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Forensic Psychology and Correctional Psychology:  
Distinct but Related Subfields of Psychological Science and Practice

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### Abstract

This paper delineates two separate but related subfields of psychological science and practice applicable across all major areas of the field (e.g., clinical, counseling, developmental, social, cognitive, community). Forensic and correctional psychology are related by their historical roots, involvement in the justice system, and the shared population of people they study and serve. The practical and ethical contexts of these subfields is distinct from other areas of psychology – and from one another – with important implications for ecologically valid research and ethically sound practice. Forensic psychology is a subfield of psychology in which basic and applied psychological science or scientifically-oriented professional practice is applied to the law to help resolve legal, contractual, or administrative matters. Correctional psychology is a subfield of psychology in which basic and applied psychological science or scientifically-oriented professional practice is applied to the justice system to inform the classification, treatment, and management of offenders to reduce risk and improve public safety. There has been and continues to be great interest in both subfields – especially the potential for forensic and correctional psychological science to help resolve practical issues and questions in legal and justice settings. This paper traces the shared and separate developmental histories of these subfields, outlines their important distinctions and implications, and provides a common understanding and shared language for psychologists interested in applying their knowledge in forensic or correctional contexts.

*Keywords:* forensic; correctional; specialty; proficiency; ethic\*

## **Forensic Psychology and Correctional Psychology:**

### **Distinct but Related Subfields of Psychological Science and Practice**

Forensic and correctional psychology emerged historically at about the same time—almost as early as psychology itself—and developed into discrete subfields ushered in by executive, legislative, and judicial branch activities in the 1950s and 1960s. Early scholarly writings did not clearly differentiate them, instead lumping them together with descriptors such as “psychologists in criminal justice settings” and “psychology and the legal system” (e.g., Brodsky, 1973; American Psychological Association Task Force, 1978; Monahan, 1980; Tapp, 1976).<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, over the ensuing decades, they evolved into unique subfields not yet widely understood or recognized in psychology. This paper provides definitions, traces the shared and separate developmental histories of these subfields, and outlines their important distinctions and implications.

### **Definitions**

The relationship between science and practice in psychology has a storied past (see e.g., Baker, McFall, & Shoham, 2008; Belar & Perry, 1992). The two strong core identity elements of science and practice in psychology reflects its richness and diversity, but also create challenges for coherence (e.g., Kimble, 1984; Lockman, 1964). The definitions of forensic and correctional psychology in this paper are intentionally broad to include both science and

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<sup>1</sup> The seminal works by Monahan et al. (APA Task Force, 1978; Monahan, 1980) and Brodsky (1973) considered the unique ethical issues involved for psychologists working in forensic, correctional, and police settings with chapters devoted to each of these topics in both works. However, the primary contribution by Monahan’s group (1978 Task Force) did not differentiate forensic from correctional psychology. Brodsky’s edited *Psychologists in the Criminal Justice System* volume almost wholly revolved around correctional psychology, despite the two (of 14) chapters about forensic and police psychology. Police and public safety psychology, including for example the science and practice of psychology in policing and public safety contexts (such as Secret Service and other agencies) also evolved into a discrete subfield under the broad umbrella of “psychology-law,” but is not covered in the current paper. Other contexts, such as military psychology, likely have parallels to the forensic and correctional distinctions in this paper, but these other contexts with unique practical and ethical concerns are not the focus of this paper.

practice—to reflect the actual scientific and practice activities of psychologists in these areas as well as to reflect the dual-nature of the parent discipline itself.

### **What is Forensic Psychology?**

Forensic psychology is a subfield of psychology in which basic and applied psychological science or scientifically-oriented professional practice is applied to the law *to help resolve legal, contractual, or administrative matters* (American Psychological Association, 2013; Committee on Ethical Guidelines for Forensic Psychologists, 1991; Grisso, 1987; Otto & Heilbrun, 2002). Any type of psychologist (e.g., clinical, counseling, developmental, social, cognitive, community) can engage in forensic psychology by applying the scientific, technical, or specialized knowledge of psychology to the law to assist in resolving a given matter (American Psychological Association, 2013).

The word forensic comes from the Latin word *forum*, a place for public assembly and discussion—the precursor of "court" ("forensic," n.d.). Forensic psychology helps judicial, administrative, and educational systems make decisions about people when some question related to psychology is involved in the legal issue. Forensic psychology is typically involved during the adjudication process, before the final formal judgment is made in the case.<sup>2</sup> The psychologist agrees to provide a service (presentation of research, assessment, treatment) explicitly for the purposes of informing the adjudication decision (e.g., evaluating a case for specific factors or providing a general summary of the research data about false confessions while the case is ongoing, performing a child custody evaluation to inform the court's upcoming

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<sup>2</sup> Black's Law Dictionary (2014) defines "adjudication" as the legal process of resolving a dispute or deciding a case. It defines "judgment" as the court's final determination of the rights and obligations of the parties in a case, including any order from which a party could appeal. Thus, the adjudication process toward the final judgment, up to and including the final judgment (and any related appeals), includes many types of decisions made by a judge, jury, or administrative decision maker—all of which correspond with the forensic definition provided here. Disposition decisions in a case (e.g., sentencing in criminal cases) are part of the adjudicative process and is thus forensic according to the definitions provided in this paper.

decisions in a divorce decree, providing competency restoration treatment so the defendant can be adjudicated competent and move forward with their ongoing legal case).

### **What is Correctional Psychology?**

Correctional psychology is a subfield of psychology in which basic and applied psychological science or scientifically-oriented professional practice is applied to the justice system *to inform the classification, treatment, and management of offenders to reduce risk and improve public safety* (Ax, Fagan, Magaletta, Nussbaum, & White, 2007; Magaletta, Butterfield, & Patry, 2016; Magaletta, Patry, Dietz, & Ax, 2007; Wormith et al., 2007). Any type of psychologist (e.g., clinical, counseling, developmental, social, cognitive, community) can engage in correctional psychology by applying the scientific, technical, or specialized knowledge of psychology to reduce offender risk and improve public safety.

