-intake arrests of those with an arrest history, the overall recidivism rate was 3.3% (17 of 510). If recidivism referred to postintake arrests regardless of arrest history, the rate was 5.5% (28 of 510). Neither estimate is particularly useful because it hides the important differences in rates that exist as a function of arrest history. Those with an arrest history were recidivating at rates (12%; 17 of 142) higher than those without an arrest history (3.0%; 11 of 368). The important point is that offense history, like type of intervention, is a potential source of variance in recidivism, and not an appropriate element of the operational definition of recidivism. Moreover, the inclusion of offense history as a factor in an evaluation will allow any offense history-by-treatment interactions to emerge as illustrated by O'Donnell et al., (1979) in the following example.

O'Donnell et al. (1979) reported that their "buddy system" program was associated with reduced recidivism among those with an offense history (56% "buddy system" vs. 78% controls), but with increased recidivism among those without an offense history (22% vs. 16%). Had O'Donnell and colleagues chosen to define recidivism as the proportion of those with both an offense history and a rearrest, they would have concluded that the recidivism rates for the experimentals and controls were identical at 8% each. Had they ignored offense history completely, they would have concluded that the recidivism rates for the experimentals and controls were identical at 8% each. Had they ignored

was tending to be associated with increased (27% vs. 23%) recidivism. When the analytic distinction between offense history and recidivism is lost, so is the opportunity to explore an important source of variability in recidivism.

The two fundamental operational problems are the specification of the follow-up period and the definition of "offenses." The operational choices may be guided by the specific goals of any correctional effort, by political or theoretical preferences, and by the application of psychometric criteria such as the implications of our choices for reliability, validity, utility, and sensitivity to intervention efforts. The intercorrelations among operational definitions and the possibility of differential validities become intriguing questions for empirical exploration.

Operational Specifications of the Follow-up Period

Commencement of Follow-Up

Operational choices regarding the follow-up period are two: when it begins and when it ends. For reasons to be developed, it is strongly recommended that the beginning of the follow-up period coincide with the implementation of intervention decisions. The implications for randomized group designs are obvious. For purposes of pseudoexperimental evaluations, the recommendation suggests that it is inappropriate to sample from lists of "graduates" of the programs to be compared; rather, sampling *must* be done from lists of those who enter the programs, from lists compiled before "dropouts," and in-program "failures" are deleted. The only exceptions to this guideline occur when the investigator can document that "dropouts" were distributed proportionally across programs; that the dropout phenomenon was unrelated to any prescores that are predictive of recidivism, or that may interact with the program factor on recidivism; and that the recidivism rates of dropouts were equivalent across programs. The latter, of course, requires that the investigator monitor the recidivism of dropouts, including both in-program and postprogram recidivism. Thus there are, in effect, no conditions under which the choice of an alternate starting point can yield accurate estimates of the effects of intervention decisions on recidivism.

Rationales for ignoring in-program recidivism—for beginning follow-up at the termination of treatment rather than at the initiation of treatment—include the argument that it is unreasonable to monitor recidivism before treatment has had an opportunity to impact. Thus it was, for example, that Quay and Love (1977) chose to ignore the in-program recidivism of participants in a diversion program. An outstanding feature of the Quay and Love report is that they provide sufficient information to allow an inspection of the implication of their choice relative to the decision to include in-program recidivism. With in-program recidivism ignored, they report an impressive and statistically significant difference of 13% in the recidivism rates of participants

pants is included, the effect drops to an unimpressive and statistically untested difference of 5%. The latter difference best reflects the effects of implementing the program.

The serious problem with the Quay and Love rationale for ignoring in-program recidivism is that investigators do not have advance knowledge of when or even if interventions will begin to impact. A strategy more justifiable than the ignoring of in-program data involves the appropriate employment of control groups (preferably random). Repeated measures over successive follow-up periods will allow group-by-periods interactions to emerge if, in fact, they do exist. That strategy is a standard and universally acceptable means of discounting the effects of any predispositional or nontreatment factors on outcome—a means that does not require assumptions about when treatment efforts will emerge and hence a manipulation of the start of follow-up.

Another rationale for playing with the beginning of follow-up is to suggest that there are "obvious" differences in the extent to which participants of different programs are "incapacitated" or "at risk." For example, it is judged only "fair" that institution- and community-based programs be compared when participants are equally at risk: thus the follow-up period for participants in the community-based program begins with the initiation of that program, whereas the follow-up period for the more incapacitated sample begins post-program. Such a practice ensures that any incapacitation effects associated with the institutional program are ignored. The point is not that "obvious" incapacitation effects are always present; in fact, there are indications in the juvenile literature that incarceration does not suppress recidivism even in-program (Empey & Erickson, 1972; Fixsen et al., 1976). The point is that the incapacitation elements of a program are highly relevant treatment dimensions when the objective is specific deterrence. Incapacitation effects can be detected only by monitoring recidivism during the in-program phase. Any negative effects of incapacitation on cost and social validity criteria may be detected by monitoring indices of cost and social validity, but such effects should not be confused with effects on recidivism.

A particularly problematic rationale for manipulating the beginning of follow-up is based on the suggestion that the effects of treatment received are more interesting than the effects of treatment planned. Thus follow-up begins with the successful completion of treatment, and the recidivism of those who fail to "graduate" or to "successfully complete treatment" are either ignored or analyzed separately from the data of the successes. (The problems are compounded when, as is very often the case, the criteria for "failure" includes evidence of in-program recidivism.) Table 7.1 presents some hypothetical outcome data, data deliberately constructed to illustrate some logical extremes when in-program data are ignored and when "successes" and "failures" are analyzed separately, with or without in-program data included in the estimates of effects on recidivism. During the in-program phase, assignment to Program A was associated with higher levels of recidivism overall than was assignment to Program B. This overall effect was evident even though the "successes" of A

TABLE 7.1. Intervention Effects as a Function of Follow-Up: In-Program, Postprogram, and Total Follow-Up Period

	In-Program	Postprogram	In and Postprogram	Comments
Percentage arrested (Quay and Love, 1977)				
Participants ($n = 436$)	16% (45%)	32% (45%)	40% 45%	On average, participants followed for 89 days (in-program) and 311 days (postprogram); controls followed for 450 days
Controls ($n = 132$)				
Percentage reconvicted (hypothetical)				A data set constructed to illustrate some logical extremes
Program A				
Successes ($n = 30$)	0%	50%	50%	
Failures ($n = 70$)	40%	60%	90%	
Overall ($n = 100$)	28%	57%	78%	
Program B				
Successes ($n = 70$)	0%	60%	60%	
Failures ($n = 30$)	60%	70%	70%	
Overall ($n = 100$)	18%	63%	63%	
Pearson r ($n = 44$) (Andrews et al., 1981, Reference Note 2)				
Authority	-.38	-.12 (NS)	-.24	Objective measures of supervision practices in relation to recidivism (0-1)
Modeling	-.42	-.34	-.36	
Problem solving	-.29	-.05 (NS)	-.15 (NS)	
Advocate-broker	.13 (NS) ^a	-.23 (NS)	-.26	
Percentage reconvicted (Stephenson & Scarpitti, 1974)				
Prison	0% ($n = 100$)	53% ($n = 100$)	53% ($n = 100$)	Postprogram includes only "in-program successes"
Group centers	27% ($n = 67$)	41% ($n = 49$)	57% ($n = 67$)	
Essex fields	23% ($n = 100$)	48% ($n = 77$)	60% ($n = 100$)	
Probation	28% ($n = 926$)	15% ($n = 671$)	38% ($n = 926$)	

^aNS = not significant

and B did not differ in recidivism rates and the recidivism rate of A "failures" was actually lower than that of the B "failures." During the postprogram phase, the overall rates favored program A, as did the rates for both the in-program successes and the in-program failures. However, often there is little reason to believe that the postprogram effects are a better estimate of ability of programs to influence recidivism than are in-program effects. The crucial question relates to the relative position of groups at the end of the *total* follow-up period, with the in-program and postprogram data sets combined. The tabulated values for the end of the total follow-up period, overall and for the failures, favor Program B. However, if policymakers only had access to a follow-up of program successes, they would conclude that Program A was the program to be promoted. If successfully promoted, Program A would result in an overall increase in recidivism. Initiating follow-up at the time that treatment is successfully completed is an operationalization of recidivism to be avoided.

While the data of Andrews et al. 1981, (Reference Note 2) are less extreme than the hypothetical data set, they represent another example of the preceding conclusion. Reinspection of Table 7.1 reveals that the additional data set reinforces the conclusions regarding the critical importance of considering in-program recidivism when making conclusions regarding the ultimate impact of interventions. The tabulated values from Andrews and colleagues are point biserial correlations between objective measures of the supervision practices of probation officers and the recidivism (0 to 1) of their probationers. Neither the in-program nor postprogram correlations need yield conclusions similar to those derived from correlations involving the combined in-program and post-program data: one measure, anticriminal modeling, demonstrated predictive validity across the board; the predictive validity of another measure, advocate-broker activity, emerged only by the end of the total follow-up period; the early evidence of the predictive validity of problem-solving had faded by the end of follow-up; the early predictive validity of authority was not evident at post-program but was evident over the total follow-up period.

Finally, Table 7.1 presents the recidivism rates from Stephenson and Scarpitti (1974), recomputed for illustrative purposes with all inprogram failures included as recidivists at the end of the total follow-up period. (Stephenson and Scarpitti reported in-program and postprogram results separately; whereas all inprogram failures had committed a new offense, it is not clear whether these new offenses would meet the definition of recidivism employed at postprogram. Thus we ask the reader to note that the recomputation is for illustrative purposes only.) Inclusion of the inprogram data resulted in a reordering of the groups from that found postprogram: the two group homes, rather than appearing more effective than prison, now appear less effective in controlling crime.

Termination of Follow-Up

Choices regarding the beginning of follow-up are more fundamental than

ize over time; the former, as just reviewed, limits the ability to produce accurate estimates of the effects of intervention decisions, regardless of the duration of follow-up. Paradoxically, the duration issue has attracted the most attention in the evaluation literature. Reviewers of the intervention literature generally agree on the following: *most evaluations have involved follow-up periods judged too brief; they recommended a duration of at least two or three postprogram years.* The limiting conditions of this recommendation remains to be established (Waldo and Griswold, 1979), but, on average, the majority of those who will recidivate appear to do so within two or three postprogram years. Across a variety of correctional samples and across a variety of specific measures of recidivism, 80 to nearly 100% of those who recidivate within three or four postprogram years have been identified by the end of the second year (Andrews et al., Reference Note 2; Empey & Erickson, 1972; Gendreau & Lcipciger, 1978; Stephenson & Scarpitti, 1974; Waldo & Chiricos, 1977).

The three-year recommendation is only a rule of thumb, albeit a rule with some support in the literature. There is no substitute for the investigator knowing the sample, knowing the data, and making decisions appropriate to that knowledge. A few general guidelines are possible regarding when it is sensible to suspend follow-up without loss of information. One guideline is fairly straightforward: If cumulative measures of recidivism have reached their upper limit or reached levels where changes in relative outcome would be impossible to detect statistically, follow-ups may be suspended with no loss of information. For example, if 100% of the 15 members of group A have been registered as recidivists and if only three of the 15 members of group B are still at risk, follow-ups may be suspended; with the Fisher exact test, the *p* is already greater than .05 and could not possibly take a lower value in the future. Considerations of sample size, the magnitude of error terms, the logically possible changes in recidivism measures, and the power of available statistical tests may well yield the reasonable conclusion that no further changes could be detected statistically.

Additional follow-up is unlikely to yield new information once the cumulative differences among programs remains *stable* over three successive postprogram periods of at least six months each. In other words, when the relative outcomes stabilize, we likely have solid estimates of the ultimate relative outcomes. Glaser (1964) has suggested a guideline that is useful when one is satisfied to conclude that there was an effect as opposed to estimating the absolute magnitude of the ultimate effect: progressive *increases* in the estimate of an effect over successive follow-up periods suggest that an effect will be maintained in the future (Waldo & Griswold, 1979).

Other rules of thumb and guidelines aside, "the longer the better." Delayed effects require time to emerge and any effect requires time to allow conclusions regarding maintenance and any ultimate strengthening or weakening. So few long-term follow-ups have been conducted within the context of program evaluation that some basic parameters of assessments of recidivism are essen-

follow-ups is in a position to contribute substantially to the assessment issues. For example, the present author knows of no study in which the reliability of recidivism assessments was directly examined as a function of duration of follow-up. Following Epstein (1979), one may expect that the stability of assessments (over scorers, observers, and items or offenses) approach an asymptote as assessments are sampled over an increasing number of occurrences. Exploration and documentation of this in the situation of corrections will speak directly to two of the most common complaints about any measure of recidivism: some offenses occur but are undetected, and some persons may be falsely accused.

Type of Predictor and Length of Follow-Up

Little is known about the differential validities of recidivism measures as a function of duration of follow-up. Our own work, within both descriptive and experimental frameworks, has led us to expect that the "validity" of recidivism as a *criterion* measure (or dependent variable) does vary in systematic ways with both the duration of follow-up and the type of predictor or independent variables employed. Consider the case of time-constant predictors such as fixed sociohistorical or trait measures and the traditional problem that they tend to overpredict recidivism. With increasing duration of follow-up, the number of "false positives" can only decrease; that is, some of those who were incorrectly identified initially as recidivists will later become recidivists. It may be in the nature of some types of predictors that they, relative to other predictors, cannot be found to account for a reduced proportion of the variance in recidivism as the duration of follow-up increases.

The situation is quite the contrary for time-varying predictors, for assessments of those dynamic or less stable attributes of offenders and their situations: real changes on dynamic factors may occur over time, sometimes deliberately induced through intervention, sometimes inadvertently produced, and sometimes as a function of nontreatment factors. If those changes are not included in the prediction formula, the predictive validity of those factors, as originally assessed, is bound to appear relatively poor. However, if the changes themselves are unstable, the predictive validity of the original (pretested) measures will ultimately increase with increases in the duration of follow-up.

Table 7.2 presents an illustration of the interactions suggested. The predictive validity of fixed biosocial factors was clearly increasing with duration of follow-up. The predictive validity of prescores on a targeted dynamic factor also increased, but most notable is the fact that posttreatment (or change) scores were more predictive than prescorers over the short term. By the end of follow-up, both pre- and postscores on the targeted variables were making independent contributions to the predictability of recidivism. In this particular data set, the effect of treatment remained stable.

An understanding of the differential validities of person-based assessments as a function of duration of follow-up should increase our ability to predict recidivism. However, more important than simple predictive efficiency are the

TABLE 7.2. Prediction of Recidivism with Fixed, Dynamic, and Treatment Variables by Duration of Follow-Up

Predictors	In-Program	End of Follow-Up	
Fixed biosocial factors ^a	.27	.41	(Pearson <i>r</i>)
"Targeted" factors ^b			
Prescores	.04	.11	(Pearson <i>r</i>)
Postscores	.17	.23	(Partial <i>r</i> , controlling for prescores)
Treatment factor ^c	.15	.14	(Beta values)

Source: Andrews et al. (1981, Reference Note 2).

^aA sociohistorical Level of Supervision Inventory (Andrews, 1981).

^bIdentification with criminal others.

^cAssignment to high-empathy-high-socialization probation officers versus other officers.

functions of assessments of persons and their situations in the context of evaluation research and how those functions may be more or less well performed depending on the duration of follow-up. Assessments of predictive attributes that have not themselves been targeted within intervention programs may function as control variables, reducing the magnitude of the error term and hence increasing the sensitivity of the test of intervention effects. The above paragraphs suggest that the control function of time-constant predictors will increase in importance with increasing duration of follow-up. The effects of treatment may weaken over time, and thus, just when the need for a sensitive test is greatest, the amount of variance subtracted from the error term by the use of control variables increases. Note that it would be unreasonable to select measures of targeted attributes for the control function since the treatment plan involves changing prescores on targeted attributes.

Assessments of stable and dynamic attributes of persons and their situations (including targeted attributes) may function as moderator variables, allowing the emergence of client-by-treatment interactions. Where treatments require different lengths of time to become effective (e.g., advocate-broker or referral activity as opposed to immediate problem solving on the part of the counselor, evidence of treatment-by-follow-up period interactions will be found (see Table 7.1).

Repeated assessments of those client-based attributes that represent the intermediate targets of intervention are strongly indicated to determine, independent of recidivism, whether intervention had its intended impact. Repeated assessments of nontargeted dynamic attributes are also indicated—particularly during an extended follow-up. A classic problem in the evaluation literature is that a weakening of an intervention effect on recidivism over time may or may not indicate a weakening of the effects on the intermediate factors targeted by the intervention program. For example, a program that targeted attitudes may have successfully modified attitudes and subsequent effects on recidivism may

have been evident; two years later, offenses may recur, not because attitudes have again suddenly become procriminal, but because of a financial crisis. Another very serious reason for monitoring nontargeted dynamic factors is that an intervention program may inadvertently increase or decrease risk on such factors. Evidence of this is presented in the section on intermediate targets in this chapter. A full understanding of the effects of intervention, the persistence of those effects, and the role of nontreatment factors requires that recidivism and time-varying covariates be monitored over an extended follow-up period.

The mathematics of behavioral change are increasing in sophistication (Faltz & McCleary, 1977; Schmidt and Witte, 1980; Stollmack & Harris, 1974) and the analysis of recidivism data is currently a testing ground for the new measures and models. Essentially, two parameters of recidivism are considered in the new models: the ultimate recidivism level (binary) and the timing of recidivism. An advantage of this failure-rate methodology is the use of those variations in the duration of follow-up that often arise because persons are entering and leaving programs at differing times. One need not exclude recidivism data, where available for over a two-year period, just because not all the subjects have been followed up for more than two years.

Barton and Turnbull (1979) have recently demonstrated how both time-varying and fixed covariates may be introduced into failure-rate regression models. It appears that available models for the analysis of recidivism data are beginning to match existing conceptual systems in their sophistication. What remains is to generate data banks that include assessments of the factors judged important by theory. A note of caution regarding the emerging mathematical models: generally accepted tests of statistical significance have yet to be developed (Lloyd & Joe, 1979) and the basic assumptions are topics of continuing debate. The present author's recommendation is to follow *Evaluation Quarterly* and *Evaluation Review* but never let your statistical consultant be more than a phone call away.

Operationalization of "Offenses": Official Process Measures*

The three most common measures of recidivism are derived from records or reports of rearrest, conviction, and/or reincarceration (or arrest, conviction,

reflecting the state of the literature and in the interest of brevity, we refer to arrests, convictions and reincarceration. However, any researcher entering into the criminal justice field for the first time should be aware that there is an increasing variety of dispositions possible at the court level. Technically, for example, it is possible to be found guilty and yet not be convicted (an "absolute charge"). Similarly, probation may be a disposition but technically not a sentence. In many jurisdictions the number of pretrial and in-trial diversionary alternatives are increasing. A review of introduction to the criminal (or juvenile) justice systems is strongly recommended (Griffiths et al., 1980). In addition, Glaser (1964) and Stephenson and Searpitti (1974) are recommended, with latter providing a practical review of the

and incarceration for prevention samples). These measures are reflections of official processing, and the typical sources of information are either official records or self-reports. The official sources include police files; court files; correctional files; and any local, state-provincial, or federal agencies that collect and store reports from the police, courts, and correctional agencies. The use of federal files (RCMP or FBI) does not guarantee that all offenses are detected, but it does cast a wider net than do local agencies. A wider geographic net does not, however, ensure that *more* cases of official processing will be identified. Reports from local agencies must first make their way to the central agency and must further meet any special criteria the central agency sets (e.g., supporting fingerprint evidence). The files of central agencies represent a standard source for investigators working in different geographically defined areas. On this basis their use, along with local sources, is highly recommended (Waldo & Griswold, 1979). Self-reports of official processing are collected through interviews and/or questionnaires, the validity of which are discussed later in conjunction with self-reports of officially undetected criminal activity.

Rearrest, reconviction, and reincarceration data may be represented as binary or "extent" measures. The binary measures are in the following form: the number, proportion, or percentage rearrested-reconvicted-reincarcerated over a specified follow-up period. The standard extent measures are the number of arrests and the number of convictions recorded or registered over a specified follow-up period. Preferable to "number of incarcerations" is "total follow-up time incarcerated" (in weeks or months, "percentage of total follow-up time incarcerated," or "percentage of total follow-up time spent in the community (not incarcerated).") A measure of total incarceration time is very attractive because it reflects reconvictions and the severity of court dispositions. It also likely reflects costs in the sense that institution-based programs are more expensive in both human and economic terms than are community-based programs. (We see later that this measure also seems particularly sensitive to intervention effects.)

Sometimes investigators choose to ignore rearrests or reconvictions for certain types of offense that are judged trivial. For example, O'Donnell et al. (1979) ignored arrests for juvenile status offenses (runaway, curfew, etc.) as well as technical violations of the conditions of probation and minor vice offenses. Although this is sensible within a given community, one community's (or investigator's) judgment of "trivial" may not be another's. It would seem most appropriate, therefore, for investigators to report both the total data set and any slices of that set they consider meaningful or of special importance for their specific purposes. Some attempts to scale seriousness of offense and severity of disposition are reviewed later.

Other involvements with the criminal justice system that have been employed in recidivism studies either as binary or extent measures include police contacts (unspecified; complaint received; suspect), court contacts (unspecified; an appearance), and police and court contacts (both unspecified). Waldo

(re)arrest or (re)conviction have been employed; for example, the California Youth Authority uses "rates of arrest for each month on parole in the community," with and without offenses of minor severity included (Palmer, 1974).

Parole (or probation) violations are particularly problematic official measures. The problems arise because violations of the formal conditions of parole or probation do not necessarily involve the recurrence of illegal acts. Technical violations are those that would not be illegal if the person were not on probation or parole. The point has been repeatedly made that technical violations may also interact with intervention; for example, technical violations are susceptible to differential decision making as opposed to "real" behavioral effects (Banks & Rardin, 1978; Gottfredson, 1979; Lerman, 1975). Technical violations may be highly meaningful outcome measures for correctional agencies, but they should not be considered to be the same as recidivism measures.

A related concern is the use of official ratings of outcome as recorded by correctional agencies. Depending on the agency, a "favorable discharge" or "a success" may or may not indicate the absence of rearrests, reconvictions, or reincarcerations. Similarly, an "unfavorable discharge" or an officially recorded "failure" may or may not have involved criminal activity. Hudson (1977) recounts the classic tale of one agency with an official "success" rate of 76%. Twenty-five percent of these "successes" had been convicted of at least one felony, including murder, rape, and robbery. It appeared that a "success" was not necessarily an individual who had not committed an offense, but one who had not committed an offense within the jurisdiction of the agency. This author has had similar experiences in adult probation. If the investigator were to rely on "regular terminations" as they are officially recorded, it is probable that some cases who served a significant portion of their probation term in prison for a new offense would be recorded as having a regular termination because the probation sentence may have been allowed to run its course. It is equally probable that an unfavorable termination represented a failure to "seek and maintain" employment. The inclusion of such as an "offense" not only strains the definition of recidivism, but would be considered by many to be morally unjustifiable.

Note that these cautions regarding the use of "official" ratings of outcome do not apply to the reports of probation and parole officers regarding the rearrests or reconvictions of their clients. Platt et al. (1980) reported nearly 100% agreement between parole reports and police records of arrest. A later section of this chapter cites several examples of the impressive predictive validity of probation officers' ratings of other aspects of the offenders' situations.

Alternatives to Official Records

Questions regarding the reliability and validity of official processing measures are many and include a number of standard objections. Stressing the criterion problem is the number one "treatment-destruction technique" (Gottfredson, 1979, p. 41) employed by those hell-bent on destroying a science of individual

differences within criminology: "not all those engaged in illegal conduct are caught (or better yet, discovered); not all those arrested are guilty; not all those arrested are convicted." Official processing is not a function of *offense* characteristics, but of *offender* characteristics! Indeed, are we not all offenders? If so, is it not the work of scoundrels to label some "offenders" and others "nonoffenders"? This author once participated in a professional seminar in which the evidence was leading to the conclusion that certain types of interventions have been associated consistently with reduced recidivism, regardless of the specific outcome measures employed. A visibly shaken colleague in the social sciences asked for the floor and proclaimed in emotional tones that crime was a social necessity, necessary in order to define the boundaries of acceptable human conduct. It begins to appear that if corrections were to manage to show some modest impact on recidivism it would be accused of threatening the boundaries of human civilization. There *are* serious problems within the criminal justice system. There *is* a need for a constant monitoring of that system for abusive or unfair practices. A political economy and a sociology of the law and criminal justice are important and valued areas of investigation. However, none of these concerns should be considered sufficient evidence to dismiss official process measures as measures of recidivism for purposes of evaluation studies.

Serious questioning of the reliability and validity of official records have led to exploration of the use of self and even peer and family reports on criminal activity. Although few investigations of the reliability and validity of self-reports have been conducted within the context of outcome-evaluation research, a small but relevant literature does exist within the context of descriptive research. Nettler (1978) has provided an outstanding review of that literature and, always true to his style, calls self-reports "confessions":

1. "Almost everyone, by his or her own admission, has broken some criminal law" (p. 98).
2. "The amount of 'hidden crime' is enormous" (p. 98).
3. "Persistent and grave violations of the law are the experience of a minority" (p. 98).
4. "There is a [positive] relationship in both [confessions and official statistics] between being *persistent* as an offender and being a *serious* offender" (p. 98).
5. Official delinquents report more offenses and more serious ones than do nondelinquents.
6. "The policing process operates like a coarse net that is more likely to catch the repetitive, serious offender than the now-and-then, minor offender" (p. 78).
7. "[The policing process] is also more likely to catch the impulsive and stupid thief than the more deliberate and intelligent one" (p. 78).
8. "Confessions of delinquency, surveys of victims, test situations, direct and indirect observations, and official records point to similar social sites in both developing countries and industrialized states as producing

more murderers, muggers, rapists, robbers, burglars, and heavy thieves than others" (p. 117).

9. "A comparison of a new measure of uncertain validity (self-reports) with an old measure of moderate validity (official records) tells us nothing about their relative accuracy *unless there is assurance that both instruments are designed to measure the same thing*" (p. 116).

There is as yet little reason to believe that self-reports will add anything of real value to the assessment of recidivism relative to the costs of follow-up interviews. Self-reports may identify more of those less persistent and less grave offenders who tend to be missed by official records, but as already suggested and to be discussed further, in many evaluations the decision is made to ignore trivial offenses even where official processing has occurred. If in practice nearly 100% are recidivists according to self-report, the investigator is forced to set new definitions. An example of this is the proportion with two or more self-reported offenses or the mean number of offenses. Constants are of little value as outcome measures. The suggestion that self- and official reports are differentially sensitive to the offenses of the more intelligent and less impulsive offender has important implications for the assessments of programs that may be increasing functional intelligence or self-control and indirectly increasing the ability to evade official processing. This is one of the limited conditions where self-reports may prove highly valuable.

It is important that estimates of reliability and validity of the traditional variety be derived within the context of the evaluation studies. The two essential issues are that subjects maintain their relative position in the absence of treatment effects and that the reliability of reports does not vary with treatment. Nettler noted that Hirschi found only modest interitem correlations and that Farrington found high rates of denial of earlier confessions in a two-year retest. Modest interitem correlations are the general rule (Epstein, 1979) for almost any assessment instrument. That is why multiple-item indices are standard recommendations in psychometrics. Reports of the proportion of subjects "changing their tune" with regard to an earlier confession are a particularly inappropriate method of reporting reliability since the relative position of respondents at Time 1 and Time 2 may be highly stable. In fact, the Nettler review includes several descriptive studies reporting very high test-retest reliabilities for self-reported criminality.

The importance of the specific items included in the self-report or peer or family report inventory will vary from study to study, sample to sample, and program to program. The Nye and Short (1957), Short (1957) and Hirschi (1969) scales are relatively well known, brief, and easily administered for the purpose of surveying young persons. They also sample a number of status or trivial offenses. Since relatively unexplored issues abound with regard to self-report, this author has opted for the Gold (Berger et al., 1975) approach, but with a comprehensive survey of illegal acts. We employ a structured

side of its own card and an offense identification number printed on the other side of the card. Respondents are asked to sort the cards into the most appropriate of five categories: never; at least once, but not in the last six months; once in the last six months; twice in the last six months; or three or more times in the last six months. Both respondents and interviewers appear to appreciate the fact that the respondent is not asked to confess directly to the interviewer. Rather, the respondent sorts the card and the interviewer simply records offense identification numbers. This protects the respondent from offering direct evidence of having committed an offense and the interviewer from being in a position of "aiding and abetting." (We are arguing appearances rather than real legal points here.)

Scaling Seriousness of Offense and Severity of Disposition

No matter the source—official records, self-report, or the reports of privileged observers such as family, peers, or correctional officers—numerous authors have suggested that outcome measures should reflect the seriousness of offenses and/or the severity of disposition (Gendreau & Leipciger, 1978; Glaser, 1964; Kellar & Carlson, 1977; Waldo and Griswold, 1979). The empirical evidence is remarkably clear and consistent on the following points [for a review, see Wellford (1975)]: the anthropological literature reveals high levels of cross-cultural agreement regarding the prohibition of murder, assault, and violations of private property rights; consensus is less for what may be called "status offenses" and "minor crimes"; when applied internationally and sub-nationally, citizen ratings of offense seriousness are highly correlated, and the seriousness judgments of citizens (students) and parole decision makers (professionals) are highly correlated (Carroll & Payne, 1977).

The Sellin and Wolfgang (1964) seriousness index is the most frequently cited measure in *discussions* of recidivism measures but much less evident in actual practice. The standard complaint is that the Sellin and Wolfgang measure requires more information on a given offense than is normally available to investigators [for an extended discussion, see Gendreau and Leipciger (1978)]. At this stage it appears crucial for practical purposes and general use that a seriousness scale be based on a simple description of offenses as opposed to detailed data on the circumstances of offense, amount of injury, and other factors. Such scales include Kellar and Carlson (1977) for adult samples and Hooke (1970) for juveniles. No matter the choice of extant seriousness scales, expect high levels of overall agreement on ratings but heated debates regarding some offenses.

Severity of disposition scales are an alternative or adjunct to seriousness of offense scales. Typically, they reflect level of penetration into the criminal justice system (Berger et al., 1975) with some additional attention to the amount of the fine or the length of probation or incarceration. The value or potential of "total time incarcerated" was noted earlier. The Moberg and

time" measures, but it does provide an ordinal listing of various dispositions. Although this author has not yet seen the Moberg-Ericson scale employed in an American evaluation study, a Canadian version (Gendreau & Leipziger, 1978) has been employed (Andrews et al., 1981, Reference Note 2; Wormith, 1979). In *one* study the disposition index was more sensitive to both program and predictor variables than was a binary measure of recidivism, number of reconvictions, seriousness ratings, or total follow-up months in prison (Andrews et al., 1981, Reference Note 2).

A general problem with seriousness scales and severity scales is that the averages produced have little obvious meaning for policy makers. Both the senior author of the Canadian version of the Moberg-Ericson scale (Gendreau) and the agency that sponsored that revision (Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services) now appear to be using and advocating simple binary measures of reconviction and/or reincarceration. The development and use of seriousness scales is to be encouraged, but any developer or user will recognize that consumers will ultimately be more interested in binary or simple-extent measures. However, it is necessary to specify how choices were made to ignore certain offenses when computing the more policy relevant measures. The value of seriousness-severity scales will reside in their standard nature, and perhaps a committee of experts and consumers is required if there is to be any standardization (Waldo & Griswold, 1979). Investigators should be careful to outline the specifics by which they choose to ignore particular offenses or certain evidence of offenses.

Type of Offense

Conceptually and analytically distinct from seriousness ratings are considerations of type of offense. Where a program targets a specific type of offense, it is obvious that recidivism rates should be established for that specific type of offense, separate from equally valuable rates for nontargeted types of offense. It is appropriate that a program for chronic drunkenness offenders monitor alcohol and drug offenses and that a program with a focus on car thefts monitor car thefts. More generally, it has been suggested that recidivism be restricted to recurrences of offenses of the same type as the original offense.

The overall issue has not been of great significance in the evaluation literature to date. It will emerge as a serious issue if the effects of even general interventions prove to be specific to certain types of offense. The extant typologies distinguish among property offenses, person offenses with or without physical violence, victimless crimes, and so on. However, more sophisticated and perhaps more theoretically relevant classifications of offenses will emerge. For example, a program that targets alcohol and drug abuse would be well advised to make use of the advances in assessments in that area. Similarly, when "aggression" is targeted, evaluators should consider important distinctions such as "emotional" versus "instrumental" aggression (Berkowitz, 1962). Classifications that consider the role of the victim may be particularly

relevant for the evaluation of psychosocial interventions. The potential of offense typologies is a wide-open question for empirical exploration in the context of evaluation research. The fact of "plea bargaining" appears to be a particularly relevant concern for those evaluators who are interested in specific types of offense.

Comparison of Measures of Recidivism

The number of recidivists identified will vary with sources of data, levels of involvement with the criminal justice system sampled, duration of follow-up, and the application of criteria such as seriousness of type of offense. Self-report sources will yield higher rates than will official sources (Nettler, 1978; Waldo & Griswold, 1979). More persons come in contact with the police than are arrested, charged, convicted, and then incarcerated. If this order is not found within a given data source, serious reliability problems are indicated. The cumulative proportion of recidivists and the absolute value of extent measures approach their asymptotes with increases in the duration of follow-up, but the number of new arrests and convictions decrease with successive follow-up periods. Finally, assessments of the occurrence and extent of recidivism may be manipulated by the application of minimal frequency and/or seriousness and/or typing criteria.

The fact that variations in the absolute levels of recidivism are a function of the selected operational definitions is well established. However, such variations are of little importance in outcome evaluation research except under certain conditions. The assessed levels of recidivism must not be so low (or so high) that intervention effects become impossible to detect statistically. The measures must be relevant to the specific concerns of the investigator or the concerns of the consumers of research (e.g., a program which aimed to reduce incarceration rates would monitor incarceration indices). The measure must not include any element of bias which might favor one treatment program over another. For example, prior dispositions tend to be predictive of future dispositions, and thus in any comparison of community- and prison-based programs would be highly questionable to rely on a reincarceration measure of recidivism: participants in the prison program are, by virtue of their having been in prison, more likely to receive a new prison sentence for subsequent offenses than are community-based participants. Finally, the measures may be differentially sensitive to treatment effects.

The latter point is underinvestigated, but some tentative generalizations are possible from descriptive studies that have employed different measures of recidivism as criterion variables. This author has been impressed with the consistency of results when different measures of recidivism have been employed. The many recidivism studies of the research branch of the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services have typically employed at least two measures of recidivism. In study after study, if measured attributes of offenders and/or situations predict reconviction, they will also predict reincarceration.

Gendreau et al. (1979) have reported very similar results across a variety of operational definitions of recidivism. In our own on-going work, the factors that correlate with or predict official processing tend to be the same factors that correlate with or predict self-reported criminal activity. It is certainly possible to dramatize differential validities of criterion measures (Hawkins et al., 1977), but agreement rates tend to be high. Although multivariate techniques that incorporate various operationalizations of recidivism have rarely been employed, they should help to pinpoint any systematic differences.

Differential validity estimates are most likely when the criterion measures vary in the source of data (official vs. self-report; local vs. central agency). This, however, may be more a question of reliability than validity. In other areas of research it is standard practice to combine observations (to average, or to use multivariate techniques) when different observers or sources are employed. Such a strategy seems equally appropriate in the analysis of recidivism when the reports of different agencies and even self- or peer-reports are available. Averaging over time as well as observers and items (offenses) should allow both reliability and validity estimates to approach their asymptotes.

In a direct attempt to examine differential sensitivity within the context of evaluation studies, Lipton et al. (1975) and the Ross and Gendreau (1980) collection were reviewed to obtain a set of studies all of which showed a statistically significant effect of intervention on recidivism. Thirty-four studies were found in which a comparison group was employed (Level 1 or 2 in the Lipton et al. methodology ranking) and in which there was a clearly evident statistically significant ($p < .05$) effect. The following is based on n values too small to yield estimates worthy of much confidence, but it is suggestive. It is not surprising that the binary measure of any arrests, convictions, or violations was the most frequently employed measure in the sample ($n = 20$), most often tested by χ^2 . The hit rate for this simple and readily interpretable measure was an impressive 95%. The hit rate for the extent measures of number of arrests and convictions was also high (80%; $n = 10$). The hit rates for seriousness of offense ratings ($n = 6$), time to first arrest and conviction ($n = 5$), and proportion incarcerated ($n = 14$) were unimpressive at 67, 60, and 57% respectively. Indices of severity of disposition ($n = 8$) had a hit rate of 100%. Most notable, the p values associated with the analysis of disposition indices were, in every study but one, equal to or less than the p values reported for alternative measures of recidivism. Thus severity of disposition and/or "total follow-up time incarcerated" indices appear attractive, not only in their links with human and socioeconomic criteria, but also in terms of their sensitivity to treatment effects. One caution about the measure of "total time incarcerated": when employed with prison-based programs, it will also reflect the ability to achieve an early release or parole.

Another approach to comparison of recidivism measures is to explore the stability of the relative position of various estimates of recidivism in the absence of evidence of treatment effects. The Waldo and Chiricos (1977) study

comparisons on 15 different binary measures of recidivism. Depending on the specific measure employed, recidivism varied from a low of 19% to a high of 70%. However, the outstanding fact is that such variation was far from random: the correlation (Pearson r) was .95 (computed by this author). In other words, those measures that yield high rates for one randomly selected group were the measures that yielded high rates for the other randomly selected group. In the absence of treatment effects, the variation in rates associated with different measures are highly systematic. Waldo and Chiricos (1977, Table 2, page 95) also present comparisons with 15 different extent measures of recidivism: again, the correlation was .95.

Quite properly, investigators will choose the specific measure of recidivism most relevant to their particular situation, including considerations of subjects, the nature of specific targets of intervention, and the interests of the consumers of the evaluation study. However, if individual studies are to contribute to the general knowledge pool regarding the assessment of recidivism, the following recommendations appear appropriate:

1. The proportions reconvicted and the proportions reincarcerated should be routinely reported, with the proportions computed before and after the application of any seriousness or typology criteria.
2. The mean number of reconvictions and the mean "follow-up time incarcerated" should be reported routinely, including and excluding those with no reconvictions, and before and after the application of any seriousness criteria.
3. The intercorrelations among the measures of recidivism should be reported and, where possible, multivariate analyses conducted.

These recommendations are consistent with those of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973, a frequently cited body in the American literature (Banks & Rardin, 1978; Waldo & Griswold, 1979).

These recommendations obviously place a higher premium on reconviction data than on arrest data or police and court contact data. We reject outright the argument that arrest or police contact data are in some way more valid indicators of recidivism. The typical argument is that police data are closer to the original criminal act and that with higher levels of criminal justice processing, there is increasing distance from that act [see Waldo and Griswold (1979) for a review of this point]. Arrest data may provide a more accurate reflection of the total amount of crime in a community than do conviction data, but such is not the concern of evaluation studies in corrections. The arguments in favor of arrest data appear to be an inappropriate generalization of some classic arguments employed where the computation of crime rates was the major concern (Sellin, 1951). There are certain situations when arrest data, court contact data, police contact data, and self-report data are indicated. When the base

recidivism. Police data and/or self-report data are also indicated when there is solid reason to expect that intervention may be selectively influencing the likelihood of offenses being detected officially. Police and self-report data may also help to specify when an act occurred; this is sometimes a problem with reconviction data since there is often a great gap between the commission of an offense and date of conviction or sentence (Adams, 1975a).

Crime Rates

The objective of specific deterrence is conceptually distinct from the objective of reducing crime rates. However, where a program releases many graduates to a particular community, there is a logical and, it seems, reasonable possibility of documenting effects on crime rates. Both the self-report and official sources of data agree that a relatively small proportion of persons are responsible for a disproportional amount of criminal activity. A recent follow-up of adult probationers revealed that 24% of the probationers accounted for 85% of the total reconvictions recorded (Andrews et al., 1981, Reference Note 2). Within a juvenile diversion sample, 9% of the cases accounted for 52% of the rearrests (Quay & Love, 1977). Employing a different methodology, Erickson et al. (1977) report that a typical measure of community crime rates was largely a function of individual repeaters within the community. There is a dramatic suggestion that effective correctional interventions delivered to high-risk offenders have the potential of influencing crime rates in significant ways. Such remains to be documented. In the absence of any experimental evidence regarding the efficacy of community-wide structural or system change approaches to prevention (Mayer, 1972), it is an important issue for investigation.

