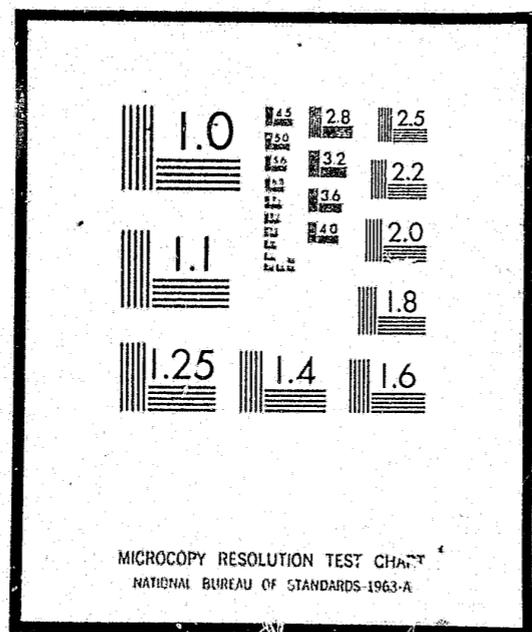


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By

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P R E F A C E

This dissertation was written while the author was working as a research assistant at the Bay Area Research Unit, Research Division, California Department of Corrections. It will be obvious from the large number of cases analysed in this dissertation, that many individuals were involved in the analysis and collection of the data. The list of names of individuals involved in some capacity with the research project is too long to mention everyone individually. However, gratitude is especially due to Margo Fagerstrom, Nelson Inman, and in particular James Robison, whose patience and criticism was a continual source of encouragement.

R. Kingsnorth

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Parole organizations are an area of study much neglected by sociologists. The literature in this area, such as it is, is written largely from an administrative perspective. In this view, the potential efficacy of some kind of organizational bureaucracy of the type already existing, is assumed rather than questioned. Thus we are exposed, in this literature, to pleas for greater and greater reductions in caseload size; wise admonitions regarding the judicious application of authority rules; when and when not to be firm with the client and so on. Such utterances comprise the mythology of casework, and are intuitive assessments whose claim to validity is experience and training. The belief that experience and training is a certain ground for rational judgement* is, however, open to question.** It is highly doubtful whether rational judgement can be rendered in the absence of systematically organized feedback on the efficacy of alternative judgements. Such an absence is

*Rational judgement, as the term is used here, refers to the selection, on the basis of available information, of that alternative which maximises pay-off with regard to stated objectives.

**It has been demonstrated that in the absence of systematic feedback confidence in the accuracy of decisions varies with experience. But accuracy itself does not vary with experience.¹

characteristic of decision making in our correctional and judicial agencies; parole agents do not know if cases returned to institutions for parole violations would have abstained from criminal violations if retained on parole; judges do not know if cases sentenced to institutions would have succeeded on probation. It is essential, therefore, that claims based on experience should be recognized for what they are - intuitive beliefs ungrounded in reliable evidence.

When researchers have directed their attention to the parole system, it has usually been towards the evaluation of assorted correctional treatment programs. Some of this work has been of value, although much of it has consisted of researchers attempting post hoc evaluations of programs designed by administrators where controls were inadequate to the task of legitimate inference, or programs were not implemented as they were originally planned. Studies of the parole system as a formal organization with hierarchically distributed rights and responsibilities and assigned decision tasks are significantly few.*

The dearth of sociological scholarship in this area promises to be remedied in the future. Increasingly students of deviant behaviour are directing their attention away from social structural variables and offender personality variables,

*Of the few available works in this area, Evaluation Systems and Adaptations in a Formal Organization, by P. Takagi, Stanford University Library, is worthy of mention.

and focusing upon organizational processes within the social control agencies in an attempt to understand the bases upon which individuals come to be labelled deviant. This focus found early expression in the writings of Tannenbaum (1938):²

The process of making the criminal therefore is a process of tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasising, and evoking, the very traits that are complained of. If the theory of relation of response to stimulus has any meaning, the entire process of dealing with the young delinquent is mischievous insofar as it identifies him to himself or to the environment as a delinquent person.