The psychologist is involved typically post-adjudication (such as conducting research on the psychological effects of prison or probation conditions; treating prison inmates; providing assessment services to inform management of offenders). These activities could also be conducted pre-adjudication, but they would not be correctional if conducted to inform a legal decision (Otto & Heilbrun, 2002). For instance, a psychologist providing crisis intervention for a pre-adjudicated suicidal person in jail (i.e., a correctional activity) should not be the same person hired to do a competency evaluation on that same detainee (i.e., a forensic activity), as having multiple relationships with a service recipient is strongly discouraged by professional ethics (American Psychological Association, 2010; Greenberg & Shuman, 1997). Scientists who conduct research may not know in advance how their work will be applied, whether or not they had some initial intent in mind. The same science might be correctional when used in some circumstances (e.g., studies on how isolation affects mental functioning to inform housing

policies in a prison system), but forensic in other circumstances (e.g., when used in civil suit alleging unconstitutional punishment).

### **Timing and Purpose Matter for When an Activity is Forensic vs. Correctional**

Given these definitions, a particular kind of assessment, treatment, or program of study is not necessarily forensic or correctional *per se*. Neither does the place one works necessarily make one a forensic or correctional psychologist. Rather, the timing and purpose of the activity are key. For instance, a violence risk assessment could be forensic or correctional. If needed to inform a pending legal decision, it would be forensic. If needed for offender classification, case management, or release decision-making post-adjudication, it would be correctional.<sup>3</sup> Basic or applied research conducted to answer adjudication-relevant questions might be described as forensic, whereas research conducted to reduce offender risk and improve public safety might be described as correctional<sup>4</sup> (see Table 1).

[Insert Table 1 about here]

### **Forensic and Correctional Psychology as Descriptions vs. Labels**

This paper is not about labels: asserting that someone *is* a forensic or correctional psychologist is not the aim. Psychologists can retain their primary identities as clinical or social or developmental psychologists, even if they focus much of their work in forensic or correctional psychology. Nevertheless, this article provides a common understanding and some shared language for scientists and practitioners who apply their knowledge in forensic or correctional

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<sup>3</sup> Some services might be by definition be forensic (e.g., competence to stand trial assessment) or correctional (e.g., prison classification assessment). And in some instances, release decision making post-adjudication that would typically be correctional might become forensic again, such as when informing legal decisions about civil commitment of sex offenders at the end of their incarceration who may be mentally ill and dangerous.

<sup>4</sup> Another distinction between forensic and correctional psychology is their legal scope, with forensic applications broadly across criminal, civil, and juvenile law whereas correctional applications are narrowly in criminal law.

context and helps them understand the practical and legal implications of those applications for ecologically valid research and ethical practice.

### **These Distinctions Have Evolved over Time**

The differences between forensic and correctional psychology have evolved over the last half century. Psychologists began working in legal and correctional settings more than a century ago, but it wasn't until the 1950s and 1960s that these subfields began to emerge with their own character, foci, professional organizations, training traditions, and ethical guidelines and practice standards (e.g., International Association for Correctional and Forensic Psychology, 2010; American Psychological Association, 2013).

Although some have asserted that correctional psychology is or was a subdiscipline of forensic psychology (e.g., Bartol & Bartol, 2014; Tapp, 1976; Toch, 1961; Watkins, 1992), this was never the case given the definitions of forensic and correctional psychology delineated in this paper. The histories of forensic and correctional psychology have always been related but separate per these definitions. Furthermore, correctional psychology scholars are clear that these are two discrete and parallel subfields of psychology (e.g., Magaletta, Patry, et al., 2007).

The definition of forensic psychology has undergone more of an evolution over the last half-century than correctional psychology. The umbrella term "psychology-law" encompasses both forensic psychology and correctional psychology, as well as police psychology, and other related areas. Forensic psychology has occasionally been used as an umbrella term for all of these associated areas—almost like a synonym for psychology-law for anything psychological related to the law (see e.g., Bartol & Bartol, 2014), rather than the current narrower definition specific to the purposes of informing a legal decision. In addition, scientists and practitioners



have argued about how to define forensic psychology (see Brigham, 1999; Neal, 2016). The current definition builds on this history.

Correctional psychology has not experienced these definitional struggles. In fact, most self-proclaimed correctional psychologists offer applied services (e.g., Andrews, Zinger, et al., 1990; Ax et al., 2007; Magaletta, Patry, et al., 2007), and much of the published science that might fit the definition of correctional psychological science has not been labeled as such (e.g., Aharoni et al., 2013; Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973; Haney, 2006; Kahn, Byrd, & Pardini, 2013; Skeem & Eno Loudon, 2006; Skeem, Eno Loudon, Polaschek, & Camp, 2007; Tangney, Stuewig, & Martinez, 2014; Wright, Pratt, Lowenkamp, & Latessa, 2012). In an effort to prevent the definitional struggles in correctional psychology that plagued forensic psychology, the definition offered in this paper explicitly incorporates both scientific and practitioner activities and defines the unique attributes of those activities.<sup>5</sup>

### **The Need for Clarification**

Despite the fact that these subfields have been distinct since nearly the beginning of psychology itself, their distinguishing attributes are not widely known or understood. The distinctions drawn in this paper are needed to inform the evolution of ethics in the field of psychology as a whole, as well as to inform psychologists, students, and the public about the role for psychologists in each subfield.

### **Forensic and Correctional Psychology Raise Distinct Ethical Issues for Psychology**

The practical and ethical contexts of forensic and correctional settings are unique, with important considerations for ecologically valid research and ethically sound practice. These

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<sup>5</sup> Another issue relevant to these definitional distinctions is that correctional psychology is far more interdisciplinary than forensic psychology – so much so that correctional psychology has struggled to find a distinct identity in the interdisciplinary realm of correctional research. Correctional research does not refer to a core academic discipline: parallel and often unintegrated streams of literature can be found in correctional psychology, criminology, criminal justice, sociology, medicine, and other disciplines (Magaletta, Morgan, Reitzel, & Innes, 2007).

contexts challenge psychology's general ethical standards. The moral and ethical foundations of the legal system are different than in psychology, and when these competing ethical foundations intersect, multiple perspective must be weighed (e.g., individual vs. societal rights; Candilis & Neal, 2014). For instance, forensic psychology largely serves the interests of law and society rather than individuals (e.g., providing information to resolve a legal issue to protect society may harm an individual defendant), and correctional psychology must serve both health and security missions that are not always compatible (e.g., sharing offender's sensitive communications in the interest of institutional safety; diagnostic assessments to determine whether an offender is well enough to be placed into solitary confinement). These examples demonstrate that the "do no harm" ethic is too simplistic to characterize ethical obligations in forensic and correctional psychology, and ethics are evolving in these subfields (Appelbaum, 1997; Candilis & Neal, 2014). These differences between the forensic and correctional applications and psychology more generally can influence the public's perception of the entire profession of psychology.