An important consideration here is the employment of risk scales. Many offenders on probation and parole have very low probabilities of recidivism. It is, in a sense, a waste of resources to focus on such persons. The basic mathematics of behavior change actually work against a focus on very low risk cases; if there is any effect, there is only one way to move, and that is in the direction of an increased probability of recidivism. Rather, a focus on the moderate and higher-risk offenders is indicated. Those attributes of persons and situations that predict the fact of rearrest or reconviction are, for the most part, the same factors that predict multiple arrests and multiple reconvictions (Andrews et al., 1981, Reference Note 2; Quay & Love, 1977). If those skilled and knowledgeable in the area of psychosocial interventions do not pick up this challenge, there is the strong possibility that we will see considerations of "variations in the management of sentences" return to the level of variation in styles of leg irons, the width and strength of prison bars—two approaches that do not systematically open up noncriminal opportunity but remove the physical opportunity for any behavioral choice. The potential associated with the humane and ethical development and application of sociobehavioral knowledge is too great to allow corrections to maintain and/or revert to such practices unchallenged.

ASSESSMENT OF INTERMEDIATE CHANGE

That there are substantial individual differences in criminal behavior is the most firmly established empirical fact in criminology. Ideological and disciplinary interests have made that fact the focus of denial, dismissal, ridicule, and even charges of immorality (Schur, 1973). But the fact remains apparent in the original studies, if not always apparent from review articles and textbooks in criminology (Hirschi & Hindelang, 1977). Cross-sectional studies that employ a comprehensive psychosocial battery now readily yield multiple correlations with indices of problem behaviors in the 60s through 80s, and correct classification rates in the 80s and above are not unusual (Akers et al., 1979; Andrews et al., 1979; Donovan & Jessor, 1978; Jessor & Jessor, 1977; Renner, 1978; Wormith, 1977). Longitudinal studies cannot take advantage of reciprocal causation and avoid base-rate problems as in the case of cross-sectional studies. Still, multiple correlations in the 40s and even into the 60s are found and correct classification rates in the low to high 70s are reported (Andrews et al., 1981, Reference Note 2; Jessor & Jessor, 1977; Gendreau et al., 1979, 1980, Rogers, 1981; Wormith, 1978, 1979; Wormith et al., 1980). Evidence is slowly emerging that such levels of predictive efficiency are of practical significance even when the "false alarm" rate appears high (Andrews, 1981; Baird et al., 1979; Barton et al., 1973; Bonta, 1981; Jenkins & Sanford, 1972; Madden, 1978; Rogers, 1981).

The predictive estimates are especially impressive when the obvious limitations of the studies to date are noted: biophysical attributes have yet to be introduced within comprehensive psychosocial batteries; moderator variables are only rarely considered; relatively short term follow-up periods have been employed; perceived situational measures outnumber objective assessments of situations; clinical judgments and the ratings of privileged others have not been introduced into the prediction formulas to cover idiosyncratic factors; powerful statistical methods have not always been employed; and likely most important, time-varying attributes have rarely been monitored during the follow-up period.

The issues limiting predictive efficiency are trivial when compared with some of the other problems that exist in the literature regarding the attributes of persons and their situations that predict criminal activity. The network of intercorrelations among the correlates (or predictors) remains to be understood in relation to criminal behavior. The formal classification of predictors employed by Jessor and Jessor (1977) and path analytic work such as Johnson's (1979) represent important approaches to this issue. The construct validity of the majority of individual correlates remains to be explored, and such explorations will almost certainly result in modification of both the measures and the underlying construct. Very serious is that comprehensive and systematic evaluation of the measures of attributes have not been conducted on key methodological dimensions such as content (cognitive, physiological, motor), method (interviews, self-report, ratings by privileged others such as peers and/or

independent observers of performance or situation), and reliability (scorer, internal consistency, temporal stability). Cone's (1978) grid system suggests the many questions to be explored. Most serious is that the derivation of concurrent and predictive validity estimates do not suggest functional significance. The factors associated with the acquisition of troubled or troublesome behavior may not be the most powerful factors, the most feasible factors, or even relevant factors when the issue is the modification of problem behavior.

An approach that suggests functional significance more directly than either concurrent or predictive validity is that of documenting that assessed *changes* in attributes are associated with *subsequent* variations in recidivism. Such documentation we now call *functional validity*, and evidence that the measures change along with theoretically relevant interventions we term *dependent validity* (Andrews, 1981, Reference Note 3). Naturally, the value of functional and dependent validity estimates vary with the methodological rigor of the longitudinal study (Howard, 1980). Confidence in the estimates will be greatest when the changes have occurred under controlled conditions and the effects of competing factors or changes can be discounted. For example, the predictive validity of prescores *must* be discounted in order to document the validity of post (or change) scores. Controlled program evaluations provide a unique meeting ground for theorists and practitioners since they share a basic interest in the identification of functional factors (Andrews, 1980). However, practitioners and evaluators must also consider the practical and ethical issues when choosing intermediate targets for intervention.

A major difficulty with the correctional outcome literature, and with predictive studies in general, is that so few studies have reported directly on the relationship between intermediate change and recidivism. Studies that document intermediate change tend to be the same studies that report effects on recidivism (Andrews, 1974). However, the aggregate fallacy limits the conclusions that can be drawn from interstudy comparisons: the establishment of individual differences requires the direct linking of measures, assessed at the individual level. Some studies have reported functional validity estimates, and they are noted shortly. An exhaustive survey of the outcome literature with reference to functional validity has yet to be conducted, and it appears that many promising functional variables have yet to be explored seriously. Thus this section of the chapter presents a classification of intermediate targets that, in theory and limited practice, appears reasonably comprehensive and promising.

The theoretical perspective is a broad social learning approach to deviant behavior that considers personal, interpersonal, and community antecedents and consequences for criminal and noncriminal behaviors (Andrews, forthcoming). Its roots reside in the work of Burgess and Akers (1966), Adams (1973), Glaser (1974), Bandura (1969), Hunt and Azrin (1973), Rotter (1966), Jessor and Jessor (1977), and Linden and Hackler (1973). In general terms, and certainly within the context of community standards and professional

noncriminal are favored. One task of assessments is to monitor such shifts. The concept of density is important because it underscores the position that crime is multifunctional. That is, criminal acts (like noncriminal acts) may be under the control of many factors that vary in their importance both inter- and intra-individually. "Density" refers to the number, variety, magnitude, and quality of response consequences and to the immediacy, frequency, and regularity with which rewards or costs are delivered. Rewards and costs, and the antecedents that signal their delivery may be personally mediated (as suggested by the social learning and behavioral models of self-management), interpersonally mediated (requiring the immediate presence of others), socially contracted (as in the case of an employment situation), or the relatively automatic consequences of an act (in the sense that passing a check delivers money and ingestion of a drug relieves withdrawal distress for the physically dependent person). The rewards, costs, and antecedents that signal their delivery constitute either additions to or subtractions from the environment. Thus rewards and costs both may be of the additive (+) or subtractive (-) variety. Assessments of persons and their situations provide indicators of these relatively immediate antecedents and consequences of action judged critical to understanding inter- and intraindividual variations in the probability of occurrence of a given class of behavior.

More specifically, the task of intervention is to effect one and preferably more of the following: (1) a reduction in the density of the rewards in effect or signaled for criminal behavior; (2) an increase in the density of the costs for criminal behavior; (3) an increase in the density of the rewards for noncriminal behavior; and (4) a decrease in the density of the costs for noncriminal behavior. Assessments of the following attributes of persons and their situations provide indicators of the reward-cost contingencies in effect or signaled for criminal behavior ("ties to crime"): (1) an early and extensive involvement in criminal activities; (2) possession of prerequisite skills for criminal activity; (3) personal endorsement of attitudes and beliefs supportive of deviance in general and specific illegal acts in particular; (4) value placed on outcomes more readily achieved by criminal than noncriminal behavior and devaluation of costs associated with crime; and (5) social support for criminal behavior, including resources, exposure to criminal models, and affective ties to offenders.

A complementary set of measures is required to tap "ties to convention" or the density of the rewards and costs in effect for noncriminal alternative behaviors. A comprehensive assessment of ties to convention samples the density of the rewards and satisfactions associated with a variety of noncriminal pursuits, especially those that occur in the company of anticriminal others and within anticriminal settings such as the home, school, work, recreation, neighborhood, and other social settings such as the church and unions. A middle-class bias need not limit the number or type of settings assessed. Ties to alternative life-style groups such as "hippies" and "surfers" (Marks & Glaser,

within and between the two sets of measures. However, the *fact* of intercorrelations does not indicate that the assessed factors will fail to make independent contributions to the predictability of criminal behavior. The theoretical perspective suggests that a *shift* in both attitude and patterns may have independent effects. If personal attitudes move in the anticriminal direction, the probability of self-reward or self-instructions supportive of criminal behavior decrease. Variations in association patterns suggest variations in the probability of interpersonal approval or disapproval of criminal activity. Moreover, interactions may be expected within the two sets of measures: under some conditions, strong social support for crime will increase the predictive and functional significance of criminal attitudes.

Interactions between the two sets of measures are likely to be of special significance. Ties to convention are suggested to be of particular importance in the analysis of criminal behavior under the following conditions: (1) the rewards delivered by noncriminal activities are the same as those delivered by crime (strong ties to convention reduce the motivational base for crime and increase the effectiveness of any extant costs for crime); (2) the rewards delivered by noncriminal activities are subject to withdrawal or interruption should criminal activity occur (the *subtractive* costs of crime increase); and (3) the noncriminal activities are, by virtue of their location or physical characteristics, simply incompatible with criminal activity (in the sense that time on the job is not time on the streets). In brief, the predictive and functional significance of ties to convention are greatest when the contingencies for crime and oncrime interlock. Moreover, increase in the density of the rewards for oncriminal alternatives may be the outstanding approach to influencing ties to crime.

Traditional personality factors are distributed across several categories of ties to crime and ties to convention. Intelligence, academic and vocational aptitude, interpersonal skills, social and life skills, and self-control are, in part, assessments of the prerequisite competencies and skills necessary for normative or rewarded performance in anticriminal and some criminal settings. The predictive and functional validity of many traditional personality measures is likely to be a function of the concomitant strength of ties to crime and convention. For example, the possession of behavioral self-management skills suggest that one is less likely to stumble into trouble at school, at work, or with the law. At the same time, variations in self-regulation skills suggest important variations in the ability to translate one's "good intentions" into performance. Those "good intentions" may be procriminal or anticriminal depending on the standards of conduct implied by one's personal sentiments or suggested by one's associates. Similarly, self-esteem may be a positive or negative correlate of criminal behavior depending on the standards of conduct. Preliminary runs with the data from an ongoing project along without overall social learning perspective are leading us to the position that one indeed does have to be "crazy" (or "unique" or "special") to commit crimes when ties to crime are weak and ties to convention are strong. In other words, the predictive and

functional validity of traditional measures of personal distress and disturbance are greatest when the personal and social supports for crime are weak. The position does not suggest that all offenders are disturbed. *Variations on indices of disturbance are found regardless of ties to crime and ties to convention.* However, personality disturbance and skill deficits are more strongly related to criminality under some conditions than others.

The position suggests that some of the traditional psychological targets in correctional programming may have been very inappropriate when the ultimate goal was reduced recidivism. Consider the effects of increasing the feelings of self-worth and reducing the guilt of an offender personally and socially committed to crime. Consider the effect of increasing the functional intelligence and self-management skills of a "committed" offender. The suggestion is that not only may offenders consciously choose the deviant route (Taylor et al., 1973), but also that some of our interventions may succeed in smoothing the bumps along that route. Table 7.3 presents some concurrent validity estimates from the early returns of an ongoing study. Note the appar-

TABLE 7.3. Some Personality Correlates of Self-Reported Criminal Behavior by Criminal versus Conventional Orientation^a: Pearson *r* Values

Personality factors ^c	Overall Orientation ^b	
	Conventional (<i>n</i> = 41)	Criminal (<i>n</i> = 52)
Self-esteem (Bennett et al., 1971)	-.26*	.36*
Alienation (Dean, 1961)	.41*	.00
Neuroticism (Peterson et al., 1959)	.36*	-.14
Self-control	-.31*	.04
Socialization (Gough, 1969)	-.36*	-.03

**p* < .05.

^aFrom Addie (1980), based on the first 99 male probationers to be tested in the Andrews and Kiessling ongoing project.

^bMedian splits on a measure based on Harris (1975).

^cThe Andrews and Wormith (1981) versions of the indicated scales.

ent interaction of personality and ties to crime and convention. The point of all this has been to underscore several interrelated considerations that are more important in the assessment of correctional outcomes than present knowledge regarding the relative value of measure A over measure B.

1. The intermediate targets of intervention *and* the methods of assessing those targets may be selected with explicit reference to the goal of reduced recidivism. This point has been made and remade by most every reviewer of the correctional-outcome literature (Adams, 1975a, 1975b; Andrews, 1974, 1979a, 1979b; Bailey, 1966; Cook & Scioli, 1975; Gendreau & Ross, 1979; Glaser, 1974; Kirby, 1954; Lipton et al.,

1975; Logan, 1972; Martinson, 1974; Palmer, 1975). However, there is little in the recent literature to suggest that programmers or evaluators are any more sensitive to the issue or any less sensitive to current fads in treatment approach and target.

2. The predictability of criminal behavior will increase with the reliable, valid, and *comprehensive* assessment of ties to crime, convention, personality and their potential interactions. Single-focus studies are doomed to failure, except for the most carefully selected samples. The careful selection of samples requires comprehensive assessment.
3. A construct-validation approach to assessments and program evaluation will facilitate the development of both the measures and the theoretical perspective in which the measures may be located.
4. For purposes of the assessment of intermediate targets, the currently favored methods of estimating reliability (temporal stability) and validity (concurrent and predictive validity) are less appropriate than internal consistency, temporal stability within treatment groups, and the derivation of estimates of dependent and functional validity.
5. Assessment of persons and their situations may also function as control and/or moderator variables in the context of evaluation research. Repeated measures of time-varying covariates, both targeted and nontargeted, will assist in gaining an understanding of the processes by which and conditions under which intervention effects on recidivism appear and fade or are maintained. Time-constant risk assessments will be particularly valuable as control and moderator variables.
6. The tapping of method and content variance in assessments—variance attributed to observers or to cognitive versus behavioral content—is crucial to comprehensive assessment. We may expect that self-reports will provide the most accurate indicators of the procriminal versus anticriminal direction of personally mediated antecedents and consequences. On the other hand, the reports of peers and/or independent observers may provide the most accurate indicators of the interpersonally mediated antecedents and consequences of action. Although cognitive controls are powerful (Bandura, 1977, 1981), there is no convincing evidence as yet that externally mediated consequences are incapable of having independent effects. Finally, content and method variance in assessments are likely to interact with the practice variance associated with intervention. Jesness (1975) provided rather clear evidence of treatment-by-assessment method interactions: a behavior-modification program tended to impact on behavioral measures of intermediate gain, whereas a program with a more cognitive orientation tended to impact on cognitive indices. Important to our more general point, both the behavioral and cognitive measures were related to recidivism.

The following review of specific scales is only a small sample of possible measures. Space limitations preclude a review of intermediate forecasters of outcome such as institutional adjustment [for a psychometric review of institutional indices, see Wormith (1977)].

Ties to Crime: Attitudes, Values, and Beliefs

Measures of attitudes, values, and beliefs supportive of crime are probably the single set of measures with the strongest theoretical and empirical support. The latter includes evidence of concurrent validity, predictive validity, dependent validity, and functional validity. The Andrews and Wormith (1981) self-report, paper-and-pencil measures are highly recommended given the amount and quality of psycho- and sociometric information available: both the potential of the scales and their limitation are fairly well known. Attitudes toward the law, courts and police, tolerance for law violations, and identification with criminal others are serious candidates for inclusion in the evaluation of any correctional program. The three scales also have a rich research history in their earlier Reckless version (Gendreau et al., 1979).

Additional evidence (although less direct and conceptually more cloudy) for the importance of criminal sentiments is suggested by selected scales of the CPI (Ferdinand, 1962), the MMPI (Persons, 1966), the Jesness Inventory and Checklist (Jesness, 1975), and the MCI (Truax et al., 1970). The pioneering work of Shelley and Johnson (1961) and Massimo and Shore (1963) with the TAT suggests that scoring for antisocial themes, including attitudes toward authority and aggression, are highly promising alternatives or adjuncts to the paper-and-pencil approaches. The predictive validity of the Buss and Durkee aggression scales (Gendreau et al., 1979) suggest the need for their exploration in the context of evaluation research. The procriminal expressions of offenders in the situation of counseling or interview sessions have been reliably assessed by independent observers (Andrews, 1980; Wormith, 1977). Some predictive validity is apparent, but functional validity is not as yet. Seidman et al., (1980) employed self-, peer-, and parent-evaluations of "deviant identification," but neither dependent nor functional validity were evident. By contrast, probation officer ratings of improvement versus deterioration on both "control of hostility" and "avoidance of new crime" show evidence of functional validity (Rogers, 1981).

Some specific value-level indices of ties to crime worthy of serious exploration include value excitement and thrills and sensation seeking (Platt et al., 1980; Zuckerman, 1978), value independence (Jessor & Jessor, 1977), and contempt for or rejection of the existing social order [or more mildly stated, social criticism (Jessor & Jessor, 1977)]. Assessments of the "expected value" of criminal activity appear particularly promising (Harris, 1975). In structured interview and/or paper-and-pencil formats, investigators may explore the value placed on the specific rewards and costs associated with crime. They may

specify the rewards or allow the client to suggest rewards of individualized relevance. Additional ratings on the perceived chances that these rewards and costs would be delivered if one engages in criminal activity provide assessments relevant to personal efficacy. The measures distinguish between official offenders and nonoffenders and correlate with a self-reported criminal past within both official offender and nonoffender samples (preliminary findings from the author's ongoing studies).

Ties to Crime: Social Support

Indices of association with offenders are the only serious rivals to criminal sentiments in terms of the amount of empirical and theoretical attention received in the social sciences. In spite of this, this author is unaware of even one published and evaluated effort that explicitly targeted and monitored that objective of reduced association with offenders. Rather, there are many evaluated efforts that appear to have deliberately programmed an opening up of communication and interaction within offender groups, with the theoretically expected but unintended result of producing subsequent increases in criminal activity: Grant and Grant's (1959) low-maturity military offenders; Murphy's (1972) adult heroin addicts; Craft et al.'s (1964) young hospitalized psychopaths; Truax et al.'s (1970) incarcerated juveniles exposed to leaderless group sessions; Hackler and Hagan's (1975) work gangs with a nondirective leader; and Klein's (1971) street gangs. In this set of studies it was only Klein who linked an assessment of a group cohesiveness to the increased criminality. For a more complete review, see Andrews (1979a, 1979b, Chapter 3).

The two key dimensions for the assessment of interpersonal situations are the contingency (or normative dimensions) and the socioemotional (or relationship or control) dimension. The contingency dimension reflects the extent to which procriminal versus anticriminal expressions are modeled and reinforced or punished. The socioemotional or control dimension refers to the number, quality, and variety of rewards and costs available for delivery and the immediacy, frequency, and regularity with which they are delivered. In any interpersonal situation the quality of the interpersonal relationship, factors such as mutual liking and respect and/or openness and warmth are primary indicators of the effective rewards and costs available. Generally, the control dimension is related to the *strength* of effects and the contingency dimension, to the *direction* of effects [for experimental evidence, see Andrews (1980), and for an outstanding descriptive study, see Linden and Hackler (1973)].

Several examples of reasonably reliable and valid (concurrent and predictive) self-report measures of affective ties to offenders are available: Short (1957), Linden and Hackler (1973), Jessor and Jessor (1977), and Akers et al. (1979). Although association with peers or companions are the typical concern in the available literature, parents, siblings, relatives, and employers represent "others" who may express criminal sentiments and criminal behaviors. Our

current assessment battery includes self-reports of access to criminal resources such as a "fence" and exposure to criminal models even in the absence of affective ties. We are also monitoring victimization as an index of exposure to crime. The relevance of these latter measures remains to be established.

Obvious alternatives and adjuncts to self-reports are peer, police, and other privileged observers' reports on the crime rate or the concentration of offenders in given neighborhoods or socially defined units. Roger's (1981) data suggest that the ratings of probation officers on improvement versus deterioration in terms of "peer relationships" and "suitability of accommodation" have functional validity.

Ties to Convention: General Attitudes, Values, and Beliefs

A traditional criminological concern is a person's sense of alienation and perceptions of the opportunity associated with conventional pursuits. Common measures of alienation in correctional situations are scales based on the work of Dean (1961), Struening and Richardson (1965), and Reckless (Andrews et al., 1979; Gendreau et al., 1979). Concurrent validity estimates tend to be impressive, and one measure, awareness of limited opportunity (based on Reckless) has been shown to distinguish between probationers with stable versus unstable employment records and to change with improvements in their vocational situation (Andrews et al., 1981). What we have yet to uncover in the literature is *any* evidence that reduced alienation is associated with subsequent reductions in recidivism. We expect that functional significance of alienation depends on extant levels of ties to convention and ties to crime. Variables that moderate the functional significance of alienation may well be found. At this stage, evaluation research like descriptive research (Johnson, 1979) suggest that the functional significance assigned alienation by anomie and strain theories has simply been overstated.

Our assessment battery incorporates the Harris (1975) expected value approach to the rewards and costs for noncriminal pursuits, including the rated chances that noncriminal pursuits would result in the delivery of those rewards and costs. Preliminary validity data with criminal indices as criteria suggest that the expected utility and disutility of conventional pursuits are not strongly related to criminal behavior. Even in relation to stability of employment history, the distinguishing factor between those with relatively stable and those with unstable records of employment was not the expected value of conventional activities, but the expected value of criminal activities. Those with an unstable record seem particularly attracted to the rewards unique to crime and to show a devaluation of the costs of crime. We further found that improvement in the employment situation of those with unstable records appeared to have the effect of opening their eyes to the relatively low rewards and the relatively high costs associated with the type of job they were able to find (Andrews et al., 1981).

Ties to Convention: Performance and Reward Levels at School and Work

Assessments of academic and vocational history are among the strongest predictors of criminal behavior. However, it is also clear that vocational history is only one of a highly intercorrelated set of predictors. Some of these predictors show functional validity, but at the present time, vocational functioning is not among these with the strongest evidence. Reports of successful intervention effects on "grade-point average," "school attendance," "dollars earned," and "days worked" are not infrequent in the evaluation literature. What we have not yet found is convincing evidence that such changes are linked to subsequent reductions in the probability of recidivism. Typically, controls for pretreatment or vocational history factors have not been introduced into the longitudinal studies, and the studies in the area almost invariably fail to assign offenders to treatment on a random basis.

Both the control and normative dimensions should be sampled in assessments of school and employment settings. Ratings of the level of rewards and satisfaction associated with school or employment (participation with performance, relationship with authority, and relationship with peers) are among the strongest correlates of a stable or unstable employment history (Andrews et al., 1981). Such ratings may prove more powerful than single-item indices such as grade-point average attendance, or simply obtaining a job. Friedlander and Greenberg (1971) have developed a scale that allows an independent assessment of the extent to which the employment situation is supportive of the individual. Such an assessment seems worthwhile if only to underscore the point that the objective situation of employment for offenders, as opposed to personal characteristics or reactions to employment, may be an important source of variance in outcome.

Ties to Convention: Family Functioning

With the limitations noted, the available literature supports the functional validity of indices of family functioning. Changes in self-reports of family conflict, a scale based on Peterson et al. (1959), have been shown to be associated with reduced recidivism in both probation (Andrews et al., 1981, Reference Note 2) and prison samples (Wormith, 1979). The Alexander and Parsons (1973) study provides an outstanding example of the assessment of family functioning by independent observers and documents a relationship with recidivism. The Patterson (1974) approach to contingency analysis also appears powerful, reinforced by evidence that impact on the families of delinquents had subsequent impact on nontargeted siblings. Among the many sobering reports on the assessment of outcome with families, the work of Bernal et al. (1980) especially warrants careful study.

Skills and Competencies

intelligence and traditional indices of vocational-academic aptitude. However, even some of the better-known critics of correctional intervention programs (Lipton et al., 1975) agree that there is now little question that psychosocial interventions have succeeded in influencing skill levels. What continues to be unclear is that increased skill is associated with reduced recidivism. We expect that the link depends on the new skills having an opportunity to be demonstrated and rewarded in anticriminal employment situations. This requires getting a job and keeping it (Rogers, 1980).

Social and Interpersonal Skills

The positive results of early studies such as that of Sarason and Ganzer (1973) bode well for the success of programs that incorporate systematic social-skill training. Several studies have shown that ratings by correctional staff possess dependent validity (Daigle-Zinn & Andrews, 1980; Jesness, 1975; Wormith, 1977). Again, functional validity is less apparent. The careful background work in the development of assessments of skill deficits by Freedman et al. (1978) promises dynamic and functional validity under certain conditions.

The assessment of interpersonal skills through self-report measures such as the Hogan (1969) Empathy Scale and the Berger (1952) Acceptance of Others Scale requires special comment. It is our experience that such measures readily distinguish between official offenders and nonoffenders. Their predictive validity is much less well established, except as moderator variables (Andrews et al., 1979, Reference Note 2). Most seriously, where there is any evidence of functional validity, the trend has been that reduced interpersonal sensitivity is associated with reduced recidivism. We expect that a moderator variable is functioning here, but at the present time, this author is unaware of any evidence that increased empathy is associated with reduced recidivism, where empathy has been assessed by self-report.

One approach to the modification and measurement of empathy that demands replication is the fine study by Chandler (1973) using the Flavell egocentrism measure. A highly relevant program theoretically resulted in reduced egocentrism and reduced recidivism. Although changes on the egocentrism measure were not directly linked to recidivism, the effects were sufficiently large on both outcome measures that it is reasonable to expect that the link was there. The assessment of empathy as an intermediate change measure may prove to be as complex as the assessment of empathy as a counselor and practice factor (Lambert et al., 1978).

Self-Management and Self-Control

The available measures of self-control vary considerably at the levels of method and content. Not surprisingly, they share little common variance (Wormith & Hasenpusch, 1979). Such variations in content and method are

indicated. In terms of frequency of use and available validity data, the following deserve notation: the Mischel (1961) approach; the Porteus (1965) maze, the Gough (1969) self-control measure, and the many variations of the Rotter (1966) locus of control approach.

A major problem with the existing measures is that they reflect products of self-control deficits and/or cognitions supportive of self-control rather than the processes of self-control. In our own laboratory, the social-learning perspective on behavioral self-regulation is being employed as the base for the development of process-oriented assessment of self-management skills. One approach based on ratings of client statements during audiotaped counseling sessions has shown very impressive predictive validity (Andrews & Friesen, 1981, Reference Note 5; Friesen & Andrews, 1981, Reference Note 4). A feature of the self-management ratings strategy is that there was a clear distinction in the predictive validity of client expression of good intentions versus the application of those specific behavioral skills that help to align plans with performance.

Self-Esteem

This review of personality measures, potentially relevant as intermediate targets, closes with a classic variable in criminological theory and in counseling theory: attitude toward self. Several self-report, paper-and-pencil measures have a rich tradition in corrections: the Rosenberg and Rosenberg (1978) scale, Bennett et al.'s (1971) self-esteem scale, and the Berger (1952) acceptance of self scale. Each of these measures has been shown to possess dependent validity, and each distinguishes between offenders and nonoffenders. Predictive validity and functional validity are another matter. Wormith (1979) has recently found that increases in self-esteem during periods of incarceration were associated with an increased probability of recidivism. He traced this effect to a concomitant increase in identification with criminal others. This interaction, we think, is basic to the personal, interpersonal, and community-reinforcement perspective (Andrews, forthcoming). References to standards of conduct, whether based on personal sentiments or the external environment, are necessary to make any sense of the functional significance of self-esteem. This was evident in those early theories that emphasized self-esteem, but in practice and research, it seems to have been forgotten.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has focused on assessments of a unique and socially sanctioned objective of correctional agencies: achieving a reduction in the probability of recidivism on the part of those whose sentences are managed. Such an objective and its assessment are value laden, and it was stressed that both the pursuit of the goal and its assessment are conducted within a context with human,

ethical, social, political, economic, and justice dimensions. It was noted that the delivery of psychosocial services may well serve functions that need not be linked to crime control for justification. It was also noted that there is a serious and underinvestigated question of how and whether the pursuit of the objective of specific deterrence is a relevant strategy when the broader goal of social protection is a reduction in community-wide crime rates.

Any reader familiar with correctional research will know that agencies have been, and some still are, very near the point of banning any research with adjudicated offenders. The situation is serious, for it appears that many are ready to freeze the knowledge-generating process just when the need for program decisions appears to be as great as it has ever been! Offenders and the community have a right to the "best possible validated" management of sentences. A responsible society can do no less than encourage the examination of the effectiveness of alternate programs (Davison & Stuart, 1975). To blindly maintain the *status quo* within a system under attack from many directions is ethically repugnant. Not to monitor the implications of naturally occurring variations in the management of sentences is wasteful. To prevent the application of the more powerful knowledge-generating methods, such as the experiment, is to suggest that human values should not be served by powerful methods.

Because of the inequalities in power that exist within correctional agencies, because what we influence or monitor may have implications for the future status of a client, it is crucial that assessments be conducted with both standard and special safeguards firmly in place. A review of the standard safeguards is impossible. But the issues of informed consent and the option of reversing a decision to participate are basic. With reference to informed consent, we now employ a two-tier system. Potential participants in an evaluated effort are at least twice exposed to an account of the objectives and methods to be employed. The first presentation occurs during the screening interview and an interview with a representative of the agency. The second review occurs at first meeting with the research staff. Also available are printed manuals describing the project and containing the same information. The distinction between what offenders are obliged to do in terms of their sentence and what they are being asked to do with respect to research is always drawn. Details are provided on how data are collected and stored and who has access to the data. Even with signed consent, we have a general rule that any participant who misses three assessment appointments is judged to have opted to reverse the original decision to participate. The disclosure sessions also include an appeal not to participate if they are uncertain of their desire to follow through. All of the above assumes a prescreening of evaluation plans with peers, formal committees at the university level and at the level of the funding agencies, and the host agency. We have worked with some correctional agencies that also have inmate committees established to review program plans. When a given agency does not have such a client committee, an evaluator may request that one be established for a review of plans. We have elsewhere discussed how relation-

ships with host agencies may contribute to productive assessments (Gendreau & Andrews, 1979; Kiessling & Andrews, 1980; Russel et al., 1979). Overall, to reduce the number of victims of crime and to reduce the human and economic costs of managing sentences are worthy objectives, which cannot possibly be met without systematic research and evaluation.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Issue No. 47

Tuesday, March 29, 1988

Chairman: David Daubney

CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES

Fascicule n° 47

Le mardi 29 mars 1988

Président: David Daubney

*Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the
Standing Committee on*

Justice and Solicitor General

*Procès-verbaux et témoignages du Comité
permanent de la*

Justice et du Solliciteur général

RESPECTING:

In accordance with its mandate under Standing Order 96(2), consideration of its inquiry into sentencing, conditional release and related aspects of the correctional system

CONCERNANT:

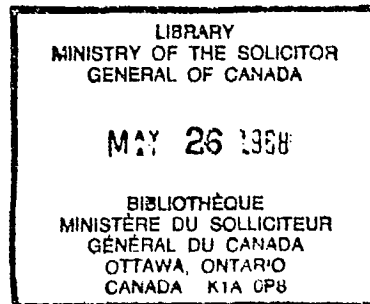
Conformément à son mandat en vertu de l'article 96(2) du Règlement, étude de la détermination de la peine, de la mise en liberté sous condition et des aspects connexes du système correctionnel

WITNESSES:

(See back cover)

TÉMOINS:

(Voir à l'endos)



Second Session of the Thirty-third Parliament,
1986-87-88

Deuxième session de la trente-troisième législature,
1986-1987-1988

THE FOLLOWING IS THE TESTIMONY OF DR. D.A. ANDREWS AND
DR.JAMES BONTA, GIVEN TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON
JUSTICE AND SOLICITOR GENERAL, MARCH 29, 1988.
INTERESTED READERS MAY CONSULT A LIBRARY OR ARCHIVES
FOR A COPY OF THE FULL PROCEEDINGS.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, MARCH 29, 1988

(82)

[Text]

The Standing Committee on Justice and Solicitor General met in Room 112-N, Centre Block at 9:35 o'clock a.m., this day, the Chairman, David Daubney, presiding.

Members of the Committee present: David Daubney, Robert Horner, Jim Jepson, Rob Nicholson and John V. Nunziata.

In attendance: From the Library of Parliament: Marlene Koehler, Research Officer.

Witnesses: Panel Format: Dr. Don Andrews, Psychology Department, Carleton University; and Dr. James Bonta, Chief Psychologist, Ottawa-Carleton Detention Centre.

In accordance with its mandate under Standing Order 96(2), the Committee resumed consideration of its inquiry into sentencing, conditional release and related aspects of the correctional system.

The witnesses made statements and answered questions.

At 11:15 o'clock a.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

Luke Morton
Clerk of the Committee

PROCÈS-VERBAL

LE MARDI 29 MARS 1988

(82)

[Traduction]

Le Comité permanent de la justice et du Solliciteur général se réunit aujourd'hui à 9 h 35, dans la pièce 112-N de l'Édifice du centre, sous la présidence de David Daubney, (*président*).

Membres du Comité présents: David Daubney, Robert Horner, Jim Jepson, Rob Nicholson et John V. Nunziata.

Aussi présente: De la Bibliothèque du Parlement: Marlene Koehler, attachée de recherche.

Témoins: Témoins: Don Andrews, Département de psychologie, université Carleton; James Bonta, psychologue en chef, Centre de détention d'Ottawa-Carleton.

Conformément au mandat que lui confie le paragraphe 96(2) du Règlement, le Comité reprend l'étude de la détermination de la peine, de la mise en liberté sous condition et des aspects connexes du système correctionnel.

Les témoins font des déclarations et répondent aux questions.

À 11 h 15, le Comité s'ajourne jusqu'à nouvelle convocation du président.

Le greffier du Comité
Luke Morton

EVIDENCE

[Recorded by Electronic Apparatus]

[Texte]

Tuesday, March 29, 1988

• 0934

The Chairman: I see a quorum, and a cigarette. I will ignore the cigarette, and call the meeting to order. We are meeting again pursuant to Standing Order 96.(2), resuming consideration of our inquiry into sentencing, conditional release, and related aspects of correctional services.

We are happy to welcome two witnesses from Ottawa: Dr. Don Andrews, of the Psychology Department at Carleton University; and Dr. James Bonta, Chief Psychologist at the Ottawa-Carleton Detention Centre. Welcome to you both, gentlemen. I understand you are going to be making your presentation together, and we will be questioning you together, but you will be making opening statements in alphabetical order. Don Andrews will start. Welcome.

Dr. Don Andrews (Psychology Department, Carleton University): Thank you for the opportunity to appear before the committee. I welcome the opportunity to make a few statements in favour of rehabilitation, and I hope that they are strong statements. I think from the presentation of the Canadian Psychological Association, it is appreciated that there was an anti-rehabilitation tone to the report of the Canadian Sentencing Commission.

Today I would like to just suggest that an anti-rehabilitation tone can be understood if one appreciates the perspective of what I have been calling mainstream criminology, as opposed to a more human science perspective. By a human science perspective, I mean a perspective that would be associated with psychology, psychiatry, and social work.

• 0935

There is in mainstream criminology a very strong tendency to discount the research literature in psychology, social work, and psychiatry. I am not trying to jump into some interdisciplinary, interprofessional fight, but I am aware that Dr. Jean Brodeur, criminologist and research director of the Canadian Sentencing Commission, appeared before this committee and testified that the pro-rehabilitation stance of the Canadian Psychological Association was professionally self-serving.

I shall develop a few specific points and then Jim Bonta will discuss risk assessment and half-way house research.

TÉMOIGNAGES

[Enregistrement électronique]

[Traduction]

Le mardi 29 mars 1988

Le président: Puisque nous avons le quorum, nous allons commencer, même si l'un d'entre vous fume une cigarette. Conformément à l'article 96.(2) du Règlement, nous reprenons l'examen de la question dont nous avons été saisis, à savoir la détermination de la peine, la libération conditionnelle et tous les autres aspects pertinents des services correctionnels.

Nous sommes heureux d'accueillir aujourd'hui deux témoins d'Ottawa: le D^r Don Andrews, du département de psychologie de l'université Carleton, et le D^r James Bonta, psychologue en chef au Centre de détention d'Ottawa-Carleton. Je vous souhaite à tous deux la bienvenue. Nous allons d'abord écouter vos deux déclarations, et ensuite nous vous interrogerons tous les deux ensemble. Je crois que vous allez procéder par ordre alphabétique, et c'est donc Don Andrews qui va commencer.

M. Don Andrews (département de psychologie de l'université Carleton): Je vous remercie de m'avoir invité à comparaître devant votre comité. Je suis ravi d'avoir l'occasion de défendre un peu la cause de la réadaptation, et j'espère que je saurais vous convaincre. D'après ce qu'ont déclaré les représentants de l'Association canadienne de psychologie, il est manifeste que le rapport de la Commission canadienne sur la détermination de la peine a des préjugés contre la réadaptation.

Aujourd'hui, j'aimerais vous expliquer que l'on peut être contre la réadaptation si on l'envisage dans le contexte de ce que j'appelle la criminologie ordinaire, par opposition à un contexte davantage orienté sur les sciences humaines. J'entends par là un contexte qui englobe à la fois la psychologie, la psychiatrie et le travail social.

En criminologie ordinaire, on a fortement tendance à mépriser les ouvrages et études publiés dans le domaine de la psychologie, du travail social et de la psychiatrie. Je ne voudrais pas amorcer une polémique sur l'interdisciplinarité, ou plutôt la complémentarité des différentes professions, mais je sais que M. Jean Brodeur, criminologue et directeur de recherche de la Commission sur la détermination de la peine, a comparu devant votre Comité et a déclaré que c'était par intérêt que l'Association canadienne de psychologie défendait la cause de la réadaptation.

Je vais aborder plusieurs questions spécifiques avant de donner la parole à Jim Bonta, qui vous parlera lui, de l'évaluation du risque et des maisons de transition.

[Texte]

First, the Canadian Sentencing Commission said clearly that the fundamental purpose of sentencing is not protection of the public from crime. They emphasized very heavily the notion of protection of society as a whole. I would like to review how they reached that conclusion, to down-play the control of criminal recidivism and the protection of citizens from criminals.

They noted first that a large amount of crime goes unreported. Only a small minority of offenders are actually sentenced. Hence it is silly to expect that the courts could do very much about protecting the citizens from recidivistic crime.

My point is simply that some offenders do appear before the courts. They are sentenced. It would make a considerable amount of sense that the control of recidivistic crime be a purpose of sentencing.

The Canadian Sentencing Commission calls this a utilitarian goal and equates it with individual deterrence and rehabilitation, but then suggests that individual deterrence simply cannot work and does not work, and of course that rehabilitation does not work. Whenever they mention the term "rehabilitation" it is typically combined with very negative phrases like the "crime of rehabilitation", the "treatment of rehabilitation" and the conclusion is that nothing really works.

The Canadian Psychological Association has pointed out that the human science literature suggests many things have worked successfully in corrections. I would like to take some of the major themes in mainstream criminology and contrast them with the human science literature—the literature in psychology, psychiatry, and social work. My brief yesterday presented these in terms of myths, with supporting facts, and I shall continue today.

The first myth in mainstream criminology is that it is wrong to focus on the criminal behaviour of individuals and is always more valuable to focus on community-wide crime rates or broad policy questions.

We know a fair amount about variation in the criminal behaviour of individuals. We know from many large-scale studies that a relatively small proportion of a population is involved in frequent and serious criminal behaviour. From a human science perspective, the implication is that rehabilitation is a really serious moral and practical challenge. We should evaluate programs that will reduce the criminal propensity of high-risk offenders, or those who seem to be.

The second myth in mainstream criminology is that there are no real differences in the biology and

[Traduction]

Premièrement, la Commission canadienne sur la détermination de la peine a affirmé clairement que l'objectif fondamental de la détermination de la peine n'était pas la protection du public contre les délits. Les auteurs ont fortement insisté sur la nécessité de protéger la société dans son ensemble. Je vais vous expliquer comment ils en sont arrivés à cette conclusion, à savoir qu'il fallait accorder moins d'importance au contrôle de la récidive et à la protection des citoyens contre les délinquants.