Tannenbaum focused upon the societal reaction to deviance as the major independent variable, emphasizing the impact of social definitions on the delinquents image of himself. It was his contention that the stabilization of deviant behaviour took place as a consequence of the individual's internalization of society's definition of him as a delinquent. Tannenbaum's theory is thoroughly sociological and purports to account only for deviant careers, not for the "accidental criminal"* or "crimes of passion", in which instances he acknowledges that theories which "seek the cause of crime in the individual may have greater application."

However, Tannenbaum's point of view lay neglected in the shadow of Merton's theory of Anomie until it was again put forward by Edwin Lemert in Social Pathology (1951).³ Favourable response led Lemert to further develop the theory

* Tannenbaum does not attempt to define the term "accidental".

in a later essay in which he distinguishes two separate research problems:

1. How deviant behaviour originates.
2. How deviant acts are symbolically attached to persons and the effective consequences of such attachment for subsequent deviation on the part of the person.⁴

In this manner Lemert distinguishes between "primary" and "secondary" deviation, and considers the latter to be of far greater theoretical significance:

Secondary deviation is deviant behaviour, or social roles based upon it, which become means of defence, attack or adaptation to the overt and covert problems created by the societal reaction to primary deviation. In effect the original causes of the deviation recede and give way to the central importance of the disapproving, degradational and isolating reactions of society.⁵

Whether or not the "causes" of primary deviation do "recede and give way" to the societal reaction variables remains at this point an untested assumption. In fact very little empirical evidence exists in either the sociological or psychological literature which clarifies the problems of formation of identity and the ways in which identity influences behaviour. One of the few empirical efforts conducted in this area is that by Sherwood who summarized his findings thus:

The hypothesis that the greater the ambiguity (or variance) in evaluation by referent others, the more the self esteem motive enhances the person's self evaluation, is tested and supported. Where the evaluations

by peer group members is low: a) the correspondence between self evaluation and the mean of others evaluations is strong, and b) both self evaluations and peer evaluations tend to be lower. Where the variance in others evaluations is high: a) the correspondence between self evaluation and others evaluations is weaker, and b) while self evaluations tend to be higher than the mean of others evaluations, both self evaluation scores and peer evaluation scores are higher.⁶

Further evidence supporting the hypothesis is presented by Rosenthal who became interested in the social psychology of the psychological experiment, specifically the impact of the experimenter's hypothesis on experimental results. Treating the experimenter's hypothesis as the independent variable, Rosenthal presents persuasive data derived from numerous laboratory experiments indicating that such an effect exists⁷. Rosenthal then carried his research out of the laboratory E-S dyad and into the schoolroom to evaluate if teacher expectations influenced pupil performance. All pupils in one high school were tested for I.Q. level and a random group selected whose teachers were told that these children were scheduled for rapid advancement in the next year. Follow-up after one year indicated that the I.Q. scores of the experimental group had increased to a significantly greater extent than I.Q. scores of controls. Rosenthal concluded his research with the following statement:

Experimenters, teachers, psychotherapists, and probably 'ordinary' people can effect the behaviour of those with whom they interact by virtue of their expectations of what that behaviour will be.⁸

These are small beginnings and indicate that much research needs to be done. However, despite the limited amount of supporting evidence, Tannenbaum and Lemert's perspective has captured wide support among sociologists in the last decade and stimulated research into the organizational processes of social control agencies in an attempt to grasp the bases on which some individuals and not others are selected out and conscripted into the deviant status categories. Kitsuse has commented:

. . . in modern society the socially significant differentiation of deviants from the non-deviant population is increasingly contingent upon circumstances of situation place, social and personal biography, and bureaucratically organized activities of agencies of control.⁹

In this view it is the status of the deviant rather than his behaviour which is regarded as problematic:

Furthermore, the argument continues, the status of the mental patient is more often an ascribed status with conditions for status entry external to the patient, than an achieved status with conditions for status entry dependent upon the patient's own behaviour. According to this argument the societal reaction is a fundamentally important variable in all stages of a deviant career.¹⁰

In his studies of decision processes leading to involuntary confinement of mental patients Scheff concluded:

. . . the motivations of the key decision makers in the screening process may be significant in determining the extent and direction of the societal reaction. In the case of psychiatric screening of persons alleged to be mentally ill, the social differentiation of the deviant from the non-deviant population appears to be

materially effected by the financial, ideological, and political position of the psychiatrists, who are in this instance, the key agents of social control.¹¹

This perspective clearly represents a departure from mainstream sociological theorists who emphasize the aetiological significance of social structural variables for the study of deviant behaviour. Structural theorists have repeatedly bemoaned the unreliability of the relevant data and then proceeded to construct theories to account for the problems indicated by this data as though they were unaware of its unreliability. Thus Merton, author of one of the most influential theories in sociology, observes on the one hand:

. . . whatever the differential rates of deviant behaviour, and we know from many sources that the official crime statistics uniformly showing higher rates in the lower strata are far from complete or reliable, . . .¹²

and on the other:

Fraud, corruption, vice, crime, in short the entire catalogue of proscribed behaviour, becomes increasingly more common when the emphasis on the culturally induced success goals becomes divorced from a coordinated institutional emphasis.¹³

This disjunction between means and ends increases as we move downwards in the social strata:

The limitation of opportunity to unskilled labour and the resultant low income cannot compete in terms of conventional standards of achievement with the high income from organized vice.¹⁴

Merton observes the unreliability of official statistics on the one hand, and on the other assumes that the picture they paint is essentially correct.

As indicated by Kitsuse and Scheff (quoted above) it is central to the interactionist perspective that the procedures which generate the unreliable data be subjected to scrutiny and that attempts be made to delineate the variables which influence these procedures. One of the most impressive attempts in this area is that by Aaron Cicourel - The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice. Noting that large discrepancies existed in the delinquency rates of two comparable cities, Cicourel analysed the procedural arrangements for handling juveniles in both cities and concluded:

Organizational policies and their articulation with actual cases via the background expectancies of officers differentially authorized to deal with juveniles, directly changed the size of the 'law-enforcement' net for recognizing and processing juveniles viewed as delinquent and determined the size and conception of the social problem. The sociologist, therefore, cannot take community and law enforcement definitions of deviance and their routine organizational processing as obvious in his descriptions and analysis of 'social problems'.¹⁵

Piliavin and Briar analyzed the content of police-juvenile encounters in an attempt to discern the basis upon which police officers differentially invoke the various disposition alternatives available to them. On the basis of extensive observations of such encounters, the authors found a marked association between the "demeanour" of the

youth towards police officers and the severity of police dispositions:

SEVERITY OF POLICE DISPOSITION
BY YOUTH'S DEMEANOUR

| <u>Severity of Police Disposition</u> | <u>Youth's Demeanour</u> | | <u>Total</u> |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| | <u>Cooperative</u> | <u>Uncooperative</u> | |
| Arrest | 2 | 14 | 16 |
| Citation or Official Reprimand | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| Informal Reprimand | 15 | 1 | 16 |
| Admonish & Release | 24 | 1 | 25 |
| TOTAL | 45 | 21 | 66 |

Piliavin and Briar concluded their study with the following remarks:

The observations made in this study serve to underscore the fact that the official delinquent as distinguished from the juvenile who simply commits a delinquent act, is the product of a social judgement, in this case a judgement made by the police. He is a delinquent because someone in authority has defined him as one, often on the basis of the public face he has presented to officials rather than the kind of offense he has committed.¹⁶

Another noteworthy effort to identify the factors involved in this selection process at the police level is provided by Chambliss and Liell. Differing from the strategy of Piliavin and Briar, who observed a large number of police-juvenile interactions, Chambliss and Liell analyzed in detail one particular case of law enforcement.