In addition, there are distinct legal issues with profound implications for psychological science and practice in each of these subfields. For example, people in a pre-adjudicated legal status are not convicted: they retain their legal rights such as their constitutionally-guaranteed 5<sup>th</sup> Amendment right against self-incrimination. This legal status has critical implications for the informed consent process a psychologist must go through with a forensic evaluatee and for the information disclosed by the psychologist in a forensic report and in testimony. In contrast, once a person is convicted of a felony, their legally-recognized rights change: post-adjudicated convicted felons lose many individual legal rights. As such, offenders are in a particularly vulnerable position. Thus, the unique practical and ethical issues psychologists in correctional

settings must contend with are distinct from what psychologists in forensic settings deal with, and they are distinct from the practical and ethical contexts of other areas of psychology as well.

### **Clarification Is Relevant for Education and Workforce Issues**

A second reason the distinction is important is that there are clear implications for education and workforce issues. Some of the highest pre-doctoral internship and starting salaries for professional psychologist are offered by the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) in clinical<sup>6</sup>-correctional psychology. A search on the Association of Psychology Postdoctoral and Internship Centers database (APPIC, 2017) for all pre-doctoral internships with the highest salaries available (>\$50,000 according to the search capabilities in the online directory) yields 23 internships.<sup>7</sup> Twelve of them are at APA-accredited Federal BOP sites that offer at least a \$50,000 stipend to their interns. Of the remaining sites, 10 are military internships that require a subsequent 3-year service commitment as a commissioned military officer. The final site is a Canadian clinical health psychology internship not accredited by the APA.

The starting salary for a newly-minted psychologist fresh out of internship and graduate school as a clinical-correctional psychologist with the BOP (no postdoc required) is roughly \$80,000 (Federal BOP, 2016).<sup>8</sup> Only industrial-organizational psychologists hired into business have a higher starting salary according to the APA Center for Workforce Studies (Wicherski, Michalski, & Kohut, 2009).<sup>9</sup> In contrast, psychologists interested in launching a clinical-forensic career must first complete postdoctoral training, with an estimated starting salary of \$67,000

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<sup>6</sup> The term “clinical” is used broadly to capture both clinical and counseling psychology throughout this paper.

<sup>7</sup> Search dated 8/22/2017. Excel file of results available from the author.

<sup>8</sup> Psychologists can be hired at the GS-11 to GS-14 level, with salaries that range based on step (1–10) and location. The U.S. Office of Personnel Management sets the pay scale for grade, step, and location ([www.opm.gov](http://www.opm.gov)).

<sup>9</sup> Psychologists hired into business reported a starting salary of \$80,000 in 2008 dollars (\$90,000 in 2016; [bls.gov](http://bls.gov)).

once they finish postdoctoral training (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016; Wicherski et al., 2009).<sup>10</sup>

Regarding the number of psychologists working in clinical-correctional and clinical-forensic careers, the most recent estimate available for correctional psychology is from Boothby and Clements (2000). They estimated that about 2,000 psychologists worked in state and federal prisons across the United States. Using as a denominator the roughly 100,000 licensed psychologists in the United States (Hamp, Stamm, Lin, & Christidis, 2016), at least 2% of health service providers in psychology are working in correctional settings. This same report (Hamp et al., 2016) identified 11% of licensed psychologists in the U.S. as reporting either a primary or secondary specialty in Forensic Psychology.

### **These Distinctions are Not Yet Widely Known**

Clear information about correctional psychology opportunities as distinct from forensic is not easily accessible. The Association of Psychology Postdoctoral and Internship Centers lumps together forensic and correctional internships and postdoctoral training positions (AAPIC, 2017). More than 40 different specialized forensic postdoctoral training programs are listed, but not a single specific formal correctional postdoctoral training program—though some of the correctional postdoctoral opportunities available are described as forensic. The APA's Division 41 (American Psychology-Law Society) *Guide to Graduate Programs in Forensic and Legal Psychology* (Ruchensky & Huss, 2014) includes a few graduate programs with correctional specialties, but without identifying correctional psychology as a unique path or helping students navigate that path.

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<sup>10</sup> The APA Doctorate Employment Survey collected in Spring 2008 reported forensic psychology with a starting salary of \$60,000 (Wicherski et al., 2009). The Bureau of Labor Statistic's Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator (available at [www.bls.gov](http://www.bls.gov)) was used to estimate the 2008 buying power of \$60,000 in 2016 dollars.

Forensic psychology undergraduate textbooks confuse forensic and correctional psychology—for instance, by introducing correctional psychology as “treatment in forensic contexts” (Huss, 2014, p. 36). Bartol and Bartol (2014) literally use the terms forensic psychologist and correctional psychologist interchangeably. The *Specialty Guidelines for Forensic Psychology* (American Psychological Association, 2013; Committee on Ethical Guidelines for Forensic Psychologists, 1991) assumes correctional psychology is part of forensic psychology, applying the forensic ethics to correctional psychology without explicitly considering the unique challenges associated with correctional psychology (c.f., International Association for Correctional and Forensic Psychology Standards, 2010).

The closest distinction between forensic and correctional psychology in the literature is a footnote in Otto and Heilbrun’s (2002) *American Psychologist* article (footnote 7, p.14):

The considerations of both population (to whom treatment services are delivered) and purpose (whether a legal decision will be part of the reason for describing or delivering the services) are important in our conceptualization of forensic treatment. Under this conceptualization, we regard group therapy delivered to prison inmates as falling more under the purview of clinical psychology or correctional psychology, as there is no legal decision clearly linked to the delivery of this service. However, we see the delivery of group therapy in a forensic hospital for the purpose of restoring trial competency as falling within the realm of forensic psychology as described in this article.

Although this footnote served as the bedrock of the current paper, most of Otto and Heilbrun’s article conflated forensic and correctional psychology. For instance, they described correctional psychology as the provision of “therapeutic services in what could be described as forensic settings” (p. 5), identified correctional organizations and publications as “forensic,” and implicitly presented correctional psychology as a sub-part of forensic psychology rather than a distinct subfield with a unique history, role, and set of applied ethics.