Les membres de cette Commission indiquent qu'un grand nombre de délits ne sont jamais signalés et qu'une faible minorité de délinquants sont réellement condamnés. Ils en concluent donc qu'il est ridicule de demander aux tribunaux de contribuer à la protection des citoyens contre les récidivistes.

Je prétends simplement qu'un certain nombre de délinquants sont jugés et condamnés, et qu'il serait tout à fait raisonnable de donner au processus de détermination de la peine l'objectif de faire baisser le taux de récidive.

La Commission canadienne sur la détermination de la peine qualifie cela d'objectif utilitaire et l'assimile à la dissuasion et à la réadaptation individuelles, mais elle indique ensuite que la dissuasion individuelle ne marche pas, pas plus que la réadaptation. Chaque fois qu'on parle de «réadaptation» dans le rapport, on emploie ce terme dans un contexte toujours très négatif, comme «crime de réadaptation», le «traitement de réadaptation», pour conclure enfin que rien ne marche.

L'Association canadienne de psychologie vous a fait remarquer que, d'après bon nombre d'ouvrages de sciences humaines, nombreux sont les programmes de réadaptation qui ont donné lieu à des résultats positifs. Je vais essayer de vous montrer comment certains thèmes principaux sont abordés dans les ouvrages de criminologie ordinaire et, par contraste, dans les ouvrages de sciences humaines, c'est-à-dire de psychologie, de psychiatrie et de travail social. Dans mon discours d'hier, j'ai qualifié ces thèmes de mythes, et j'en ferai autant aujourd'hui.

D'après le premier mythe que défend la criminologie ordinaire, il ne faut pas se concentrer sur le comportement criminel des individus, mais plutôt sur le taux de criminalité de l'ensemble de la collectivité et sur les grandes questions de politique.

Nous avons déjà pas mal de données sur les variations du comportement criminel des individus. Un grand nombre d'études effectuées à grande échelle nous indiquent qu'une proportion relativement faible de la population commet fréquemment de graves délits. Si l'on se place dans le contexte des sciences humaines, on en conclut que la réadaptation est un défi très important à la fois sur le plan moral et sur le plan pratique. Nous devons évaluer les programmes qui permettront de réduire les inclinations criminelles des délinquants présentant ou semblant présenter un risque élevé.

Le deuxième mythe de la criminologie ordinaire veut que, sur les plans biologique et psychologique, il n'y a pas

[Text]

psychology of offenders and non-offenders and that apparent differences are theoretically and practically insignificant. There is a tremendous amount of research on this issue, and a tremendous amount is known about the sorts of factors that distinguish between offenders and non-offenders—particularly between frequent and serious offenders, and those who are not engaged in so much criminal activity, or such serious criminal activity.

• 0940

A lot is known about the temperamental factors. On average, offenders who are really into it tend to be temperamentally impulsive, restless, and aggressive. You tend to see a violation of a variety of rules from quite a young age. On average you will see below-average intelligence. On average you find deficits in cognitive coping and self-management skills. You see really weak ties to conventional settings such as school and work.

You see relatively strong ties to other offenders, such as chumming, hanging out with other offenders. Certainly what you find are attitude-value belief patterns and thinking patterns that are really explicitly pro-criminal, which can be differentiated from those who are less likely to get into trouble.

You also find differences in educational achievement levels and personal unemployment levels. One of the areas where you do not find much difference between offenders and the non-offenders is social class of origin. The data here are relatively clear. It is not so much parental educational levels or parental occupational levels that differentiate between offenders and non-offenders. It is personal educational achievement and personal employment history.

Among all these factors I am mentioning, not one is crucial. As you look at the number of them, you find that the ability to distinguish between offender and non-offender samples really increases quite dramatically.

This leads me to the next myth, which is that criminal behavior is unpredictable. We really cannot predict it with a degree of accuracy that is theoretically or practically important. That is, can we predict criminal recidivism? The facts I suggest to you are yes, criminal recidivism can be predicted at levels well above chance and at levels that are practically significant.

These days in corrections, correctional settings, probation settings, and mini-prisons, the practical assessment of risk just goes on day to day. There is a tremendous amount of data in the literature now, showing that criminal recidivism can be accurately predicted at levels of 60%, 70% or 80% accuracy, and even higher sometimes.

The practical implication of this human science finding is that systematic risk assessment should be part of

[Translation]

de différence réelle entre les délinquants et les autres, et que les différences apparentes sont théoriquement et pratiquement insignifiantes. Bon nombre de recherches ont été faites à ce sujet, et l'on sait qu'il y a toutes sortes de facteurs qui distinguent les délinquants des non-délinquants, et surtout les repris de justice qui commettent de graves crimes et ceux qui commettent des infractions mineures.

On sait beaucoup de choses sur les facteurs relatifs au tempérament. En général, les vrais repris de justice sont souvent impulsifs, agressifs et nerveux. Dès leur plus jeune âge, ils cherchent à enfreindre les règles établies. Ils sont souvent d'une intelligence inférieure à la moyenne, et ils ont des faiblesses sur le plan des aptitudes cognitives et de la maîtrise de soi. Ils ont du mal à s'adapter à des milieux conventionnels comme l'école et le lieu de travail.

Ils ont généralement des affinités très marquées avec d'autres délinquants, et leur attitude face aux valeurs établies et aux modes de pensée est explicitement pro-criminelle et se distingue nettement de l'attitude qu'affichent ceux qui sont moins susceptibles d'avoir des ennuis par la suite.

On constate également des différences en ce qui concerne les résultats scolaires et le taux de chômage. Par contre, pour ce qui est de l'origine sociale, il n'y a pas beaucoup de différences entre les délinquants et les autres. A ce sujet, les données sont relativement claires. Ce n'est pas tellement l'éducation donnée par les parents ou la profession exercée par les parents qui fait une différence entre les délinquants et les autres. C'est plutôt les résultats scolaires et les périodes de chômage.

De tous les facteurs que j'ai mentionnés, il n'y en a pas un qui soit primordial. Mais ils sont tellement nombreux qu'il devient plus facile de faire la distinction entre le comportement des délinquants et celui des autres.

Cela m'amène à l'autre mythe dont je voulais vous parler, et c'est celui qui veut que le comportement criminel est imprévisible. En d'autres termes, on prétend qu'il est impossible de prévoir ce type de comportement avec un degré d'exactitude suffisant pour que cette prévision soit théoriquement ou pratiquement importante. Pouvons-nous prévoir le taux de récidive? Je prétends que oui, à un niveau de précision tel que ces prévisions ne dépendent plus du hasard et qu'elles ont une signification pratique.

De nos jours, l'évaluation pratique du risque se fait quotidiennement dans les établissements correctionnels. On a recueilli à ce sujet, un grand nombre de données, qui indiquent qu'on peut prévoir le taux de récidive avec un degré de fiabilité de 60, 70 ou 80 p. 100 et même plus.

La conséquence pratique de cette conclusion est que l'évaluation systématique du risque devrait faire partie des

[Texte]

the guidelines governing both judicial decision making and correctional decision making. One of the things I will be suggesting is that the use of risk assessments is not incompatible with the principle that proportionality should determine the severity of the sentence, that the severity of the sentence should be proportional to the gravity of the offence. I could not agree wholeheartedly with that. However, it is probability of recidivism that is risk. It is criminogenic needs and the ability to respond to rehabilitation programs that ought to determine the intensity of rehabilitation efforts.

I hope if I can communicate anything in this brief, it is that we should be considering both the professionalism principle and the rehabilitation principle as core aspects, core purposes and core elements of sentencing and corrections: the severity of the penalty governed by the seriousness and gravity of the offence, and the intensity of the rehabilitation efforts governed by risk and criminogenic need.

The issue of criminogenic need takes me to myth number four. What we often find in mainstream criminological textbooks are statements that the predictors of recidivism, the risk factors, the best ones, are really relatively fixed characteristics of people: things not amenable to influence, like being young, being male, being from a certain racial group or ethnic background, or having a history of unemployment as a fixed historical fact.

While these are important risk factors—they are relatively solid risk factors; they are predictors of criminal recidivism—there are other predictors of criminal recidivism. Those other predictors are much more dynamic characteristics of individuals and their circumstances. The human science literature includes many examples that risk levels can change with changes in attitudes, changes in self-management abilities, changes in associates, changes in employment status, changes in drug use patterns, changes in family relations, etc. All of these things can be associated with reduced chances of recidivism, even if a case approaches us initially at relatively high levels of risk, according to the fixed historical factors.

• 0945

I am going to comment on the commission's perspective on what sort of changes are important during a period of incarceration, or during a period of any sentence, including a community sentence.

The commission takes a relatively strong stand suggesting it is impossible to imagine that anything positive could occur during a period of incarceration. I

[Traduction]

lignes directrices régissant le processus décisionnel judiciaire aussi bien que le processus décisionnel correctionnel. Je prétends, entre autres, que l'utilisation d'évaluations du risque n'est pas incompatible avec le principe selon lequel la proportionnalité devrait déterminer la sévérité de la peine, et que la sévérité de la peine devrait être proportionnelle à la gravité de l'infraction. Je suis entièrement d'accord avec cela. C'est cependant la probabilité de la récidive qui constitue le risque. Ce sont donc les besoins criminogènes, et la capacité de répondre à des programmes de réadaptation qui devraient déterminer l'intensité des efforts de réadaptation.

Mon message essentiel, aujourd'hui, est que le principe de la professionnalité et le principe de la réadaptation sont la pierre angulaire de la détermination et de l'application des peines: la sévérité de la peine infligée dépend de la gravité de l'infraction, et l'intensité des efforts de réadaptation dépend du risque et du besoin criminogène.

La question du besoin criminogène m'amène au quatrième mythe. On lit souvent, dans les manuels de criminologie ordinaire, que les facteurs qui permettent de prévoir le taux de récidive sont, dans le meilleur des cas, des caractéristiques relativement fixes des individus, autrement dit des choses qui ne sont pas susceptibles d'évoluer sous une influence quelconque comme le fait d'être jeune, d'appartenir au sexe masculin ou à un certain groupe minoritaire ou encore d'avoir de nombreuses expériences de chômage.

Certes, ce sont là des facteurs importants et relativement solides pour ce qui est de l'évaluation du risque de récidive, mais il y en a d'autres qui, eux, correspondent à des caractéristiques beaucoup plus dynamiques des individus et des circonstances dans lesquelles ils se trouvent. Les ouvrages de sciences humaines qui ont été publiés à ce sujet démontrent, avec de nombreux exemples à l'appui, que les niveaux de risque peuvent changer à la suite d'une modification du comportement, une amélioration de la maîtrise de soi, un changement de fréquentations, le fait de ne plus être au chômage, la décision de ne plus prendre de drogue, une modification des relations familiales, etc. Tous ces changements peuvent contribuer à faire baisser le taux de récidive, même dans le cas d'un individu qui, jugé au départ en fonction des facteurs fixes, présentait un taux de risque élevé.

Je vais vous dire ce que je pense des conclusions de la Commission sur les changements qui sont importants pendant la période d'incarcération ou pendant la période d'application de n'importe quelle peine, y compris une peine purgée dans la collectivité.

La Commission affirme de façon assez catégorique qu'il est impossible d'imaginer qu'il arrive quoi que ce soit de positif pendant la période d'incarcération. Il est sûr que

[Text]

think there are relatively few people who are going to be arguing in favour of incarceration. We all want to limit the use of incarceration. But the available data suggests people do change, even during periods of incarceration. Many of those changes can be quite positive and linked to reduced chances of recidivism. I do not think we should start out with the position that nothing positive can come from certain types of penalties.

My next point has to do with the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs. I think the Canadian Psychological Association's brief dealt with this rather strongly and effectively. The earliest review of the literature—and the controlled evaluations of correctional programs—was by Kirby in 1954. The latest review is *Crime and Delinquency*, a paper by Lab and Whitehead in 1988.

Every reviewer who has looked at that literature has found and reported at least 40% to 60% of the studies report positively on the effects of an intervention program. Every reviewer has looked at it. The fact is few reviewers have made a conclusion that was positive regarding rehabilitation. Those reviewers who made positive conclusions, including Paul Gendreau and Bob Ross and Martinson himself in 1979. . . Martinson wrote a 1974 paper that created widespread acceptance of the notion that nothing works.

How did they keep reaching this conclusion that nothing works, when even by their own reviews of the literature it looks like 50% to 60% of the studies—sometimes more—are reporting positive effects? I think it is because the majority of the reviewers, being mainstream criminological, are biased against any possible conclusion that treatment could have positive effects. More specifically, those reviews that reach negative conclusions ignore the differences in types of programs being evaluated. It seems to me, and I am sure it seems to a number of other people who have looked at this literature, that certain specific approaches to rehabilitation, we can now say, with some confidence, are really ineffective. Indeed, they seem to sometimes be productive of criminal behaviour.

What I have in mind are programs such as classical psychodynamic therapies—relationship-oriented, client-centred therapies. Some of the early group approaches promoted by sociological theories were associated with either no effect on recidivism or increased recidivism. There is no question about it. Where they are being used these days they seem also to be having negative effects. Why?

Those approaches tend to target inappropriate targets. They do not target criminogenic needs—the aspects of the person and the person's circumstances that are really relevant to future criminality. For example, many of those programs that have failed focus on something like self-esteem—trying to make someone feel better about themselves. We all want someone to feel better about themselves. But that is not going to influence criminality in terms of reducing it, if there are associates who are pro-

[Translation]

peu de personnes vont défendre la cause de l'incarcération. Nous voulons tous limiter le recours à ce genre de peine. Toutefois, les données disponibles nous indiquent que les individus changent, même en période d'incarcération. Bon nombre de ces changements peuvent être tout à fait positifs et être associés à une diminution du taux de récidive. Il ne faut donc pas partir du principe que certains types de peines ne donneront rien de positif.

J'aimerais maintenant vous parler de l'efficacité des programmes de réadaptation, dont a d'ailleurs parlé, de façon très précise, l'Association canadienne de psychologie. La première analyse des ouvrages sur le sujet et des évaluations des programmes correctionnels a été effectuée par Kirby en 1954. La dernière analyse publiée à ce sujet est *Crime and Delinquency*, qui a été rédigée par Lab and Whitehead et qui est parue en 1988.

Tous les analystes ont constaté qu'au moins 40 à 60 p. 100 de ces études rapportaient les résultats positifs d'un programme d'intervention quelconque. Peu d'entre eux, cependant, en tiraient une conclusion positive pour la réadaptation. Ceux qui en ont tiré des conclusions positives, notamment Paul Gendreau, Bob Ross et Martinson lui-même en 1979. . . C'est Martinson qui a rédigé en 1974 un document qui a répandu la notion selon laquelle rien ne marche en matière de réadaptation.

Comment en sont-ils arrivés à la conclusion que rien ne marche, alors que, d'après leurs propres analyses, au moins 50 à 60 p. 100 des études en question rapportaient les effets positifs de ce genre de programmes? A mon avis, c'est parce que la majorité de ces analystes, de par leur formation en criminologie, avaient des préjugés contre toute conclusion selon laquelle le traitement pourrait avoir des effets positifs. De plus, les évaluations qui aboutissent à des conclusions négatives ne tiennent pas compte des différences qui existent entre les divers programmes ainsi évalués. On peut dire, et je suis sûr que je ne serai pas le seul à être de cet avis, qu'en matière de réadaptation, certaines approches spécifiques sont tout à fait inefficaces. En fait, elles semblent même, parfois, encourager un comportement criminel.

Je pense plutôt à des programmes comme les thérapies psychodynamiques classiques. Certes, il est vrai que certaines des premières approches collectives prônées par des théories sociologiques n'ont eu aucun effet sur le taux de récidive, si ce n'est, parfois, une augmentation de ce taux. Celles qui sont encore utilisées de nos jours semblent aussi avoir des effets négatifs. Pourquoi?

Ces approches sont souvent mal ciblées. En effet, elles ne visent pas les besoins criminogènes, c'est-à-dire les caractéristiques de l'individu et les circonstances dans lesquelles il se trouve, et qui sont pourtant tout à fait pertinents en ce qui concerne son comportement criminel futur. Par exemple, bon nombre de ces programmes ne s'intéressent malheureusement pas à des choses comme l'amour propre, à essayer de donner à l'individu une meilleure idée de lui-même. C'est pourtant un objectif

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criminal and if there are personal attitudes, values and beliefs that are pro-criminal.

Many of the programs that have been ineffective—the ones I have reviewed—have used quite weak behavioural influence techniques. When one looks at them from a human science perspective, one asks how they could possibly have much of an effect. There is a whole set of studies out there suggesting that social learning approaches, social behavioural approaches and social cognitive approaches that really try to get in there and deal with things like attitudes, values and beliefs favourable to crime do tend to be finding, reporting and showing success.

• 0950

Next on my list here is myth number six. I think I got lost; I have not been mentioning the numbers. On this one, we find mainstream criminology saying that some things may work but only for some people. What people, you say?

They say it only works for the lower-risk cases or low-need cases. Programs seem to work only for those who do not need them. Jim Bonta is going to be developing this point soon.

The available evidence I and my colleagues have looked at suggests the point is wrong. These studies have considered the risk levels of offenders and have made comparisons among programs, such as none, program type A1, and program type A2. When they compare programs for offenders at different levels of risk, they find that the programs tend to be effective with the higher- not the lower-risk cases.

Twice here in Ottawa, working with Jerry Kiesling, Susan Nickens and others, we found that intensive supervision programs with probationers are associated with negative effects for low-risk cases. These programs are associated with positive effects for the higher-risk cases.

We do not say we know something about specific programs that would work for all of the highest-risk cases. It just makes basic sense that delivering programs to people in need would be more productive than delivering programs to those who do not need it. It would seem that those who are in need are the ones most likely to respond.

The relevant principle is that it is the higher-risk cases who respond to intervention. This principle is found in child welfare, in family service, and in educational settings. It is not something specific to corrections. It is a general point on the effectiveness of interventions.

[Traduction]

que nous recherchons tous. Mais cela ne va pas faire baisser le taux de criminalité s'il y a d'autres facteurs procriminelles, c'est-à-dire des attitudes, des valeurs et des croyances personnelles qui sont, elles, procriminelles.

Parmi les programmes inefficaces que je connais, bon nombre font appel à des techniques assez médiocres d'influence du comportement. Quand on examine ces techniques dans le contexte des sciences humaines, on se demande vraiment comment elles pourraient avoir un effet quelconque. Par contre, il y a toutes sortes d'approches cognitives et comportementalistes qui permettent vraiment de faire changer des attitudes, des valeurs et des croyances qui, au départ, étaient procriminelles.

Passons maintenant au sixième mythe. Je me suis un peu perdu, car je ne les ai pas numérotés. Ici, on constate que, pour les criminologues, il y aurait certaines choses qui marcheraient, mais seulement pour certains individus. De quels individus s'agit-il?

Ils prétendent que cela ne marche que dans le cas d'individus à faible risque. En d'autres termes, les programmes ne seraient efficaces que pour ceux qui n'en ont pas besoin. Jim Bonta reviendra tout à l'heure sur cette question.

Les données que j'ai pu recueillir avec mes collègues indiquent exactement le contraire. À partir du niveau de risque de plusieurs délinquants donnés, ces études ont permis de faire des comparaisons entre divers programmes, par exemple aucun programme, un programme de type A1 et un programme de type A2. On constate qu'avec des délinquants présentant des niveaux de risques différents, les programmes sont généralement efficaces auprès de ceux qui présentent des risques élevés, et non pas des autres.

À deux reprises, à Ottawa, j'ai constaté, avec Jerry Kiesling, Susan Nickens et bien d'autres, que les programmes de surveillance intensive auprès de ceux qui sont en probation ont généralement des effets négatifs sur les individus à faible risque. Par contre, les mêmes programmes ont généralement des effets positifs auprès des individus à risque élevé.

Nous ne prétendons pas savoir quels programmes spécifiques marcheraient dans tous les cas des individus à risque très élevé. Par contre, il me paraît tout à fait évident qu'il sera plus productif d'offrir des programmes à ceux qui en ont besoin plutôt qu'à ceux qui n'en ont pas besoin. Or, ceux qui en ont besoin sont ceux qui sont les plus susceptibles de réagir favorablement.

À cet égard, ce sont les individus à risque élevé qui réagissent le mieux à ce genre d'intervention. On retrouve le même principe en ce qui concerne l'aide à l'enfance, les services à la famille et les établissements scolaires. Ce principe n'est donc pas propre aux services correctionnels.

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Another problem is myth number seven: while some things work for some offenders, it is simply too expensive and too complicated to begin to match offenders and rehabilitation programs. The courts simply do not have the expertise to do it. However, I am suggesting that much expertise exists. In our court rooms we see probation officers working, preparing, and delivering pre-sentence reports of reasonably high quality. These reports often deal with matters of risk and of criminogenic need. They examine what in a particular case seems to be particularly responsible for criminal behaviour.

They are also dealing with what we might call responsivity factors. That is, a case might not respond to one type of program but might respond to another type. Considerable expertise exists right now in corrections and is available to the courts. It should be promoted and encouraged, not discouraged.

Another myth is myth number eight on my list: the notion that treatment is evil, oppressive, and punitive. Just about every time the Canadian Sentencing Commission mentions rehabilitation, it applies a negative label to it, as the crime of rehabilitation and the tyranny of rehabilitation.

Of course, there are abuses in rehabilitation, as there are abuses in anything else. However, I think it is silly to suggest that rehabilitation would be responsible for excessive punishment. Data relevant to the question suggest that it is punishment models of sentencing that are associated with relatively high levels of punishment, not rehabilitation models of punishment.

In the United States over the last 10 years, some jurisdictions deliberately downplayed rehabilitation and discarded the rehabilitation ideal. Often the result was nearly immediate increases in both the number and duration of incarcerative offences.

Sentencing according to the proportionality principle and with reference to rehabilitation demands restraint, according to a fundamental principle suggested by the Canadian Sentencing Commission.

• 0955

Myth number nine, which we hear all the time, is that rehabilitation is promoted only by self-serving professionals, professional and amateur "do-gooders", "bleeding hearts", anti-justice types, etc.

Of course, it is the human science professionals who are informed about rehabilitation who will be presenting

[Translation]

puisque'il traduit, de façon général, le degré d'efficacité des interventions.

Passons maintenant au mythe n° 7: certains programmes vont peut-être marcher pour certains délinquants, mais ils sont beaucoup trop coûteux et il est beaucoup trop compliqué d'essayer de déterminer quel programme de réadaptation correspond le mieux à tel type de délinquants. Les tribunaux n'ont peut-être pas l'expertise pour le faire, mais je suis convaincu que cette expertise existe quelque part dans nos salles de tribunaux. Nous avons des agents de probation qui préparent des rapports présentenciels d'une qualité tout à fait appréciable. Ces rapports présentenciels portent souvent sur les niveaux de risque et sur les besoins criminogènes. Les auteurs examinent, dans le cas qui leur est soumis, les facteurs qui sont particulièrement responsables du comportement criminel de l'individu.

Ils traitent également de ce que l'on pourrait appeler les facteurs de réactivité. En d'autres termes, un individu pourrait ne pas réagir à un type de programme et réagir à un autre. Le système correctionnel dispose d'une expertise considérable dans ce domaine, et les tribunaux pourraient y avoir recours. C'est donc une chose que l'on devrait promouvoir et encourager, et non pas le contraire.

Passons maintenant au mythe n° 8: il s'agit de la notion selon laquelle le traitement est sévère, coercitif et punitif. Presque chaque fois que la Commission canadienne sur la détermination de la peine parle de réadaptation, c'est avec une connotation négative, comme la tyrannie de la réadaptation.

Bien sûr, il y a des abus en réadaptation comme partout ailleurs. Il est cependant ridicule d'affirmer que la réadaptation est responsable de châtiments excessifs. Les données nous indiquent que ce sont les modèles de châtimement qui s'appliquent à la détermination de la peine, et non pas ceux qui s'appliquent à la réadaptation, qui sont associés à des châtiments relativement sévères.

Au cours des 10 dernières années, certains États américains ont délibérément mis de côté l'idéal de la réadaptation. Il en a souvent résulté une augmentation quasi immédiate à la fois du nombre et de la durée des peines d'emprisonnement.

Selon un principe fondamental énoncé par la Commission canadienne sur la détermination de la peine, la détermination de la peine à partir du principe de la proportionnalité et en tenant compte de la réadaptation exige de la modération.

Le mythe n° 9, celui dont on nous rebat les oreilles, c'est la théorie selon laquelle la réadaptation n'est prônée, à des fins égoïstes, que par les spécialistes, les faiseurs de bonnes oeuvres, amateurs et professionnels, des âmes charitables, les non-conformistes ennemis du système judiciaire, etc.

Il va de soi que ce sont les spécialistes de la réadaptation, les diplômés en sciences humaines qui

[Texte]

the evidence regarding rehabilitation. We could not expect people who are anti-rehabilitation and trained to believe that rehabilitation does not work to be promoting it. An anti-rehabilitation, anti-clinical and indeed anti-human science perspective is built into mainstream criminology, and mainstream criminologists are involved in recommending policy.

Myth number 10 is that criminals do not deserve treatment, they deserve punishment. This has some rhetorical appeal, I suppose, but only until you consider the implications. If all criminals deserve is punishment, how in the world are correctional personnel going to manage that penalty? What will govern their actions?

I do not think we want correctional guidelines that suggest we should never do anything that might reduce the chances of recidivism. That would be silly, but I think it is equally silly to enshrine in policy the notion that doing anything to decrease the chances of recidivism should only be done in a non-systematic, non-programmed basis. Why not an open, straightforward policy? We want to implement, design and evaluate on a systematic basis programs that are intended to reduce the chances of recidivism.

My final point on what I have been calling the myths is that very often reference is made to the fact that the human sciences provide you with imperfect knowledge. There is no question about that. Prediction is not 100% accurate, and treatment is not 100% effective. What do we do with imperfect knowledge? We do not have to turn simply to ideology and positions that happen to be promoted by a particular discipline or set of disciplines. The obvious thing to do when knowledge is imperfect is to have a policy that promotes its development. In this case it means to promote active research and experimentation in the areas of prediction and rehabilitation.

More than that, I would also like to say that there is a reasonably strong human science literature there, and I think an obvious policy is to encourage criminal justice participants to become familiar with and to make effective use of that knowledge base. This is my summary of the notes I submitted.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Dr. Andrews. That was very comprehensive. We will hear from Dr. Bonta now and then we will have questions.

Dr. James Bonta (Chief Psychologist, Ottawa-Carleton Detention Centre): I would like to thank the committee for allowing me to present the major points in my brief. I think my brief will be a little bit more specific in the questions it may generate. Dr. Andrews gave a very good overview of orientations by researchers in specific areas.

[Traduction]

plaideront ce dossier. Voudrions-nous le confier aux ennemis de la réadaptation, à ceux qui en allèguent la futilité? Toute la criminologie ordinaire actuelle est pénétrée d'hostilité à l'idée de réadaptation, de thérapie et, d'une façon plus générale, à tous les principes sur lesquels se fondent les sciences humaines; or ce sont les criminologues de cette école qui participent à l'élaboration de recommandations sur les politiques à adopter.

Le mythe n° 10, c'est que les criminels méritent d'être châtiés, et non traités. C'est une thèse séduisante, j'imagine, mais seulement jusqu'à ce que vous en examiniez les conséquences. Si les criminels ne méritent que le châtiment, comment les gens du système correctionnel vont-ils appliquer ce châtiment? Par quel principe seront-ils guidés dans leurs actes?

Voulons-nous vraiment, à l'intention du système correctionnel, des directives décourageant toute tentative de faire quoi que ce soit pour réduire les chances de récidivisme? Je ne le crois pas. Ce serait stupide, mais il serait également stupide d'adopter pour principe la notion que toute tentative de diminuer les chances de récidivisme ne devrait être faite que de façon non systématique, non programmée. Pourquoi ne pas adopter une politique claire et franche? Nous voulons concevoir, mettre en oeuvre et évaluer de façon systématique des programmes visant à diminuer les chances de récidivisme.

Pour conclure sur le chapitre que j'ai intitulé les mythes, je voudrais revenir sur l'accusation souvent portée contre les sciences humaines, à savoir que ce ne sont pas des sciences exactes. C'est indubitable: la fiabilité des pronostics n'est pas absolue et les traitements ne sont pas efficaces à 100 p. 100. Que faire de cette science imparfaite? Nous orienter vers une idéologie et des notions dont une ou plusieurs disciplines se font les champions? Cela ne suffit pas. Ce qui s'impose, lorsqu'une science est imparfaite, c'est de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour lui permettre de s'épanouir. en l'occurrence, encourager la recherche et l'expérimentation en matière de prévision et de réadaptation.

Bien plus, j'ajouterais qu'il existe sur ces sujets de nombreux ouvrages de sciences humaines, et l'une des mesures qui s'imposent est d'encourager l'administration de la justice criminelle à en prendre connaissance et à s'en servir de façon judicieuse. C'est la conclusion du résumé de mon mémoire.

Le président: Merci beaucoup, monsieur Andrews de ce vaste tour d'horizon. Nous allons donner la parole maintenant à M. Bonta et nous passerons ensuite aux questions.

Dr James Bonta (psychologue en chef, Centre de détention d'Ottawa-Carleton): Je remercie le Comité de bien vouloir écouter la synthèse de mon mémoire, qui s'attache plus particulièrement à certaines questions précises. M. Andrews vous a présenté un excellent panorama des orientations des chercheurs sur certaines grandes questions spécifiques.

[Text]

I am going to limit myself to three topics or areas of the criminal justice system in which I have had direct experience as either a clinical psychologist or a researcher. I will touch upon parole, half-way houses and risk assessment. As I go through these areas, I hope to draw a thread that is common to them all. There are probably two major themes.

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The first is that, in my view, parole and half-way houses are different parts of a whole criminal justice system in that they are very much intertwined and interrelated. Therefore, if we remove one or change one in any major way, we will produce changes in the other facets of the criminal justice system.

The second point I want to draw is, I think, common in all three areas; that is, there is considerable room for improvement in the practice of the programs of parole and half-way houses. The point I am going to make in this presentation is that I believe the way we go about improving these two components is through the use of objective risk assessments to guide our selection of offenders for various programs, and the second point is that we need to develop a method of matching criminal justice services or programs to the risk and needs of the offender.

Let me briefly comment upon these three areas, first of all, parole. I think many have presented advantages to the use of parole, and I am sure this committee has probably heard all of them. I want to underscore advantages or positive aspects of parole. I feel that parole has no negative aspects, no disadvantages. My argument is that when there are faults in a parolee in a certain case, the faults may be traced back to the practice of parole and not necessarily to the concept of parole or its intention.

I would like to specifically address four advantages of parole. These are by no means exclusive, and I am not assigning particular importance or weight to one advantage compared to another.

The first advantage of parole, which has been presented a number of times before, is that parole may serve to control sentencing disparity. One of the major points raised by the Canadian Sentencing Commission is that there was too much unwarranted disparity in sentences. I asked myself the question: Why is this unwarranted? What is it? Presumably there are unwarranted sentences given out in Canada for two possible reasons. There may be more, but I will just mention two. One is that sentences may be unwarranted, or the disparity unwarranted, because it gives the perception to the public that justice is not being served. Second, there is the possibility that sentence disparity is unfair to the individual.

Let me take a concrete example of how parole may control sentence disparity. We have two bank robbers from different areas of the country. Out on the west coast, robber one receives a nine-year sentence; on the east coast, bank robber two receives a six-year sentence. If we

[Translation]

Je vais me limiter à trois sujets ou domaines du système criminel judiciaire que je connais de près, soit en tant que psychologue clinique, soit en tant que chercheur. J'aborderai la question de la libération conditionnelle, des maisons de transition et de l'évaluation des risques, et j'espère trouver à ces trois questions un fil conducteur. A mon avis, deux grands thèmes se dégagent.

Le premier thème qui se dégage à mon avis, c'est que le système de libération conditionnelle et les maisons de transition sont deux parties distinctes d'un tout, deux parties étroitement imbriquées et que tout changement, toute suppression effectués dans l'une ou l'autre engendre des modifications aux autres facettes du système pénal.

Le second thème, commun aux trois domaines, c'est que les programmes de libération conditionnelle et de maisons de transition gagneraient beaucoup à être améliorés. En effet, pour améliorer ces deux composantes, nous procédons à des évaluations objectives des risques pour décider des délinquants qui participeront aux divers programmes; en second lieu, nous devons mettre au point une méthode nous permettant d'adapter les services ou programmes de justice pénale aux risques et besoins du délinquant.

Quelques mots d'abord sur ces trois domaines, à commencer par la libération conditionnelle. Ce Comité a probablement entendu parler des avantages du système de libération conditionnelle, et je me joindrais au chœur des louanges. En effet, ce système, à mes yeux, n'a que des avantages et point d'inconvénients. Les échecs sont dus à la pratique de la libération conditionnelle, mais non à la notion en soi ou à son intention.

Permettez-moi de m'attacher plus particulièrement à quatre de ces avantages. Ce ne sont pas les seuls et ces avantages me paraissent tous aussi intéressants les uns que les autres.

Le premier, dont il a été souvent question, c'est que la libération conditionnelle permet de réduire les disparités des sentences. La Commission canadienne sur la détermination de la peine a fait ressortir, entre autres, que les sentences étaient trop disparates sans justification. Je me suis posé la question: à quoi cela tient-il? Si des sentences sont rendues dans notre pays sans justification suffisante, il peut y avoir plusieurs raisons à cela, mais je n'en mentionnerai que deux: la première c'est que les sentences ou leur disparité sont injustifiées parce que le public a l'impression que justice n'a pas été faite. La seconde, c'est la possibilité que cette disparité entre les sentences constitue une injustice pour l'individu.

Permettez-moi de vous donner un exemple concret de la façon dont la libération conditionnelle peut redresser cette disparité des sentences. Supposons que nous ayons deux voleurs qui braquent une banque, l'une sur la côte ouest, l'autre sur la côte est. L'un reçoit une peine de

[Texte]

have parole operating as we do now, we know that when mandatory parole comes along, robber one will be out in six years and the second one will be out in four years. At time of sentencing there is a disparity of three years; at time of mandatory parole the disparity has decreased to two years. If we can anticipate a full parole, the disparity may decrease to one year.

From the individual's perspective, with parole in operation, the situation has become more fair. By the time parole comes along there is not so much of a gap between the offender on the east coast who receives six years and the offender on the west coast with nine years.

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It appears to me the commission's major concern is the public's perception of fairness. The major thrust of their solution is twofold. One is to have some sort of sentencing guidelines to aid judges in handing out sentences to control the disparity. The second one is to possibly abolish parole.

I find this recommendation somewhat puzzling and I am somewhat concerned about it. If the goal is to reduce disparity in the way punishment is handed out in the justice system, sentencing guidelines may help towards that. But we do not know for sure if it will. We can go to the United States and look at examples there and maybe think that if we implement guidelines in Canada it will work here. We do not know yet. It is an empirical question.

However, what we do know already is that parole does reduce disparity. My point is: Why tamper with something we know will reduce disparity and introduce something else that has uncertain consequences? Perhaps we should be looking at these aspects one at a time, looking at what happens when we introduce sentencing guidelines, keep parole, and so on.

I am also somewhat bewildered that the Canadian Sentencing Commission focuses in on parole and is relatively silent on other aspects of the criminal justice system that can alter the probability of punishment at, for example, the arrest levels, plea bargaining, and so on.

The other thing that concerns me is that there appears to be an assumption by the commission that parole boards actually have an intention to reduce sentencing disparity. I have worked with Ontario parole boards. I have worked with inmates going up for parole, and I have yet to find a case where the parole board says the judge was too hard on a fellow and maybe it should let him out a little bit earlier.

[Traduction]

neuf ans d'emprisonnement, l'autre une peine de six ans. Avec le système actuel de libération conditionnelle, nous savons que, lorsque viendra le moment de demander la libération sous surveillance obligatoire, le premier voleur sortira de prison dans six ans, le second dans quatre ans. Quand le jugement a été rendu, la disparité était de trois ans, elle est passée à deux au moment de la libération sous surveillance obligatoire et peut diminuer jusqu'à un an si la libération conditionnelle est accordée.

Grâce au système de la libération conditionnelle, il y a donc un rétablissement de la justice pour l'individu. Lorsque vient le temps de la libération conditionnelle, l'écart s'est rétréci entre la peine du délinquant de l'est du pays, condamné à six ans et du délinquant de l'ouest, condamné à neuf ans.

Ce que la Commission canadienne sur la détermination de la peine a particulièrement à coeur, je crois, c'est la notion de justice telle que la voit le public, et la solution qu'elle préconise à cet effet est double: d'une part, une série de directives permettant aux juges de déterminer les peines sans que les disparités soient trop marquées; d'autre part, l'abolition éventuelle de la libération conditionnelle.

Cette recommandation me paraît quelque peu surprenante et inquiétante. Si l'objectif est de réduire les disparités dans la façon dont les peines sont déterminées, une série de directives pourraient y contribuer, mais nous n'en sommes pas certains. Nous pouvons prendre l'exemple des États-Unis et penser que, si nous adoptons des directives au Canada, nous aurons de bons résultats. Mais nous n'en savons rien, la question reste posée.

Ce que nous savons toutefois d'ores et déjà, c'est que la libération conditionnelle réduit les disparités. En ce cas, je vous le demande, pourquoi s'en prendre à un système qui réduit les disparités et en introduire un autre dont l'effet n'est pas connu? Nous devrions peut-être étudier ces questions une à une, en examinant ce qui se produit quand on adopte des directives de détermination de la peine, quand on conserve la libération conditionnelle, etc.

Je m'étonne également de constater que la Commission canadienne sur la détermination de la peine s'attache plus particulièrement à la libération conditionnelle tout en passant relativement sous silence d'autres aspects du système de justice pénal susceptibles de modifier la probabilité du châtiment à certains stades, par exemple l'arrestation, la négociation de plaidoyer, etc.

L'autre question qui m'inquiète, c'est que la Commission semble penser que les Commissions pour libérations conditionnelles ont effectivement pour intention de réduire la disparité des peines. J'ai une longue expérience avec la Commission des libérations conditionnelles de l'Ontario et avec les détenus qui faisaient leur demande de libération conditionnelle, et je n'ai jamais rencontré de cas où le commissaire de la

[Text]

The bottom line here is that in one way parole boards have served to correct sentence disparity, and I think probably accidentally, not intentionally. That is not their main goal. Instead of being congratulated by the Canadian Sentencing Commission with a "thank you very much" for correcting some of the disparities that are going on, the parole board gets a slap.

I turn to the second benefit of parole. This is the one where parole may serve as an incentive for program participation or—dare I say the word—rehabilitation. Parole has been viewed as the carrot for offenders to participate in rehabilitation programs. Parole and rehabilitation have been tied together. Unfortunately, there have been a number of attempts to discredit this tie between parole and rehabilitation—to divorce the two concepts.

In my view, these efforts to discredit the tie come from two basic camps. One is the anti-rehabilitation camp, the idea that nothing works in terms of rehabilitation. Therefore, if nothing works, then by association parole is unnecessary. The empirical literature, some of the evidence summarized by the Canadian Psychological Association's brief, which has been summarized here by Dr. Andrews, points out that the idea that nothing works is utter nonsense. Yet attempts to discredit rehabilitation programs continue, and Dr. Andrews has addressed some of the reasons for this.

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The second attempt to discredit the tie between parole and rehabilitation comes from groups who are for rehabilitation but argue that the participation in these programs should be made freely. This is the expression of the view that parole is a form of coercion for participating rehabilitation. Because it is coercive, the argument goes, we should abolish parole, and the result will then be that offenders will voluntarily participate in programs. Personally, I find it difficult to see parole as truly coercive, just a way of getting inmates to participate in programs. I do admit that there are some inmates who will play the game: enter rehabilitation programs with the hope that they will be granted early release.

I myself have been "burned" by some of these inmates who come out and seek services with the hope that I will argue their case in front of a parole board. But I think these are more the exceptions. I think there are many offenders who are genuinely interested in participating in programs, because it provides them with other benefits.

[Translation]

libération conditionnelle ait déclaré que le juge était trop sévère et que c'est la raison pour laquelle on anticipera un peu la libération.

On peut dire, d'une façon générale, que les Commissions des libérations conditionnelles ont servi d'une certaine manière à réduire la disparités des sentences, mais par hasard et non à dessein. Ce n'est pas là leur principal objectif. Mais la Commission canadienne sur la détermination de la peine, loin de féliciter les Commissions de libération conditionnelle d'avoir redressé certaines inégalités les en blâment.