According to these researchers police perceive arrests as either "risky" or "safe", depending on "the place where the offense occurs; the seriousness of the offense; and the reputation of the persons involved."

They concluded:

Accordingly it is these organizational considerations that determine who is defined by the community as deviant. The fact of deviance itself is a point of only secondary importance. It is the organizations ability to prosecute safely that is of primary consideration in determining who will be prosecuted and how the prosecution will be accomplished.¹⁷

It should not be assumed that such selection processes are characteristic only at this introductory stage of the criminal justice system. Rather we should anticipate that where discretionary power exists (and it is characteristic of all levels in the judicial system) then not only will irrelevant criteria be invoked in the decision process but also that considerable variation will exist between decision makers in the type of disposition they accord to similar cases. Two decades ago, with regard to sentencing behaviour in the courts, Gaudet, after summarizing the literature in this area, was moved to comment:

1. That the influence of the human equation is as great in the sentencing tendencies of judges as it is in the other fields of human judgement which have been studied.
2. That legal nominalism as expressed by Blackstone ('the judgement, though pronounced or awarded by the judges is not their determination but the determination or sentence of the Law')

is one of the most fallacious of all types of legal fiction.¹⁸

The most thorough American study in sentencing behaviour was conducted by Green in Philadelphia. Green analyzed 1,437 cases divided among eighteen judges and sentenced during the period 1956-57. He found a high degree of similarity in the length of penitentiary sentences imposed by the different judges on similar cases. Less impressive is the similarity between the judges in the selection between disposition alternatives for similar cases:

The gravity of the cases is controlled by assigning to each case a score based upon the observed relationship between each of the legal criteria for sentencing and the severity of the sentences - the higher the score the more serious the case.

In the category of low score cases two groups of judges emerge: six impose sentences of non-imprisonment in no more than half of their respective cases. In the cases of intermediate gravity three groups of judges take form. One group of three judges metes out penitentiary sentences in the range of 0.0% to 11.8%; the range for the second group of eight judges is 18.4% to 34.2%; and for a third group of six judges it is 38.0% to 57.1%. Within the high score cases, the major division occurs between the fourteen judges who sentence over half of their respective cases to penitentiary terms and the four who impose such sentences in less than half of their cases.¹⁹

Cameron studied differentials in courts' responses to cases of shoplifting and found striking differences between Negro and white women both in terms of the proportion found 'not guilty', and the proportion sentenced

to jail. No substantial differences were found between Negro and white women in terms of previous arrests or the value of the merchandise stolen.²⁰

Moving into the international scene, we find that decision studies investigating the sentencing behaviour of judges in England and Canada have produced data indicating similar discrepancies as those found in the United States.

Hood, after observing that the proportion of adult males sentenced to imprisonment for indictable offenses in England varied widely between magistrates courts, analyzed a sample of case materials and found:

1. Any variations in the type of offenders appearing before these courts are not highly correlated with variations in the use of imprisonment.
2. The imprisonment policies of the magistrate's appear to be related to the social characteristics of the area they serve, the social constitution of the bench, and its particular view of the crime problem.
3. There are few differences between the cases chosen for probation and those for conditional discharge.²¹

In Canada, Jaffary compared the ten Canadian provinces in terms of magistrate's decisions on cases accused of one of six common indictable offenses (assault causing bodily harm, common assault, assault on a peace officer, breaking and entering, and theft, and false pretenses*). He found considerable variation between the

*Canada has a National Penal Code so the Provinces do not vary in their definitions of these crimes.

provinces in the use of short jail sentences, probation, suspended sentences, fines and imprisonment.²²

Observed differentials in court sentencing practices have led to efforts such as Training Institutes for Judges, conferences where judges, probationers and parolees can meet together, and suggestions that judges spend a minimum amount of time in institutions - all designed to stimulate greater uniformity in decisions and/or an increased proportion of more humanitarian dispositions. Such reasoning is limited in that it ignores principles of rationality and the social situation of the courtroom. The concept of uniformity is of only peripheral significance to the principle of rationality. Rationality (in the statistical sense) refers to the selection, on the basis of available information, of that alternative which maximizes pay-off with respect to the designated objectives of the decision. Since the concept of uniformity does not include the dimension of objectives, it is possible to be uniformly non-rational. All efforts to increase uniformity in decision making therefore contribute nothing to correctional effectiveness.