### **The Shared and Separate Histories of Forensic and Correctional Psychology**

The roots of forensic and correctional psychology took hold early in the history of psychology itself, with psychologists working in courts and prisons as soon as applied psychology branched out from the parent discipline. Psychologists continued to work in these settings throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but it was not until the 1960s that forensic and correctional psychology evolved into today's modern subfields. Table 2 (supplemental file) documents important events in the shared and separate histories of forensic and correctional psychology.<sup>11</sup>

#### **Shared Historical Roots**

In the late 1800s, both psychology and criminology were emerging as academic disciplines from a shared root in criminal anthropology and philosophy (Brodsky, 1973; Haney, 2006). Psychology began as a basic science in 1879, but an applied branch sprouted early (Sobel & Corman, 1992) and psychologists were applying the new field of psychology in forensic and correctional settings by 1908 and 1909, respectively (see Table 2).

#### **Psychologists Work in Forensic and Correctional Settings Early in Psychology's History**

The courts and correctional institutions were identified by Magaletta and colleagues (2016) as some of the first applied settings in which psychologists worked. By 1940, an APA survey of applied psychology identified 64 psychologists working in prisons (Watkins, 1992). A 1946 article published in the first volume of *American Psychologist* described the 28 occupations available to psychologists at the time by creating composite descriptions of types of jobs described by psychologists in a survey by the Office of Psychological Personnel of the National

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<sup>11</sup> Although the broad definitions of forensic and correctional psychology are proposed to encompass science and practice across major subfields of psychology, the coverage of forensic and correctional history in this table (and largely in this paper) is restricted primarily to clinical/counseling psychology for a practical reason: most of the history is in clinical/counseling. Although this paper does not focus in detail on the developments in social, cognitive, developmental, or community psychology that contributed to the growth of forensic and correctional psychology, there is rich history in these other major subfields as well (see e.g., Tapp, 1976).

Research Council (Shartle, 1946). Five of those 28 types of jobs referenced forensic activities (e.g., Court Psychologist), and one was clearly correctional (i.e., Prison Psychologist).

### **Forensic and Correctional Psychology Evolve into Discrete Professional Subfields**

Both forensic and correctional psychology began maturing into their modern versions in the 1960s, fostered by interest and support from all three branches of the federal government. Rather than general psychologists who happened to work in forensic and correctional settings, the unique subfields of forensic and correctional psychology blossomed, developing their own cultures, professional organizations, ethical standards and guidelines, and training traditions.

**The role of the executive branch.** In response to social and political upheaval in the U.S. in the mid-1960s, President Lyndon B. Johnson established the Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice to study crime and criminal justice in the U.S. (Johnson, 1965). The 19-member commission, together with hundreds of consultants and advisors, published a number of task force reports calling for more education, better training of police officers, and increased research on crime. These task force reports provided the foundation for the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, a bill President Johnson sent to Congress in 1967, as discussed next (Feely & Sarat, 1980).

**The role of the legislative branch.** Congress passed the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act in 1968, a major element of which was the creation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) to provide grant funding for training, research, equipment, and infrastructure (Feely & Sarat, 1980). The LEAA funded early research and training programs in correctional psychology, such as the Center for Correctional Psychology at the University of Alabama in 1971 as well as a PhD program there for training correctional psychologists (Fowler & Brodsky, 1978). The LEAA was abolished in 1982 with other agencies absorbing some of its

functions, such as the Office of Justice Programs and National Institute of Justice—both of which provide grant funding for forensic and correctional psychology research today. In roughly the same time period (the late 1960s), Saleem Shah became a leader fostering the development of both fields as a result of these executive and legislative activities, as discussed next.

*Saleem Shah emerges as an important advocate of both subfields.* In 1966, Saleem Shah—a clinical psychologist working at a forensic clinic in Washington DC—became a consultant to the President’s Crime Commission and joined the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), where he was responsible for coordinating various programs that funded crime and delinquency research and training programs (Voit, 1995). In 1967, NIMH established the Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency in response to the President’s pledge to apply science to crime, and Shah became the chief of the Center in 1968 (NIMH, 2016; Voit, 1995). Shortly after becoming chief, Shah pushed for and obtained a dedicated budget and review panel for the Center, with funds appropriated by NIMH through Congress (Voit, 1995).

Shah subsequently served as a major force in the development of both forensic and correctional psychology (as well as other mental health-law subfields, broadly defined—including related disciplines outside of psychology; see Table 2; Brodsky, 1995; Voit, 1995). For example, the first modern prison classification system, developed in 1971, was funded by Shah and his Center (Jesness, 1988). Brodsky’s organization of the Lake Wales Conference and the subsequent edited volume, *Psychologists in the Criminal Justice System* (Brodsky, 1973)—which is credited with ushering in the modern era of correctional psychology—was funded in part and supported by Shah. The first forensic assessment instrument, a trial competency screening instrument, was developed through funding by Shah (Laboratory of Community Psychiatry,



1973). And Monahan's early study of the problems with clinician's predictions of violence—especially in legal settings—was funded by Shah (Monahan, 1981).

**The role of the judicial branch.** Meanwhile, the judicial branch also began welcoming behavioral scientists into the law and criminal justice systems, with several landmark legal cases from the 1950s to 1970s stimulating the growth of forensic and correctional psychology (see in Table 2 *Durham v. U.S.*, 1954; *Jenkins v. U.S.*, 1962; *Wyatt v. Stickney*, 1971; and *Bowring v. Godwin*, 1977). These cases, among others, paved the way for psychologists to help answer psycho-legal questions for pending legal cases, and also provided Constitutional guarantees of the right to mental health treatment for people detained in both civil and criminal settings.

Judge David Bazelon of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, a long-serving and well-respected jurist of wide influence, was the most powerful voice ushering in the modern era of forensic and correctional psychology. He saw the promise of what behavioral science could offer the law and authored several of these landmark decisions. But he later became disenchanted, criticizing psychologists for claiming they could do and know more than they actually could by going beyond their science (see e.g., *U.S. v. Brawner*, 1972, where Justice Bazelon overturned his previous *Durham* decision, and Bazelon, 1973—a chapter he wrote for Brodsky's 1973 edited book after attending and lambasting correctional psychologists at the Lake Wales conference). Judge Bazelon's initial enthusiasm over the promise of behavioral *science* for the law gave way to dismay about the apparent development of a guild of professional forensic and correctional psychologists.

### **Similar Developmental Experiences**

Judge Bazelon was not alone in his criticism of the early form of modern forensic and correctional psychology. In fact, as these subfields began to mature into their modern forms,

both experienced severe attacks by critics that threatened their demise. These attacks highlighted the need for a scientific foundation for both forensic and correctional psychology. The attacks provided energy, focus, and action items toward which to work. Although both subfields responded by working to develop their scientific foundation, there remains a deep need for each to develop stronger and more robust scientific foundations.