J'aimerais maintenant aborder le deuxième avantage de la libération conditionnelle, celle de servir d'encouragement à la participation aux programmes ou, si vous me permettez d'employer ce mot, à la réadaptation. La libération conditionnelle est considérée comme un appât pour amener les délinquants à participer aux programmes de réadaptation, et un lien s'est établi entre les deux. Malheureusement, on a essayé de jeter le discrédit sur le lien entre la libération conditionnelle et la réadaptation, de séparer les deux notions.

Ces tentatives de jeter le discrédit proviennent de deux camps. Il y a d'une part les ennemis de la réadaptation, ceux qui pensent que c'est une fumisterie et que, si tout effort de réadaptation est vain, la libération conditionnelle, elle aussi, devrait disparaître. Toute la littérature basée sur la recherche, dont le mémoire de la Société canadienne de psychologie présente une synthèse qui a été résumée aujourd'hui par M. Andrews, montre clairement combien est absurde la notion que tout est vain. Il n'empêche que l'on continue à jeter le discrédit sur les programmes de réadaptation, et ce pour des raisons qui ont été évoquées par M. Andrews.

La deuxième tentative de jeter le discrédit sur le lien entre la libération conditionnelle et la réadaptation émane de groupes qui sont en faveur de la réadaptation, mais qui voudraient que la participation à ces programmes soit spontanée. Ces groupes considèrent en effet que la libération conditionnelle force les détenus à participer à des programmes de réadaptation. La libération conditionnelle, en raison de son caractère coercitif, devrait être abolie, d'après ceux-ci, ce qui amènerait les contrevenants à participer spontanément aux programmes. Personnellement, je vois mal en quoi la libération conditionnelle est un système coercitif parce que les détenus, pour obtenir leur libération, sont amenés à participer aux programmes. Je reconnais que certains détenus jouent le jeu de la participation dans l'espoir d'obtenir une libération conditionnelle anticipée.

Certains détenus ont effectivement essayé de me manipuler en demandant à participer aux programmes dans l'espoir que je plaiderais en leur faveur devant la Commission des libérations conditionnelles, mais ce sont là des exceptions. Un grand nombre de délinquants tiennent effectivement à participer aux programmes en raison des autres avantages qu'ils leur apportent.

[Texte]

I do not see anything wrong with the criminal justice system providing built-in rewards for programs, for people making progress within the system. Sometimes parole can also function as part of the rehabilitative program: sometimes there is only so much we can do within a prison setting, and the next step is to take what they have learned within a maximum-security institution and apply it under less security.

There is also the argument that we should leave prison rehabilitation programs running, but not give information about their participation to the parole board. The decision for making an early release should be based on non-program factors. I think that parole boards require such information, and there is evidence to suggest that offenders who participate in rehabilitation programs in prison, and who are granted parole, are much more successful in the community than those who do not participate in rehabilitation programs and yet receive parole.

The third benefit of parole—and this advantage you see more in the United States system—is the control of prison overcrowding. I think this point emphasizes the relations between different components of the criminal justice system. The prison population is under the control of a number of factors: crime in the streets, arrest probability, sentencing practices, and the like. These are factors that the prison system has no control over. They cannot refuse an inmate who is sentenced to a period of incarceration.

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If the prison population increases—and this is likely if we adopt a mandatory sentencing policy, according to some evidence from the United States—we are likely to achieve a situation of prison over-crowding, with all the consequences of cost, the treatment of offenders, and the management of offenders within these settings. Parole is one program that can operate as an early-release mechanism to control prison crowding.

The fourth advantage of parole, which is not addressed very often, is the inmates' need to be assigned to different levels of security and to different programs. This is called classification of inmates. We do it in the provincial setting. In the federal setting they have about six different categories. I would like to address this area in a little bit more detail, because this is the area of research I have been involved in for the last eight or nine years.

In the provincial system we can classify people, in terms of risk, in four major settings: maximum-, medium-, and minimum-security institutions; with half-way houses falling within the last of these. In our research

[Traduction]

Je ne vois pas pourquoi le système de justice pénale n'accorderait pas certaines récompenses pour la participation aux programmes. Il arrive que la libération conditionnelle constitue également l'une des facettes du programme de réadaptation, car il y a une limite à ce qu'il est possible d'obtenir dans un milieu carcéral et toutes les leçons apprises dans un établissement à sécurité maximale doivent, à un certain moment, être appliquées dans un régime à moindre sécurité.

L'autre argument souvent invoqué, c'est que nous devrions conserver les programmes de réadaptation mais sans informer la Commission des libérations conditionnelles de la participation de ceux qui se présentent devant elle. Toute décision de libération anticipée devrait être fondée sur des facteurs indépendants des programmes. Je crois que les commissions des libérations conditionnelles demandent cette information et certains chiffres démontrent que les délinquants qui suivent en prison des programmes de réadaptation et qui bénéficient de la libération conditionnelle parviennent beaucoup mieux à s'insérer dans la collectivité que ceux qui sont libérés mais sans avoir bénéficié de ces programmes.

La libération conditionnelle a également pour avantage, plus marqué aux États-Unis, d'empêcher la surpopulation carcérale et vous voyez là un exemple des relations entre différents éléments du système de justice pénale. La population carcérale dépend d'un certain nombre de facteurs: la criminalité dans les rues, la probabilité d'arrestation, les pratiques de détermination de la peine, etc., facteurs sur lesquels le système carcéral, obligé d'accepter toute personne condamnée à l'emprisonnement, n'exerce aucune influence.

Si la population carcérale augmente—ce qui est susceptible de se produire si nous adoptons une politique de sentences obligatoires, d'après l'exemple des États-Unis—nous avons avoir des prisons surpeuplées avec toutes les conséquences que cela entraîne: les coûts, la façon dont les délinquants sont considérés et traités dans un cadre pareil. La libération conditionnelle constitue l'un des programmes qui permettent, en diminuant la durée de la peine, d'empêcher la surpopulation des prisons.

Le quatrième avantage de la libération conditionnelle dont on parle relativement peu, est la répartition des détenus à différents niveaux de sécurité et dans différents programmes, répartition appelée «classification». Nous le faisons dans les établissements pénitentiaires des provinces. Dans les pénitenciers fédéraux, il existe six catégories. J'aimerais en parler un peu plus longuement, parce que c'est le domaine de recherche auquel je m'intéresse plus particulièrement depuis huit ou neuf ans.

Dans le système provincial, nous classons les gens, au point de vue des risques, en quatre catégories principales: établissement à sécurité maximale, moyenne et minimale, les foyers de transition étant considérés, selon le cas,

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we found that approximately 20% of inmates are being overclassified, or being placed in a security level beyond their requirements. I would like to make a special comment about the classification of inmates to half-way houses. My experience is in provincial settings. But I think some of the general points may apply to federal jurisdictions.

Half-way houses are viewed as programs within minimum-security designations in the province of Ontario. When we looked at a number of studies, we found that some low-risk offenders who appeared to be appropriate candidates for these half-way houses were simply not getting there. They were being placed in prisons, either medium- or maximum-security prisons.

So within our classification system, there is some disparity going on. Think of it this way: We have two minimum-risk inmates at the Ottawa Detention Centre. One goes to a half-way house and the other one goes to a medium-security prison to serve his sentence. There is unfairness there from the individual's viewpoint; there is disparity in classification outcome.

When we first reported these data, some critics asked me what I was worried about. The judge gave a sentence of imprisonment and that fellow went to a medium-security prison. The problem is that when we place minimum-risk people in prison settings, we may be doing more harm than good. Many of you are familiar with the theory that sometimes prisons are schools for crime. This may be true for low-risk offenders. When we looked at two groups of low-risk inmates—one that went to half-way houses and one that went to prison—the group that went to half-way houses had one year later a recidivism rate of 8.3%. The low-risk offenders who stayed in prison had a recidivism rate of 36%. If we are able to replicate this finding, it means that sometimes we may be generating our own business. We will be increasing the risk for crime.

We found that low-risk offenders in institutions were paroled at a much higher rate—80% were paroled. What had happened was that misclassification by the prison system was corrected by the National Parole Board. This serves as another safety valve to treat the inmates in the most efficient and fair manner.

If we abolish parole, as recommended by the Canadian Sentencing Commission, we may be removing the bottom card of a house of cards. This may affect different components of our criminal justice system. I am convinced parole has a number of positive functions. What we need to do is improve its practice.

[Translation]

comme établissement à prison minimale ou moyenne. Or nous avons constaté, au cours de nos travaux de recherche, qu'environ 20 p. 100 des détenus sont classés dans une catégorie de sécurité soit trop élevée, soit trop faible. Je voudrais ajouter, à propos de la classification des détenus dans les foyers de transition, que mon expérience porte sur les établissements des provinces, mais que certaines observations générales peuvent également s'appliquer aux pénitenciers fédéraux.

Les foyers de transition sont considérés comme opérant dans le cadre de programmes pour délinquants classés dans la catégorie à sécurité minimale. Et quand nous avons examiné plusieurs études, nous avons constaté que certains délinquants à faible risque, qui auraient pu être placés dans un foyer de transition, se trouvaient dans des prisons à sécurité maximale ou moyenne.

Il existe donc également une disparité dans notre système de classification. Imaginez la situation suivante, au Centre de détention d'Ottawa, nous avons deux détenus à risque minime, l'un est dirigé sur un foyer de transition, l'autre sur une prison à sécurité moyenne pour y purger sa peine. L'individu ressent cette injustice, à savoir la disparité dans la classification.

Lorsque nous avons annoncé pour la première fois ces données, certains critiques m'ont demandé où était le problème. Le juge avait condamné à l'emprisonnement et le détenu avait été envoyé dans une prison à sécurité moyenne. Le problème, c'est que lorsqu'on met en prison des gens à risque minime, nous ne leur faisons plus de mal que de bien. On a dû vous parler de la théorie selon laquelle les prisons seraient des pépinières de criminels. C'est probablement vrai pour les délinquants à faible risque. Quand nous avons examiné deux groupes de détenus à faible risque, l'un dirigé sur des foyers de transition, l'autre en prison, le premier groupe, un an plus tard, avait un taux de récidivisme de 8,3 p. 100, alors que le groupe qui est allé en prison avait un taux de récidivisme de 36 p. 100. Si ces conclusions sont confirmées, cela revient à dire que nous augmentons le risque de crime, et que le système engendre ses propres problèmes.

Nous avons constaté un taux élevé de contrevenants à faible risque qui ont bénéficié de la libération conditionnelle—environ 80 p. 100. Ainsi, la Commission nationale des libérations conditionnelles rectifiait l'erreur de classification commise par le système carcéral. Elle en quelque sorte une autre de sécurité et permet d'assurer aux détenus le traitement le plus juste et le plus efficace.

Si nous abolissons la libération conditionnelle, comme le recommande la Commission canadienne sur la détermination de la peine, nous risquons d'ébranler tout le système. Divers éléments du système de justice pénale pourraient être touchés. Je suis convaincu que le système de libération conditionnelle joue un rôle important à plusieurs égards. Il nous faut simplement l'améliorer.

[Texte]

My second theme is half-way houses, which have a number of advantages. First, they are cost-effective, much more than new prisons, particularly for minimum-risk offenders. Secondly, half-way houses may be the best environment for minimum-risk offenders if our goal is to control recidivism. Some evidence already shows placing low-risk offenders in half-way houses produces a significantly lower rate of recidivism than if we let these people serve their sentences in prison.

The third advantage of half-way houses is for high-risk offenders, and this a more problematic or contentious point. Many people remind us that sooner or later the high-risk offender will be released to the community.

I see the task of the criminal justice system as ensuring that this release will be associated with a decreased threat to society. How do we do this? Because of its attitude towards rehabilitation, the Canadian Sentencing Commission seems to rely on the deterrent effect of imprisonment. Future criminal behaviour by high-risk offenders is supposed to be controlled by sufficient punishment in prison.

This is an unrealistic expectation. First, evidence for deterrence programs in corrections is not particularly impressive. Secondly, as a psychologist, I cannot see how punishment will teach new behaviours to offenders. What many high-risk offenders lack are pro-social behaviours—how to work and how to get along with people in a pro-social manner. How will punishment teach them these behaviours?

If I take one of you and place you in front of a piano you have never played before and ask you to play Brahms's *Hungarian Rhapsody*, you will go ahead and hit those keys. Suppose every time you hit an incorrect key, I give you an electric shock. Is it going to teach you to play Brahms's *Hungarian Rhapsody*? I fail to see it will work, and yet this is what the commission is recommending: that punishment will serve to deter future behaviour and make these inmates pro-social citizens.

• 1025

Even if we reaffirm rehabilitation programs within prison settings and develop programs, they may still be inadequate in preparing high-risk offenders for the transition from a highly structured prison environment to the community with its corresponding lack of structure. People have recognized this as a problem for at least 100 years. The first half-way house was established in 1826; they have since been abolished and reinstated.

[Traduction]

Le deuxième élément que je désire aborder aujourd'hui est celui des foyers de transition qui présentent nombre d'avantages. Tout d'abord, ils sont économiques, beaucoup plus que les nouveaux pénitenciers, tout particulièrement pour les contrevenants à faible risque. En outre, ils constituent le meilleur milieu possible pour les contrevenants à faible risque si nous voulons vraiment endiguer le récidivisme. Des études révèlent que les contrevenants à faible risque en foyer de transition sont beaucoup moins portés au récidivisme que s'ils doivent purger leur peine derrière les barreaux.

De plus les foyers de transition présentent certains avantages pour les contrevenants à risque élevé; cependant cet aspect suscite une certaine controverse. Nombre de gens nous rappellent que tôt ou tard le contrevenant à risque élevé sera élargi.

À mon avis le système de justice pénale doit s'assurer que lorsqu'il est élargi, le danger qu'il présente pour la société sera moins important. Comment y arriver? La Commission canadienne sur la détermination de la peine, en raison de son attitude à l'égard de la réadaptation, semble s'en tenir à l'effet de dissuasion des peines d'emprisonnement. Les membres de la commission sont convaincus que le comportement criminel des contrevenants qui à risque élevé sera contrôlé par une peine d'emprisonnement suffisamment longue.

Voilà qui n'est pas réaliste. Tout d'abord, les résultats obtenus par les programmes de dissuasion dans le système carcéral ne sont pas très reluisants. Deuxièmement, à titre de psychologue je ne comprends vraiment pas comment la punition inculque de nouveaux comportements aux contrevenants. Le problème est que nombre de contrevenants présentant à risque élevé sont antisociaux; il faut donc leur apprendre à travailler et à s'entendre avec les gens. Comment peut-on leur enseigner tout cela en les punissant?

Si je demande à l'un d'entre vous de s'asseoir devant un piano, alors que vous n'avez jamais joué du piano, et que je vous demande de jouer la *Rhapsodie hongroise* de Brahms, vous allez donc taper sur les touches. Supposons que chaque fois que vous vous trompez, je vous donne un choc électrique. Est-ce que ces chocs vous permettront d'apprendre la *Rhapsodie hongroise* de Brahms? Pas du tout. Pourtant c'est ce que recommande la commission: que la peine serve à dissuader les contrevenants de récidiver et leur inculque un comportement social.

Même si nous relançons les programmes de réadaptation en milieu carcéral et même si nous mettons sur pied de nouveaux programmes, cela ne suffira peut-être pas à préparer les contrevenants à risque élevé à la transition, à passer d'un milieu carcéral très structuré à la liberté dans la société. Il y a déjà au moins 100 ans qu'on est conscient du problème. Le premier foyer de transition a été établi en 1826; depuis, ils ont été abolis et rétablis.

[Text]

The problem as I see it, in terms of half-way houses for high-risk offenders is that we are very poor in distinguishing between various levels of community based residences and in matching the offender to the appropriate residence. What we have now are half-way houses that meet minimum standards imposed by the government agency. These minimum standards may be quite adequate for the low-risk offenders I spoke about earlier but be very insufficient for high-risk inmates. We require specialized half-way houses that are more highly supervised and more highly structured, with more intensive programming specifically for high-risk offenders.

At present we do have houses like this. I have worked in the Ontario system and there are approximately 30 half-way houses. Some houses are very structured with a lot of intensive programming. However, we are lacking the matching of the high-risk offender to these houses. We have a matching base on availability in geographical location; we send our offender to the closest house, whether he is high risk or low risk.

This brings me to the final topic of offender risk assessment. In my presentation I see parole in half-way houses, on paper at least, as playing a very important role in the management of offenders. Yet recently we have been faced with a number of tragedies and I feel that these tragedies are, in part, a result of the translation of these worthwhile programs into practice.

Therefore, do we abolish these programs? Is this our solution? If we abolish these programs, do we ignore and deny the thousands of successes that have come through half-way houses in parole situations where offenders have gone into these programs and have become productive citizens.

My response, as you have probably guessed by now, is no. We need to work towards decreasing the number of failures, and I feel there are two ways of doing this. One way, as I mentioned before, is to develop a correctional system that includes parole in half-way houses that meet the needs of specific offenders. The other way is to use objective risk assessments. I understand the parole board has recently reported that it plans to adopt parole guidelines. I look forward to seeing the details.

In terms of risk assessment, it basically involves the collection of information about the individual and his situation as it relates to the risk for some future behaviour, whether it is the risk for rearrest or the risk for parole violence.

[Translation]

À mon avis, le problème qui se pose au sujet des foyers de transition pour les contrevenants à risque élevé c'est que nous n'arrivons pas à distinguer les différents niveaux de transition convenant aux différents contrevenants. Les foyers de transition respectent à l'heure actuelle les normes minimales imposées par les autorités. Ces normes minimales conviennent peut-être aux contrevenants à faible risque dont j'ai parlé tout à l'heure, mais elles ne sont pas du tout appropriées pour les détenus à risque élevé. Nous avons besoin de foyers de transition spécialisés où la structure et la surveillance sont meilleures, et qui offrent des programmes intensifs destinés aux contrevenants à risque élevé.

Il y en a à l'heure actuelle. J'ai travaillé en Ontario où il existe environ 30 foyers de transition de ce genre. Certains sont très structurés et offrent toutes sortes de programmes. Cependant, ce ne sont pas les contrevenants à risque élevé qui sont nécessairement envoyés dans ces foyers de transition. Les détenus sont envoyés là où il y a de la place dans une région donnée; nous envoyons les contrevenants au foyer le plus proche, qu'ils présentent un grave risque ou un risque très limité.

La dernière question que je désire aborder est celle de l'évaluation du risque que présente le contrevenant. À mon avis, la libération conditionnelle des détenus dans des foyers de transition joue, tout au moins en théorie, un rôle très important dans le contrôle des contrevenants. Pourtant, il y a eu récemment plusieurs tragédies qui, à mon avis, sont en partie imputables à la façon dont ces théories ont été mises en pratique.

Faut-il donc abolir ces programmes? Est-ce la solution au problème? Si nous abolissons ces programmes, faut-il faire fi des milliers de succès qu'ont remportés les foyers de transition? N'oubliez pas qu'un grand nombre de contrevenants qui ont participé aux programmes offerts par les foyers de transition sont devenus de bons citoyens.

Comme vous vous en doutiez peut-être, je pense que la réponse est non. Nous devons chercher à limiter le nombre d'échecs; à mon avis il existe deux moyens d'y arriver. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, on peut concevoir un système correctionnel qui offrirait la libération conditionnelle dans des foyers de transition qui répondent aux besoins des contrevenants. Le deuxième moyen d'y arriver consiste dans un système d'évaluation des risques objectifs. La Commission des libérations conditionnelles a récemment annoncé son intention d'adopter des lignes directrices en matière de libération conditionnelle. J'ai bien hâte d'en connaître les détails.

Pour ce qui est de l'évaluation des risques, il s'agit essentiellement de recueillir des renseignements sur le contrevenant et sur sa situation afin d'évaluer son comportement futur; il faut déterminer s'il a des chances de récidiver ou de commettre des crimes violents pendant sa libération conditionnelle.

[Texte]

[Traduction]

• 1030

Can we identify this information in a reliable manner? Can we predict criminal behaviour? I think the answer is clear-cut: Yes, we can. It is not perfect—and this is what we are criticized for, that we are not perfect—but we can predict to the extent that it is a significant improvement over our present methods of predicting future behaviour. Our present method is the use of clinical, personal judgment.

In the area of risk assessment, researchers now are not at all focusing on whether or not we can predict criminal behaviour. That is now given. It is now an empirical fact. Rather, we are looking at how we can best improve prediction, which methods are better, what type of information is needed, and what is the most efficient way of making our prediction.

Objective risk assessments not only can help us in making these prediction decisions, but also, I think, have some other advantages that are worthy of note. One is that they add a sense of fairness. They add consistency to the decision-making process. If a whole province or a whole country uses the same guidelines, the decisions are based on uniform variables. Instead of having a number of mini-boards, we have one board.

The other point I want to make was nicely illustrated by a recent interview on CBC's *The Journal*. About a month ago they did a special series on parole. They were interviewing a grandfather of a child who was murdered by a parolee, and the grandfather was saying he did not want to get rid of parole, but he would like to know the reasons for the decision. He wanted some accountability and wanted the reasons explicit. That is certainly provided by objective risk assessment instruments. The reasons for the decision are publicly observable. We know what the decision is based upon.

You may say to me that this looks very nice on paper. Is this another example of a theory and how good it is? What happens in practice? Can objective risk assessments make a difference? We have recently completed a study that I think addresses this question, in part. We had three institutions in the province in the study. Two institutions had objective risk data on the offender available to the staff. The other institution did not. It used the existing way of classifying offenders. We asked the two institutions with the risk assessment information whether, based on this information, they may want to consider placement into a half-way house. The other institution made no use of the data.

Pouvons-nous évaluer ces renseignements de façon fiable? Pouvons-nous prédire un comportement criminel? La réponse est évidente: oui. Le système n'est pas parfait—on nous reproche d'ailleurs de ne pas être parfaits—mais nous pouvons prédire cela de façon suffisamment sûre. Cela représente une amélioration marquée si l'on compare cela aux méthodes de prévision actuelle. En effet actuellement on se sert simplement que d'un jugement personnel et clinique.

Dans le domaine de l'évaluation des risques, les chercheurs ne s'occupent pas exclusivement de prédire le comportement criminel. Nous savons que nous pouvons le faire. C'est un fait empirique. Nous essayons plutôt de trouver des moyens d'améliorer ces prévisions, de découvrir de meilleures méthodes, de déterminer quels renseignements sont nécessaires, et quelle est la meilleure façon d'arriver à ces prévisions.

L'évaluation objective des risques peut nous y aider; de plus, à mon avis, elle présente d'autres avantages qui devraient être signalés. En effet, elle assure un certain sens de la justice et de l'équité; elle assure une relative cohérence des décisions; si toute une province ou tout un pays suit les mêmes lignes directrices, les décisions sont fondées sur des paramètres uniformes. Au lieu d'avoir toute une série de mini-conseils, nous avons une seule commission.

L'autre question que j'aimerais aborder a d'ailleurs déjà été discutée par bien des gens. Le meilleur exemple que je peux vous donner est celui d'une entrevue qui a été diffusée à l'émission *The Journal* de CBC. Il y a environ un mois, les journalistes ont fait une série de reportages sur la libération conditionnelle. Le grand-père d'un enfant qui avait été tué par une personne sous libération conditionnelle participait à l'entrevue. Il a dit qu'il ne voulait pas qu'on abolisse la libération conditionnelle, mais qu'il voulait simplement savoir pourquoi la décision de libérer cette personne avait été prise. Il voulait que les responsables de la libération conditionnelle aient des comptes à rendre et qu'ils justifient leurs décisions. Tous les renseignements utilisés dans le cadre de l'évaluation objective des risques le permettent. Tous ces renseignements sont rendus publics. Nous savons pourquoi la décision a été prise.

Vous me direz peut-être que c'est bien joli par écrit. Vous demanderez s'il s'agit d'un autre exemple d'une très belle théorie. Qu'est-ce qui se produira en pratique? Est-ce que l'évaluation objective des risques peut vraiment changer les choses? Nous venons de terminer une étude qui permettra de répondre en partie à cette question. Dans le cadre de cette étude, nous nous sommes penchés sur la situation qui existe dans trois établissements de la province. Dans deux de ces établissements, le personnel avait accès à des données objectives sur les risques présentés par un détenu. Dans le troisième établissement, ces renseignements n'étaient pas disponibles. Ce pénitencier utilisait les méthodes traditionnelles de classement des détenus. Nous avons demandé aux

[Text]

The institution that did not use the risk assessment device had a rate of half-way house placement of about 16%. That is the normal way they were operating. The institutions that used the risk assessment device had a half-way house placement rate of nearly 50%, a considerable improvement in directing people to a certain setting. You may ask so what? We can make a policy whereby if you have brown eyes, you are put in a half-way house. What happens? We have found, if we follow them up, that in this sample 100% were successful in their placement in the half-way house.

• 1035

The point I am making is that you can use a risk assessment device to direct people to half-way houses or an appropriate setting, and you can do it without increasing the threat to the community.

In conclusion, I believe the solution to the present disparities in sentencing and some of the personal tragedies lies not in abolishing parole or doing away with half-way houses, but rather in identifying their weaknesses and then trying to improve upon them. I believe the direction is to increase the resources and to match them to the appropriate offender groups and second, to adopt statistical risk assessment devices to help us make these decisions. On a positive note, I think there is considerable evidence to suggest that this could be a constructive agenda.

Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Dr. Bonta. I think you focused in detail on three issues that are clearly critical to the work of the committee, so it is very helpful.

Mr. Horner: I have listened very attentively to both your presentations. You make some very valid points, especially in your myths-and-facts situation, Dr. Andrews.

I want to talk about the areas Dr. Bonta spoke about. When he talks about parole, he says that parole will reduce sentence disparity. I will take your representation on that, but I doubt in my own mind if it is necessary. I think there are other ways of reducing sentence disparity.

I will also take your representation on coercing inmates to participate in programs, but I feel that if they do not participate on their own initiative, it is not going to do any good. We are told by correctional officers that if

[Translation]

responsables des deux prisons qui disposaient du système de renseignement si, en fonction des données disponibles, ils seraient prêts à envoyer certains détenus dans des maisons de transition. Le troisième établissement, ne l'oubliez pas, n'avait pas accès à ces renseignements.

Les administrateurs de la prison qui n'utilisait pas ces données envoyaient environ 16 p. 100 de leurs détenus dans des foyers de transition. C'était leur façon normale de fonctionner. Les deux établissements qui utilisaient le système d'évaluation des risques envoyaient près de 50 p. 100 de leurs détenus dans des foyers de transition, ce qui est quand même une différence marquée. Vous vous demandez peut-être tout ce que cela veut dire? Nous pourrions adopter une directive par laquelle ceux qui ont les yeux bruns sont envoyés dans des foyers de transition. Qu'est-ce que cela veut dire? Nous avons découvert, après avoir assuré un suivi, que tous ceux qui ont été envoyés dans des foyers de transition se sont bien adaptés.

J'essaie simplement de dire que vous pouvez utiliser un mécanisme d'évaluation des risques pour envoyer des gens dans des foyers de transition ou à l'endroit approprié, et que vous pouvez le faire sans accroître le danger pour la société.

Bref, à mon avis, la solution au problème de l'actuelle disparité dans la détermination de la peine et devant certaines tragédies n'est pas l'abolition de la libération conditionnelle ou la disparition des foyers de transition mais plutôt l'identification des faiblesses des deux systèmes. Il faudra ensuite essayer d'y remédier. Je crois qu'il faut accroître les ressources disponibles et envoyer les contrevenants aux foyers de transition appropriés; il faut ensuite adopter des méthodes statistiques pour l'évaluation des risques afin de prendre les décisions pertinentes. Je crois que tout cela serait fort utile.

Merci.

Le président: Merci beaucoup, monsieur Bonta. Vous avez étudié en détail trois questions qui intéressent tout particulièrement notre Comité. Vos commentaires ont été fort utiles.

M. Horner: J'ai écouté très attentivement nos deux témoins. Ils font ressortir certains points fort intéressants; tout particulièrement la question des mythes par opposition aux faits dont a parlé M. Andrews.

J'aimerais revenir aux questions abordées par M. Bonta. Il a parlé de la libération conditionnelle et il a dit que ce système permet de limiter la disparité des sentences. M. Bonta, vous avez droit à vos opinions, mais je dois reconnaître que je ne suis pas tout à fait convaincu que vous ayez raison. Je crois qu'il existe d'autres moyens de limiter la disparité des sentences.

Vous estimez également qu'il ne sert à rien de forcer les détenus à participer à des programmes; je pense cependant que s'ils n'y participent pas de leur propre gré, ce sera absolument inutile. Certains responsables des

[Texte]

there was not this coercion, they would not have anyone in the programs; they would not have a soul.

As far as parole being used to correct overcrowding, I also find that to be a poor way to handle things. However, I will accept everything you say about parole and what you say about half-way houses.

I want to zero in on the risk assessment. You give a lot of percentages. I find it very difficult, the same as the public does, to accept the failures. The failures, I think, are higher than you are stating. For instance, we have a prison population. We cut it down, and cut it down so only a few are accepted to go to half-way houses. It is a very small percentage. Then they go to a half-way house, and there are very few in the half-way houses. Last week our committee visited a half-way house, which will remain nameless. This was a situation where there were five clients in this half-way house. One of them walked out and committed a murder. That is 20% right there.

Where does this risk assessment come in? Somebody is falling down. We questioned the patients at this half-way house. We asked them if they had seen anything strange about this chap. Well, yes, they certainly did. They said he was paranoid. They said he sat in a corner and would not speak. They left him alone; they walked around him. One statement was that they thought he was weird. The patients left, and then the psychologists and case workers came in. We asked, since they worked with this chap, whether they noticed anything strange about him. No, he seemed perfectly normal, they said.

• 1040

Now, this is very strange to me. I find it perfectly normal that probably the criminal mind can spot these situations better than anyone else, but it all boils down to risk assessment, as far as I am concerned.

I believe parole might be fine. You make some very valid points. I believe half-way houses might be fine. But where do we get down to the risk assessment so we do not have these abysmal failures we seem to be having over and over again? We are told that one man in the penitentiary system can make an assessment. The chap goes to a half-way house, and you know as well as I know, he can walk out of there.

You talked about the provincial system. In the federal system can an inmate go directly from—and I should know this—a maximum security or a medium security to a half-way house, or must he cascade down to a minimum security before he can be accepted in a half-way house?

[Traduction]

services correctionnels nous ont dit que si on ne les forçait pas à participer au programme, personne n'y participerait. Il n'y aurait pas preneur.

Vous avez également dit qu'on se servait de la libération conditionnelle pour désengorger les pénitenciers. Je ne crois pas que ce soit la bonne solution. Cependant, je reconnais que tout ce que vous avez dit sur la libération conditionnelle et sur les foyers de transition est sans doute vrai.

J'aimerais parler plus précisément de l'évaluation des risques. Vous nous avez donné toutes sortes de chiffres. Comme le public, j'ai beaucoup de peine à accepter les échecs. Je crois qu'il y a plus d'échecs que vous ne le dites. Nous décidons de réduire la population carcérale et seul un faible pourcentage des détenus sont admis dans des foyers de transition. Un très faible pourcentage. Ils vont vivre dans des foyers de transition où les gens ne sont pas très nombreux. La semaine dernière notre Comité a visité un foyer de transition que je ne nommerai pas. Il y avait cinq détenus dans ce foyer. Un d'entre eux a commis un meurtre. Le taux d'échec est-il donc de 20 p. 100?

Qu'en est-il dans ces circonstances de l'évaluation des risques? Quelqu'un n'a pas fait son travail comme il le faut. Nous avons parlé aux résidents de ce foyer de transition; nous leur avons demandé si ce détenu qui avait commis ce meurtre semblait bien normal. Ils ont dit non qu'il était plutôt étrange. Ils ont dit qu'il était paranoïaque, qu'il s'asseyait dans son coin et qu'il ne parlait à personne. Ils le laissaient seul, et ils l'évitaient. Un des résidents pensait qu'il était franchement étrange. Après en avoir discuté avec les résidents, nous avons rencontré les psychologues et les responsables des cas. Nous leur avons demandé s'ils n'avaient jamais constaté que ce détenu était un peu étrange puisqu'après tout ils l'avaient rencontré à plusieurs reprises. Ils nous ont répondu qu'il semblait parfaitement normal.

Cela me paraît bien étrange. Je trouve tout à fait normal qu'un esprit criminel puisse repérer ces situations mieux que n'importe qui d'autre, mais en ce qui me concerne cela revient au problème d'évaluation du risque.

La libération conditionnelle peut très bien marcher. Vos arguments se défendent. Les maisons de transition peuvent avoir du bon. Mais à quel moment évaluons-nous les risques de manière à éviter les échecs retentissants qui nous arrivent régulièrement? On nous dit qu'une seule personne dans tout le système pénitentiaire peut faire une évaluation. Le type va dans une maison de transition et vous et moi savons bien qu'il est libre comme l'air.

Vous avez parlé du système provincial. Dans le système fédéral est-ce qu'un prisonnier peut passer directement—je devrais le savoir—d'un établissement à sécurité maximum ou moyenne à une maison de transition ou doit-il passer par un établissement à sécurité minimum avant d'y être accepté?

[Text]

Dr. Bonta: I am not sure because I am not very familiar with the federal system. I do not know if there is this cascading. But certainly when they reach that minimum point of mandatory parole, if the person is in a maximum setting, I imagine he would go directly to a half-way house for supervision.

Mr. Horner: That is fine, if he goes from a minimum. You talk about high risk and low risk. Do you believe half-way houses would not have these abysmal failures if they were only set up for people who had committed property crimes rather than personal assaults and crimes of this nature?

Dr. Bonta: I have some information to address that question about whether or not there is a difference in the risk according to the type of offence. My argument is the type of offence is just one measure of risk and should not be taken as the critical measure of risk. I will give you an example of this.

In one of our studies, where we attempted to divert low-risk offenders to half-way houses, we administered a very comprehensive risk assessment device, which not only looked at the type of crime and the criminal history, but also at a number of other factors: drug abuse, marital status, accommodation, background, and so on. In this study, we had in fact placed offenders who committed offences against persons: sexual assault, forcible confinement; even one offender with attempted murder. When we used this comprehensive risk-assessment device, we found our selections were correct, that all of these offenders were successful in their placement.

I am afraid that sometimes we tend to focus on the offence itself, and many times crimes against persons are correlated with other risk factors. We can very easily come across someone who is a middle-class person, 40 years old, has good job, who in a heat of passion commits a murder. Do we ask ourselves whether this is a high-risk offender who will go on a rampage if we release him? I think we need to consider other factors.

Mr. Horner: Are there particular types of criminal acts that indicate the person is more liable to become violent than others upon release? Can you take the criminal act for which they are currently incarcerated and correlate it to what you think might be?

Dr. Bonta: In general, it is not a powerful correlation.

Mr. Horner: Does the propensity of the violence vary with a whole lot of factors such as gender, age, childhood experience, social class, economic status and so on?

Dr. Bonta: I think Dr. Andrews should address this question because he developed the classification instrument we used, which touches upon all these factors.

[Translation]

Dr Bonta: Je ne suis pas certains parce que je connais très mal le système fédéral. Je ne sais pas s'il faut descendre les échelons. Chose certaine, le détenu d'une prison à sécurité maximum qui devient admissible à la libération conditionnelle d'office se rend directement en maison de transition.

M. Horner: Ça va s'il vient d'une prison à sécurité minimum. Vous parlez de risques élevés et de risques peu élevés. Pensez-vous que les maisons de transition ne connaîtraient pas ces échecs retentissants si elles étaient créées uniquement pour ceux qui ont commis des crimes contre la propriété plutôt que des agressions ou d'autres crimes de ce genre?

Dr Bonta: J'ai certains renseignements sur la question de savoir s'il y a une différence en fonction du type d'infraction. Selon moi, le type d'infraction n'est qu'une mesure du risque et ne devrait pas être le critère essentiel. Laissez-moi vous donner un exemple.

Dans une de nos études, nous avons essayé de placer les contrevenants à faible risque dans des maisons de transition et nous nous sommes servis d'un instrument très complet d'évaluation du risque grâce auquel étaient étudiés non seulement le genre de crime et les antécédents criminels, mais aussi un certain nombre d'autres facteurs: l'usage de drogues, l'état civil, le logement, le passé, et ainsi de suite. À cette étude, nous avons placé des contrevenants qui avaient commis des infractions contre la personne: agressions sexuelles, kidnapping, même quelqu'un qui avait fait un attentat à la vie. Cet instrument de mesure du risque a montré que nos choix étaient justes et chacun d'eux a réussi son séjour.

Je trouve que souvent on s'attarde trop à l'infraction elle-même et bien souvent les crimes contre la personne font l'objet d'une corrélation avec d'autres facteurs de risques. Il est très facile de rencontrer quelqu'un de la classe moyenne, dans la quarantaine, qui a un bon emploi, et qui tout d'un coup commet un crime passionnel. Est-ce que nous nous demansons si c'est un contrevenant à risque élevé qui risque de faire un massacre si on le relâche? Je pense qu'il faut considérer d'autres facteurs.

M. Horner: Y-a-t-il certains types d'actes criminels qui montrent qu'une personne qui risque plus que d'autres de devenir violent à sa relaxation? Peut-on se servir de l'acte criminel pour lequel ils sont incarcérés et établir une corrélation avec ce que vous pensez que ça doit être?

Dr Bonta: En général, la corrélation n'est pas très significative.

M. Horner: Est-ce que la tendance à la violence varie en fonction d'un grand nombre d'autres facteurs comme son sexe, son âge, sa jeunesse, sa classe sociale, sa situation économique et ainsi de suite?

Dr Bonta: Je pense que c'est M. Andrews qui devrait répondre à la question puisque c'est lui qui a conçu la grille de classement de ces facteurs.

[Texte]

Dr. Andrews: The level of supervision inventory, the LSI, samples criminal history, giving more weight to the number of prior convictions, problems on a prior parole or probation period, education, employment situations, including getting ratings regarding the quality of the satisfactions if one is employed. It looks at leisure recreation patterns, the current family situation, and attitude supportive of criminal behaviour versus more supportive of conventional alternatives.

• 1045

It is a rather comprehensive survey of information that can be obtained from interviews of the offender and the collaterals, which can be obtained from reviews of official records.

Mr. Horner: Let me get right down to the problem. We are talking about risk assessment. Is it your belief that the people who are assessing the risk of people going into half-way houses have the qualifications, the educational background, and everything else necessary to make the proper decisions?

Dr. Andrews: I think a very crucial element here is that there be an objective decision-making aid in the form of an instrument that everyone will be using, whoever is making the decisions. This provides a common base.

Mr. Horner: Are they all being used?

Dr. Andrews: I think what would be appreciated is a situation in which workers in a particular situation or making important decisions... this gives a consideration that they would have a risk assessment instrument available they would all make use of. They would also have, I think, professional discretion to be able to override certain recommendations that may go along with specific scores.

I would like to add a little extra on the training. I think it is not just a question of being trained to use a particular risk assessment instrument: how to conduct the interviews, how to approach collaterals, how to review the case records, and how to check off and count up to come up with a score. I do not think that is the only training required. I think we are much better off if we have workers who really do appreciate how the instrument was developed, and there really is a background there for putting a certain amount of confidence in the results, and there is also a training that suggests there are certain things we ought to be doing as a function of the scores on these sorts of instruments—an appreciation for the literature that exists and that says what we do matters.

I was interested in your statement that you were interested in the failures. There are going to be failures and there are going to be serious incidents. There just are going to be, when we are dealing with samples where a good number are a relatively high risk. There are going to be some serious incidents.

Mr. Horner: That is not going to help the family of Celia Ruygrok.

[Traduction]

M. Andrews: Ce test sert à échantillonner les antécédents criminels et à pondérer les crimes antérieurs, les difficultés survenues en période de libérations conditionnelles, l'éducation, les antécédents de travail, y compris le degré de satisfaction de l'employeur le cas échéant. Il examine les habitudes de loisirs, la situation familiale et les attitudes positives à l'égard d'un comportement criminel par rapport à une attitude davantage positive vis-à-vis des choix conventionnels.

Il s'agit d'un répertoire de renseignements assez complet que l'on peut obtenir en interrogeant le contrevenant et les parents et amis de ce dernier, et à partir d'un examen des dossiers officiels.

M. Horner: Venons-en directement au problème. Nous parlons de l'évaluation du risque. Vous croyez que les gens qui évaluent le risque de ceux que l'on envoie dans les maisons de transition ont des compétences, les antécédents pédagogiques et tout ce qui est nécessaire pour prendre les bonnes décisions?