With regard to attempts to promote more humanitarian (i.e., probation) dispositions, it should be pointed out that no necessary relationship exists between the more humanitarian dispositions and correctional effectiveness (although the available data indicates that probation and imprisonment are equally effective).²³ Furthermore, such attempts ignore the influence of factors beyond the personality

of the judge which influence the decision process, notably, the probation officer's recommendation to the court. Of the available studies dealing with probation officer recommendation and judicial decision, the most noteworthy is that by Wilkins and Carter. These authors present data indicating that while the percentage of cases placed on probation by a sample of United States District Courts varied widely (a range of more than 60%), the rate of agreement between probation officers' recommendations (for probation) and judges' decisions was consistently high (94.1%) across all districts.

USE OF PROBATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR AND AGAINST PROBATION BY SELECTED UNITED STATES
DISTRICT COURTS FISCAL YEAR 1964*

| COURTS | % USE OF PROBATION | % OF CASES REC. PROBATION & GRANTED PROBATION | % OF CASES REC. AGAINST PROBATION BUT GRANTED PROBATION |
|--------|-----------------------|--|---|
| A | 78.3 | 97.3 | 36.4 |
| B | 71.4 | 95.1 | 34.4 |
| C | 70.7 | 96.3 | 0.0 |
| D | 70.4 | 95.0 | 18.2 |
| E | 70.2 | 100.0 | 3.6 |
| F | 50.8 | 94.3 | 15.2 |
| G | 50.0 | 100.0 | 5.9 |
| H | 50.0 | 95.4 | 12.8 |
| I | 50.0 | 92.9 | 0.0 |
| J | 49.7 | 100.0 | 16.7 |
| K | 49.6 | 96.6 | 0.0 |
| L | 36.8 | 100.0 | 0.0 |
| M | 36.5 | 100.0 | 12.0 |
| N | 35.6 | 93.7 | 6.8 |
| O | 28.5 | 89.1 | 33.8 |
| P | 26.3 | 86.4 | 13.8 |
| TOTAL | 50.2 | 94.1 | 19.7 |

*This Table is an abbreviated version of the table presented by Carter and Wilkins.

The rate of agreement between probation officers' recommendations and judges' decisions falls when considered by probation officers' recommendations against probation (see Table). The authors concluded that "in a sense, if this relationship measures 'punitiveness' then it may be concluded that the probation officer is more punitive than the judge."²⁴

No data is presented in the Wilkins-Carter paper indicating whether the differences in percentage of cases recommended probation between the separate courts is supported or unsupported by differences in the types of cases coming before the probation officer. While no definitive conclusions can therefore be supported in this instance, data from other sources lend considerable weight to the contention that such variations reflect differences in orientation between decision-makers rather than differences in the types of cases considered.

Wilkins conducted a simulated decision study with probation officers who were required to formulate decisions utilizing information provided them on an information board. Discrete items of information were reproduced on index cards and arranged on a board such that only the lower edge containing the classification title was visible. The information area (e.g., employment) could be identified by the card title, and the information itself could be read by flipping the card. The subjects were required to utilize the information in formulating a decision of whether or not to recommend

probation for the particular case considered. The information could be read in any order chosen by the probation officers who were told that the purpose of the study was to see how quickly, and utilizing as little information as possible, they could arrive at a decision. Wilkins concluded:

The ways in which people seek and utilize information in the course of decision-making may be characteristic of the persons concerned rather than the types of decisions.