In forensic psychology, the primary attack came from Jay Ziskin—co-founder of American Psychology-Law Society—in the form of his 1970 book *Coping with Psychiatric and Psychological Testimony* (see Table 2). Like Judge Bazelon, Ziskin saw great promise for the science of forensic psychology but was dismayed by the potential problems with unscientific forensic psychology. He wrote *Coping* to stimulate the subfield to establish a strong scientific foundation (Grisso, 1991). In correctional psychology, the primary attack came from Martinson's (1974) article suggesting that “nothing works” in terms of the various correctional rehabilitation programs that had been developed to that point (see Table 2). His article became the flashpoint for an anti-rehabilitation campaign that marshalled energy within correctional psychology to critically examine and strengthen its scientific underpinnings (see e.g., Andrews, Zinger, et al., 1990; Gendreau & Andrews, 1990).

### **Professional Organizations**

Distinct organizations within psychology emerged and evolved for correctional and forensic psychology. In 1953, the Society of Correctional Psychologists was founded (later called the American Association for Correctional Psychology, then the American Association for Correctional and Forensic Psychology, now the International Association for Correctional and Forensic Psychology; see Table 2). Despite the association including the word forensic in its current name, its mission fits squarely within the definition of correctional psychology in this

paper. Furthermore, the activities, foci, and stated goals of this organization since its inception have been continuously devoted to correctional psychology (International Association for Correctional and Forensic Psychology, 2016). Under founding editor Stanley Brodsky, this organization began publishing the journal *Criminal Justice & Behavior (CJ&B)* in 1974, which is today a high-impact and well-respected journal (see Table 2). *CJ&B* was originally subtitled “An International Journal of Correctional Psychology,” but has since dropped the subtitle and become more interdisciplinary (Bartol & Freeman, 2005).

A second home for correctional psychology was established in 1975 with the creation of the Criminal Justice Section within Division 18 of the APA–Psychologists in Public Service (Baker, 2013). In the last decade, this CJ Section of Division 18 banded together with the Criminal Justice Section of the Canadian Psychological Association to host the North American Correctional and Criminal Justice Psychology Conference series for the sharing of correctional psychology science and practice.

An organization for both forensic and correctional psychology, the American Psychology-Law Society (AP-LS, Division 41 of APA), was founded in 1968 by early leaders in both subfields (see Table 2). Although it continues to be a professional home for both forensic and correctional scientists and practitioners, there are now more forensic than correctional activities represented at the annual conferences.<sup>12</sup> In 1977, a group of forensic practitioner members of AP-LS created the American Board of Forensic Psychology, later affiliated with the American Board of Professional Psychology (Grisso, 1991). Division 42 of APA–Psychologists in Independent Practice—also offers programming dedicated to forensic psychology practice.

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<sup>12</sup> A Corrections Committee dedicated to bringing correctional psychology “back” to AP-LS was established in the past decade, and has had an active role in growing the presence and awareness of correctional psychology within AP-LS (J. Skeem, personal communication, June 10, 2016).

### **Ethical Standards and Guidelines Specific to the Subfields**

Distinct sets of ethical standards have evolved in correctional and forensic psychology. These standards augment—rather than supplant—national, state, and professional psychological association standards, and are designed for the issues relevant to each subfield. The development of these applied ethical guidelines fit with the recommendations put forth by the APA Task Force on the Role of Psychology in the Criminal Justice System that specific ethical guidelines for justice settings be developed (see Table 2; American Psychological Association Task Force, 1978; Monahan, 1980).

Correctional psychology was in the process of developing its set of applied ethics at just the time that APA Task Force published its recommendations. The first set of ethical standards for correctional psychologists was developed in 1980 by the American Association for Correctional Psychology (Levinson, 1980). These standards have been revised twice since then, with the most recent edition published in 2010 (International Association for Correctional and Forensic Psychology, 2010).

The first set of ethical guidelines for forensic psychology was developed in 1991 by AP-LS (Committee on Ethical Guidelines for Forensic Psychologists, 1991). Although these AP-LS guidelines purported to be for both forensic and correctional psychology, they were conceived and designed for forensic psychology. These forensic ethics guidelines were revised and vetted through the APA process of applied ethics development and were published in the *American Psychologist* in 2013 (American Psychological Association, 2013).

Various other applied ethics standards and guidelines apply to these subfields as well. Some differentiate forensic from correctional, such as the correctional Standards for Mental Health Care Services in Correctional Facilities (National Commission on Correctional Health

Care, 2015) and the forensic Guidelines for Child Custody Evaluations in Divorce Proceedings (American Psychological Association, 1995). Others do not, such as the American Bar Association's Criminal Justice Mental Health Standards (American Bar Association, 1989) that offer guidance for psychologists' roles in working with people "charged with or convicted of a crime" (Standard 7-1.1 part d).

### **Training Traditions**

Training opportunities specific for these subfields began to emerge in the 1960s (see e.g., Bersoff, et al. 1997; Grisso, Sales, & Bayless, 1982; Ogloff, Tomkins, & Bersoff, 1996). Although the clinical and counseling areas of both of these subfields developed specialty graduate programs, internships, and to some degree postdoctoral training fellowships, they follow the generalist training model that emerged at the historic national conference on training in psychology in Boulder, Colorado in August 1949. That is, students do not go to graduate school or predoctoral internship to become forensic or correctional psychologists—they go to graduate school and internship to become psychologists. Subsequent training and on-the-job experiences equip them to engage in forensic or correctional psychology (Forensic Specialty Council, 2007; Magaletta et al., 2013; Packer, 2008).

That said, specialty psychology graduate programs and predoctoral internship rotations emerged for both subfields beginning in the 1960s. Doctoral programs with these emphases emerged in both correctional psychology (see e.g., Fowler & Brodsky, 1978; Magaletta et al., 2013; Speilberger, Megargee, & Ingram, 1973) and forensic psychology (see e.g., DeMatteo, Marczyk, Krauss, & Burl, 2009; Otto, Heilbrun, & Grisso, 1990; Ruchensky & Huss, 2014). Students in these programs essentially minor in and conduct theses and dissertations in forensic or correctional psychological science while fulfilling the APA accreditation requirements for a

generalist training program. Distinct internship training opportunities in each of these subfields also emerged for trainees to begin to specialize at the internship level and develop the unique competencies needed for forensic and correctional psychology practice (e.g., Ax & Morgan, 2002; Bersoff et al., 1997; Magaletta, Patry, & Norcross, 2012; Otto et al., 1990).