M. Andrews: A mon avis, il est extrêmement important que la décision se fonde sur un instrument objectif que tous utiliseront. Cet instrument servira de point de départ commun.

M. Horner: Est-ce qu'ils sont tous utilisés?

M. Andrews: Les travailleurs qui sont dans une situation particulière ou qui doivent prendre une décision importante auraient à leur disposition un instrument d'évaluation du risque qu'ils pourraient tous utiliser. Ils auraient également, je crois, une marge professionnelle leur permettant de passer outre à certaines recommandations qui pourraient correspondre à certains résultats précis.

J'aimerais ajouter quelque chose au sujet de la formation. A mon avis, il ne suffit pas d'avoir été formé à l'utilisation d'un instrument particulier d'évaluation du risque: comment effectuer une entrevue, comment aborder les parents et amis, comment examiner les dossiers et comment analyser les données pour en arriver à une note. Je ne pense pas que cette seule formation suffise. A mon avis, c'est beaucoup mieux si les travailleurs savent vraiment de quelle façon l'instrument a été élaboré, s'il y a réellement lieu d'avoir une certaine confiance au résultat, et s'il y a également une formation qui suggère que nous devrions faire certaines choses selon les résultats obtenus grâce à ce genre d'instrument—que l'on tienne compte de la documentation qui existe et qui dit ce que nous faisons est important.

J'ai trouvé intéressant que vous reteniez aussi les échecs. Il y aura des échecs et il y aura de graves incidents. C'est inévitable lorsqu'on s'occupe de cas où très souvent, le risque est relativement élevé. Il y aura des incidents graves.

M. Horner: Cela ne va pas aider la famille de Celia Ruygrok.

[Text]

Dr. Andrews: That is a tragedy, there is no question, and tragedies will occur. The thing is that they occur relatively rarely. I think the function of systematic risk assessment, systematic assessments of needs, high-quality program decision making, trying to deal with criminals—the whole point of that is to try to reduce overall levels of criminal activity, and even the occurrences of these most serious, most tragic events.

Speaking generally, where risk assessments have been looked at in terms of their implications for future conduct, when the use of risk assessments is actually combined with specific programming decisions, not just conducting risk assessments for the purpose of conducting risk assessments, it seems to me there the evidence suggests that where there is the intensive programming, relative programming, for higher-risk cases, that is where we can see the reduction in the probability of future trouble. Locally, here in Ottawa, again, with two separate samples of probation, in two separate studies over a 10-year period, we see the high-risk probationers, under regular supervision, coming in with recidivism rates at about 60%.

When they are put into a more intensive program, we see those recidivism rates dropping to 30%. That is a substantial reduction. Crime is not eliminated among the high-risk cases who are put into intensive supervision, but it is certainly reduced.

I would add that those low-risk cases—and this is supporting one of Dr. Bonta's points—had relatively low recidivism rates, particularly when they were in non-intensive programs, where the controls and the amount of contact were relatively slight.

Mr. Horner: Did you say 8.3%?

Dr. Bonta: In the half-way houses.

Dr. Andrews: In the probation situation we are looking, with our low-risk cases, at about 7% recidivism under regular probation supervision, which is a very low level of supervision. You will see it go to about 14% when they go into more intensive levels.

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Dr. Bonta: May I add one thing? You mentioned something and I want to make sure I understand you correctly. Were you asking whether the staff in correctional centres use objective risk assessments?

Mr. Horner: Yes, I was. Let us take a prison population. Let us just suppose we have Joyceville. I do not know what the population of Joyceville is at the present time, but let us say it is 400. So they pick out of 400 a chap who has previously been convicted of a rape-murder and sentenced to 25 years. Whatever he was convicted of, he was in for 20 years or 25 years. It could not have been 25 years because that would be no parole.

[Translation]

M. Andrews: C'est une tragédie, cela ne fait aucun doute, et il se produira encore des tragédies. Cependant, elles sont assez rarement. La fonction de l'évaluation systématique du risque, des évaluations systématiques des besoins, des décisions concernant les meilleurs programmes, pour essayer de s'occuper des criminels—tout cela vise à réduire le niveau global d'actes criminels, et même de faire en sorte que ces événements très graves et très tragiques se produisent moins souvent.

Généralement parlant, lorsque les évaluations du risque ont été examinées du point de vue de leurs conséquences sur la conduite future, lorsqu'on allie réellement les évaluations du risque à des décisions précises sur le plan des programmes, lorsqu'on ne se borne pas à une évaluation du risque pour le plaisir, mais bien en adoptant en même temps un programme intensif pour les risques plus élevés, on peut constater une réduction quant à la probabilité des problèmes futurs. Ici, à Ottawa, après avoir effectué deux études distinctes sur une période de dix ans, nous constatons que le taux de récidivisme pour les libérés conditionnels à risques élevés sous surveillance régulière s'élève à environ 60 p. 100.

Lorsqu'ils sont encadrés par un programme plus intensif, le taux de récidivisme de ces personnes passe à 30 p. 100. C'est une réduction importante. Le crime n'est pas éliminé chez les cas à risques élevés qui sont placés sous surveillance intensive, mais il est certainement réduit.

J'ajouterais que le taux de récidivisme chez les cas à risques peu élevés—et je suis ici d'accord avec l'une des observations de M. Bonta—était relativement peu important, particulièrement lorsqu'ils sont placés dans des programmes non intensifs où il y a relativement peu de contrôle et de contacts.

M. Horner: Avez-vous dit 8,3 p. 100?

Dr Bonta: Dans les maisons de transition.

M. Andrews: En situation de probation, où le risque est peu élevé, le taux de récidivisme sous surveillance ordinaire, qui est un niveau de surveillance assez faible, est d'environ 7 p. 100. Ce taux passe à environ 14 p. 100 lorsque les contrevenants font l'objet d'une surveillance plus intensive.

Dr Bonta: Puis-je ajouter quelque chose? Vous avez mentionné quelque chose et je tiens à m'assurer que je vous ai bien compris. Avez-vous demandé si le personnel des centres correctionnels utilisait des évaluations objectives du risque?

M. Horner: Oui, c'est ce que j'ai demandé. Prenons par exemple la population d'une prison. Prenons par exemple le pénitencier de Joyceville. Je ne sais pas quelle est la population de Joyceville pour l'instant, mais disons qu'elle s'élève à 400. De ces 400 prisonniers, on choisit un type qui a déjà été reconnu coupable d'un meurtre avec viol et condamné à 25 ans de pénitencier. Peu importe de quoi il a été trouvé coupable, il passe 20 ou 25 ans en

[Texte]

But he was picked out of a population of 400 to go to a half-way house, and someone assessed him there. He went to the half-way house, and there were five patients in the house, and he was assessed there. They said they did not notice anything strange about him; they thought he would be fine. The other four patients who were there all steered clear of him and said they wanted nothing to do with this guy. But within 24 hours he walks out and murders. Then there has to be something the matter with the assessment.

Dr. Bonta: Okay, that is it exactly. It is an assessment. What I am talking about are objective risk assessment devices that have been validated in studies that have been statistically shown to be related to criminal conduct. The normal way of assessing people is that you sit down with the client and use your own judgment from information you gained from files and records, and you put that information together in some manner, which sometimes may be idiosyncratic, and then make a decision. What I am saying here is that objective risk assessments go beyond that; they add additional information.

I may sit down with an offender—and this has happened to me—work with the offender and then go to the half-way house board and suggest we put the guy into a half-way house, that I think he has really improved, and beside me I have an objective risk assessment indicating he is a high risk.

Mr. Horner: What I am saying, Dr. Bonta, is this. I might be the greatest con man in the world, and if I could come before you and con you into moving me into a setting where I could commit another crime, that is fine. But if you passed me to Dr. Andrews and I coned him, then... I cannot understand how these people go through so many steps and so many people and still can con them. There must be someone along the line who says, stop, this is enough!

Dr. Bonta: Either that person who says, stop, this is enough, has to be a tremendously acute interpersonally skilled person, or I think the solution lies in an objective risk assessment on which you can collect information that is not dependent upon this person's verbal presentation to you. What is lacking in many correctional agencies is an objective way of assessing the person.

Mr. Horner: Now we are getting to it. It is lacking.

Dr. Bonta: In my opinion, I think it is. It depends on the setting. In probation in the province of Ontario, they use the LSI to help them in their decision making. Currently in my own research we are looking at the classification in prisons to use the LSI. But it is not true throughout the country that, wherever you go, they will

[Traduction]

pénitencier. Il ne peut pas y avoir passé 25 ans, parce que cela éliminerait la possibilité de libération conditionnelle.

On l'a donc choisi parmi ces 400 prisonniers pour aller dans une maison de transition, et quelqu'un l'a donc évalué. Il est envoyé dans la maison de transition où il y a cinq patients, et là encore il est évalué. Selon l'évaluation, on ne remarque rien de spécial chez cette personne, on pense que tout ira bien. Les quatre autres patients ne veulent avoir rien à faire avec ce type. En moins de 24 heures, il s'échappe et commet un meurtre. Il doit certainement y avoir quelque chose qui cloche dans l'évaluation.

Dr Bonta: Très bien, c'est exactement cela. Il s'agit d'une évaluation. Je parle d'instruments d'évaluation objective du risque dont la justesse a été prouvée dans des études qui démontrent par des preuves statistiques qu'ils sont liés à une conduite criminelle. La façon habituelle d'évaluer les gens consiste à s'asseoir avec le client et à exercer son propre jugement à partir des renseignements recueillis dans les dossiers. Il s'agit d'analyser tous ces renseignements qui peuvent être parfois particuliers avant de prendre une décision. Je dis ici qu'une évaluation objective du risque va au-delà de cette analyse; elle ajoute des renseignements supplémentaires.

Il se peut que je discute d'abord avec le contrevenant—et cela m'est déjà arrivé—avant d'aller voir le comité de la maison de transition et lui proposer de transférer cette personne dans une maison de transition, en expliquant qu'à mon avis, il s'est réellement amélioré, même si l'évaluation objective du risque indique que le risque est élevé.

M. Horner: Voici ce que je veux dire, monsieur Bonta. Je suis peut-être le plus grand escroc du monde, et si je pouvais réussir à vous convaincre de me transférer dans un milieu où je pourrais commettre un autre crime, ce serait très bien. Mais si vous m'envoyez voir le D^r Andrews et que je réussis à le duper, alors... Je ne comprends pas comment ces gens peuvent franchir autant d'étapes, voir un si grand nombre de personnes et réussir à les duper. Il doit y avoir quelqu'un quelque part qui dise «arrêtez, ça suffit»!

Dr Bonta: De deux choses l'une: ou bien la personne qui dirait cela serait extrêmement perspicace, ou bien la solution, et c'est à mon avis la meilleure, serait une évaluation objective du risque à partir de laquelle on puisse recueillir des informations qui ne dépendent pas de ce que l'intéressé nous a raconté. Ce qui fait défaut, dans de nombreux organismes correctionnels, c'est une méthode d'évaluation objective.

M. Horner: Maintenant, nous y arrivons. Cela fait défaut.

Dr Bonta: A mon avis, oui. Cela dépend de l'environnement. En Ontario, pour les mises en liberté, on utilise le LSI pour prendre une décision. Actuellement, dans mes recherches, nous examinons la possibilité d'utiliser le LSI pour la classification dans les prisons. Mais il n'est pas vrai que dans tout le pays, où

[Text]

also use a risk assessment device. The National Parole Board does not use the recidivism prediction scale developed by the government in 1982. They do not use it routinely, to my knowledge, as part of their policy.

Dr. Andrews: I could not agree more. Assessments are not perfectly accurate. There is simply no question about it. But there is a degree of accuracy—

Mr. Horner: I believe the accuracy is not good enough.

Dr. Andrews: I think we would all certainly agree that we want to do a lot more work in the development of risk assessment, and there is lots of room for improvement. I guess our point is that there is something there. There is literature now that says we really can build on it. It is not impossible or hopeless; there is something there. Let us work on it and make it better.

• 1055

Mr. Horner: It is very difficult to tell the public you are working on it when there are abysmal failures like the Celia Ruygrok case. It is extremely difficult to tell people things are going to get better unless we can show them a concrete way in which this can be corrected. If you know of a way, I would appreciate your letting the committee know.

Dr. Andrews: I certainly do not know of any sure route to perfection. It does not exist.

Mr. Horner: I know no sure route, but if there are any tests being used that you think would be advantageous for the Correctional Service of Canada, I would like you to make them available to us.

The Chairman: Yes. Perhaps you could provide some of these objective risk assessment regimes. If they are on paper and can be provided to the clerk or the research staff, we can take a look at them.

Dr. Andrews: Certainly.

Dr. Bonta: There are certainly numerous assessment devices in the available literature.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Mr. Nicholson: Dr. Andrews, on page 11 of your paper you talk about the myth that risk levels are relatively fixed. You said age, gender, and ethnicity are indeed relatively strong risk factors. Tell us about ethnicity. From what you are saying, I take it you believe the ethnicity group you are born into determines the risk of whether or not you will eventually be engaged in criminal activity. Is that correct?

[Translation]

que l'on aille, on utilise également un instrument d'évaluation du risque. La Commission nationale des prévisions du récidivisme mise au point par le gouvernement en 1982. A ma connaissance, elle ne l'utilise pas régulièrement, dans le cadre de ses politiques.

M. Andrews: Je suis tout à fait d'accord avec vous. Les évaluations ne sont pas parfaitement précises. Cela ne fait aucun doute. Mais il y a un certain degré de précision. . .

M. Horner: J'estime que les évaluations ne sont pas assez précises.

M. Andrews: Nous serions certainement tous d'accord pour dire que l'évaluation du risque laisse à désirer et qu'il y aurait lieu de l'améliorer. Nous disons cependant que l'évaluation du risque est un outil important. Des études indiquent actuellement que cet outil est réellement un bon point de départ. C'est à nous de l'améliorer, ce n'est pas impossible ni sans espoir.

M. Horner: Il est très difficile de dire à la population que vous êtes en train de l'améliorer alors qu'il y a des échecs catastrophiques du genre de l'affaire Celia Ruygrok. Il est extrêmement difficile de dire à la population que les choses vont s'améliorer à moins que l'on puisse lui démontrer concrètement comment on peut corriger la situation. Si vous connaissez un moyen d'y arriver, je vous saurais gré de bien vouloir en faire part au comité.

M. Andrews: Je ne connais certainement pas de moyens sûrs pour arriver à la perfection. Cela n'existe pas.

M. Horner: Je ne connais pas de moyens sûrs, mais si vous connaissez certains critères qui sont utilisés et qui, à votre avis, pourraient être avantageux pour le Service correctionnel du Canada, j'aimerais que vous nous en fassiez part.

Le président: Oui. Vous pourriez peut-être nous faire part de certaines méthodes d'évaluation objective du risque. Si elles sont sur papier et que vous pouvez les remettre au greffier ou au personnel de recherche, nous pourrions les examiner.

M. Andrews: Certainement.

Dr Bonta: Il existe certainement de nombreux instruments d'évaluation proposés dans la documentation.

Le président: Merci beaucoup.

M. Nicholson: Monsieur Andrews, à la page 11 de votre mémoire, vous parlez du mythe selon lequel les niveaux de risque sont relativement fixes. Vous avez dit que l'âge, le sexe et l'ethnicité étaient effectivement des facteurs de risque relativement forts. Parlez-nous un peu de l'ethnicité. D'après ce que vous dites, je crois comprendre qu'à votre avis, le groupe ethnique d'une personne détermine le risque de participer ou non à des activités criminelles. Est-ce exact?

[Texte]

Dr. Andrews: It is really not one I am pleased to talk about, but yes, there is some evidence.

Mr. Nicholson: Tell us about it. Can you identify which ethnic groups they are?

Dr. Andrews: I would say natives are at a higher risk for criminal behaviour than non-natives in Canada. In the United States the data refer to blacks.

Dr. Bonta: I think I can make the point that there are risk assessment instruments that focus on fixed characteristics of the offender, things we cannot do anything about. Dr. Andrews's research points out that there are also risk assessment indicators that are dynamic, things you can do something about—things amenable to treatment. I think this is important if we are to develop a correctional system that truly responds to the needs of the offenders.

If you have a risk assessment device focusing only on fixed variables, we would say that once someone is a maximum risk, they are always a maximum risk. But if we collect information that is of a more dynamic quality, we can say that perhaps this intervention or treatment program can bring about a change to a lower risk level to the community.

Mr. Nicholson: I think he did make that point.

Dr. Bonta: Yes, but I really wanted to emphasize it.

Mr. Nicholson: Myth number eight is that treatment is evil, oppressive and really punishment. I have to admit I have heard a lot of testimony and I do not think I heard anybody say treatment is evil. Who are these people who are perpetuating this myth? I do not think they have showed up before the committee. We may get it later on, but who have been saying these bad things about treatment? Most people would agree that, in particular, treatment of sexual offenders and violent offenders is something to be applauded and encouraged.

Dr. Andrews: We can pick these phrases up in many textbooks, but I was most interested in references that occur in the report of the Canadian Sentencing Commission. I have one example here on page 116, but there is a whole series of them. The rehabilitation that occurs in the company of hypocrisy; crime of treatment; the rehabilitative ideal is self-defeating and begets nefarious consequences; we must not forget the bitter lessons of repressive care.

Mr. Nicholson: That is interesting. I think they make the point that it does not work as well as we had hoped.

[Traduction]

M. Andrews: Ce n'est pas vraiment avec plaisir que j'affirme une telle chose, mais oui, nous en avons la preuve.

M. Nicholson: Parlez-nous-en un peu. Pouvez-vous nous dire de quel groupe ethnique il s'agit?

M. Andrews: Je dirais que le risque d'un comportement criminel est plus élevé chez les autochtones que chez les non-autochtones au Canada. Aux États-Unis, le risque est plus élevé chez les Noirs.

Dr Bonta: Il existe des instruments d'évaluation du risque qui portent surtout sur les caractéristiques fixes du contrevenant, sur les choses auxquelles nous ne pouvons rien. Les travaux de recherche du D^r Andrews révèlent qu'il y a également des indicateurs d'évaluation du risque qui sont dynamiques, c'est-à-dire des caractéristiques que l'on peut changer, que l'on peut traiter. Je pense que c'est important si nous voulons développer un système correctionnel qui réponde vraiment aux besoins des contrevenants.

Si l'on a un instrument d'évaluation du risque ne portant que sur les caractéristiques qui ne changent pas, cela voudrait dire qu'une fois que l'on a établi qu'une personne était un risque maximum, elle le serait toujours. Mais si l'on recueille des renseignements de nature un peu plus dynamique, on peut alors dire que telle intervention ou tel traitement pourrait peut-être réussir à faire diminuer le risque pour la société.

M. Nicholson: Je crois que c'est ce qu'il a dit.

Dr Bonta: Oui, mais je voulais vraiment insister sur ce point.

M. Nicholson: Le mythe numéro huit est que le traitement est mauvais, oppressif et qu'en réalité c'est une punition. Je dois admettre que j'ai entendu de nombreux témoignages, mais je n'ai jamais entendu quiconque dire que le traitement était mauvais. Qui sont ces gens qui perpétuent ce mythe? Je ne pense pas qu'ils aient comparu devant notre comité. Ils se manifesteront peut-être plus tard, mais j'aimerais bien savoir qui sont ces gens qui disent toutes ces mauvaises choses au sujet du traitement. La plupart des gens reconnaissent que l'on doit approuver et encourager, notamment, le traitement des personnes qui ont commis des actes violents ou des actes d'agression sexuelle.

M. Andrews: Nous pourrions citer de nombreux manuels, mais je m'intéresse surtout à certains passages du rapport de la Commission canadienne sur la détermination de la peine. J'en ai un exemple ici à la page 127, mais il y en a de nombreux autres. La réadaptation qui se fait dans un contexte d'hypocrisie; le crime du traitement; la politique visant à faire le bien des gens contre leur gré est vouée à l'échec et peut avoir des conséquences pernicieuses; n'oublions pas les leçons amères des soins en milieu répressif.

M. Nicholson: C'est intéressant. Je crois qu'ils veulent dire que la réadaptation ne fonctionne pas aussi bien que

[Text]

Even is almost one step beyond that, but I accept your conclusion of what they are saying.

• 1100

Let me be provocative just for a second. I do not say I necessarily agree with this, but we had one witness come before us to say that no rehabilitation works unless we point out to the criminal and the criminal accepts for himself that he is the one to blame for his actions. He alone is to blame; it is not society and it is not his wife on his back and it is not alcoholism and it is not the group he was born into and it is not the level of education he received. It is not any of those external things. He either inside himself wants to change his criminal personality—that is all it is—or he will never fit into society and never be a law-abiding citizen.

As long as we perpetuate myths that somehow we are all collectively to blame, or it is because of the availability of alcohol, or that alcoholism is a disease, or we failed him in the school system—as long as we perpetuate those myths—we are never going to get to the root cause of criminal behaviour, which is a criminal personality found within the criminal himself. What do you think of those comments?

Dr. Andrews: Rather than use the term “criminal personality”, I think there is certainly something to the notion of criminal attitudes, values and beliefs. I think “criminal thinking styles” is perhaps a descriptive phrase.

When we look at what distinguishes between offenders and non-offenders and when we look at what will forecast or predict future criminal behaviour, you just see over and over again that assessments of attitudes, values and beliefs supportive of crime are associated with criminal conduct. Although we would like a lot more studies, I think it is fairly clear from the literature that with reductions in these pro-criminal attitudes, values and beliefs, when attitudes, values and beliefs do move in a more anti-criminal, pro-social direction, you see these drops in the chances of recidivism that come with such change.

Personally, in terms of my review of the literature, I think those attitudes, values, beliefs things are major, but I do not think they are the only thing. I think when you look at the literature you also see that indeed changes in associates, changes in drug use patterns, changes in employment situations, improving employment situations are also associated with reduced criminal behaviour.

Mr. Nicholson: Dr. Bonta, do you have any comment on that?

Dr. Bonta: Just to reinforce what Dr. Andrews said, we can certainly in a therapeutic relationship try to encourage the offender to accept responsibility and to admit he started this whole mess. But once he has

[Translation]

nous l'avions espéré. Il est exagéré de dire que le traitement est mauvais, mais j'accepte la conclusion que vous tirez de ce qu'ils disent.

Je ne dis pas nécessairement que je suis d'accord, mais un témoin nous a dit qu'aucune réadaptation ne pouvait réussir à moins que l'on dise au criminel et que le criminel accepte qu'il est responsable de ses actes. Il est le seul responsable; ce n'est pas la société, ce n'est pas sa femme, ni son groupe ethnique ou son niveau de scolarité. Ce n'est aucun de ces facteurs externes. Il doit vouloir intérieurement changé sa personnalité criminelle ou bien il n'aura jamais sa place dans la société et ne sera jamais un citoyen qui respecte la loi.

Aussi longtemps que nous perpétuerons le mythe selon lequel nous sommes tous collectivement responsables, ou selon lequel la possibilité de se procurer de l'alcool est la cause du problème, ou que l'alcoolisme est une maladie, ou que le système scolaire n'est pas adéquat—aussi longtemps que nous perpétuerons de tels mythes—nous n'arriverons jamais à la cause profonde d'un comportement criminel, c'est-à-dire la personnalité du criminel lui-même. Que pensez-vous d'une telle affirmation.

M. Andrews: À mon avis, on doit plutôt parler d'attitude criminelle, de valeurs et de croyances plutôt que de personnalité criminelle. Je pense que l'expression «style de pensée criminelle» décrit peut-être bien cette notion.

Si nous examinons ce qui différencie les contrevenants et les non-contrevenants, et ce qui permettra de prédire un comportement criminel, on constate à chaque fois que les évaluations des attitudes, des valeurs et des croyances qui encouragent le crime sont liées à une conduite criminelle. Bien que nous aimerions qu'un plus grand nombre d'études soient faites à ce sujet, je pense qu'il est assez clair à partir de la documentation connue que si l'on réduit les attitudes, les valeurs et les croyances pro-criminelles pour encourager davantage des attitudes anti-criminelles et pro-sociales, les risques de récidivisme diminuent.

Personnellement, j'estime que ces attitudes, ces valeurs et ces croyances sont importantes, mais ce ne sont pas les seuls facteurs dont il faut tenir compte. Les études démontrent qu'effectivement, des changements sur le plan des amis, de l'utilisation des drogues, et une meilleure situation d'emploi contribuent également à réduire le comportement criminel.

M. Nicholson: Monsieur Bonta, avez-vous quelque chose à ajouter?

Dr. Bonta: Pour appuyer ce que le Dr Andrews a dit, au cours d'un rapport thérapeutique nous pouvons certainement essayer d'encourager le contrevenant à accepter la responsabilité et à admettre qu'il s'est mis lui-

[Texte]

accepted that, it will not automatically reduce his dependence upon alcohol. That will not change a number of other factors.

Mr. Nicholson: Thank you very much for your comments.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Nicholson. Part of your paper, Dr. Bonta, dealing with half-way houses, refers to a suggestion of having specialized half-way houses for high-risk offenders. I wonder if you could elaborate a bit upon what the nature of such houses would be. How can we, as politicians in particular, satisfy constituents and people who would be living in these residential areas that these high-risk offenders are reasonably secured and that their safety is being protected?

Dr. Bonta: Before I describe what we may require, let me just preface my remark with mentioning that there are one or two studies in the United States that indicate that half-way houses that are highly structured, with a lot of rules and a lot of supervision, and who have accepted high-risk offenders, have decreased their recidivism rates compared with high-risk offenders who do not get the same kind of structure in half-way house placements. There is some evidence to suggest that a specialized house may be effective for these groups of offenders.

What kind of house would we need? I believe we would need a house that from a physical standpoint is secure and is well supervised. There are different ways of controlling offenders, I think. In a prison system, they talk about the hardware and the software problem. You can increase security by building a bigger wall or by building stronger bars. Or you can increase security by making staff more available, more around, more interacting with the offender. I think in a half-way house you can do that by having staff who are very interpersonally skilled, who can build a relationship with the residents so that if they deviate from the rules or the norms, it is not so much the walls that are keeping them, but that they are displeasing the residents and the staff.

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Now, I think there are very many other characteristics. They should have programming that addresses the needs of a high-risk offender, and typically many high-risk offenders will have multiple needs ranging from family problems to substance abuse and financial difficulties. A high-risk half-way house should have these programs available, or at least the community should have those services available and ensure that the people get to those programs.

Once again, I may open myself to the criticism that it is like coercion; that is, if they stay in the house and go

[Traduction]

même dans tout ce pétrin. Mais une fois qu'il l'a accepté, ça ne veut pas dire que cela réduira automatiquement sa dépendance envers l'alcool. Il y a un certain nombre d'autres facteurs qui ne changeront pas.

M. Nicholson: Merci beaucoup.

Le président: Merci, monsieur Nicholson. Monsieur Bonta, dans la partie de votre mémoire qui traite des maisons de transition, vous envisagez des maisons de transition spécialisées pour les contrevenants qui présentent un risque élevé. Pouvez-vous nous donner davantage de détails sur la nature de ces maisons de transition. Comment pouvons-nous, en tant que politiciens, convaincre nos électeurs et la population qui vivrait dans les secteurs résidentiels où se trouvent de telles maisons que les contrevenants sont en lieu sûr et que leur propre sécurité est assurée?

Dr Bonta: Permettez-moi d'abord de mentionner qu'une ou deux études effectuées aux États-Unis indiquent que le taux de récidivisme des contrevenants à risque élevé a diminué dans les maisons de transition qui sont bien structurées, où il y a de nombreux règlements et une bonne surveillance, par opposition aux autres contrevenants à risque élevé qui se trouvent dans des maisons de transition sans ce même genre de structure. Cela prouve donc qu'une maison spécialisée pourrait être efficace pour ces contrevenants.

De quel type de maison aurions-nous besoin? À mon avis, ce genre de maison doit d'abord être sûre et bien surveillée. Il y a différentes façon de contrôler les contrevenants. Dans un système carcéral, on parle du problème de matériel et de logiciel. On peut augmenter la sécurité en construisant un mur plus haut ou en installant des barreaux plus solides. On peut aussi augmenter la sécurité en faisant en sorte que le personnel soit davantage disponible et qu'il communique davantage avec le contrevenant. Je crois que dans une maison de transition, il est possible d'y arriver grâce à un personnel très compétent en matière de relations interpersonnelles, qui peut établir des rapports avec les résidents, de sorte que ce ne seront pas tellement les murs qui les empêcheront de dévier des règlements ou des normes, mais plutôt le fait de déplaire aux résidents et au personnel.

Ces maisons de transition doivent avoir de nombreuses autres caractéristiques. Elles doivent avoir un programme qui répond aux besoins d'un contrevenant à risque élevé et en général, ces personnes ont souvent des besoins multiples, qu'il s'agisse de problèmes familiaux, de toxicomanie ou de difficultés financières. Une maison de transition pour contrevenants à risque élevé devrait donc offrir tous ces services, ou, tout au moins, la collectivité devrait offrir de tels services et veiller à ce que ces personnes puissent y recourir.

Encore une fois, on me critiquera peut-être en disant que c'est de la coercition; c'est-à-dire que s'ils restent dans

[Text]

into these programs, they will get released. I would like to point out that, at least in my experience, sometimes offenders will come to seek out programming or therapy under coercive situations. They come to see me, they say, because the superintendent said that they are not getting out of segregation until they see the psychologist, but at least I have them. It is the therapist's job to motivate that person and to help that person see that he needs to make some very serious changes. These kinds of so-called coercive activities may work to the benefit of rehabilitation programs sometimes.

The Chairman: Would such a house really allow freedom of movement during the day, or would you consider the use of some kind of electronic monitoring devices as useful in this case?

Dr. Bonta: Well, I imagine there are a number of alternatives here. I think the degree of movement may depend upon the progress of the offender, the resident, where he is going and the like and how they are going to monitor him. Perhaps with the high-risk offender some electronic monitoring may work. It may work. Once again, I come back to this issue of risk level and assigning the appropriate level of services to their risk level. If we give electronic bracelets to minimum-risk offenders, I really question what it will do.

The Chairman: No, no, I am just talking about high-risk—

Dr. Bonta: Yes, with high-risk offenders, that may be feasible. I am not fully aware of the literature on its effectiveness with that group of inmates.

The Chairman: The alternative, I suppose—we had some testimony in Toronto last week on this—is to have intensive supervision, really one-on-one supervision, so that you would assign to a particular client two people on a 24-hour basis to be with him all the time.

Dr. Bonta: I believe there is a continuum on which we can assign our level of services. We can go to the very extreme of electronic bracelets and two people on one and so on. I think in most situations that is not required. If you require that much supervision, you probably should be in a prison.

The Chairman: This is really the fundamental problem for us as a committee. Personally as someone who believes in the notion of gradually integrating people into society, how do you apply that principle to a person who is still a danger to society—the person on mandatory supervision?

Dr. Andrews: What is the alternative? The alternative is just out of prison and straight into the community without any opportunities for supervision, treatment, and control.

[Translation]

cette maison et qu'ils participent à ces programmes, on les libérera. J'aimerais vous faire remarquer que, du moins d'après mon expérience, les contrevenants demandent parfois à participer à des programmes ou à une thérapie dans des situations de coercition. Ils viennent me voir, disent-ils, parce que le surintendant leur a dit qu'ils ne sortiraient de leur isolement que s'ils voient un psychologue, mais cela me permet au moins de les voir. C'est le travail du thérapeute de motiver cette personne et de l'aider à se rendre compte qu'elle a besoin de faire des changements très importants. Ce genre d'activités dites coercitives peuvent favoriser les programmes de réadaptation.

Le président: Une telle maison permettrait-elle réellement à cette personne de se déplacer librement pendant la journée, ou considérez-vous qu'un appareil de surveillance électronique pourrait être utile?

Dr Bonta: J'imagine qu'il y a plusieurs possibilités. Je pense que la liberté de déplacement et le mode de surveillance dépendront des progrès accomplis par le contrevenant. Il est possible qu'une surveillance électronique soit une bonne solution dans le cas d'un contrevenant à risque élevé. Cela pourrait fonctionner. Encore une fois, je reviens au niveau du risque et à celui des services adaptés à ce risque. Je doute fort qu'il serait utile de faire porter des bracelets électroniques aux contrevenants à risque minimum.

Le président: Non, je parlais seulement des contrevenants à risque élevé. . .

Dr Bonta: Oui, dans le cas des contrevenants à risque élevé, ce serait possible. Je ne connais pas toutes les études sur l'efficacité de ces appareils pour ce groupe de détenus.

Le président: L'autre possibilité, je suppose—et nous avons entendu des témoignages à Toronto la semaine dernière à ce sujet—consiste à avoir une surveillance individuelle et intensive, de sorte que tel contrevenant se verrait attribuer deux personnes qui devraient être avec lui 24 heures sur 24.

Dr Bonta: Je pense que l'on peut déterminer le niveau du service selon un continuum. Nous pouvons pousser à l'extrême avec les bracelets électroniques et deux personnes pour surveiller le contrevenant, etc. Mais dans la plupart des cas, ce n'est pas nécessaire. Si le contrevenant exige une telle surveillance, il devrait sans doute être en prison.

Le président: Voilà en réalité le problème fondamental pour notre comité. Personnellement, je crois à la notion de réinsertion progressive des gens dans la société. Mais comment pouvons-nous appliquer ce principe à une personne qui représente toujours un danger pour la société—la personne qui est sous surveillance obligatoire?

M. Andrews: Quelle est l'autre possibilité? L'autre possibilité consiste à lui faire réintégrer tout de suite la société dès qu'il sort de prison sans qu'il ait eu la possibilité d'être surveillé, traité et contrôlé.

[Texte]

The Chairman: I know, but at least he is in prison longer and he is not a threat to society during that period of time. I find this issue personally troubling. I wish there were better answers. In this community, for example, is there a facility that in your professional opinion can handle offenders who are violent, based not only on the offence or offences they committed but also on current psychiatric and risk assessment of them.

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Dr. Bonta: At the federal level, I am afraid I cannot comment. At the provincial level, our half-way house system is built upon four different levels of half-way houses, ranging by degrees of security and supervision and practices. At the lowest level we have half-way houses that you may consider basically room and board; they go there and then they go out to work, which may be just ideal for our very low-risk offenders. Then we have level 4 houses where the staff may all be college and university trained in the human sciences; there is a lot more supervision; every time they go out they are checked; they are phoned at work to see if they are there, and so on.

Such a system can be built identifying the exact components for each level. That is another task. To my knowledge, in the North American half-way house literature there is no documentation on what is required at the different levels.

The Chairman: Really? I find that appalling actually—certainly surprising, in any event.

At a certain point of intensive supervision, do you not lose the utility of the half-way house experience for reintegrating, because it is really just another prison, if people are so intensely supervised and under so many rules and regulations, and it is not much adaptation at all to society? Is that not the other risk?

Dr. Bonta: It depends upon the house, but if you place somebody in the community into even a very structured house then you also have different expectations for the person from those you would have if he remained in prison. You may have expectations that he seeks employment or strives towards that, which in the prison system they just cannot have. You may have expectations to open a bank account, to learn to save. At least in that kind of a setting they are starting to learn the pro-social behaviours and some of the values that may mitigate future criminal activity.

The Chairman: I guess you did not answer the question about the Ottawa situation. Is there—

Dr. Bonta: In Ottawa, not to my knowledge.

[Traduction]

Le président: Je sais, mais au moins, il reste en prison plus longtemps, et pendant ce temps, il ne menace pas la société. Personnellement, je trouve cette question troublante. J'aimerais bien qu'il y ait de meilleures réponses. Dans notre quartier, par exemple, il existe une maison qui, d'après notre opinion professionnelle, peut s'occuper de contrevenants dits violents, non seulement selon le degré de violence de l'infraction commise, mais également en se fondant sur une évaluation psychiatrique et une évaluation du risque.

Dr Bonta: Sur le plan fédéral, je ne puis commenter. Sur le plan provincial, nous avons quatre niveaux différents de maison de transition, selon le degré de sécurité, de surveillance et selon les pratiques. Au niveau le plus bas, les maisons de transition offrent essentiellement le gîte et le couvert; les contrevenants qui s'y trouvent peuvent sortir pour aller travailler, ce qui peut-être la formule idéale pour nos contrevenants à risque très peu élevé. Nous avons ensuite les maisons de transition de niveau quatre où tout le personnel a reçu une formation collégiale et universitaire en sciences humaines; la surveillance y est beaucoup plus grande; chaque fois qu'ils sortent, on les vérifie; on leur téléphone au travail pour vérifier s'ils s'y trouvent. etc.

Un tel système peut être élaboré en déterminant les éléments précis pour chaque niveau. Il s'agit d'une autre tâche. A ma connaissance, il n'existe aucune documentation nord-américaine sur les éléments qui sont nécessaires aux différents niveaux.

Le président: Vraiment, je trouve cela réellement étonnant.

Lorsqu'on atteint un certain degré de surveillance intensive, la maison de transition ne devient-elle pas inutile sur le plan de la réintégration, puisqu'il s'agit en réalité tout simplement d'une autre prison, si les gens font l'objet d'une surveillance aussi intense et doivent se soumettre à un si grand nombre de règles, il ne s'agit plus d'une adaptation à la société? Ne court-on pas cet autre risque?

Dr Bonta: Cela dépend de la maison, mais si l'on place un contrevenant dans une maison très structurée dans une collectivité, on attend de cette personne quelque chose de différent de si elle était restée en prison. On pourrait s'attendre à ce qu'elle essaie de trouver un emploi, ce qu'elle ne pourrait faire si elle était restée en prison. On pourrait s'attendre à ce qu'elle ouvre un compte de banque, à ce qu'elle apprenne à épargner. Ce genre d'environnement lui permet au moins de commencer à apprendre des comportements prosociaux et certaines des valeurs qui pourraient réduire les possibilités d'activités criminelles futures.

Le président: Vous n'avez pas répondu à la question au sujet de la situation à Ottawa. Y a-t-il. . .

Dr Bonta: À Ottawa, pas à ma connaissance.

[Text:]

The Chairman: Thank you very much, both of you, for coming today. It was a very useful meeting for the committee. You dealt with a lot of difficult issues. There are not a lot of easy answers to them—that is clear—but it has been helpful.

There may be some questions to which you could respond in writing to the research staff. They can talk to you about it later.

Dr. Bonta: Thank you.

The Chairman: This meeting stands adjourned to the call of the Chair.

[Translation]

Le président: Je remercie les deux témoins d'être venus ici aujourd'hui. Cette séance a été très utile au Comité. De nombreuses questions difficiles ont été posées. Il est certain qu'il n'existe pas de réponse facile à ces questions, mais cet échange a été très utile.

Il y a peut-être certaines questions auxquelles vous pourriez répondre par écrit à nos recherchistes. Ils pourront vous en parler plus tard.

Dr Bonta: Merci.

Le président: La séance est levée.

Classification for Effective Rehabilitation: Rediscovering Psychology

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Abstract

Four principles of classification for effective rehabilitation are reviewed: risk, need, responsivity, and professional override. Many examples of Case X Treatment interactions are presented to illustrate the principles.

Classification for Effective Rehabilitation: Rediscovering Psychology

Principles of classification for rehabilitation describe how particular classes of offenders may be linked with particular classes of discretionary service so that effectiveness of service is enhanced. "Effectiveness" has to do with achieving reductions in recidivism, "classes of offenders" refers to preservice differentiations based on the person and circumstances of offenders, and "discretionary service" refers to direct correctional service such as supervision, counselling, training and treatment. The purpose of this paper is to review four principles of classification for rehabilitation within the context of basic research and theory in the psychology of criminal conduct.

Risk of recidivism, criminogenic need and the responsivity of offenders to different service options are the characteristics of offenders that may determine level, targets, and type of rehabilitative effort. The fourth principle has to do with the responsibility of professionals to step beyond routine application of risk, need and responsivity when circumstances so warrant. The four principles are summarized as follows:

- 1) Risk: Higher levels of service are reserved for higher risk cases. In brief, intensive service is reserved for higher risk cases because they respond better to intensive service than they do to less intensive service, while lower risk cases do as well or better with minimal as opposed to more intensive service.

- 2) Need: Targets of service are matched with the criminogenic needs of offenders. "Criminogenic needs" are case characteristics

that, when influenced, are associated with changes in the chance of recidivism. If reduction in the chances of recidivism is an ultimate goal, the more effective services are those that set reduced criminogenic need as an intermediate target of service.

3) Responsivity: Styles and modes of service are matched to the learning styles and abilities of offenders. A professional offers a type of service that is matched not only to criminogenic need but to those attributes and circumstances of cases that render cases likely to profit from that particular type of service.