Very considerable individuality is revealed in the types of information sought at different times (by probation officers), but some uniformity is to be noted in that just over one half of the officers referred to the details of the offense behaviour at an early stage whereas others did not do so. Some officers did not refer to this item of information at all.²⁵

Takagi and Robison conducted a decision study involving all members of a state parole agency (260 caseload carrying agents, 38 unit office supervisors, 5 regional administrators, 15 members from regional headquarters staff and the chief of the parole agency). All subjects were provided with a set of ten parolee case histories (in summary form) already processed by the parole agency and the parole board. All subjects were required to make a decision on each case recommending that the case be either "returned to the institution" or "continued on parole". Takagi and Robison present the following Table in summary of their findings:

| NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS | NUMBER OF RETURN RECOMMENDATIONS ON TEN CASES | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|-----|-----|-------|------|------|------|-------|-------|------|-----|
| | Zero | One | Two | Three | Four | Five | Six | Seven | Eight | Nine | Ten |
| NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS | 0 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 26 | 36 | 67 | 88 | 53 | 33 | 5 |
| PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS | 0.0 | .3 | .6 | 2.2 | 8.2 | 11.3 | 21.1 | 27.6 | 16.7 | 10.4 | 1.6 |

N = 318

About half the subjects (49%) decided to return either six or seven of the cases. The range among the 318 was from one agent who chose to continue all but one case on parole to five agents who chose to return all ten to prison. Even subjects who continued the same number of cases on parole were not often in agreement about which of the cases they should continue. For example, the most frequent number of continue recommendations was three cases (seven returns) produced by 88 subjects; these 88 arrived at three continues in over twenty different ways (e.g., cases A, C, and I, or cases D, E, and G, or cases A, H, and I) and every one of the ten cases appeared in at least one of these combinations of three.²⁶

The authors concluded:

The variability among agents on case recommendations, as documented above, offers some support for an assertion often heard from parolees: 'Whether or not you make it on parole all depends on which agent you happen to get.'²⁷

The ten case histories administered to parole agents by Takagi and Robison in 1965 were resubmitted to a sample of agents in 1967 (the sample consisted of all parole agents in one administrative region and included - with interesting results* - agents' secretarial staff). Kingsnorth found that the median number of cases recommended "continue on parole" in this region had risen from 3.0 in 1965 to 5.0 in 1967.²⁸ (Agents who took the test in 1965 but not in 1967 recommended a median number of 3.0 cases continue, while agents who took the test in 1967 but not in 1965 recommended

*Secretaries in more punitive offices offered more punitive recommendations than their counterparts in more lenient offices suggesting some kind of cultural transmission effect between agents and their secretaries.

a median number of 5.0 cases continue so the overall shift in recommendation patterns cannot be attributed to this source.) In other words, cases that would have been returned to the institution for a technical violation of parole in 1965 would have been retained on parole in 1967.

Since the case stimuli in both studies were identical, this change in decision patterns cannot be attributed to changes in client behaviour. The finding supports the position that recidivism rates should be regarded in the context of an interaction between client and decision maker with the latter's orientation being perhaps as crucial a determinant as the former's behaviour.²⁹

It was concluded that the most probable explanation for the difference in recommendation patterns in these years was the change in agency policy that took place in this period and which emphasized maintaining marginal cases in the community.³⁰

It should be pointed out that the recommendation "return to the institution" is a disposition alternative justified by the parole agency in terms of its assumed predictive relationship to the "return to the institution with new commitment" decision. In other words, it is assumed that parole agents can predict future criminal behaviour on the part of parolees on the basis of present non-criminal difficulties, and that such future criminal behaviour can be forestalled by removing the parolee from the community. The validity or non-validity of this assumption can be demonstrated empirically:

Across offices, neither long jail sentences nor prison returns to finish terms were significantly related to prison returns with new commitment: rho. return TFT vs. return with new commitment = $-.166(n.s.)$.³¹

In summary the existing parole literature indicates that returns to the institution of parole violators is an agency controlled decision influenced by attitudes of decision makers and whatever happens to be the current agency policy. Whether the individual parolee successfully completes his term on parole or is drafted into the status of a parole violator returned to the institution to finish his term is heavily contingent on circumstances of time and place, rather than his behaviour. Furthermore, parole violating behaviour clearly falls into the category of secondary deviation:

Even more revealing of second order deviance is the revocation of parole for drinking, for getting married without permission of the parole officer, or leaving the local area for any of a variety of reasons which would be deemed entirely normal or good for other unstigmatized persons.³²

Finally, it should be reiterated that the justification of the "return to the institution to finish term" disposition as a preventive measure against future criminal behaviour finds no empirical support.