Whereas the training tradition in clinical-forensic psychology has evolved to require postdoctoral education, clinical-correctional psychology has not. There are numerous resources for locating forensic postdoctoral training opportunities, such as the Association of Psychology Postdoctoral and Internship Centers database (AAPIC, 2017) and the various education and training resources available on the AP-LS website (AP-LS, 2017). Although APPIC and AP-LS purport to identify forensic and correctional opportunities, both identify forensic opportunities to the exclusion of correctional programs and lump correctional under forensic opportunities (across all levels of training; see e.g., AAPIC, 2017; AP-LS, 2017; Ruchensky & Huss, 2014). It should be noted that most of the actual correctional postdoctoral training that occurs in practice today is on-the-job once psychologists are employed in these settings rather than in formalized postdoctoral programs (Magaletta et al., 2013; Magaletta, Morgan, et al. 2007).

### **Discussion**

Despite the clear evolution of distinct forensic and correctional psychology subfields and the practical, legal, and ethical implications for each, misconceptions about the subfields and their relationships to one another abound due to the lack of explicitly available information about their distinctions. This lack of information provides challenges for the field of psychology to have a voice in shaping the appropriate ethical conduct of work in these areas and impedes effective public awareness and mentoring of students and trainees.

Analyses of the applied ethics and practical realities of psychological activities in justice settings indicate that forensic and correctional psychology have unique challenges as distinct from other areas of psychology—and from one another. Their contextual ethics are critical for the broad field of psychology to think through and have a voice in shaping. These activities have occurred in both subfields, but to different extents and in different arenas. Attention within the broad field of psychology to the differences in the practical and legal distinctions between these contexts is important for ethical practice and ecologically valid research.

Although forensic and correctional psychology have had similar developmental experiences—and have been around for the same amount of time—they appear to be at different stages of development. There are many psychologists engaging in both types of activities, but forensic psychology appears to be further evolved than correctional psychology; that is, forensic psychology has worked through various mechanisms to define and establish itself as a recognized distinct subfield whereas correctional psychology has not to the same extent. For instance, forensic psychology petitioned the Commission for the Recognition of Specialties and Proficiencies in Professional Psychology to establish itself as an APA-recognized specialty (American Psychological Association, 2012, 2017), went through the APA process for developing approved applied ethical guidelines (American Psychological Association, 2013), and worked to affiliate the forensic board certification process with the American Board of Professional Psychology (see Table 2). Correctional psychology has not yet undertaken steps like these. Magaletta and colleagues (2013) noted that psychologists working in corrections are generalists and typically do not receive specialty postdoctoral training beyond the broad and general applied training at the doctoral level and on-the-job training. However, Magaletta, Patry, et al. (2007) described several unique competencies and skill sets that correctional psychologists

must develop, including confrontation avoidance, working in a segregation unit, and interdisciplinary communication. Thus, correctional psychology might seek to formally organize into a uniquely recognized area.

The histories, current status, and futures of forensic psychology and correctional psychology are distinct but related. There has been and continues to be great interest in both subfields—especially the potential for forensic and correctional psychological science to help resolve practical issues and questions in legal and justice settings. Psychologists and students interested in these subfields can harness the information provided herein to better understand and differentiate between these subfields as well as contribute to their further evolution.



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Table 1. Examples of Psychological Science and Practice in Forensic and Correctional Contexts.

|                     | Psychological Science   | Psychological Practice  |
|---------------------|---|---|
| <b>Forensic</b>     | <p><u>Clinical</u>: Experimental research to understand how people try to malingering mental illness (could be used for diagnostic decision making).</p> <p><u>Social</u>: Experimental research to understand how the racial composition of small groups affects group decision making (could be applied to understand jury decision making).</p> <p><u>Cognitive</u>: Experimental research to understand people’s abilities to recognize objects and faces during stress (could be applied to eyewitness credibility).</p> <p><u>Developmental</u>: Experimental research to understand under what conditions (and at what age) children make things up and can distinguish fact from fantasy (could be applied to allegations of childhood abuse).</p>  | <p><u>Clinical</u>: Psychologist evaluates a defendant and applies what is scientifically known about how people try to malingering mental illness (along with assessing other relevant abilities) to inform a judge’s determination of whether that defendant is competent to stand trial.</p> <p><u>Social</u>: Psychologist submits an amicus brief summarizing the science of how racial composition affects group decision making to inform a judge’s adjudication of an appeal claiming that a particular racially-imbalanced jury was unfairly biased against a defendant.</p> <p><u>Cognitive</u>: Psychologist testifies about the science of human memory under stress to inform a jury’s decisions about the credibility of a particular eyewitness’s identification of a defendant.</p> <p><u>Developmental</u>: Psychologist testifies about how stressors affect children’s abilities to distinguish fact from fantasy to assist a judge’s determination of the veracity of a particular child’s allegation of sexual abuse in the context of a divorce proceeding.</p> |
| <b>Correctional</b> | <p><u>Clinical</u>: Experimental research to understand whether various rehabilitative conditions of confinement reduce recidivism likelihood, and if that relationship is mediated by reduced symptoms of anxiety, trauma, and/or anger (could be applied to correctional housing).</p> <p><u>Social</u>: Experimental research to understand the structural and interpersonal conditions under which powerful and powerless people interact that lead to abuse (could be applied to mitigate abuse in institutions).</p> <p><u>Cognitive</u>: Experimental research to understand how isolation affects mental functioning, learning, memory, attention, perception, reasoning, and moral decision making (could be applied to correctional housing).</p> <p><u>Developmental</u>: Experimental research to understand the effects of varying levels of restrictive confinement on adolescent development and recidivism likelihood (could be applied to juvenile justice housing).</p> | <p><u>Clinical</u>: Psychologist is hired by the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) to implement a new evidence-based rehabilitation program developed through a collaboration of clinical-correctional psychologists and the BOP.</p> <p><u>Social</u>: Psychologist consults with prison systems to design evidence-based administrative policies regarding structural conditions and officer – inmate relations to reduce the risk of harm to officers and inmates.</p> <p><u>Cognitive</u>: Psychologist works with local lawmakers to create a new state law restricting the punitive use of solitary confinement in prisons.</p> <p><u>Developmental</u>: Psychologist testifies before Congress about the effects of restrictive housing conditions on adolescents' recidivism likelihood to advocate a new policy mandating less restrictive and punitive conditions.</p>  |

Note: The simplistic division between science and practice in this table masks the complexity, diversity, and utility of actual research. Some of these examples could fit in both correctional and forensic contexts. For instance, the results of many of the examples described for correctional psychological science could be used in forensic contexts too (e.g., in legislation, policy, administration, testimony) – and the scientist conducting the work does not have to intend for that to be the case in order for the work to be used in a forensic or correctional context (although of course they can). These examples are more basic, but applied science is relevant too, like systematic program evaluation, scientific trial consulting, and evidence-to-practice implementation studies.