4) Professional override: Having considered risk, need and responsivity, decisions are made as appropriate under present conditions.

Before reviewing these principles in detail, however, the principles must be planted firmly within the psychology of criminal conduct. If the analysis of rehabilitation does not occur within a favorable intellectual framework, the anti-rehabilitation rhetoric of mainstream criminology will continue to retard progress.

Psychology of Criminal Conduct

The psychology of criminal conduct provides a stimulating and facilitative home for the analysis and development of rehabilitation. Unfortunately for the development of rehabilitation, the psychology of criminal conduct has been dicounted for years within major portions of mainstream criminology (Andrews & Wormith, in press). This is obvious when the objectives and assumptions of psychology and mainstream criminology are compared. Comparisons are made below with regard to focus (choice of dependent variable), choice of independent variables,

and the roles afforded clinical service and systematic empirical research. First, the psychology of criminal conduct is concerned with understanding variation in the criminal conduct of individuals (e.g., recidivism), while mainstream criminology is preoccupied with aggregated crime rates, law and order, and overcoming structured inequality in the distribution of societal wealth and power (for examples, see: Barlow, 1986; Canada, 1987; Cohen, 1985; Maclean, 1986; Martinson, 1976; Schur, 1973; Taylor, Walton & Young, 1973; Vold & Bernard, 1986). Second, psychology seeks knowledge of the full range of biological, personal, interpersonal, circumstantial and structural/cultural covariates of criminal conduct, while the thrust of mainstream criminological theory and criticism -- from the beginning (see Hirschi & Hindelang, 1977) and through current textbooks (see Andrews & Wormith, in press) -- has been to deny and discount the importance of risk and need factors at the individual level. Third, the psychology of crime is open to and has experience with the clinical tradition in general psychology, while vast sections of mainstream criminology accept that clinical service is ineffective, perhaps "evil," and certainly not as powerful or as dignified as punishment.¹ Finally, psychology endorses knowledge construction wherein an unsparing identification of potential errors in the establishment of covariates leads to the actual exploration of the effects of errors of conceptualization and errors of measurement. In contrast, and with the anti-differentiation and anti-treatment biases that exist within criminology, failures to establish covariation are

there accepted as unthreatened evidence that we know nothing about individual criminal conduct, while research revealing covariation is subjected to intense criticism of a variety in which all potential threats to validity are asserted to indicate that we know very little (Andrews & Wormith, in press; Gottfredson, 1979).

We do not mean to imply that psychology has been free of tension. From the perspective of professional training, psychology has been at best neutral if not adverse to the notion of training clinical and social psychologists in the criminal justice area. Promising university programs are appearing (Ogloff, 1988), but many factors within general psychology have inhibited the interest of clinicians and researchers in rehabilitation. For example, a human propensity for antisocial conduct is central to psychoanalytic theory, and yet many psychodynamic theorists are more interested in neurotic misery than conduct disorder. It as if the early familial, personality and situational sources of antisocial behaviour were so obvious to psychoanalysts -- parents as poor models, poor trainers and poor objects of identification; low levels of guilt; early and generalized misconduct; poor impulse control -- that they focused on the more esoteric and "deep" intra-psychic factors. On the other hand, humanists reacted against the idea that antisocial behavior was natural in the absence of controls, suggesting instead that antisocial behavior reflected the operation of controls and other inhibitors of natural goodness. Thus, humanistic therapists too focused on freeing human potential rather than predicting or influencing antisocial propensity.

Certain anti-assessment themes are also apparent in the clinical tradition. Our psychodynamic colleagues ask: "What is this risk / need stuff anyway, why not rely on DSM diagnoses like we do?" The humanists ask: "Why do you bother with assessment when we know that all clients will profit from openness, warmth and understanding?" Even within the field of general psychotherapy research, the potential of assessments of risk are often misunderstood. Until very recently, reviews of the predictors of outcome within therapy samples frequently left readers with the false impression that only low risk cases "profited" from service. As we shall soon see (in Table 3), an answer to the question of "who profits from service" requires comparisons not within but between treatment groups at each level of risk.

With the above caveats in mind, a psychological "understanding" of criminal conduct is crucial to effective correctional programming. The major sources of variability in recidivism reside within the conditions established by the specifics of a sentence, and there we may identify and gain some influence over "factors that make a difference" (Andrews, 1982a). These important factors include preservice characteristics of offenders, specifics of the process and content of services planned and delivered, intermediate changes that occur in the person and circumstances of individual offenders, and their interactions on recidivism (Andrews & Kiessling, 1980; Andrews, 1980, 1983; Glaser, 1974; Hoge & Andrews, 1986; Palmer, 1974; Warren, 1969).

A psychological understanding involves knowledge of the covariates of criminal conduct and of the moderators and mediators of that

covariation. The covariates may be correlates of a criminal past (uncovered through cross-sectional research), static predictors of a criminal future (uncovered through univariate longitudinal research), dynamic predictors of a criminal future (established by studies of change in multiwave longitudinal research), and functional variables (identified through approximations of experimental ideals). Thus, the risk and need principles draw upon psychology for knowledge of predictors and dynamic predictors respectively. The responsivity principle depends upon knowledge of how different modes or styles of behavioural influence may be differentially effective with different types of people. The override principle recognizes that empirically-based decision making is, by definition, based on existing evidence, and that special conditions having to do with settings, offenders, workers and managers may render that extant data base less relevant than it is under routine conditions. Here the professional moves beyond routine practice for specified reasons.

Interest in "differential treatment" or "matching" has grown in the last decade. This is true in human service generally (Beutler, 1979) and is particularly true in corrections as revealed by many detailed expositions and "state of the art" reviews. Noteworthy are edited books on the topic (e.g. Gottfredson & Tonry, 1987), special issues of journals (Crime and Delinquency, July 1986; Criminal Justice and Behavior, March 1988), and handbooks (eg., Clements, 1986). The remainder of present paper builds on those earlier reviews and we find effective service to be a function of risk, need and responsivity. It

is unfortunate that state of the art reviews (e.g., Sechrest, 1987; Posey, 1988; Farrington & Tarling, 1985) continue to imply that risk assessments are somehow limited to "management" concerns and only indirectly relevant to "treatment."

The Risk Principle

Two aspects of the risk principle require discussion: prediction and matching. The assessment of risk and the prediction of recidivism have received most attention from researchers, while matching has only recently begun to receive the attention it requires.

The Prediction Issues

Prediction involves assessment of risk factors. Risk factors refer to personal attributes and circumstances that are assessable prior to service and are predictive of future criminal behavior. Our specification of factors assessable prior to service indicates that we focus here on univariate prediction (that is, Time 1 predictor scores in relation to assessments of subsequent criminal behavior).

Contrary to anti-differentiation rhetoric in mainstream criminology, general offender samples may be sorted into risk categories with significant levels of predictive criterion validity. This has been evident from the earliest days of systematic research on the issue (see Briggs & Wirt, 1965, for a review of pioneering British and U.S. studies). For example, Burgess (1928) scored 3,000 paroled men on 21 variables and found scores to be highly related to outcome (e.g., in the best risk category only 1.5% violated parole compared with 76% in the poorest risk category). Similarly, the Gluecks (1930) found seven

variables producing highly efficient predictions. More recently, as inspection of the first two columns of Table 1 reveals, a number of classification systems have shown predictive criterion validity, some in relation to both inprogram and postprogram indicators of antisocial behavior. The papers cited in Table 1 will introduce the classification systems to readers unfamiliar with them, but we are not going to review each system here. Rather, inspection of Table 2 reveals the levels of predictive accuracy that are now routinely achieved when the base rates of recidivism are in the 30% to 60% range. The facts regarding the predictability of recidivism have resided in psychology for decades! Sophisticated meta-analyses recently have served to confirm the conclusions of early investigators (e.g., Loeber & Dishion, 1983).

Insert Tables 1 and 2 about here

Future efforts. Three directions of effort are indicated regarding preservice risk assessments. The first involves education and training of professionals in the facts regarding prediction in corrections. It is an unacceptable situation that many professionals and students in criminal justice are unaware of basic research on prediction. Reflecting the content of mainstream criminological textbooks, many professionals appear to know many "reasons" why prediction is impossible and yet are unaware of the actual data. In our consultation and training experiences, we are amazed to discover the many professionals and senior students who have never actually seen simple

contingency tables that document how risk levels relate to recidivism rates. Training should also compare directly the pseudo-scientific knowledge destruction techniques so widespread in criminology textbooks (see Andrews & Wormith, in press) with the more intellectually serious business of reviewing threats to validity for purposes of knowledge construction. Training should also attend to the value of systematic assessment as a prerequisite to clinical decision making -- statistical-based predictions have been found to be as good or better than clinical prediction (Meehl, 1954; Glaser, 1987), yet systematic risk assessment is resisted or, following short-term acceptance, slowly reverts to unsystematic assessment.

The second effort involves refinement of extant instruments such as the Wisconsin (Baird, Heinz & Bemus, 1979), Recidivism Prediction (Nuffield, 1982) and LSI (Andrews, 1982b) in the areas of user-convenience, contextual appropriateness, efficiency, ethicality, "different versions for different folks", and the differential predictability of different types of offences (prediction of violence remains high priority).

The third effort is ultimately more important than the first two. Here, the task is to explore the upper limits of predictive accuracy. Into the late 1970s it was widely believed that the .30 / .40 "sound barrier" could not be broken (Monahan, 1981). Now definite improvements in predictive accuracy are possible when we move beyond mere fine-tuning of current practice. Current limits on univariate prediction may be traced to inappropriate sampling of the predictor domain through errors of conceptualization, and inadequate sampling of both predictor

and criterion domains through errors of measurement (Andrews, Wormith & Kiessling, 1985; Glaser, 1987).

With reference to errors of conceptualization, the predictability of recidivism may be increased through inclusion of the personal, interpersonal and circumstantial variables suggested by psychodynamic (eg., the Gluecks, 1950), control (eg., Hirschi, 1969), and social learning (Akers, 1973; Andrews, 1980; Ross & Fabiano, 1985) theory, and the exclusion of those variables having to do with social origins that are the heart of anomie and subcultural theories. The empirical fact is that class of origin and constructs such as alienation and strain cannot bear the weight they have been assigned in anomie and subcultural theory (Tittle, Villimez & Smith, 1978; Hirschi, 1969; Johnson, 1979; Andrews, Wormith & Kiessling, 1985; Zamble & Porporino, 1988). Rather, the upper limits of the predictive criterion validity of risk assessments reside in the five key indicators of antisocial propensity: antisocial behavior, antisocial feelings, antisocial cognitions, antisocial personality and antisocial associates. A history of antisocial behavior is best assessed broadly in terms of a variety of antisocial acts, evident in a variety of settings, from a young age and extending into adolescence (Loeber, 1982). Look too for antisocial activity resulting in official processing, and even continuing while official penalties are being served (Loeber & Dishion, 1983; Loeber, 1982; Andrews, Wormith & Kiessling, 1985); see content of risk scales cited in Table 1). Assessments of antisocial personality, feelings, cognitions, and associates are indicated that

do not rely heavily upon the already sampled facts of a self-reported or official criminal history (Andrews, et al., 1985, 1986; Motiuk, Bonta & Andrews, 1986). Other candidates include unstable employment record/poor academic achievement, and, among young people, conflicts with parents and exposure to poor parenting (Loeber & Dishion, 1983; Andrews, 1983).

With reference to errors of measurement, at least two actions are indicated: a) multimethod and multidomain assessments of predictor variables and b) multimethod assessments of the criterion variable over extended follow-up periods (Andrews, 1983; Andrews, Wormith & Kiessling, 1985). Psychology also demands explorations of construct validity in which various methods of risk assessment are explored in studies yielding convergent, divergent and predictive validity estimates (Andrews, 1983; Andrews, Kiessling, Mickus & Robinson, 1986; Motiuk, Bonta & Andrews, 1986).

The Matching Issue

On the basis of their cross-sectional research in the 1940s, the Gluecks (1950) were among the first to suggest that the purpose of systematic risk assessments was to identify those high risk cases who required intensive service. Inspection of column three of Table 1 reveals that risk assessments conducted with some instruments have been found to interact with service variables. Table 3 presents some concrete illustrations of the interaction of Risk and Level of Service across various measures of risk, types of service, measures of outcome, and types of subjects. The findings of every study in Table

3 indicate that the more intensive service option was either unrelated to outcome with low risk cases or associated with significantly poorer outcome than was less intensive service. On the other hand, every study in Table 3 reveals that the effects of service were positive and significant among higher risk cases, albeit not always among the highest risk cases. This pattern was evident among juveniles exposed to a companionship program (O'Donnell et al., 1971), crisis-oriented family counseling (Byles & Maurice, 1982), and a child welfare project (Andrews, Robinson & Balla, 1986). It was also found among probationers exposed to relatively intensive supervision in Wisconsin (Baird et al., 1979) and Ontario (Andrews & Kiessling, 1980; Andrews, Kiessling, Robinson & Mickus, 1986). Interestingly, the Andrews and Friesen (1987) example reveals the differential effects of self-management efforts by lower and higher risk probationers. Table 3 reveals similar results with regard to who profits from family therapy (Andrews, Hoge et al., 1986), problem-solving training in pre-school (Spivack & Shure: in Rappaport, 1977) and services for opiate addicts (Woody et al., 1984) and discharged mental patients (Kirk, 1976). Even at the aggregate level in the area of crime prevention, helicopter patrols were more effective in high crime areas than low crime areas (Kirchner, et al., 1980).

Insert Table 3 about here

The findings in Table 3 were selected for purposes of illustration and should not imply that interactions are always found. The validity

of the risk principle may depend upon the particular assessments of risk and outcome employed, and almost certainly depends upon the targets and types of service employed (Andrews, Robinson & Balla, 1986; Andrews, Kiessling, Robinson & Mickus, 1986; Beutler, 1983). For example, Andrews and Kiessling (1980) reported that high levels of an inappropriate service (nondirective "active listening") was associated with increased recidivism among high risk probationers.

In summary, the findings in Table 2 illustrate the predictive validity of preservice risk assessments, while the findings in Table 3 illustrate that predictability of outcome may be enhanced through consideration of preservice risk, service and their interaction. Turning to criminogenic need and multiwave studies, we find that the predictability of recidivism increases still further when actual changes in the person and circumstances of offenders are monitored.

Need Principle

Criminogenic needs are a subset of risk factors. They are dynamic attributes of offenders and their circumstances that, when changed, are associated with changes in the chances of recidivism. Clearly not all "needs" are criminogenic. Criminogenic needs are ones on which assessments of change (or retests) possess a level of predictive criterion validity that is incremental to the criterion validity of pretests. In brief, in multiwave longitudinal studies, assessments of dynamic variables are conducted at Times 1 and 2. Then, the scores at Time 2 (or the differences between scores at Time 2 and Time 1) are examined in relation to subsequent recidivism with the contribution of

Time 1 scores statistically controlled. Table 4 provides two illustrations of findings from multiwave longitudinal investigations. Inspection reveals that the six month retest scores of probationers on a measure of antisocial attitudes were much more predictive of recidivism than were attitudes as assessed at intake. The other illustration reveals similar results with retests on the Level of Supervision Inventory.

Still more convincing evidence of criminogenic need arises from controlled program evaluations in which deliberately-induced changes on intermediate targets (that is, suspected criminogenic need factors) are examined in relation to recidivism. Here we look for functional links among variation in service, changes on intermediate targets, and recidivism. The findings are most impressive when the level of covariation between treatment and recidivism is reduced significantly when statistical controls are introduced for changes on assessments of intermediate targets. The latter pattern of results would affirm the functional validity of our selection of intermediate treatment goals. This is the type of information that is required for the systematic criterion validation of assessments of targets (Andrews & Kiessling, 1980; Andrews, 1982a 1983; Hoge & Andrews, 1987; Kazdin, 1985; Mash, 1985; Nelson & Hayes, 1979).²

Insert Tables 4 and 5 about here

While the vast amount of research on criminogenic need has been cross-sectional or uniwave longitudinal, social psychological theory

is highly suggestive regarding criminogenic need. For example, most theories of criminal conduct support the criminogenic significance of procriminal cognitions (or, personal attitudes, values and thinking styles favourable to violation of the law). Procriminal sentiments are basic to psychodynamic and social control perspectives (weak superego, disbelief in the validity of the law), differential association theory (definitions favourable /unfavourable to violations of the legal code), subcultural theory (internalization of norms), labeling theory (criminal identifications), anomie theory (internalized prohibitions), conflict theory (the value context of human choice) and, of course, integrative social learning theories.

Moreover, statistical modeling of cross-sectional data has consistently confirmed that deviant attitudes are among the variables most strongly correlated with criminal behavior and that most effectively serve as the mediators of the effects of other correlates of delinquency in domains such as family, school and peer associations (Matsueda, 1988). The only serious threats to procriminal sentiments as need factors are assessments of antisocial associates and antisocial personality.

Multiwave longitudinal studies suggest that the criminogenic status afforded procriminal sentiments in theory and cross-sectional research is warranted. Inspection of Table 5 reveals that reassessments of antisocial attitudes, antisocial associates, antisocial personality, trouble at school/home, and drug abuse were incrementally predictive of recidivism over and above the

predictability yielded by intake assessments. On the other hand, the predictive validity of assessments of the personal distress of probationers (anxiety, alienation, low self-esteem) was very low both at intake and upon reassessment. In fact, additional evidence (not presented in Table 5) suggests that increased self-esteem, unless accompanied by anticriminal gains, may be criminogenic in offender samples (Andrews, 1983; Wormith, 1984).

Considerable effort has been applied to developing reliable and objective assessments of the needs of various offender groups (Clement, 1986; Duffee & Duffee, 1981). Correctional professionals may well be interested in addressing the multiple needs of offenders, including areas of need that are irrelevant to recidivism but which do suggest the importance of a caring and supportive environment. From the perspective of rehabilitation, however, all too often "needs" have been assessed independently of recidivism. Both the Wisconsin Risk-Need Assessment (Baird et al., 1979) and the LSI (Andrews, 1982b) systems use a variety of information ranging from stable risk factors (e.g. criminal history) to dynamic indices (e.g. employment). No dynamic predictive validity estimates in regard to criminal behavior have been reported for the Wisconsin system and only two small scale studies of the validity of assessments of change have been conducted with the LSI (Andrews & Robinson, 1984). The results were promising in that reassessments of LSI risk / need were more strongly correlated with recidivism than were intake LSI scores (Table 4).

Psychometric approaches to the assessment of needs/targets remain high priority issues in rehabilitation and in human service generally. One particularly interesting issue has to do with the possibility that different types of offenders may present different "needs" (Lukin, 1981). For example, while increasing self-esteem may be an inappropriate target for "antisocial" offenders, it may be an appropriate target for "neurotic / depressed" offenders. In addition, structured need assessments may be best supplemented by detailed interviews that focus on the specific circumstances surrounding prior criminal acts. Finally, research on criminogenic need may assess and re-assess potential needs beyond those targeted within particular programs and, better still, if time-varying covariates (targeted and nontargeted) continue to be assessed over extended follow-ups (Andrews, 1983).

Responsivity Principle

Having established risk and criminogenic need, the third classification issue has to do with the responsivity of offenders to different styles and modes of service. Here the relevant research and theory is of two types: a) the literature on the effectiveness of service within general offender samples and b) that literature having to do with how characteristics of offenders may interact with style and mode of service. We begin with the general effectiveness literature.

The General Literature

Sentenced offenders are not undergraduates attending a university

clinic, business people seeking a weekend of psycho-recreation, or mental health clients. Thus, the literature on the effectiveness of correctional treatment in particular is important and that literature is composed of four sets of studies (although debates continue regarding what studies belong in which set). These sets are: a) studies with methodological problems so serious that no conclusions can be drawn; b) reasonably well-controlled studies in which treatment effects were not established; c) reasonably well-controlled studies in which one treatment (whether labeled "experimental" or "control") was found to be significantly more effective than another; d) reasonably well-controlled studies in which the relative effectiveness of treatments was dependent upon type of client (or setting or worker).

Reviewers of the effectiveness literature have consistently found that at least 40% and up to 80% of the better-controlled studies reported significant treatment effects. For example, positive effects of treatment were found in 75% (3/4) of the better-controlled studies reviewed by Kirby (1954). The corresponding figures were 60% (13/22) in Bailey (1966), 50% (9/18) in Logan (1972), 58% (19/33) in Andrews (1974), 86% (81/95) in Gendreau and Ross (1979), 43% (10/23) in Hollett (1984), 50% (25/50) in Ross and Fabiano (1985) and approximately 50% in both Martinson (1974) and Lab and Whitehead (1988) depending upon the particular studies surveyed. Notably, these hit rates do not include studies in which the treatments designated "experimental" were less effective than those designated "control." If these studies were interpreted as examples of the superiority of

the "control" as a serious service option, the hit rates for treatment would increase even above the values just reviewed. For example, Craft, Stephenson and Granger (1966), Murphy (1972), and Klein (1971) found that relationship-oriented and cohesion-building group approaches were significantly less effective than "firm but fair" approaches. While a "miss" from the perspective of nondirective group therapy, the findings represent a "hit" from the perspective of the value of firm-but-fair approaches to treatment.

Drawing upon many reviews (Andrews, 1974, 1979, 1980, 1982; Cullen & Gendreau, 1989; Hollett, 1984; Gendreau & Ross, 1979, 1987; Ross & Fabiano, 1985), some things are known about the characteristics of effective programs in general correctional samples. Indeed, the conclusions are sufficiently strong to inform professionals in rehabilitation and to lead to policy statements that actively encourage rehabilitative effort and evaluation of that effort.

Paraphrasing Andrews and Kiessling (1980, p. 462-463), effective rehabilitative efforts involve workers who are interpersonally warm, tolerant and flexible and yet sensitive to conventional rules and procedures. These workers make use of the authority inherent in their position without engaging in interpersonal domination ("firm but fair"), they demonstrate in vivid ways their own anticriminal / prosocial attitudes, values and beliefs, and they enthusiastically engage the offender in the process of increasing rewards for noncriminal activity. The worker exposes and makes attractive concrete alternatives to procriminal attitudes and to procriminal

styles of thinking of acting. The worker does not depend upon the presumed benefits of a warm relationship with the offender and the worker does not assume that offenders will self-discover these alternatives. The alternatives are demonstrated through words and action, and explorations of the alternatives are encouraged through modeling, reinforcement and concrete guidance.

Hollett (1984) reviewed 23 controlled outcome studies in which impact on recidivism could be examined as a function of the presence of authority, anticriminal modeling, and concrete problem solving in treatment. She found 73% (8/11) of the studies that examined structured programs reporting significant impact upon recidivism, as opposed to only 17% (2/12) of the studies that explored less structured programming. Similarly, Ross and Fabiano (1985) found that 94% (15/16) of the studies that explored structured approaches to cognitive change reported positive effects relative to 29% (10/34) of noncognitive programs. Like Gendreau and Ross (1987), we too think that recent, more sophisticated meta-analyses support our overall conclusions.³

The basic elements of effective service, therefore, appear to be highly general in their applicability and, we think, their success depends primarily upon the risk and need principles having been simultaneously implemented (Andrews & Kiessling, 1980; Andrews, 1979 1980). The effectiveness of certain styles and modes of service, however, appear to depend upon certain case characteristics. These specific responsivity considerations are presented below in the form

of working clinical hypotheses that are subject to routine evaluation.

Some Specific Responsivity Considerations

From the earliest days of the "talking cure", Freud (1953) warned psychodynamic therapists that their highly verbal, evocative, relationship-dependent and insight-oriented therapy was inappropriate for cases with poor verbal ability and/or with cases displaying narcissistic and/or psychotic disorders. He stressed that some degree of experienced discomfort and an ability to enter into an emotional relationship with the therapist were crucial to success. He added that, without immediate social support for both treatment and personal change, the chances of successful treatment were miniscule. Freud went so far as to admit that, once his therapeutic reputation was established, he accepted only cases personally and socially committed to service gains.

Interestingly, one of the earliest controlled tests of the responsivity principle in corrections (and human service generally) reflects just such psychoanalytic considerations. In the PICO project (Grant, 1965), inmates were judged either "amenable" or "nonamenable". Amenable offenders were, relative to nonamenables, verbally skilled, mature, anxious and motivated to participate in sessions with a caseworker. That is, classification was based upon the individual's apparent ability to respond to psychodynamic casework. Assigned to psychodynamic casework or to a routine casework control condition, treated amenable had lower recidivism rates than nontreated amenable (see Table 6). Importantly, there were no differences in the recidivism of "untreated" amenable and nonamenables. That is,

amenability was not a risk factor but a responsivity factor.

Insert Table 6 about here

In the Camp Elliott Study (Grant, 1965) residential "closed living groups" were constructed so that military inmates would be encouraged to work out here-and-now interpersonal problems that presumably were rooted in early family experiences and contributing to antisocial conduct. The idea was that interaction with therapists and supervisors (supportive parental figures) would promote the resolution of underlying problems and hence reduce recidivism. In the evaluation, two variables were crucial. One was the Client Factor: high maturity inmates were relatively perceptive, anxious, and reflective relative to lower maturity inmates. The other factor was treatment: Three teams of unit supervisors were differentiated according to their interpersonal skills and maturity. The units supervised by the more skilled supervisors were described as "therapeutic communities", while units with least skilled supervisors were described as "more traditionally military" and "authoritarian" in structure and process. As predicted, among high maturity inmates, interaction with unit supervisors ranked highest on interpersonal skills and maturity tended to produce positive attitude change and success upon discharge. However, success of low maturity inmates was clearly greatest among those who interacted with the least skilled supervisors (see Table 6). Among other interpretations offered, Grant

(1965) suggested that appeals for self-reflection and interpersonal interaction without a set of clear rules actively promoted acting-out on the part of low maturity inmates.

Alternatively, in our opinion, it was only under high structure conditions that low maturity inmates had the opportunity to hear and learn anticriminal messages. PICO and Camp Elliott anticipated the failure of other interpersonally-focused and relationship-oriented programs with low empathy, immature and frankly antisocial cases (Andrews & Kiessling, 1980: see Table 6; Craft, Stephenson & Cranger, 1966; Goodman, 1972; Klein, 1971; Murphy, 1972). Similarly, many findings with the Conceptual Level System (Reitsma-Street & Leschied, 1988) and with the I-Level System (Jesness, 1988; Harris, 1988) suggest that delinquents functioning at low conceptual/maturity levels respond best to structured programs.

It should be noted that reports on I-Level results are still considered by some reviewers to be too "selective" (Sechrest, 1987), and the Conceptual Level findings in the correctional area may be examples of risk rather than responsivity. For example, it is now well-established that low conceptual level is a risk factor (Reitsma-Street & Leschied, 1988) and "low" as opposed to "high" structure may well be the equivalent of "less" versus "more" exposure to relevant service. The work conducted in educational settings, however, is strong (Reitsma-Street, 1984) and likely Conceptual Level is both a risk factor and a responsivity factor. Similarly, possible problems with the selectivity of I-level research findings aside, the I-level

recommendations regarding differential treatment have high face validity and considerable clinical appeal (Harris, 1988).

The cognitive / interpersonal skill hypothesis. The working clinical hypothesis is relatively strong but certainly requires additional study across a variety of measures of empathy / cognitive maturity (Van Vooris, 1988) and program structure (Reitsma-Street, 1984). In brief: styles and modes of service that are interpersonally and verbally demanding and depend upon self-regulation, self-reflection and interpersonal sensitivity (that is, low structure styles of service) should be actively avoided with all but those offenders who present relatively high levels of interpersonal and conceptual functioning. On the whole, if one is uncertain about the interpersonal/conceptual level of particular cases, choose the more directive and structured style of service because the evidence regarding the relative effectiveness of "high structure" for low functioning cases is stronger than the evidence regarding the importance of "low structure" for higher functioning cases. Interestingly, recent research on the treatment of depressives by Anne Simons and her colleagues (1985) has suggested the general importance of matching according to level of cognitive skills. For example, patients who entered therapy with relatively high levels of self-management skills responded positively to cognitive therapy while the other patients responded best to drug therapy (see Table 6).

The anxiety hypothesis. The "anxiety" component of Freud's ideas on differential treatment will emerge again under the "motivation

hypothesis." Here, the "anxiety hypothesis" refers to the interaction of anxiety (in particular, interpersonal anxiety) and the level of interpersonal and intrapersonal confrontation involved in treatment. In particular, the clinical hypothesis is that highly anxious cases respond poorly to stressful interpersonal confrontation while less anxious cases may well profit from such programs. Sarason and Ganzer (1973) found that highly anxious delinquents responded very well to modeling and yet responded very poorly when the stressor of televised feedback was introduced into social skill training (see Table 6). Similarly, anxious inmates have been found to deteriorate in group programs that involved very intensive interpersonal exchange (Andrews, 1980; see Table 6). Recognizing that many competing correlates of success exist (including interpersonal and cognitive maturity as well as risk levels), the effectiveness of guided group interaction programs in several replications also appears to have been limited to those who were able to handle intense interpersonal exchanges (Stephenson & Scarpitti, 1974).

The antisocial personality hypothesis. There is now no question regarding the predictive criterion validity of various approaches to the assessment of antisocial personality (Andrews & Wormith, in press). Equally so, antisocial personality types are presumed to be relatively unresponsive to rehabilitative efforts. Our working hypothesis is that the effectiveness of the treatment of "psychopaths" is a combined function of their high risk levels (intensive controls and service are indicated), their multiple criminogenic needs (all of

impulsivity, procriminal sentiments, and isolation from antipriminal others should be targeted), and scores on responsivity factors (low empathy, low anxiety) that indicate high levels of structure.

The sensation-seeking hypothesis. A general restlessness and a propensity for risky activities and excitement-seeking behavior are reasonably well-established correlates of delinquency (the Gluecks, 1950; Hagan et al., 1985). Thus, styles of service that include novel and exciting opportunities and events are indicated.

The motivation hypothesis. It is generally accepted that narcissistic and antisocial cases are not highly motivated to participate in treatment. Not only is experienced distress rather low but the "symptoms" and the "acting-out" are often highly rewarding. Thus, with high risk but weakly motivated cases, it is particularly important that treatment is readily accessible and of the out-reach type. With these cases the total environmental surround should be supportive of participation in programming and, perhaps, mandated by the court. There is some evidence that legal contingencies embedded within a therapeutic context may be helpful (Ross & Gendreau, 1980; Gendreau & Ross, 1987).

The social support hypothesis. The interpersonal environment of many offenders is not likely to be highly supportive of antipriminal change. For example, most studies of the circumstances of offenders have found that antisocial associates is a major correlate of delinquency (the Gluecks, 1950). Thus, effective programs will either isolate cases from those environments (Klein, 1971) or actively

neutralize the procriminal pressures of criminal associates through the structure of the program (Andrews, 1980; Stephenson & Scarpitti, 1974).

Case Management Strategies. The full Wisconsin classification system includes consideration of risk, need and what they call case management strategies. Lerner, Arling and Baird (1986) have described a study by the Texas Board of Pardons in which parolees classified on the Wisconsin Risk Assessment Scale were assigned to one of two parole supervision conditions: regular supervision and Client Management Classification (CMC). CMC attempts to match the level and type of intervention to risk level. Six month follow-ups showed CMC intervention to be the most effective in reducing recidivism among the medium and high risk offenders with no impact upon the low risk group (see Table 6).

The gender/race/ethnicity hypotheses. Being male and being nonwhite are considered to be risk factors in North America. Gender, ethnicity and age, however, may also be important responsivity factors (e.g., Carver & Owen, 1984). Thus, the future will see examinations of the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs specifically matched to age, gender and race/ethnicity.

The mentally disordered offender. The chronic offender with histories of both psychiatric and criminal justice involvement may respond best to a monitored but low stress sheltered workshop environment (Fairweather et al., 1969).

A number of clinical hypotheses have been listed as specific responsivity considerations. We continue to feel, however, that risk

and need considerations are crucial, and that the major aspect of responsivity is that of choosing treatment approaches that have been found to be effective with offender samples in general. In other words, specific responsivity factors are of relatively minor significance when the more general guidelines regarding effective styles of treatment are followed -- use of authority, anticriminal modeling, and problem solving efforts that focus on criminogenic need are generally effective when offered in an interpersonally facilitative and enthusiastic manner.

The Override Principle

Final decisions regarding rehabilitative service are a joint function of risk, need and responsivity considerations. The power and specificity of these considerations will increase with the quality of research and theory in psychology, just as research on risk, need and responsivity will enhance the overall quality of psychological knowledge. However, rehabilitation professionals will always be called upon to step beyond extant knowledge in their decision making. Systematic monitoring and follow-up of the consequences of these overrides will surely be one source of new insights.

Conclusions

Risk, need and responsivity considerations in the psychology of criminal conduct may better reflect current knowledge and opinion regarding discretionary services for purposes of rehabilitation than does the discounting of knowledge so characteristic of major portions of mainstream criminology. Risk, need and responsivity considerations

provide reasonable guides to service and research in rehabilitation. Of course we agree with Sechrest (1987) that better theory and more high quality research is required! More to the point, work is required that builds on the base of extant knowledge and professional opinion within the psychology of criminal conduct and that base is not something to "lament."

Lamentable are perspectives that confuse rehabilitation with punishment, with humanitarian reform, and with being "nice" or "tyrannical." Lamentable is the fact rehabilitation is not viewed as a professional area of practice with a growing body of core psychological knowledge and opinion with which practitioners and managers should be familiar before "innovative" programs are introduced [witness the failure of so many diversion projects as described by Gendreau and Ross (1987)]. Lamentably, we don't know much about the dissemination, adoption and maintenance of effective programs (Backer, Liberman & Kuehnel, 1986; Gendreau & Andrews, 1979; Gendreau & Ross, 1987). Recognizing that the action resides in consideration of preservice characteristics of offenders, the specifics of service planned and delivered, and intermediate change in the person and circumstances of offenders, we need now to work on creating broad setting and program conditions that support the efforts of rehabilitation professionals (Andrews, 1980; Kiessling & Andrews, 1980). The creation of these settings may not only enhance the delivery of service but also the effectiveness of services that have so often been offered under less than supportive conditions.

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NOTES

1. Many criminologists seem to know that the causes of crime are buried deep in political economy, culture and social structure, just as they know that intervention is mere tinkering. Thus, reviewers, who uniformly found that at least 40% of the evaluation studies uncovered positive effects, reach the following types of conclusions regarding the effectiveness of rehabilitation: "The results are far from encouraging" (Lab & Whitehead, 1988), "Lamentably, ... we do not know very much" (Sechrest, 1987, p. 317), "There is not now...any basis for any policy or recommendations regarding rehabilitation" (Sechrest, White & Brown, 1979, p. 34), nothing [or almost nothing] works (Martinson, 1974), "much of what is now being done about crime may be so wrong that the net effect ... is to increase rather than decrease crime" (Logan, 1972 p. 381), and "there has been no apparent progress in the actual demonstration of the validity of various type of correctional treatment" (Bailey, 1966, p. 157).

2. In brief, a) re-assessments of need should be shown to be responsive to theoretically-relevant intervention (that is, change scores are found to link with service, and the magnitude of the service-change correlation we call a "dynamic dependent validity" estimate; b) re-assessment scores (or change scores) should be shown to be incrementally predictive of recidivism relative to intake scores (this we call "dynamic predictive criterion validity"; c) controls for change scores should be shown to reduce the magnitude of the service-recidivism link (this we now call evidence of "functional validity").

These validities of change scores are crucial but need assessments are also, of course, subject to judgments regarding reliability, content and construct validity as well as user convenience and utility.

3. Subsequent to writing this paper, we conducted our own meta-analysis of the correctional treatment literature (Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau & Cullen, 1989). Applications of the principles of risk, need and responsivity revealed that appropriate correctional treatment was significantly more effective than criminal sanctioning without the provision of rehabilitative service and more effective than service inconsistent with the three principles.

Table 1 Some Examples of Studies of the Predictive Validities of Risk and Need Classification Systems

System	Study	Subjects	Outcome Criteria		
			In	Post	Matching
MMPI	Megargee & Bohn (1979)	Inmate	+	+	
	Edinger (1979)	Inmate	+		
	Edinger & Auerbach (1979)	Inmate	+		
	Walters et al (1986)	Military	+		
	Bohn (1980)	Inmate	+		+
	Wright (1986)	Inmate	+		+
	Hanson et al (1983)	Inmate	+		
	Motiuk et al (1986)	Inmate	+	-	
	Louscher et al (1983)	Inmate	-		
Van Voorhis (1988)	Inmate	-			
I-Level	Barkwell (1980)	Juvenile			+R
	Palmer (1974)	Juvenile			+R
	Jesness (1979)	Inmates			+
	Van Voorhis (1988)	Inmate	-		
CL	Brill (1978)	Juvenile			+
	Lescheid & Thomas (1985)	Juvenile			+
	Lescheid et al (1985)				+
	Van Voorhis (1988)	Inmate	-		
Quay	Quay & Love (1977)	Juvenile		+	
	Quay (1984)	Inmate	+	+	+
	Levinson (1988)	a, Inmate	+		+
		b, Inmate	+	+	+
LSI	Andrews (1982b)	P & P	+	+	
	Andrews et al (1986)	P & P			+R
	Bonta & Motiuk (1985)	Inmate	+	+	
	Bonta & Motiuk (1987)	Inmate	+	+	+
	Bonta (in press)	Inmate	+	+	
	Motiuk et al (1986)	Inmate	+	+	
CMC	Baird et al (1979)	P & P		+	+
	Wright et al (1984)	P & P		+	
	Lerner et al (1986)	P & P			+
		P & P			+

R: random assignment P & P: Probation and Parole

+ positive findings - negative findings

Table 2 Some Examples of the Predictive Criterion Validity of Intake Risk Assessments with the LSI

	LSI Risk Level at Intake				RIOC
	Low	Mod	High	Very High	
Recidivism Rates of Adult Probationers (Andrews & Robinson, 1984)					
Sample 1: Ottawa (F-U: 814 days)	.11 (211)	.23 (105)	.49 (210)	.74 (35)	53% (561)
Sample 2: Ottawa (F-U: 28 mths)	.10 (70)	.16 (56)	.37 (62)	.75 (4)	43% (142)
Sample 3: E-ville (F-U: 18 mths)	.05 (20)	.27 (11)	.41 (22)	.75 (4)	56% (57)
Reincarceration Rates of Incarcerates (PSR LSI Study)					
Ottawa Courts (F-U: 707 days)	.00 (20)	.06 (18)	.38 (53)	.45 (33)	91% (124)
Recidivism Rates of Young Offenders (YLSI: Scott, 1985)					
Ottawa Probation (F-U: 6-18 mths)		.05 (41)		.53 (43)	83% (84)
Reincarceration Rates (Bonta & Motiuk, 1987)					
Sample 1: Ottawa (F-U: 365 days)		.27 (37)		.52 (69)	38% (106)
Sample 2: Ottawa (F-U: 365 days)		.10 (39)		.59 (205)	76% (244)

RIOC: Relative Improvement Over Chance (Loeber & Dishion, 1983) is a measure of predictive accuracy that is somewhat less sensitive to base rate and selection ratios than are alternative summary measures of predictive accuracy.

F-U: Duration of follow-up.

Table 3 Some Examples of Risk X Service Interactions in Corrections, Child Welfare, Family Service, Preschool and Other Settings

Intake Risk Level	Level of Service		p<
	Less	More	
Arrest Rates of Juveniles (O'Donnell et al., 1971)			
High	.78 (23)	.56 (50)	*
Low	.16 (195)	.22 (285)	*
Arrest Rates of Juveniles (Byles & Maurice, 1982)			
High	.92 (12)	1.00 (18)	ns
Moderate	.92 (25)	.57 (42)	*
Low	.43 (114)	.57 (94)	ns
Out-of-Home Placement Rates in Child Welfare (Andrews et al., 1986)			
High	.72 (32)	.38 (42)	*
Low	.20 (30)	.36 (42)	ns
Reoffending Rates of Wisconsin Probationers (Baird, Heinz & Bemus, 1979)			
High	.37 (113)	.18 (113)	*
Moderate	.18 (71)	.13 (71)	ns
Low	.03 (58)	.10 (58)	ns
Recidivism Rates of Adult Probationers (Andrews & Kiessling, 1980)			
High	.58 (23)	.31 (34)	*
Low	.12 (62)	.17 (58)	ns
Mean Probation Negative Outcome Scores (Andrews et al., 1986)			
High	1.58 (12)	1.11 (54)	*
Low	.25 (28)	.65 (98)	*

Table 3 continues

Recidivism Rates of Adult Probationers (Andrews & Friesen, 1987)

High	.92	(12)	.25	(4)	*
Low	.12	(8)	.29	(17)	ns

Favourable Outcome Scores in Family Service (Andrews, Hoge et al., 1986)

High	3.00	(6)	2.29	(14)	ns
Moderate	1.57	(7)	3.00	(32)	*
Low	3.40	(10)	3.41	(41)	ns

Maladjustment Rates: Problem Solving Training (Spivak in Rappaport, 1977)

High	.75	(56)	.40	(72)	*
Low	.14	(50)	.10	(41)	ns

Illegality Outcome Scores of Opiate Addicts (Woody et al., 1984)

High	108	(11)	91	(21)	*
Moderate	73	(16)	71	(28)	ns
Low	52	(12)	60	(22)	ns

Readmission Rates of Discharged Mental Patients (Kirk, 1976)

High	.50		.29		*
Low	.30		.33		ns

Burglary Rates of Neighborhoods (Kirchner et al., 1980)

High	2.83		1.22		nr
Low	1.65		2.14		nr

(N in parentheses) * $p < .05$ ns: not significant nr: not reported

Note: This method of illustrating Case X Treatment interactions is preferable to "matched" versus "mismatched" comparisons because the latter comparisons are too easily confounded with risk levels.