Table 2. Important Events in the Shared and Separate Histories of Forensic and Correctional Psychology

| Year              | Forensic Psychology Historical Events  | Shared Historical Events   | Correctional Psychology Historical Events  |
|-------------------|--|--|--|
| Mid-to-late 1800s |  | Establishment of the interrelated fields of psychology, criminology, and criminal justice (Brodsky, 1973). Wundt established the first psychological laboratory in Germany in 1879, and psychology arrived in the U.S. soon after (Watkins, 1992). Psychology was founded as a basic science, but several early psychologists (e.g., Hall, Cattell, Münsterberg, Witmer) advocated for an applied branch of psychology (Sobel & Corman, 1992). | Haney (2006) argued that the emerging discipline of psychology helped create and legitimize America’s unique prison form. Psychology’s emphasis on individualism helped create the foundational belief of our prison system that prisoners were the agents of their own demise and they “could and should be remade and reformed through the treatment they received in prison” (p. 38). |
| 1908              | Münsterberg published book <i>On the Witness Stand</i> about psychology’s promise for the legal system; it was fiercely lambasted by legal scholar Wigmore (Brigham & Grisso, 2003). |  |  |
| 1909              | Healy and Fernald established an assessment clinic within the Cook County (Chicago) Juvenile Court to assess youths and help the court develop rehabilitation plans (Brodsky, 1973). |  |  |
| ~1910             |  |  | Healy and Fernald’s Juvenile Court Clinic extended its services to include treatment of adjudicated juveniles (Bartol & Bartol, 2014).   |
| 1913              |  |  | Psychologist Rowland was asked by the superintendent of the NY State Reformatory for Women to develop a test battery to identify those offenders who would benefit from educational programming and who could be released safely to the community. Based on the consultation’s success, the superintendent hired a prison psychologist (Watkins, 1992).                                  |
| 1914-1918         |  | During World War I, applied psychology grew as psychological testing (primarily new intelligence scales) was used on a wide scale for assessing potential military recruits (Brodsky, 1973).   |  |
| 1916              | New York City Police Department established a psychological assessment clinic for pretrial evaluations (Bartol & Bartol, 2014).  |  |  |

|           |  |   |  |
|-----------|--|---|--|
| 1917      | Healy and Bronner opened The Judge Baker Clinic to provide assessment services to the Boston Juvenile Court (Bartol & Bartol, 2014).   |   |  |
| 1918      |  |   | The first prison classification system to aid custody and treatment decisions was developed by psychologists at a New Jersey prison (Bartol & Bartol, 2014). And a psychological clinic was opened at Sing Sing Prison in NY by Dr. Bernard Glueck (Barnes, 1921).   |
| 1921      | <i>State v. Driver</i> – First documented case of a psychologist testifying as an expert witness (Brigham & Grisso, 2003).   |   |  |
| 1923      | <i>Frye v. U.S.</i> – established the first standard for the admissibility of scientific expert testimony. Based on psychologist Marston’s (Münsterberg student) polygraph (Brigham & Grisso, 2003)  |   |  |
| 1931      |  |   | First documentation of the Federal Bureau of Prisons employing a psychologist, in an industrial reformatory for first-time offenders (Limburg, 1934).  |
| 1934      |  |   | A symposium titled “The Work of the Psychologist in a Penal Institution” was held, and the papers from the symposium were published in <i>Psychological Exchange</i> . The papers focused on the role of and challenges for psychologists working in prisons, as well as a survey of state and federal prisons for the presence of psychologists (Limburg, 1934; Watkins, 1992). |
| 1939-1945 |  | During World War II, the Armed Forces again utilized psychology for assessing recruits. This demand led to more sophisticated and comprehensive psychological tools and further growth of applied psychology (Watkins, 1992). |  |
| 1940      | Wigmore’s legal evidence treatise (3 <sup>rd</sup> ed.) paved the way for the use of psychological test data in courtroom (Bartol & Bartol, 2014).<br><br><i>People v. Hawthorne</i> – Michigan Supreme Court ruled that psychologists could testify alongside medical doctors as expert witnesses in insanity |   |  |

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|      | cases (Brigham v. Grisso, 2003).  |  |   |
| 1953 |   |  | Initial founding of the Society of Correctional Psychologists (SSCP; later called the American Association for Correctional Psychology, and now the International Association for Correctional and Forensic Psychology) (Bartol & Freeman, 2005; Brodsky, 2007). SSCP struggled with continuity in the mid-1950s and published two ill-fated forerunners of <i>Criminal Justice and Behavior (Journal of Correctional Psychology and Correctional Psychologist</i> ; Bartol & Freeman, 2005). |
| 1954 | <i>Durham v. U.S.</i> – Justice Bazelon authored the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals opinion that gave wider latitude to mental health professionals to help the courts determine insanity as a “product” of mental disease or defect.                            |  |   |
| 1962 | <i>Jenkins v. U.S.</i> – Justice Bazelon authored the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals opinion that allowed psychologists to testify as well as medical experts in insanity cases. This decision sparked the beginning of the modern field of forensic psychology. | APA Division 12 (Clinical Psychology) appointed a Committee on Clinical Psychology and the Law, chaired by Shah. The committee produced a report published in three parts in <i>Professional Psychology</i> in 1969-1970. Each was relevant to forensic and correctional psychology. |   |
| 1967 |   | The National Institutes of Mental Health established the Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency in response to President Johnson’s pledge to apply science to social problems (NIMH, 2016). Shah became Chair of the center.  |   |
| 1968 |   | The American Psychology – Law Society was established by Ziskin with Dreikurs (a member of the 1962 Div.12 committee) with 13 other charter members in a hotel room at the APA conference (Grisso, 1991).  |   |
| 1969 |   |  | Andrews instituted a successful empirical model of service delivery in a Canadian prison. Thus began the rich culture of evaluation and empirical research in correctional psychology in Canada (see e.g., Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990; Gendreau & Andrews, 1990; Gendreau, Andrews, & Thériault, 2010).   |
| 1970 | Ziskin’s <i>Coping with Psychiatric and Psychological Testimony</i> was published. Ziskin   |  |   |

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|      | wanted psychology to develop a scientific basis to offer courts in the future, and sought to teach attorneys to demand better evidence from experts by revealing the weaknesses in mental health testimony (Grisso, 1991).  |  |  |
| 1971 |   | <i>Wyatt v. Stickney</i> – landmark case from an Alabama federal court with persuasive precedent that recognized a constitutional right to treatment for people involuntarily committed to state institutions. This case led to sweeping national reforms in minimum standards of care and rehabilitation for the mentally ill and developmentally disabled. | Fowler and Brodsky established the Center for Correctional Psychology at the University of Alabama with a major grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the U.S. Department of Justice to train correctional psychologists (Brodsky, 1973; Fowler & Brodsky, 1978)<br><br>The first modern prison classification system was developed by Jesness through collaboration with Warren and Palmer. Warren and Palmer’s initial project (upon which the inventory was developed) was funded by a grant from NIMH (Jesness, 1988). |
| 1972 | <i>U.S. v. Brawner</i> – Justice Bazelon, chief justice of the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals, decided <i>en banc</i> to overturn the 1954 Durham decision and replace the “product test” insanity standard with the American Law Institute Model Penal Code standard. This decision reclaimed insanity as a legal, rather than mental health, issue and reduced the court’s dependence on mental health expert testimony in insanity cases. |  | Brodsky organized the Lake Wales Conference, a three-day meeting of psychologists, sociologists, attorneys, and justice administrators to consider psychologists’ roles in the criminal justice system – especially corrections. This conference was encouraged and funded by Shah through a grant from the NIMH Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, among other funding (Brodsky, 1973, 1995).   |
| 1973 | The first professional manual for a forensic assessment tool was developed by Lipsitt and colleagues (Laboratory of Community Psychiatry). The tool, a screening for competency to stand trial, was funded by a grant from the NIMH Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency (Brodsky, 1995).  |  | Brodsky’s edited book <i>Psychologists in the Criminal Justice System</i> , a product of the Lake Wales Conference, was published. Most of the chapters focused on correctional psychology. The conference, and the volume “essentially legitimized the role of psychologists in correctional settings” (Magaletta, Butterfield, & Patry, 2016, p. 542) and “marked a watershed for correctional psychology... signaling its movement as a maturing discipline into the modern era” (Watkins, 1992, Abstract para. 3).                           |
| 1974 |   | The first American Psychology-Law Society (AP-LS) conference was held, chaired by Ziskin, Brodsky, Padawar-Singer, & Nash (Grisso, 1991).  | Brodsky founded <i>Criminal Justice and Behavior</i> , originally subtitled “An International Journal of Correctional Psychology.” <i>CJB</i> was primarily a correctional psychology  |

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|      |   |   | <p>journal until 1981, when the subtitle was dropped and the journal sought more interdisciplinarity - especially criminological perspectives (Bartol &amp; Freeman, 2005).</p> <p>Martinson, a sociologist, published a famous article summarizing an analysis of the earliest correctional rehabilitation programs, concluding that “nothing works.” His controversial essay captured widespread public attention and sparked an anti-rehabilitation campaign (Watkins, 1992). The campaign marshalled energy within correctional psychology to reformulate and reexamine rehabilitation, gradually shifting from “nothing works” to “what works?” (see e.g., Andrews et al., 1990; Gendreau &amp; Andrews, 1990).</p> |
| 1975 |   |   | <p>Division 18 of APA – Psychologists in Public Service – established the Criminal Justice Section, an organization largely reflecting correctional psychology (Baker, 2013).</p>  |
| 1976 |   |   | <p><i>Estelle v. Gamble</i> – the U.S. Supreme Court recognized a constitutional right to medical care for inmates.</p>  |
| 1977 | <p>The American Board of Forensic Psychology was formed, and later became affiliated with the American Board of Professional Psychology (Grisso, 1991).</p> | <p><i>Law and Human Behavior</i> was founded by Sales as an AP-LS-affiliated journal (Grisso, 1991).</p>  | <p><i>Bowring v. Godwin</i> – the federal 4<sup>th</sup> Circuit Court of Appeals extended <i>Estelle v Gamble</i> (1976) by deciding that inmates’ right to medical care includes mental health care.</p> <p>Megargee published his influential prison classification system based on the MMPI, which spawned a generation of research and application (Megargee &amp; Bohn, 1979; Clements, 1996).</p>   |
| 1978 |   | <p>The report of the APA Task Force on the Role of Psychology in the Criminal Justice System (convened in 1975) was published in <i>American Psychologist</i>. Two years later, Monahan, chair of the task force, published a six-chapter, 168-page edited monograph analyzing the ethical issues for psychologists in both forensic and correctional (and other criminal justice settings, such as police psychology) and made recommendations for practice – which subsequently made their way into the ethical guidelines in both subfields.</p> |  |
| 1979 |   | <p>Div 41 of APA formed, later merged with AP-LS in</p>   |  |



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|      |   | 1984 (Grisso, 1991). |  |
| 1980 |   |                      | The first set of ethics standards for the practice of psychology in correctional settings was developed by the American Association for Correctional Psychology (Levinson, 1980). These standards have been revised twice since then, most recently in 2010 (IACFP, 2010). |
| 1983 | <i>Barefoot v. Estelle</i> – U.S. Supreme Court decided that mental health professionals are competent to predict and testify to future dangerousness, despite Monahan’s NIMH-funded research showing that “psychiatrists and psychologists are accurate in no more than one out of three predictions of violent behavior...” (Monahan, 1981, p. 47).                       |                      |  |
| 1990 |   |                      | The Risk-Need-Responsivity paradigm is introduced (Andrews et al., 1990), which today is the most effective and influential model offender assessment and treatment.   |
| 1991 | The first Specialty Guidelines for Forensic Psychologists were developed by the Committee on Ethical Guidelines for Forensic Psychologists (1991). Although the guidelines were intended to be applicable to both forensic and correctional psychology, they were (and are) heavily forensic. The guidelines were revised and then authorized and published by APA in 2013. |                      |  |
| 2001 | Forensic psychology is recognized as a specialty area of psychology by the APA Commission for the Recognition of Specialties and Proficiencies in Professional Psychology (APA, 2017).  |                      |  |
| 2007 |   |                      | The first North American Correctional and Criminal Justice Psychology Conference series was held (again in 2011, 2015).  |