Table 4 Two Examples of the Predictive Criterion Validity of Retest Scores with Intake Scores Controlled

A) Three Year Postprobation Recidivism Rates by Six Month Retest Procriminal Attitude Scores and Intake Risk (Andrews & Wormith, 1984)

Risk Level At Intake	Retest Risk Level				Overall
	Low	Mod	High	Overall	
High	07 (1/14)	43 (6/14)	40 (4/10)	29 (11/38)	
Mod	10 (2/20)	37 (9/24)	57 (8/14)	33 (19/58)	
Low	10 (4/38)	20 (3/15)	67 (2/3)	16 (9/56)	
Overall	10 (7/72)	34 (18/53)	52 (14/27)	19 (39/152)	

B) Recidivism Rates by Risk Level at Last Available of Quarterly LSI Reassessments and Intake LSI Risk Level (Andrews & Robinson, 1984)

Risk Level At Intake	Retest Risk Level				Overall
	Low	Mod	High	Very High	
Very High	---	----	50	100	75 (4)
High	---	00	27	100	41 (22)
Mod	00	33	40	---	27 (11)
Low	00	00	00	100	05 (20)
Overall	00 (19)	10 (10)	32 (19)	100 (9)	28 (57)

Note on Interpretation: In first row of "A", 38 cases scored high risk at intake on the attitude measure, and 11 (29%) were reconvicted over the follow-up period. However, those initially high scorers whose risk levels had dropped to low levels at six months had a recidivism rate of only 7% (1/14).

Table 5 Dynamic Predictive Criterion Validity Estimates for Various Potential Criminogenic Need Factors in Two Samples of Probationers (Andrews & Wormith, 1984)

Construct Assessed	Sample 1	Sample 2
Antisocial Attitudes	.56 (108/194)	.36 (039/111)
Antisocial Associates	na	.17 (015/088)
Antisocial Personality	.18 (024/124)	.24 (051/212)
Trouble at School / Home	.39 (036/096)	.36 (046/126)
Drug Abuse	na	1.41 (031/022)
Alienation	ns	.13 (010/077)
Conventional Success Orient.	ns	ns
Empathy	ns	ns
Personal Distress (High Anxiety / Low Self-Esteem)	ns	ns

na: not available ns: nonsignificant

Notes: a) The estimates are the increase in R square obtained by introducing six month retest scores, expressed as proportion of the R square yielded by intake scores alone. Thus, for example, in Sample 1, there was a 56% gain in the predictability of recidivism through consideration of retest attitude scores (and, the overall R square with both intake and retest scores entered as predictors was .302 [.108 + .194]).

b) The drug abuse estimates are from Voss (1982).

Table 6 Examples of The Responsivity Principle

 PICO: Mean Follow-Up Months Incarcerated (Grant, 1965)

	Psychodynamic Casework		
	No	Yes	
Amenable	4.8	2.1	*
Nonamenable	4.8	5.5	ns

Camp Elliott: Estimated Success Rates (Grant, 1965)

	Level of Structure		
	Low	High	
High Maturity	.72	.60	*
Low Maturity	.46	.60	*

Recidivism Rates of High Risk Probationers (Andrews & Kiessling, 1980)

	Supervision by Citizen Volunteers		
	No	Yes	
High Empathy	.80	.00	*
Low Empathy	.48	.42	ns

Mean # of New Offences (Leschied: in Reitsma-Street, 1984)

	Level of Structure		
	Low	High	
High Conceptual Level	nr	nr	nr
Low Conceptual Level	1.54	.47	*

Table 6 continues

Mean Estimated Residualized Depression Score (Simons et al., 1985)

	Type of Treatment		
	Drug	Cognitive	
High Self-Control	+3.8	-3.0	*
Low Self-Control	-3.2	+6.0	*

Positive Behavior Change Rate (Sarason & Ganzer, 1973)

	Stress Level (TV Feedback)		
	Low	High	
High Anxiety	.74	.07	*
Low Anxiety	nr	nr	ns

Mean Procriminal Change Scores (Andrews, 1980)

	Level of Interpersonal Interaction		
	Lower	Higher	
High Anxiety	-2.4	1.0	*
Low Anxiety	2.9	-4.7	*

Pre-Revocation Warrant Rates of Parolees (Lerner et al., 1986)

	CMS		
	No	Yes	
High Risk	.23 (296)	.15 (235)	*
Moderate Risk	.17 (740)	.11 (608)	*
Low Risk	.07 (339)	.06 (333)	ns

* $p < .05$ nr: not reported ns: not significant

/ AN INTRODUCTION TO THE REPORTS IN THE CAVIC SERIES

AND

A SUMMARY OF SELECTED CAVIC CONTRIBUTIONS AND FINDINGS /

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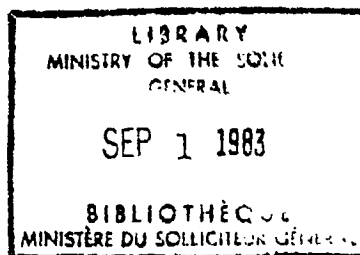
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The opinions expressed in the CaVIC reports are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the policies or opinions of the various sponsoring agencies.



The Canadian Volunteers in Corrections (CaVIC) Training Project was an outgrowth of the evaluation of the Ottawa Volunteer Program in Adult Probation and Parole Services. Initial planning sessions with the Law Reform Commission of Canada and with the Correctional Consultation Centre of the Solicitor General of Canada resulted in an agreement that the Ottawa program should be viewed not only as a service and research project but also as a demonstration project. The idea was that materials should be produced which would assist in the development of voluntary action programs across Canada.

The basic idea underwent considerable development over the three years following those early planning sessions in 1974. At that time the primary need in Canada appeared to be the production of motivational materials, that is materials which expressed the message that volunteers had potential and that programs could be established. The notion was rather firmly put in its proper perspective as our contacts developed with volunteers and professionals across Canada. The interest in voluntary action programs was already there. Over 40% of the Canadian Probation and Parole offices sampled were involving volunteers. In fact, over the three years preceding the national survey, the number of offices using volunteers had nearly doubled. The major questions in the field had to do with the management of programs and with the appropriate content and structure of programs.

The materials produced address themselves to problems of management and to the issues involved in program structure. If one assumption can be said to underlie the CaVIC materials it is that volunteer and professional programming

should constitute an integrated system in corrections working toward common objectives. This is not to imply standardization or duplication of services; in fact, an intermediate objective of correctional management is to not only accommodate a diversity of styles and procedures but to establish the organizations through which the value of diverse styles and procedures are maximized. A second assumption is that the cost-efficiency of correctional programs will not be enhanced by simply computing the dollar values of existing programs, by counting the numbers of workers and clients processed, nor by undisciplined shifts of attention from one level of correctional concern to another. More positively stated, the cost efficiency of volunteer and professional programming will increase as our understanding of crime and community increases and one way of enhancing our understanding is through systematic examinations of correctional practices in relation to the range of outcomes of concern to victims, workers, clients, administrators and the community as a whole.

Thirty modules have been produced and are organized under the following headings: the design and operation of the Ottawa program; a program management series; the research component of the program; voluntary action research in corrections and implications for direct service; a national survey of probation and parole offices in Canada regarding their use of volunteers; and, modules on miscellaneous topics. These modules were written for a variety of readers. Some are specifically for volunteers, while others are for program managers. The module format was used so that persons might obtain those individual modules which had to do with their unique interests and needs.

There is strong evidence that the reawakening interest in citizen participation in criminal justice is not a passing fad. It is our hope that the contribution of the CaVIC materials will be in helping to move voluntary action programs and their evaluation into the main stream of criminology and corrections. In a sense, the influx of volunteers and an emphasis on accountability provide a base for a re-committment to that traditional triad of theory, action, and systematic evaluation of our theories and actions.

The CaVIC reports are now available to interested users in one of three forms. A few of the titles have been published in the Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections. Other titles are available as formal publications of the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services. A third set of titles are less generally available but may be requested on an individual basis. The reports published by the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services are available at university libraries in Ontario or on written request to:

Dr. A. Birkenmayer,
Chief, Research
Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services
2001 Eglinton Avenue East,
Scarborough, Ontario
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Finally, a limited number of copies of the unpublished reports are available from the authors:

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A. The Design of the Ottawa Volunteer Program

- * 1. The Program Design of the Ottawa Volunteer Program (Kiessling, Andrews & Farmer, 1976, 81 pp). This design provides an overview of the philosophical and theoretical perspectives in the Ottawa program. It contains chapters on: the philosophy of volunteerism (in a democratic society and in corrections specifically); objectives of the Ottawa program; program strategy (designing the program; roles of volunteers, professionals, and the advisory committee; recruiting, screening, training volunteers); assessment and research strategy; and, administrative forms used in the Ottawa program.

- * 2. Reference Manual for Assistant Probation Officers (Kiessling and Lillico, 1975, 20 pp). This is an orientation manual for volunteers whose role will be to directly supervise probationers. Its contents include: a glossary of legal terms; suggested readings; what is probation; some common problems probationers face and how to deal with them. The Manual is meant to act as a supplement to the initial training period. The most recent version of this manual, the 1978 version, is the one published by the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services.

* Titles with an asterisk (*) have been published by the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services.

- * 3. Training and Development Sessions Manual for Resource Personnel: A Program for the Development of Candidates as Assistant Probation Officers (Kiessling, Charron, O'Neal, Patten and Lillico, 1975, 24 pp). A manual for coordinators to assist them in training groups of new volunteers for the role of directly supervising probationers. It contains sections on: general objectives of the training sessions; the kinds of skills needed by trainers; three training sessions are given in detail which deal with interviewing techniques, some typical problems met by volunteers in their initial meetings with probationers, and problem solving methods.

- * 4. Pre-Sentence Report Reference Manual (Kiessling and Braithwaite, 1974, 35 pp). A training manual for pre-sentence report writers which gives the general philosophy and methods of writing a report as well as 5 sample reports.

- * 5. Assistant Probation Officers Writing Predisposition Reports in Provincial Court, Criminal Division (Kiessling, Currie, Godbold, Hoffman, Lillico & Love, 1975, 11 pp). This is a training manual for volunteers who work in the courts and prepare predisposition reports (short reports prepared during the court process on those criminal offenders for whom a full pre-sentence report is not necessary).

- 6. Assistant Probation and Parole Officer's Manual: Offender Employment, Placement Pool Program.

Author: Mr. A. Hurge

Date: March, 1977.

A module for volunteers, describing the employment program in the Ottawa Probation and Parole Office. Volunteers in this component of the Ottawa Volunteer Program find employers for probationers and parolees, match them with the appropriate job, and maintain liaison with employers using the probationers or parolees sent to them.

- * Titles with an asterisk (*) have been published by the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services.

B. The Research Component of the Ottawa Program

7. Research Manual for Assistant Probation Officers in the Ottawa Criminal Court Program (Andrews, Farmer, Russell, Kiessling, 1976, 11 pp). This manual is meant to introduce volunteers to the aims of correctional research in general. It also discusses the aims of the research program in the Ottawa program, and some of the research procedures the volunteers would be exposed to.
8. The Research Component of the Ottawa Criminal Court Volunteer Program: Theoretical Rationale, Operationalization and Evaluation Strategy (Andrews, Farmer, Russell, Grant and Kiessling, 1976, 20 pp). This module outlines the theoretical rationale for one-to-one supervision of criminal offenders, and the research procedures used in the Ottawa programs. Published in the Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections, 1977, 11, 118-133.
9. A Research Orientation Manual for Volunteers, Professionals and Clients In Probation and Parole (Andrews and Russell, 1976, 15 pp). A general introduction to research and evaluation, intended to open lines of communication between researchers and practitioners.
10. Some Operational Aspects of Research in Probation and Parole (Russell, Andrews & Kiessling, 1977, 30 pp). A review of the practical organizational and communication problems involved in field research.
- * 11. Volunteers and the One-to-One Supervision of Adult Probationers: An Experimental Comparison with Professionals and a Field Description of Process and Outcome. (Andrews, Kiessling, Russell & Grant, 1977, 279 pp; plus Appendices, 146 pp). The report includes and outline of the theoretical perspective guiding the research, a presentation of the methodological details and a review of the findings. The report documents the differences between volunteer and professional supervision on various measures of

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process and outcome and presents the observed relationships between process and outcome. The method section and the appendices present operational definitions of the dimensions of supervisory process. The summary includes a number of recommendations for the development of voluntary action programming in corrections.

12. The Role of Volunteers in Pre-Sentence Reporting. (Farmer & Braithwaite, 1977). A comparison of Pre-Sentence reports prepared by volunteers and professionals on style and content measures.

C. Program Management Series

13. The Major Problems for Volunteer Programs in Corrections (Kiessling, 1975, 23 pp). This module discusses some of the more common problems in correctional volunteerism, e.g.: the amount of structure needed in a program; the "altruism" of volunteers and the limitations of the friendship model; the myth of professionalism; the quantity of training volunteers should be exposed to; and, the need for excellence in volunteer programs.
14. The Relationship of the Professional and Volunteer Probation Officer in a Probation and Parole Service: The Various Ways in which Volunteers may be Integrated in a Professional Correctional Agency (Kiessling, 1975, 34 pp). The sections of this module are: how professionals and volunteers can work together as part of an artistic and scientific community; the problems faced by coordinators in introducing volunteers into a professional agency; and, an ecological model for volunteerism - applying the insights of the science of ecology to the work of correctional specialists.
15. The Interlocking Roles of the Program Administrator/Coordinator and the Volunteer and Professional Staff (Kiessling, 1975, 44 pp). A systems approach to the role of the coordinator (and his need for creativity, risk taking, leadership); designing communication structures and processes which help to produce creativity and excellence in volunteer programs; types of volunteer systems (from those which value mechanical routine to

those which place a great emphasis on information exchange and equality between professional and volunteer staff).

16. Record Keeping for a Coordinator of a Volunteer Program in a Probation and Parole System. (Kiessling, 1975, 26 pp). Written for coordinators, this module gives examples and the rationales for administrative forms that can be used in a correctional volunteer program.
17. A Cost-Effectiveness Analysis of the Ottawa Volunteer Program. (Kiessling, 1976, 85 pp). An analysis of the time and costs associated with various probation and professional roles.

D. Voluntary Action Research in Corrections: Implications for Service

- * 18. The Friendship Model of Voluntary Action and Controlled Evaluation of Correctional Practices: Notes on Relationships with Behaviour Theory and Criminology (Andrews, 1977, 52 pp). (A revision of Voluntary Action Research in Corrections, 1976.) This paper presents an overview of correctional counselling research organized according to major dimensions of correctional counselling and supervisory process. It serves as an introduction to the separate discussion papers for each of the dimensions.
- * 19. The Dimensions of Correctional Counselling and Supervisory Process in Probation and Parole. I - Quality of Relationship (Andrews, 1977, 30 pp). The limits of the group dynamics and relationship oriented approaches are explored. The friendship model will approach its potential when combined with the more directive aspects of counselling.
- * 20. The Dimensions of Correctional Counselling and Supervisory Process in Probation and Parole. II - The Authority Dimension (Andrews, 1977, 20 pp). The probation contract is reviewed as an important and potentially positive aspect of correctional counselling.

* Titles with an asterisk (*) have been published by the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services.

- * 21. The Dimensions of Correctional Counselling and Supervisory Process in Probation and Parole: III - The Anticriminal Dimension (Andrews, 1977, 35 pp). The paper suggests the potential associated with volunteers (and professionals) as explicit role-models and reinforcers of prosocial and anticriminal attitudinal and behaviour patterns. The paper is highly critical of programs which do not evaluate underlying theoretical assumptions and an analogy is drawn between voluntary action programming and the guided group interaction programs.
- * 22. The Dimensions of Correctional Counselling and Supervisory Process in Probation and Parole: IV - Problem-Solving and Environmental Facilitation (Andrews, 1977, 35 pp). A review of problem-solving and the advocate-broker roles. The paper suggests some realistic restraints placed upon the current enthusiasm for advocate-broker activity.
- 23. Volunteers in Corrections: An Ecological Model (Kiessling, 1975). The concept of the volunteer-professional team is discussed within an ecological framework on crime and the community. Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections, 1975, 20-34.

E. The National Survey of Probation and Parole Offices

- 24. Canadian Volunteers in Corrections: A National Survey of Probation and Parole Offices (Farmer, Andrews & Kiessling, 1977). All Adult Probation and Parole offices in Canada were surveyed with reference to their ongoing and projected use of volunteers, and their opinions regarding training aids.

F. Miscellany

- 25. The Female Offender (Farmer, 1976).
- 26. The Sociology of Crime Causation (Farmer & Bourne, 1977).
- 27. An Introduction to the CaVIC Reports (Kiessling, Andrews & Farmer, 1977).

* Titles with an asterisk (*) have been published by the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services.

28. The Community Impact Hypothesis (Pirs & Andrews, 1978).
29. Ethical Principles and Questions in Corrections (Kiessling, 1976, 173 pp).
- * 30. A Summary of Selected CaVIC Contributions and Findings (Andrews, Kiessling, 1978). A summary included in this introductory package.

* Titles with an asterisk (*) have been published by the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services.

SUMMARY

This selective summary of the CaVIC research draws primarily on the evaluation of a one-to-one supervision role for volunteers, (Andrews, Kiessling, Russell & Grant, 1977). The literature reviews and the theoretical perspective which guided the evaluation are part of the CaVIC series "The Dimensions of Correctional Counselling and Supervisory Process in Probation and Parole: I - IV" and "The Friendship Model of Voluntary Action and Controlled Evaluations of Correctional Practices".

This summary is divided into two parts. The first is a review of the theoretical and methodological contributions. The second is a summary of the research findings. The most noteworthy aspects of the theoretical and methodological stances are that they may help foster a realistic sense of hope and development in the correctional enterprise. The last ten years have witnessed the negativism of the "nothing works" and "stop experimentation" rhetoric. There has also been confusion about whether we should be focussing on the system as a whole or on the individuals within the system. With the help of theory and strong methodology, it may become clear that both system and individual efforts are having positive effects.

A. Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

- 1) The concept of the professional-volunteer team has been placed within an ecological perspective on crime and the community.
- 2) The outlines of a social learning perspective on criminal conduct have been sketched with concrete suggestions regarding how various personal, interpersonal and community factors are causally associated with variations in the rate of occurrence of criminal acts.
- 3) Three measurable sets of intermediate targets for counselling and supervision programs have been suggested as reasonable ones when an ultimate goal is to reduce the chances of future criminal conduct on the part of convicted offenders:
 - a) heightened awareness, perceived certainty and perceived validity of the formal legal sanctions associated with rule violations;

- b) prosocial shifts in attitudes, values and beliefs so that self-control processes may guide behaviour in the direction of non-criminal alternatives;
 - c) increasing the frequency, the quality and the variety of satisfactions and rewards associated with conventional or non-criminal pursuits with conventional others in conventional settings.
- 4) The major approaches to correctional counselling and supervision have been classified. There are six advantages flowing from this classification. First, it retains close ties with past efforts at correctional practice. Second, its use brings some degree of order to what have been confusing and inconsistent findings in past evaluations of correctional programs. Third, it is translated readily into the language and practices of the social learning approaches. Fourth, it is readily operationalized for purposes of monitoring the ongoing correctional process. Fifth, it has direct implications for the selection and training of correctional workers. And sixth, it is linked to the three sets of intermediate targets (Andrews, 1977 b, c, d, e).

Five major approaches were identified:

- a) Authority: With this approach the correctional officer makes explicit use of the formal rules associated with correctional settings such that the formal legal sanctions are made more vivid, understandable and certain for the client. This dimension of correctional practice relates to the first intermediate objective.
- b) Anticriminal modeling and reinforcement: The correctional worker as a model and as a source of social reinforcement may promote the acquisition of prosocial and anticriminal attitudinal, cognitive and behavioural patterns. Anticriminal expressions and behaviours are those which are positive and supportive regarding conventional alternatives to crime in terms of activities, other persons and behaviour settings. Procriminal expressions are those which are supportive of criminal activities, associates and settings. This dimension relates to the second intermediate objective.

- c) Problem-solving: As a knowledgeable and skilled individual, the correctional worker may engage the client in the process of resolving those personal, interpersonal or community based difficulties which are resulting in reduced levels of satisfaction and reward for non-criminal pursuits. For analytic purposes, problem-solving efforts may be further classified according to whether the focus is on concrete community and interpersonal problems (in areas such as work, family, education, peers, finances and housing), or whether the focus is on recreational or personal/emotional problems. The latter two foci are separated because the recreational focus has been typical of volunteer programs while the personal/emotional focus is typical of the insight and relationship oriented counselling schools. This dimension relates to the third intermediate objective.
 - d) Use of community resources: This set, often called environmental facilitation or the advocate/broker role, is another special subset of problem-solving. It is worthy of separate attention because of the emphasis being placed on advocacy-brokerage models today. Its value, of course, would depend upon how well the resource to which a client is referred is in fact able to provide service.
 - e) Quality of interpersonal relationships: This set includes practices of the socio-emotional type such as the expression of warmth, concern and active listening or empathy, and the creation of conditions of trust and open communication. Within this classification of supervision practices, it is assumed that high quality interpersonal relationships strengthen the force of the messages which are given by way of the four more directive elements of supervision and counselling (a, b, c, d).
- 5) A model for program evaluation research has been developed which stresses the importance of maintaining ties between theory and service so that both may be enhanced. A theory of criminal conduct should suggest what factors are producing, maintaining and/or are capable of influencing the occurrence of criminal acts. From such a list, factors are selected

as the intermediate targets appropriate for the particular offender group or groups being worked with. A theory of criminal conduct and its associated technology should also suggest the means by which the intermediate targets might be influenced. If such means (the practices, i.e., the process and content of intervention) have their expected effect on the intermediate targets, then we may expect a reduction in recidivism rates. At the program management level, the problem is to design programs which are consistent with community standards and values while at that same time capable of producing and maintaining the desired practices. The typical means of influencing practices are by way of the physical and social structure of programs, including explicit policy and directions for workers, the selection of workers on practice-relevant dimensions, the training of workers, and other environmental manipulations. (See Figure I.)

When program operations and their evaluation are viewed from the perspective of this model, it becomes clear why there has been so much controversy surrounding the question of the efficacy of correctional practices in general and intensive supervision in particular. Most reviewers of the evaluation literature and most evaluators of specific programs have looked for relationships between Set I and Set IV without considering what services were actually being delivered (Set II), whether the program achieved its intermediate objectives (Set III) or even whether the assumed relationship between the achievement of intermediate objectives and impact was evident. Moreover, and as a number of commentators have now noted, the observed relationships among the four sets of factors may depend upon the type of client within a program.

In sum, a major task of program evaluation research is to suggest and document the theoretical and empirical links both among and within each set of factors: the physical and social structure of programs, the process and content of intervention, the intermediate gains, and the ultimate impact upon specific types of clients.

- 6) In conjunction with the research findings reviewed in the next section, the theoretical and methodological developments from CaVIC have resulted in the design of a large scale project which is examining how three major means of influencing the social structure of a program impact singly and in combination upon recidivism. The three program manipulations are by way of (a) the selection of volunteers on practice-relevant dimensions, (b) the training of volunteers in the five sets of effective practices, and (c) the reporting requirements of probationers in terms of intensive versus non-intensive one-to-one supervision (Andrews & Kiessling, 1978).

B. Selected CaVIC Findings

The evaluation of the one-to-one role for volunteers was designed to provide a comprehensive comparison of volunteer and professional supervision. The volunteers carried case-loads of one or two while the professionals were carrying case-loads in the area of 70 - 100 in addition to the supervision of probationers who were designated research cases and their supervision of volunteers. As the research findings show, the comparison was between intensive supervision by volunteers and the more traditional nonintensive supervision by professionals. Ninety-six probationers were randomly assigned to the professional officer pool of 13, and 94 probationers were assigned to the volunteer pool of 60.

A second objective of the research was to develop and/or adapt various measures of supervision practice, to evaluate their psychometric worth, and to examine the relationship found between measures of practice and measures of impact on client attitudes and in-program recidivism.

A third objective was to examine how the personality and bio-social characteristics of officers and probationers related to supervision process and to impact.

The integrity of the random assignment of probationers was maintained for purposes of evaluating the attitude change and recidivism data but many of the measures of supervision process and practice were based on reduced samples.

I. The Nature and Quality of Volunteer Supervision

- 1) Volunteer and professional supervision differed greatly in terms of the frequency, duration and types of contacts which were made with probationers. Relative to the clients of the professionals, the clients of the volunteers were seen in person twice as often, contacted by telephone some four times as often and the contacts were six times longer on average. The volunteers also had more frequent contacts with the families, friends and other associates of their probationers than did the professionals. Finally, there were twice as many client initiated contacts within the volunteer sample and more of the volunteer contacts occurred outside of the probation office.

Comment: In terms of the traditional criteria of case-load size and frequency of contact, volunteer supervision over the first 3 months was more intensive than professional supervision. Low case-load volunteer supervision also appeared to better match the ideal of community-based supervision, i.e. one that is client responsive, that is wide ranging in terms of the settings within which it occurs, and one that includes not only the client but the client's social network.

- 2) When provided with a set of items describing preferred roles and activities, the professional officers strongly endorsed the authority and active counselling orientations of their roles while volunteers opted for items which stressed a friendship or socio-emotional orientation.

Comment: These findings are in no way surprising in that they reflect exactly the relative positions and training of volunteers and professionals in the program studied.

- 3) Both sets of participants, the probationers and the officers, were asked to report on their perceptions of the quality of supervision being offered and received. The volunteers and their clients reported more open and warm relationships with each other than did the professionals and their clients. The clients of the volunteers also reported receiving

more real assistance and help from probation than did the clients of the professionals. Surprisingly, although the validity of the scale was suspect, the volunteer and professional samples did not differ on a measure of perceived direction by the officer (the officer's use of authority, giving of orders).

Comment: The findings with participant reports replicate and extend previous studies in the area. When participant reports are employed as consumer satisfaction indices, it appears that the volunteer program had the advantage over the professional program. Consumer satisfaction indices, however, do not necessarily relate to more objective measures of impact as additional findings confirmed.

- 4) Supervision sessions between officers and their clients were audio-taped on two separate occasions. During these sessions, the professionals made more and higher level references to the probation order (i.e., use of authority) than did the volunteers, were more prosocial in their verbal expressions (anti-criminal modeling) and in their approval of the probationers prosocial expressions and disapproval of their pro-criminal expressions (differential reinforcement), and engaged in less problem-solving with a recreational focus. On relationship indices, the professionals self-disclosed less, and emitted fewer friendly statements. The sessions involving volunteer officers were significantly longer than those involving professional officers and, when controls for length of interview were introduced, the above-noted effects on the authority, anticriminal, recreational problem-solving and self-disclosure indices remained. With controls for length of interview introduced, it also became clear that the professionals were engaging in more and higher level problem-solving with a community focus than were the volunteers. The professionals were also asking for and offering concrete factual information more often than were the volunteers. There were no differences between the volunteer and professional samples on problem-solving with a personal-emotional focus or on an index of use of community resources.

Comment: The above set of findings represents the most comprehensive objective description of what goes on in probation supervision ever completed. Again, as was noted with reference to the other findings on the nature and quality of supervision, the implications for impact is a separate question discussed below. It does appear that the time-limits imposed upon the high case-load professionals resulted in more efficient intervention.

- 5) The vast majority of the probationers, nearly 90% of the total sample, completed their sentences under supervision in the community without incarceration and 76.3% completed their probation period without a reconviction or absconding. There were no differences between the volunteer and professionally supervised samples in terms of number of new offenses overall, number of new offenses excluding technical violations of failing to keep the conditions of the probation order, severity of new offenses, or disposition of the new offenses.

Comment: The overall success rates correspond to available data on Ontario probation samples and the failure to discover any differences between the volunteer and professional samples is consistent with the published reports of other well-controlled studies in which Type of Client was not considered in relation to Type of Program or in which clients were not initially assigned to officers or programs on the basis of their apparent needs.

II. Differential Treatment: The Relative Effectiveness of Volunteer and Professional Supervision with Different Types of Clients

- 6) There were no differences in recidivism associated with volunteer and professional supervision when the probationers were in the lowest or highest risk categories. These probationers recidivated at relatively low or high rates regardless of the professional status of their supervisor.

Comment: In this study, risk was determined by the probationers' age (under 20 years of age was high risk), level of socialization as measured by the Gough paper and pencil test (below the median score was in the high risk direction), level of empathy or communication skills as measured by the Hogan Empathy Scale (below the median was considered in the high risk direction). Thus, to repeat finding #10 in operational terms; the young, low socialization, low empathy probationers recidivated at relatively high rates (45%) regardless of the professional status of their supervisor, while the high socialization clients recidivated at relatively low rates (15%) regardless of their age, their empathy level or type of supervisor.

A note on Empathy and Socialization. There is a clear need to develop alternative ways to measure Empathy and Socialization. Many people feel uneasy employing paper and pencil tests when decisions are to be made about how people are to be treated. An interview-based measure and/or a measure based on official social history information might be more appropriate.

In the absence of paper and pencil tests, an officer might assess a client's empathy level by noting the following behaviours and characteristics: the client is verbal, communicative, and has a relatively relaxed, easy interpersonal style; he exhibits flexible, tolerant attitudes; he makes direct references to how others feel about something; he asks you how you feel or what you think.

In the absence of Gough Socialization scores, the client's socialization level might be assessed by means of presentence reports, client and collateral interviews. The socialization level of the client will relate to such items as his respect for rules and conventional norms and his satisfactory adjustment at home, school and work. Precise scales in these areas are being developed in a Research project currently underway in the Ottawa office (Andrews & Kiessling, 1978).

- 7) Young, unsocialized probationers assigned to volunteers recidivated at a significantly lower rate than did similar probationers assigned to

professionals (31% versus 59%), and this was particularly the case among those young, unsocialized probationers who also were somewhat skilled interpersonally (0.0% versus 80%).

Comment: The findings are consistent with a number of investigations of differential treatment effects. Intensive intervention programs which place an emphasis on the quality of interpersonal relationships between worker and client are most effective with moderate-to-high risk clients who are relatively verbal and communicative. Objective criteria now exist therefore for assigning specific clients to intensive volunteer supervision. The nonsignificant trend was for the less intensive, the less relationship-oriented and the more directive supervision of the professionals to be more effective than volunteer supervision with some other types of probationers.

III. Officer Characteristics and the Matching of Officer and Probationer

- 8) Probation officers who were interpersonally skilled (above average on the Hogan Empathy scale) in addition to being sensitive to conventional rules of conduct (above average on the Gough Socialization Scale) were the most effective one-to-one supervisors according to the reports of the program managers, the reports of the officers themselves, the reports of the probationers, the officers' actual behaviour during audio-taped sessions with probationers, the attitudinal gains exhibited by probationers, and recidivism rates:
 - a) the professional coordinator of the volunteer program, who screened potential volunteers, as well as the officers who offered preservice training to the volunteers gave the most positive ratings on overall suitability to those volunteers who scored relatively high on interpersonal skills;
 - b) the in-service supervisors gave the high socialization volunteers relatively high ratings for their problem-solving abilities with clients;
 - c) the clients of those officers who scored high on interpersonal skills and socialization, as well as those officers themselves, reported the

highest levels of satisfaction with supervision in terms of the quality of their interpersonal relationships and the amount of real help and assistance being offered and received;

- d) during audio-taped sections of actual supervision sessions, the high socialization officers were the most prosocial in their verbal expressions (anticriminal modeling), were the most likely to approve of their clients' prosocial expressions and to disapprove of their clients' antisocial expressions (anticriminal differential reinforcement), and directed fewer noncontingent or gratuitous friendly expressions toward their probationers;
- e) probationers assigned to officers who presented the preferred pattern of personality traits showed the greatest gains on attitudinal indices of respect for the law, courts and police, the greatest reductions in acceptance of rationalizations for law violations and the lowest recidivism rates.

Comment: a) The above set of findings confirm and extend the results of several previous investigations of roles for volunteers in prison-based group counselling (Andrews, 1977b). The findings are the most consistent yet reported in the literature and resolve what were heretofore some conflicting and confusing trends in that literature. Specifically, for workers in correctional settings, interpersonal skills and a conventional orientation must be considered in combination. To select on the basis of a single dimension is to invite negative impact for clients.

b) The implications for screening and selection programs are clear. By paying attention to both the interpersonal skills and the socialization level of applicants, the program manager is in a position to create a program which is not only more positively evaluated by all (the managers and trainers, the workers themselves, the probationers), but one which also has more positive impact on the more objective indices of outcome (attitude change and recidivism).

- 9) The importance of matching officer and client on bio-social factors such as age, sex, education, marital status, occupational status and social

class origins depended upon the personality of the officer. Bio-social matching was positively associated with attitudinal gains when the officers were of the high empathy / high socialization type but unrelated or negatively related to attitude change when the officers presented other than the preferred personality patterns.

Comment: This finding suggests two things. One, the importance of the indigenous worker principle may have been over-stated since no effects were evident on recidivism. Two, the indigenous worker principle only applies when the indigenous workers also have the preferred personality dispositions.

IV. Measures of Supervision Practice in Relation to Impact

- 10) A number of the measures of the quality of supervision were of the type that are routinely used by managers and officers in their day-to-day assessments of how supervision is proceeding. Ratings of volunteers by program managers (the screening officer, the pre-service trainers and the in-service supervisors of volunteers) were employed as were statements by officers on their preferred styles of supervision, reports by both officers and their clients on quality of supervision, and of course, frequency of supervision contacts. None of these measures related in any consistent or direct way to recidivism and, in fact, one measure, positive reports by clients on amount of real help being received, was mildly associated with an increased chance of recidivism.

Comment: While we would not want to rule out the possibility that reliable and valid indicators of the types noted above can be developed, the results suggest the extreme caution that must be exercised when such indices are employed in evaluating the performance of individual workers or of a whole program.

- 11) Objective ratings of the officer's behaviour during audio-taped sessions with the probationers were predictive of recidivism. Officer behaviours which were associated with a reduced chance of recidivism include discussions of the probation order (authority), problem-solving with a

concrete community focus, differential reinforcement of the probationer's prosocial and antisocial expressions and the explicit verbal expression of prosocial sentiments. Officer behaviours which were associated with an increased chance of recidivism were the paraphrasing of the substance of the client's statements and reflection of the client's feelings, i.e., the active listening strategy of the non-directive, client centered schools of counselling. Problem-solving with either a recreational or personal-emotional focus was unrelated to recidivism. Similarly, referral to community resources and self-disclosure or friendly expressions by the officers were unrelated to recidivism.

Comment: Some care was taken in the full research report to place the appropriate methodological limitations upon the above findings. In spite of the fact that the basic relationship remained when various controls were introduced for officer and client characteristics, the findings in section eleven are based upon correlational rather than experimental data. However, the results are generally consistent with the theoretical rationale underlying the project and with experimental investigation of the various approaches in isolation. The above description of how the audio-tape measures related to outcome is the most comprehensive assessment of objective measures of ongoing correctional practice ever completed.

- 12) Based on the audio-taped measures of supervision practices, officer efforts on the authority, anticriminal reinforcement and concrete-based problem-solving dimensions were associated with reduced levels of recidivism regardless of the officer's practices on the relationship dimension.

Comment: This finding suggests that the effective directive components of supervision may be practiced without the officer being too concerned about relationship factors such as engaging in active listening as it is typically operationalized by the non-directive school. However, it should be underscored that the anticriminal differential reinforcement measure employed in the study was itself a special type of relationship measure — a measure of how the officer used his/her relationship with the client

in a contingent as opposed to noncontingent manner. That is, high level functioning on the anticriminal differential reinforcement dimension represented expressions of positive concern and attention by the officer whenever the probationer expressed prosocial sentiments. It also reflected explicit expressions of disapproval when the probationer expressed antisocial sentiments.

- 13) Based on the audio-taped measures of supervision practices, the relationship strategy of engaging in active listening, i.e., paraphrasing the client's statements and reflection of the client's feelings, was not always associated with increased recidivism but only when the officer was not during the same interview also engaging in directive supervision, specifically authority practices.

Comment: Consistent with a number of findings outlined in the CaVIC reviews of the literature, it appears that the client-centered practices are most destructive when the officer does not take explicit steps to make his/her own position on the rules and convention clear to the client. In supplementary analyses of the Ottawa data, the clear suggestion was that high levels of active listening and a low level emphasis on authority practices were particularly negative in their impact when offered during interviews of short duration.

V. Differential Treatment: The Relative Effectiveness of Different Supervision Practices with Different Types of Clients

- 14) Based on the audio-tape measures of officer supervision practices and the pretest scores of probationers on the Hogan Empathy scale, officer efforts at active listening and friendly expressions were associated with increased recidivism among the less interpersonally skilled probationers but with decreased recidivism with the more interpersonally skilled probationers. The differential effectiveness of the relationship practices was particularly evident when the probationers also scored relatively low on the Gough Socialization measure.

Comment: These findings recall the differential effectiveness of volunteer and professional supervisors when assigned probationers who varied on interpersonal skills and socialization (Findings #6 and 7 above). The findings are also the cleanest and strongest in a series of investigations from other settings which suggest the same conclusion: intensive, relationship oriented supervision or counselling is inappropriate for correctional clients who are not themselves relatively interpersonally sensitive and communicative.

- 15) Based on the audio-taped measures of supervision practice, there was no strong or consistent evidence that use of authority, anti-criminal modeling and reinforcement, or problem-solving with a community focus were associated with increased recidivism with any type of probationer and in fact they were reliably associated with decreased recidivism for most sub-types of probationers.

Comment: The authority, anticriminal and community-oriented problem-solving approaches appear to be the most basic elements of effective supervisory practice. One or more of them will apply to most cases without fear of producing negative impact and their use, we expect, will neutralize any tendency for relationship practices to induce negative impact for some types of clients.

16. With one exception, the above series of findings regarding the degree of association between supervision practice and recidivism were found within both the volunteer and professional samples. The one exception was that the anticriminal modeling and reinforcement indices were associated with reduced recidivism only among those probationers supervised by volunteers.

Comment: Two points are evident. One, the process which governs behavioural influence is the same regardless of whether we are talking about treatment by volunteers or professionals. Secondly, influence by modeling and reinforcement would presumably require considerable exposure to the officer and, of course, this is exactly what intensive supervision by volunteers provides.

Conclusions

The findings reviewed in this summary were judged sufficiently strong to warrant a new, full scale investigation within a project in which the intensive nature of supervision, the personality characteristics of workers and the training to which workers are exposed are being brought under experimental control (Andrews & Kiessling, 1978). In this way, we currently are examining the extent to which training may influence supervision practice and how such controlled variations in correctional practice may influence intermediate and ultimate targets. Training may also serve to improve the success rates of volunteers working with those probationers who appeared insensitive to intensive relationship oriented supervision. Training may also enhance the performance of volunteers who enter the program with poorer than average interpersonal skills and/or poorer than average socialization scores. With random assignment of probationers to intensive versus nonintensive supervision we also hope to generate additional objective criteria by which to assign clients to the most appropriate program.

As the length of the list of recommendations included in the full research report indicates we are not hesitant to suggest that CaVIC, in conjunction with the findings of other studies, has direct and immediate implications for service. Specifically, as long as the community supervision of adjudicated offenders remains a responsibility of probation and parole agencies, there are means of reducing the chances of additional criminal activity. Basically, the officer exposes and makes attractive concrete alternatives to crime. This will not be accomplished by simply creating an open, warm, empathic relationship with the probationer, nor by hoping that the client may self-discover the alternatives; but rather, by vividly demonstrating conventional alternatives through words and action, by encouraging the exploration of alternatives through reinforcement of such explorations, and by providing concrete guidance and advice as to how to determine which alternatives are most feasible and attractive. The results suggest that the authority position of the officer may itself have positive impact when the use of authority involves specific attention to the formal rules and sanctions as opposed to interpersonal domination.

An image of the effective correctional counsellor and the practices he/she engages in has emerged from CaVIC and other systematic empirical efforts. That person is relatively sensitive to rules and conventions yet warm, tolerant, flexible and sensitive in interpersonal style. When such a person makes use of the authority inherent in his/her position, demonstrates in vivid ways his/her own prosocial attitudes, values, beliefs, and enthusiastically engages the client in the process of increasing rewards for noncriminal activity, then a reduction in the probability of recidivism may be expected.

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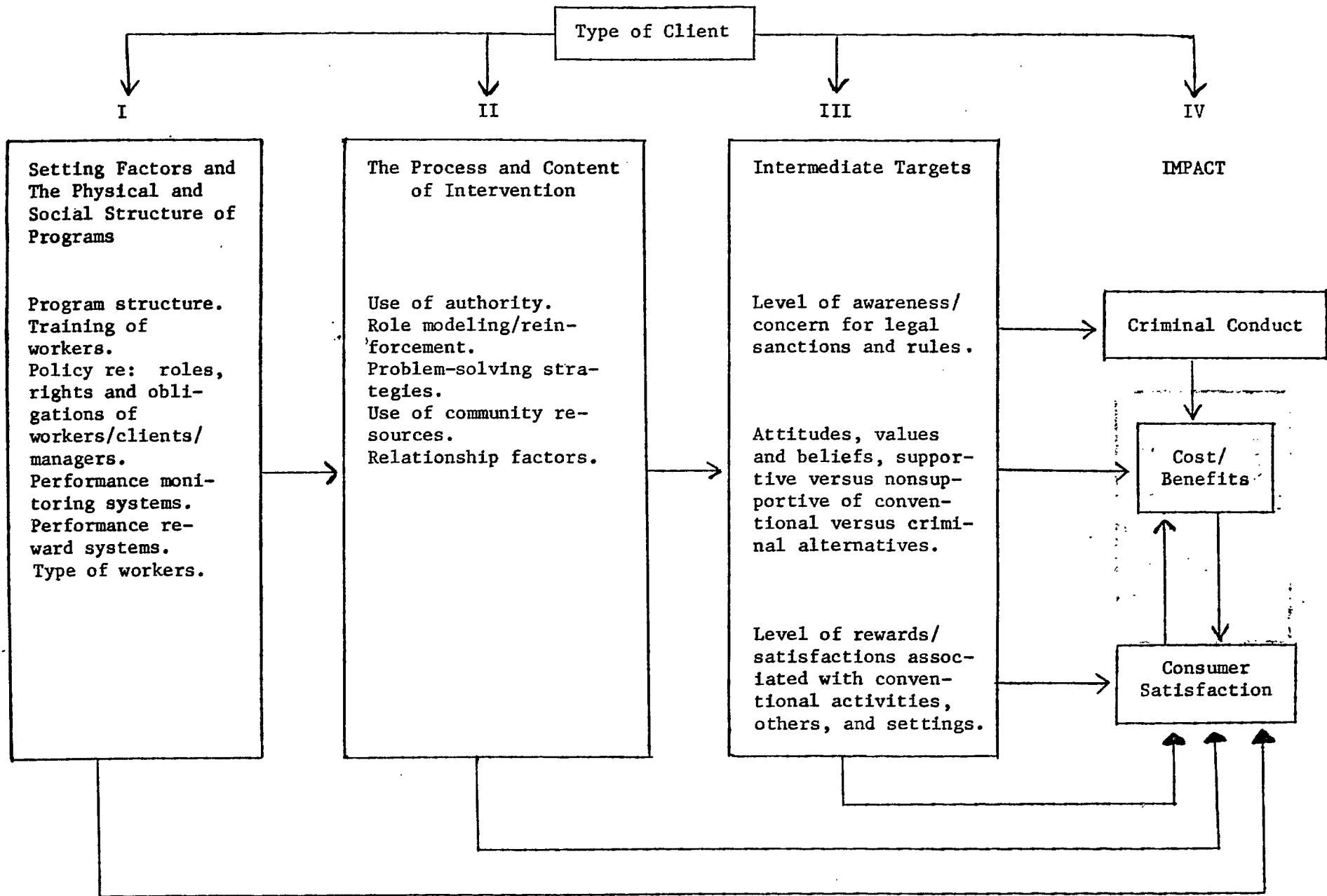


Figure I. The Major Components of Program Operation and Evaluation

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Personality and Crime:
Knowledge Destruction and Construction in Criminology

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Running Head: Validity of Personality
Oct'88

Abstract

Anti-personality themes in mainstream criminology have been fueled for years by highly suspect moral, professional and ideological concerns and by something less than a rational empirical approach. The research evidence regarding the importance of personality has been positive from the beginning but has been the focus of a highly rhetorical and pseudo-scientific form of criticism. These knowledge destruction efforts are reviewed and are found to be ideologically and professionally convenient but weakly grounded logically and empirically. The paper concludes that a social theory of criminal conduct need not resist recognition of the importance of human diversity.

Personality and Crime: Knowledge Destruction and Construction in Criminology

The psychology of criminal conduct seeks an understanding of variation in the criminal activity of individuals. Specifically, an understanding is sought that accurately links variation in criminal conduct with variation in biology, temperament, cognition, ability and aptitude, narrow and broad social arrangements, and immediate situations of action. Unfortunately for students and consumers of criminology, studies of the psychology of crime -- of individual differences (IDs) and of personality in particular -- have been devalued within criminology for decades. The devaluation may be linked to the promotion of sociological interests within mainstream criminology: "due to historic misfortune sociology captured the field in the 1920s. The contributions of biology and psychology have been minimized" (Jeffery 1979:7). In fact:

From the beginning, the thrust of sociological theory has been to deny the relevance of individual differences to an exploration of delinquency, and the thrust of sociological criticism has been to discount research findings apparently to the contrary (Hirschi and Hindelang 1977:571).

The present paper focuses on individual difference variables of the personality variety and finds that anti-personality themes continue to be expressed in mainstream criminology. Our presentation has three parts. First, professional, moral and ideological / philosophical sources of anti-psychological and anti-ID themes are reviewed. Second, the anti-personality rhetoric in particular is

sampled and contrasted with the research evidence that existed in the literature as early as the 1950s. Finally, certain specific criticisms of personality research are reviewed and the empirical implications of these criticisms are found to be dramatically different depending upon whether the purpose of criticism is knowledge destruction or construction. "Knowledge destruction" refers to the uncritical acceptance of null findings while findings of covariation are contaminated or dismissed through the mere suggestion of errors of conceptualization or measurement (Gottfredson 1979). "Knowledge construction" involves actually exploring the implications of identified threats to the validity of research-based conclusions, and recognizing that the effect of threats is not always that of producing inflated estimates of validity. Rather, "threats to validity" may sometimes have the effect of masking covariation or producing underestimates of the magnitude of covariation. In summary, an objective of the psychology of crime is to understand personal covariates of criminal activity, while an objective of major portions of mainstream criminology is to discredit such an understanding.

Anti-Empirical and Anti-ID Themes

According to Travis Hirschi and Michael Hindelang (1977), the anti-ID bias within criminology was based on moral and professional concerns. These two sources are briefly reviewed as is a third source that is more heavily ideological and anti-empirical in tone. Morally, some scholars denied and discounted psychological research in order to protect the deviant from charges of being different. While

appreciated in view of some abuse in the early history of correctional treatment, this type of moral reasoning is obviously suspect on more general grounds. According to general social psychological perspectives on aggression (e.g., Goldstein 1986), a concentration on social location is more likely to contribute to rationalizations for genocide, than is respect for human diversity likely to lead to the abuse of individuals. However, the immorality of psychology continues to be asserted in the 1980s (Gibbons 1986: 510): "Psychobiological arguments are bleak in their implications, leading to ... penological policies of repression and terror." Of course, it was the rehabilitative ideal, strongly rooted in the psychology of crime, that contributed to some humanization of corrections, and it was the sociological / criminal justice notions which recently spurned rehabilitation with the near immediate consequence of increases in both the number and duration of incarcerative sentences (Cullen and Gilbert 1982; Travis and Cullen 1984).

Professionally, many sociologists discounted psychological contributions in order to promote the importance of their favored variables of political economy, social location, social reaction and inequality in the distribution of societal resources. Thus, for example, a correlation between a personal attribute and criminal conduct may be asserted to reflect inequality as experienced by individuals of a particular age, gender, race, class, or "personality." Alternatively, personal attributes are declared to be the products of social inequality or, as in the case of personal

attitudes, are declared to be "really" the properties of groups.

Thus, for example, conformity with subcultural norms causes crime, and criminogenic subcultures develop in response to structured inequality.

However, two sets of findings have been clear for years: delinquents and nondelinquents have been differentiated at levels well-above chance on a number of personal and familial variables (Glueck and Glueck 1950; Hirschi 1969; Wilson and Herrnstein 1985), and class of origin will not bear the weight assigned it by sociological theory (Glueck and Glueck 1950; Tittle, Villimez and Smith 1978; Thornberry and Farnworth 1982). The latter researchers clearly established that personal educational achievement and personal employment history are much stronger correlates of criminality than are indicators of class of origin. Decades earlier, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (1950) had shown that, more important than class, were criminality in the family of origin, family cohesiveness and parenting, and personal temperament, attitude, and cognitive skills. The Gluecks also reported strong links between delinquency and delinquent associates and trouble in school. They suggested, however, that the latter correlates of delinquency were themselves produced by more fundamental personal and familial variables.

Logic and evidence pushed aside by professional self-interest and moral justifications, knowledge destruction efforts were strongly motivated and obviously necessary in view of the apparent strength of the evidence regarding the importance of individual differences:

"'Devastating' reviews of the research literature typically meet with

uncritical acceptance or even applause, and 'new criminologies' are constructed in a research vacuum" (Mirschi and Hindelang 1977:572). Perhaps the "new criminologists" are too easy a source of illustrations of the force of ideological concerns and anti-empiricism, and they are not representative of all of criminology. However, their promotion of ideology and a highly privileged vision of morality is so aggressive -- and their contempt for evidence so blatant -- that Ian Taylor, Paul Walton and Jock Young (1973) readily provide vivid examples of the themes that students of the psychology of crime must face. For example, according to Taylor, Walton and Young (1973:281-282), criminologists must be committed to the "abolition of inequalities in wealth and power The task is to create a society in which the facts of human diversity, whether personal, organic, or social, are not subject to the power to criminalize." We accept that poverty and abuse of power are not to be condoned, but it appears that the Marxists wish to use criminology not to understand crime and criminal justice but to free us all from the prison that is conventional order in the capitalistic state.

If they succeed, the new criminologists tell us, almost everyone will be free to express their diversity. However, freedom of expression will not be extended to journal editors or behaviorists. Ian Taylor and colleagues (1973:133) slapped the hands and questioned the theoretical literacy of the editors of Social Problems. The editors had dared to offer journal space to a behavioral reformulation of differential association theory. Behavioral theory, it seems, was

not "ideologically correct." Nor was evidence of human diversity sufficiently "social", and diversity too was trivialized. Over and over again, evidence of diversity was reformulated so that people became hypothetical fictions whose only interesting characteristic was their social location. Confronted with differential reinforcement histories, reinforcement contingencies were said to reflect attempts of the powerful to maintain their positions of wealth and influence (p. 52). Faced with fundamental differences in personality, readers were advised that such differences "may, in fact, in certain circumstances" be class-based value differences (p. 57). Even findings linking child rearing practices to delinquency were mere class-based differences in values (p. 64). In the end, the only humanity afforded individuals was that they may consciously choose the deviant route. However, this choice too had to be made on ideologically correct grounds or it was mere false consciousness and thereby subject to punishment.

Jock Young now asserts that Marxists were incorrect in suggesting that "property offences are directed solely against the bourgeoisie and that violence against the person is carried out by amateur Robin Hoods in the course of their righteous attempt to redistribute wealth" (Lea and Young 1986:358). Having discovered Robin Hoods preying upon lower class women and immigrants, Lea and Young now argue that sexist and racist criminals who victimize the lower class are "real" criminals. In order that revealed truth not be abandoned, we are reminded that

the working class is a victim of crime from all directions, and all crime, including sexism and racism, is rooted in capitalism.

The new criminologists reveal not so much professional or moral concerns with individual differences research but theoreticism, which is "apriorism" in the extreme -- "a willingness to settle issues by theoretical decree" (Crews 1986:37). Theoreticists are proud to be "antipositivist" for they are in the forefront of the new age (that is, an age which is post-Althusser, post-Foucault, post-Habermas, post-Khun). They know, absolutely, that all knowledge is political, partial, relative and socially constructed. In the new age, a vocal minority of criminologists (including psychologists and sociologists) are social theoreticists who know that their revelations represent the road to truth. In the end, these theoreticists accept or reject knowledge according to its personal value, whether that value is pure self-indulgence or rendered more grand by appeals to professional, ideological, and moral justifications. This convenient approach to knowledge is certain because theoreticists are above data. "Testing, testing" bemoans Stanley Cohen (1985:183), "it is ritualistic" (p. 187), and Taylor and colleagues (1973:58) would not stoop to entering the "internecine squabbles of positivism" except, of course, when to do so serves their interests. Visions are indeed a route to knowledge, but appeals to revealed truths in the human and social sciences have the tragic effect of withdrawing a student's traditional right to challenge on dispassionate grounds.

There is an alternative to a criminology that is driven by some combination of professional self-interest, a will to protect the "deviant" and theoreticism. It is rational empiricism in combination with respect for human diversity. Rational empiricism is reasonably well-understood: "the heart of empiricism consists of active participation in a community of informed people who themselves care about evidence and can be counted on for unsparing criticism" (Crews 1986:37). Criticism is certain and valued because systematic empirical approaches involve the specification of the limits and potential errors associated with the results of systematic observation. In the mundane but powerful terms of empiricism, internal, external, construct and statistical conclusion validity are always threatened to some degree. Identification of threats occasions additional observation, and new observations may or may not lead to the same conclusion. In brief, the essence of empiricism is a regard for evidence so skeptical that no conclusion is possible without concurrent specification of potential error.

Writing in the spirit of Michael Gottfredson's (1979) exposure of "treatment destruction techniques", our a priori position is that empirically-based arguments are unlikely to influence theoreticists. However, in classrooms, in criminal justice settings and in consultations with criminological colleagues we find many students and professionals who are fascinated by the poor fit between official knowledge and the research evidence. It appears that many current anti-ID scholars and practitioners are not so much being self-

indulgent as they are practising what they were taught. Their anti-psychological positions were shaped during their professional training, and they honestly equate an anti-ID social science with a solid social science. How could a generation of scholars captured by the rhetoric of Matza (1964), Schur (1973) and Taylor, Walton and Young (1973) attend to evidence in a serious way? Without a strong dose of the writings of the likes of the Gluecks (1950), Nettler (1974), Hirschi (1969), Cressey and Ward (1969) and Akers (1973), some criminologists trained in the 1970s are unable to appreciate evidence as anything but that which may be used, ignored or discounted according to the moment. Some specific examples of the anti-personality rhetoric follow, and following that we will briefly enter the "squabbles of positivism."

The Anti-Personality Rhetoric

Travis Hirschi and Michael Hindelang (1977) and C. R. Jeffery (1979) have described the early days of knowledge destruction. Here we enter the criminological scene in the 1960s, when the most influential of the anti-personality voices was David Matza (1964:12) in Delinquency and Drift: "A reliance on differentiation ... has pushed the standard-bearers of diverse theories to posit what have almost always turned out to be empirically undemonstrable differences."

The caveat "almost always" is important. Matza repeatedly stated that his theory was not a theory of "committed" or "compulsive" delinquency, that is, he was not referring to those delinquents who

went on to become frequent and serious offenders. Thus, he acknowledged the potential validity of the personal and familial correlates of frequent and serious delinquency identified in the psychodynamic research of the Gluecks (1950). However, the causes of "mundane delinquency" (the delinquency of those who did not go on to become "real" offenders) were dramatically different from the causes of exceptional delinquency. So different, the theory of drift suggested, that mundane delinquents and nondelinquents could not be differentiated. Believing that delinquency was unpredictable (p. 23), Matza presented a theory of mundane delinquency without being in a position to identify in advance who was mundane and who was exceptional. This proved to be handy. If a variable differentiates offenders and nonoffenders, it is limited to the analysis of exceptional offenders. If a variable fails to differentiate, it is proof that mundane delinquents cannot be differentiated from nondelinquents.

By the early 1970s the personal and familial variables identified in the Gluecks' research with frequent and serious delinquents had also been established in broader surveys of young people. Hirschi (1969), employing sophisticated survey techniques, extended almost everyone of the Gluecks' findings regarding exceptional delinquents to a general sample of young people. In brief, the "mundane" delinquents in the Hirschi survey were mesomorphic, energetic and easily bored, below average in verbal aptitude, lacking in self-control, engaging in generalized violation of age-based norms, disliking of school, poorly

supervised by their parents, unconcerned about their educational future, weakly tied to parents and peers, tending to chum with delinquents, and clearly procriminal in their personal attitudes.

What, then, was the dominant criminological position in the post-Glueck and post-Hirschi years of the 1970s? "So-called delinquents ... are not significantly different from non-delinquents -- except that they have been processed by the juvenile justice system" (Schur 1973:154). Edwin E. Schur was aware of the work of the Gluecks and Hirschi at the time of writing Radical Non-Intervention, and hence it may seem incredible that Schur could possibly have made the above-noted statement. However, the power of the anti-personality bias should not be underestimated. Schur asserts that the findings of differentiation actually confirm Matza's hypothesis of nondifferentiation! Schur accomplished this bit of magic in two steps. First, Schur concentrated on the error term, that is on that variance in criminal conduct that is not accounted for by personal characteristics. The error variance, he asserts, may be traced to a favored (but unmeasured) variable of "social reaction": According to Schur (1973:159), Hirschi's findings reveal that the "processes" of delinquency are "open, fluid, and not fully determined, and provide considerable room for contingencies of social reaction to influence outcome." Second, Schur concentrated on the "explained variance" by boldly asserting that the correlation between personal variables and delinquency (the explained variance) is really a reflection of social reactions to personal attributes (in the sense that if teachers did

not value academic achievement, students with poor academic potential would do as well as students with good academic potential). The latter trivial explanation of the effects of person-based variables continues to be expressed in the textbooks of today (Gabor 1986; Vold and Bernard 1986).

Rather than trivialize human diversity, the Gluecks (1950) had maintained a focus on the contributions of both person and situation to criminal conduct (and did so without resorting to convenient interpretations of the error term). Their psychodynamic approach was rooted in two assumptions. First, the person is a product of the interaction of the bio-psychological being and the social environment. Second, behavior is a reflection of the interaction of person and immediate situational variables. Thus, the Gluecks were sufficiently free intellectually to carefully develop six principles of "social reaction" that might alter the course of delinquency -- principles that attended to the home, school, and broader community as well as personal attributes. Schur, on the other hand, was trapped in the intellectual straight-jacket of nondifferentiation and was able to make only a single overriding recommendation: Leave the kids alone! When the importance of human diversity is denied, treatment recommendations become rather weak.

We move on to a monograph of the late 1970s, which was in a position to provide a truly social psychological analysis of delinquency. Unfortunately, the opportunity was lost because Richard E. Johnson (1979:10) had learned the lessons of textbook criminology:

Certain biological or psychological factors undoubtedly play a role in generating delinquent conduct by some adolescents at some times. However, as general explanations they seem to lack empirical support.

Once again, "pure" Matza! Seven years later, Vold and Bernard (1986:128) closed their chapter on personality with a statement so equally, "true" to Matza that it would be a waste of space to repeat it here. The belief that the contribution of personality is limited to "relatively infrequent exceptions" is now mainstream criminological dogma. But what are Vold and Bernard do with the Hirschi findings if they so dismiss the findings of the Gluecks? Several chapters later Vold and Bernard (1986:248) discount the Hirschi findings, findings essentially the same as those of the Gluecks, because they are said to apply only to mundane delinquents (Vold and Bernard 1986:248). The one constant here is contempt for human diversity.

Following another theme of Matza (1964), Johnson (1979:10) went on to explain that "delinquents are no more or less ridden with personality pathology than are nonoffenders." This practice of discounting personality through references to pathology continues to this day (Barlow 1987; Gabor 1986; Vold and Bernard 1986). However, the Gluecks were very clear regarding the empirical status of psychopathology. They noted that nondelinquents were only slightly more likely to be judged "neurotic" than delinquents, while the delinquents were only slightly more likely to be described as "pathologically asocial" or "psychopathic." It is remarkable: The

anti-ID researchers attack personality research on the basis of reports that the effects of pathology are relatively weak, when it was the personality researchers who were producing the evidence that the effects of pathology were relatively weak. Even a casual reading finds the Gluecks reporting that the personality variables which most strongly distinguished delinquents from nondelinquents were not pathological but a lack of conscientiousness and a distinct taste for excitement (as rated by a psychiatrist), unreliability and carelessness (as rated by teachers), and nonsubmissiveness, defiance and vivacity (as scored from Rorschach protocols).

Mainstream textbook criminology of the 1980s continues to express the anti-personality themes noted above but some new knowledge destruction techniques have also emerged over the years. A methodologically impressive body of research may now be recognized, as may the raw "facts" of personality-criminality correlations. However, some interesting twists are introduced that shift attention away from the issue of the ability of personality tests to distinguish between offenders and nonoffenders to the issue of the "deviant" quality of the traits themselves. For example, Hugh Barlow (1987:36) recently discounted the findings of the Gluecks in this way: "the fallacious notion is that evil consequences (crime) must have evil precedents (biological pathologies, low IQ, pathological mental states, sordid living conditions)." Vold and Bernard (1986) also used this issue, but in reverse, to discount the findings of the Gluecks. Admitting that the delinquents were vivacious, impulsive, hostile, socially

assertive and anti-authority in attitude, Vold and Bernard comment that this is not an "undesirable combination of personality traits": "Any theory based on personality traits must recognize and explain the fact that the delinquent often is, or may be, as attractive and as socially acceptable a sort of person as the nondelinquent" (p. 119). Once again a handy knowledge destruction technique: Personality-criminality correlations may be discounted through judgments that the predictor variables are either "too evil" or "insufficiently evil". More general still, of course, any personality finding may be discounted in so far as it is not rooted in the evils of capitalism (Maclean, 1986).

To their credit, Vold and Bernard (1986) report more of the evidence than we have seen reported for years in a general criminological textbook. However, they dismiss the importance of the evidence: "the differences that appear between criminals and noncriminals on personality tests do not seem to have any theoretical relevance to understanding the causes of criminal behavior" (p. 121-122). Vold and Bernard appear to mean that the findings do not have any relevance to the theories of criminal conduct which they personally favor. To assert that the personality findings are irrelevant to psychodynamic, control or social learning theories is simply absurd. In fact, two chapters later, following a convincing review of the empirical weakness of anomie/strain variables, Vold and Bernard assert (without the slightest hint of embarrassment) that research has shown that many delinquents are untalented individuals

who have difficulty in society. Once again, the major theoretical point made by the Gluecks (1950:6, 9,13,281-282) inadvertently surfaces but is not acknowledged: Human diversity and social arrangements interact in the determination of behavior and, within particular social arrangements, person-based variables will account for variation in behavior. How could it be otherwise? -- the constants of a particular social arrangement are logically incapable of accounting for variability in criterion behavior.

Not mainstream in criminology, but senior in their respective fields of political science and experimental psychology, James Q. Wilson and Richard J. Herrnstein (1985) concluded that personality-criminality correlations have been well-established empirically and are highly relevant in the analysis of the causes of crime. They offered a balanced presentation of the research evidence and hence provided the anti-personality scholars with their greatest single integrated challenge to date. Don Gibbons (1986:509) accepted the challenge and provided some lively attempts at knowledge destruction: "the 'bogeyman theories'.... slur over the existence of upperworld criminals and zero in almost entirely on lawbreakers from the underclass."

This is truly a grand attempt. First, the term "bogeyman" suggests that the evidence may be discounted because the identified correlates are judged "too evil". Second, the moral integrity of Wilson and Herrnstein is questioned. It appears that the authors of Crime and Human Nature are the type of people who "slur" over the

crimes of the upper classes. Once again, anti-ID scholars are about to revert to labeling their opponents "neo-Lombrosians" or "authoritarian personalities." Third, Wilson and Herrnstein are accused of focusing upon what they declared they would (that is, frequent and serious criminality). To discredit authors because they focus on what they say they will is a knowledge destruction technique of just slightly less applicability than Bailey's objection that research reports are written by the authors of the reports themselves (Gottfredson 1979). Fourth, Gibbons implies that the findings reported by Wilson and Herrnstein may be discounted because they are not reports on the characteristics of another group of criminals described as "upperworld". No matter that threats to external validity are only serious if conclusions go beyond the populations sampled. Finally, Gibbons implies that the correlations summarized by Wilson and Herrnstein will not be found when one studies a different group of criminals (upperworld criminals) and a different group of crimes (white-collar crime and the mundane delinquency of the offspring of the upper classes). The findings may not replicate when the personalities of stock manipulators and spouse abusers of the upperworld are studied, although we would be amazed if they did not. However, we accept the findings of the survey research (e.g, Hirschi 1969; Hagan, Gillis and Simpson 1985) as clear evidence that some major correlates of "mundane delinquency" are personal (e.g, adventurous spirit and antisocial attitudes), and they are personal

whether the social origins of the samples be "under", "upper", or deep in the "middle" of the class structure.

Listen as Gibbons (1986) extends his criticism of the psychology of Wilson and Herrnstein's (1985) Crime and Human Nature through appeals to Elliott Currie's (1985) Confronting Crime: "The extraordinarily high rates of violence and other kinds of criminality in the United States are clear indicators that the causes of crime lie, not in biology or faulty socialization, but in economic and social inequality" (p. 510). In the mid-1980s, students of criminology are once again faced with the ecological fallacy, presented as a means of discounting the importance of personality.

To this point we have focused on the broad anti-ID and anti-personality rhetoric. We now turn to what, on first blush, appears to be the normal work of rational empiricism, that is conducting and reporting on empirical investigations, and participating in the intellectually serious business of criticism.

Focusing on the Evidence: Knowledge Destruction and Construction

By 1977, three comprehensive and integrated reviews of the personality literature had been conducted, and these reviews reported the facts (Schuessler and Cressey 1950; Waldo and Dinitz 1967; Tennenbaum 1977). Of 113 comparisons appearing before 1950, 42% reported some difference in the personalities of offenders and nonoffenders (Schuessler and Cressey 1950). This overall pattern of results is relatively impressive in that only four of the thirty different personality tests employed in the early studies were able to

meet the psychometric standards of the 1960s (Quay 1965). In an additional 94 American studies published between 1950 and 1965, 81% reported some personality-criminality linkage (Waldo and Dinitz 1967). Tennenbaum (1977) reviewed 44 studies published between 1966-1975 and found that 80% reported a statistically significant association between personality and crime. Reflecting an appropriate degree of intellectual seriousness, Tennenbaum had screened studies according to methodological criteria that were more stringent than those previously employed. He insisted that a study must have controlled for at least minimal demographic characteristics such as social class, age, race and sex. Controls for the latter three variables were warmly welcomed because -- unlike social origins -- they were, by the 1970s, empirically well-established predictors of criminal behavior.

Thus, the more recent and better-controlled studies had established that personality-criminality correlations were incremental to any contributions of age, gender, race, or class. Across all three reviews (Schuessler and Cressey 1950; Waldo and Dinitz 1967; and Tennenbaum 1977), the traditional clinical (Cleckley 1982) and research (Hare and Schalling 1978) concept of antisocial personality received consistent support with assessment devices as diverse as Socialization (from the California Personality Inventory), Psychopathic Deviate (from the MMPI), subscales of the junior versions of the Eysenck inventory, and the Porteus Maze Q score. The proportion of studies reporting personality - criminality correlations were 86% (12 / 14) and 90% (37 / 41) with the California Personality

Inventory and MMPI respectively. Fewer studies had been conducted with the Eysenck and Porteus measures, but all seven studies with the Porteus and all three studies with the Eysenck scales reported significant criterion validity estimates. The latter was interesting because in the late 1960s and early 1970s it was beginning to appear that Eysenck's dimensions of personality were more relevant in the British, Canadian and Australian contexts than they were in the U.S. More recently, these dimensions of personality have also been linked with criminality in Communist countries (Eysenck 1977). Also not represented in the three key review articles was the strong cross-cultural evidence associated with Socialization (Gough 1965) and the Porteus Maze (Riddle and Roberts 1977).

The assessment instruments listed above, even by current psychometric standards, are instruments of some known quality. For example, during the construction of Socialization and Psychopathic Deviate, care was taken to delete items that failed to empirically distinguish between more and less antisocial groups. Moreover, item content reflects the major components of the Freudian construct of "weak superego" to which most theories of antisocial personality owe an intellectual debt. These indicators include impulsivity, recklessness, conflicts with authority, lack of remorse, generalized rule violations evident early in life, disturbed interpersonal relationships, little evidence of a life-plan, and antisocial attitudes. Moreover, the amount and quality of psychometric work conducted on the instruments is outstanding relative to most other

measures in the social sciences. The research literature is voluminous (Brodsky and Smitherman 1983; Hare and Schalling 1978; Eysenck 1977; Megargee and Bohn 1979). The scales are now known to have correlates in the domains of behavioral genetics (Eysenck and Eysenck 1978), psychophysiological functioning including performance in conditioning and learning situations (Hare 1978; Schalling 1978), and with a generally adventurous, carefree, aggressive and impulsive lifestyle (Widom 1978). Measures of antisocial personality correlate not only with criminality but with a variety of measures of other displays of disrespect for conventional rules and procedures (Andrews, Kiessling, Mickus and Robinson 1986; Widom 1978). Interestingly, research conducted in the last decade suggests that the paper-and-pencil measures -- as impressive as they may be -- may be profitably supplemented with measures of antisocial personality conducted by way of clinical ratings, behavioral observation and reviews of case records (Motiuk, Bonta and Andrews 1986; Hare 1980). However, that information was not available to the earlier reviewers, and if it had been, the implication would be that even relatively incomplete measures of antisocial personality have been found to possess criterion validity.

For purposes of knowledge construction, the stage was set as early as the 1960s for a reasonably positive conclusion regarding the links between personality and criminal conduct. At a minimum, the evidence supported the vigorous pursuit of the limits of the apparent association between personality and crime. A reasonable conclusion

might, in addition, include a note on the limits of cross-sectional research designs and recommend that the leads of the few available longitudinal studies be followed. The conclusion might also note that the dynamic significance of personality had not been touched upon -- that, the predictive significance of changes in personality was a major research issue for the future. Knowledge constructionists would also wonder about the role of moderator variables, the specific conditions under which personality appears more or less important and whether personality variables themselves might influence how other variables are associated with criminality.

In the criminological tradition of knowledge destruction, the actual conclusion in all three reviews was that personality testing had not differentiated criminals from noncriminals. How could such a conclusion be reached? A retracing of the steps of Tennenbaum (1977) reveals knowledge destruction in full bloom. First, it was declared "disconcerting" that personality tests were no better predictors of criminality now than they were ten years ago. (Recall that the inter-study hit rate was "only" 80% relative to the 81% found a decade earlier). Having emotionally prepared the reader for knowledge destruction, the consistent evidence regarding criterion validity was relabeled "surface validity" and validity by "tautology" -- apparently, the measures of antisocial personality did nothing more than what they were constructed to do, that is, differentiate between groups that differed in their histories of antisocial behavior. (Other measures such as the Porteus Maze had also linked with criminality,

but that is best ignored when the purpose is knowledge destruction). Finally, a standard for criterion validity is about to be set that no assessment instrument, no matter how it was constructed, could possibly meet. The personality tests, we are advised, have provided "no information not obtainable simply by procuring a list of offenders" (p.228). Assessments of antisocial personality obviously carry information which is additional to their ability to distinguish between offenders and nonoffenders. Thus, the additional information demanded from assessments of antisocial personality does not have to do with deficient construct validity. Rather, the criterion validity of assessments of personality must now exceed the correlation found between advance knowledge of position on the criterion measure and knowledge of position on the criterion measure. The new standard is nothing less than a criterion validity coefficient exceeding a value of 1.00.

It is an embarrassment to the social sciences that such nonsense has filled criminological textbooks and journals. It is an embarrassment to human science that the nonsense persists unchallenged. We close with a few references to a more subtle form of knowledge destruction, one which more seriously wraps itself in the language of normal science. We refer to perversions of certain well-established knowledge construction techniques in the systematic empirical sciences. As previously described, the unique feature of systematic empirical findings is not their freedom from error but the explicit attempts made to specify "limits" and "error terms". Thus,

the findings of all systematic research carry with them a bundle of potential threats to validity. The latter include potential errors in the measurement of personality and in the measurement of criminal behavior. Two uses of these "threats" may be compared. In knowledge destruction, the identification of threats suggests that a personality-criminality link has failed to withstand scientific scrutiny and may be dismissed. In knowledge construction, potential errors of measurement provide the stimulus for more research and, perhaps, for modification of theory.

Errors of measurement being present in all research, the rhetoric of knowledge destruction may always be called upon. However, the rhetoric need not be effective when audiences recognize that errors of measurement may have one of four effects on the magnitude of a predictor - criterion correlation: (a) over-estimation, (b) under-estimation, (c) no effect, and (d) some combination of over-estimation, under-estimation or null-effects dependent upon the level and type of control, moderator or mediating variables introduced. The following discussion reveals that emphasis placed on over-estimation by anti-personality scholars may often be misplaced.

Consider potential errors in the assessment of the criterion. Two major threats here are the "monomethod" threat and the "short follow-up" threat. With regard to the monomethod threat, it is well-established that self-report surveys of criminal conduct yield much higher prevalence and incidence rates than do official records. Similarly, it is undeniable that self-reports may be subject to

response sets (social desirability, bravado, etc.), just as it is undeniable that not all criminals are officially processed and that some people are falsely accused, convicted and sentenced. With regard to the duration of the follow-up period it is undeniable that any period is finite and hence the conclusions of any study are limited by that fact. Thus, these potential errors provide handy and rich grounds for knowledge destruction: a) Because any single indicator of criminal behavior is obviously imperfect, it may be asserted that observed associations may not replicate across different methods of assessing criminality; b) Because any follow-up period is finite, any evidence of a personality - criminality association may disappear upon extended follow-up.

A knowledge construction perspective too recognizes that errors in the assessment of the criterion variable may be serious, and that findings may not replicate across methods and may not be sustained over time. However, the effects of such threats may also be found to be dramatically different from those implied in knowledge destruction -- the introduction of multimethod assessment of the criterion and extended follow-up periods may be ways in which in the sampling of criterion events is improved, and hence the validity of assessments of personality are allowed to approach their asymptotes (Epstein 1979). In fact, several studies have suggested that the monomethod and follow-up threats do operate to suppress rather than inflate the magnitude of estimates of the predictive criterion validity of personality. For example, Andrews, Wormith and Kiessling (1985)

reported substantial gains in estimates of the validity of antisocial attitudes and personality when the criterion measure included officially-recorded recidivism as well as that self-reported recidivism that official records were missing. Similarly, we often find validity estimates increasing with duration of follow-up (Andrews 1983; Andrews, Wormith and Kiessling 1985). With an extended follow-up, there is a greater opportunity for high risk cases to actually display their antisocial potential.

A preoccupation with the reliability of assessments of personality is evident among those interested in knowledge destruction as well as among constructionists. For purposes of knowledge destruction two subthemes are common and we begin with subtheme # 1: Because no assessment of personality is perfectly reliable (for example, utterly stable over time) and because validity is impossible in the absence of reliability, all evidence of validity is suspect. Here the anti-personality scholars often quote psychologists regarding the well-known problems with reliability in the assessment of personality (e.g., Gabor 1986:41). Psychologists indeed are concerned with reliability because, in psychometric terms, validity really is impossible without reliability, and psychologists thereby recognize that unreliability may well help explain the lack of validity. However, it is a perversion of rational empiricism to cite unreliability in the assessment of the predictor as a reason for discounting observed validity. Rather, unreliability in the assessment of predictors is one of many possible reasons why validity

estimates fail to approach their asymptotes, and is not something that produces spuriously high estimates.

The second destructive subtheme having to do with reliability takes a dramatically different route: Assessments of personality are too stable over time to capture the dynamic nature of criminal behavior ("an embarrassment of riches," Matza 1964:21). In contrast, the knowledge construction approach begins with the assumption that the temporal stability of assessments of personality should vary with stability of the domains of personality being assessed. Given that assumption, temporal instability that does not reflect real change will have the effect of suppressing the magnitude of validity estimates. However, if people have "really" changed since the original assessments were conducted, the original assessments no longer provide valid indicators of relative position. Thus, tapping change through reassessments should improve sampling of dynamic personality domains and allow validity estimates to approach their asymptotes. Once again, that is exactly what was found by Andrews, Wormith and Kiessling (1985): Antisocial attitudes as reassessed six months into a probation period were much stronger predictors of recidivism than were assessments conducted at intake, while reassessments of more static constructs such as antisocial personality contributed very little relative to the predictive information carried by intake tests.

There are many other threats to the validity of conclusions regarding the covariation of personality and criminal conduct. They

all deserve serious empirical exploration without assuming that the existence of threats automatically discounts the validity of personality.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper has reviewed some professional, moral and ideological considerations that provided justifications for the knowledge destruction efforts that focus on personality research in mainstream criminology. Knowledge destruction efforts were a necessary supplement to theoretical decrees because personality-criminality linkages had been well-established empirically by the 1960s. We have seen that rhetorical dismissals of the evidence beginning with Matza's (1964) nondifferentiation hypothesis have been reproduced in the textbooks over the years. We found anti-ID scholars actually endorsing both the nondifferentiation and differentiation hypotheses through appeals to the contingencies of "social reaction" and thereby being forced into making recommendations that the best "reaction" was "nonreaction." Rhetorical appeals were made to theoretical relevance and, incredibly, to the "deviant" or "nondeviant" nature of the traits themselves. Equally incredible in view of sociology's fascination with lower class crime, was the accusation that psychologists tend to focus on lowerworld criminals. We even found the ecological fallacy emerging once again in the 1980s, not to mention near slurs of the character of personality researchers. Turning to criticisms of the actual research, we found knowledge destruction through the setting of empirical standards of criterion validity that logically could not be

met. In addition, we found anti-personality stances leading to knowledge destruction by of equating "threats to validity" with "invalidity." Favoring a knowledge construction approach, we closed by suggesting that some of the more common errors in the assessment of personality and criminality may actually be leading to systematic underestimation of the magnitude of personality - crime covariation. Attempts to overcome threats posed by potential errors of measurement may produce even stronger, not weaker, evidence of personality - crime covariation. Of course, we look forward to strong tests of the effects of errors in the measurement of personality and criminality.

The field of criminology, and human science as a whole, needs studies that show how extra-personal variables such as age composition and social inequality may relate to individual criminal conduct. At the present time, personality researchers too are troubled by the fact that it is so difficult to empirically establish direct or mediating and moderating roles for extra-personal and extra-familial variables in the context of longitudinal predictive studies. Even "association with criminal others" appears to be secondary to biology (e.g., Rowe and Osgoode 1984), an early history of antisocial behaviour (e.g., Robins 1966), and personal attitudes supportive of crime (e.g., Matseuda 1982). Personality researchers, like sociologists, hypothesize that the bio-psychological organism interacts with the social environment. Personality researchers too seek some strong evidence on the importance of broad social arrangements in the analysis of individual criminal conduct. Apart

from actually getting on with the empirical efforts required, there is no theoretical problem with the idea that behavior is a function of the person in immediate situations, and that those immediate contingencies of action that influence human behaviour are themselves a function of personal, interpersonal and broader community factors. Over the last decade, many pages of American Sociological Review have been devoted to the suggestion that a social theory of criminal conduct is not threatened by the importance of individual differences, except in so far as theorists insist upon denying the importance of human diversity (Andrews 1980; Hirschi and Hindelang 1977; Rowe and Osgoode 1984).

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