In the following chapters we shall present data analysing parole agent decisions regarding whether or not to discharge the parolee from parole, and which essentially supports the above conclusions although in the context of

a different decision.

Our study may be regarded as an extension of those decision studies briefly discussed in this chapter. We are concerned with whether variations in case decisions are correlated with variations in types of cases. We are interested in variations in case decisions by position in the administrative hierarchy, and in discovering those factors most efficient in discriminating between decision alternatives.

A brief statement of procedure is in order. The data source utilized was Parole Agent Reports which summarized case histories and included case recommendation which were then processed through the administrative hierarchy to the California Adult Authority for final decisions as to whether the case should be discharged or continued on parole. Over 2,000 cases (i.e., the total population) were content analyzed across approximately fifty code categories. The code categories were developed by six researchers on a sample of 324 cases (the total population of case reports for one administrative region). The coding format was then applied to the remaining cases and a reliability check maintained on a random sample of 20% of the total cases. Code definitions of all the code categories discussed in this report can be found in the Appendix.

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CHAPTER I I

THE PRIMARY REVIEW: 2943 P.C.

In 1965 the California State Legislature enacted legislation providing for the discharge from parole of all parolees who had served a minimum of two successful years on parole,^{1,2} conditional upon a favourable case review by the Adult Authority. The report by the committee which recommended this bill to the Legislature outlined the purpose of this law:

Establish as a requirement for parole supervision in excess of two years, following release from prison, that the authorities must make an affirmative finding of the need for continuation of this State expense.

The adoption of this measure will simply emphasize the importance of a two year post-institutional evaluation and will not prevent, on the basis of verified need, continued supervision.

The adoption of this measure should result in more effective utilization of the services of parole agents. In order to achieve this result, it will be necessary for the present Department of Finance formula for determining the ratio of parole agents to parolees be modified.

The parolees remaining on parole after this

¹The term "successful" meaning no returns to prison, or parole suspensions during this period.

²Parolees carrying life sentences were not eligible for consideration under this provision.

screening present an evaluated need for careful continuous supervision.

Two important points emerge from this report. First, the purpose of this law is to reduce State expense in this area and to utilize more effectively the parole agents' services via reduced caseloads. Second, and more important for our purposes, the law provided for discharge from parole, unless justification could be shown for continued supervision, rather than continued supervision unless justification could be shown for discharge. The tone is, therefore, radical rather than conservative, and if the bill were implemented in the spirit in which it was written we would expect this orientation to be reflected in the discharge rate.

The law as it is actually written into the California Penal Code is as follows:

Section 1. Section 2943 P.C. is added to the Penal Code, to read:
2943 P.C. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, when any person other than a person imprisoned under a life sentence has been released on parole from the state prison, and has been on parole continuously for two years since release from confinement, the Adult Authority, in the case of a male prisoner, and the Board of Trustees of the California Institution for Women in the case of a female prisoner, shall, within 30 days, determine whether or not, by the standard of his rehabilitation, such persons term of imprisonment shall terminate on the expiration of such 30 day period. The Authority or Board shall make a written copy of its determination and transfer a copy thereof to the parolee. If the Authority or Board so determines that such person's term shall be terminated, he shall be completely discharged at the end of such 30 day period.

At the time of the implementation of 2943 P.C.

(hereafter referred to as primary review), the Adult Authority also formulated a policy statement known as P.S. 275 (hereafter referred to as subsequent review), providing for further review of cases every twelve months subsequent to a "Continue on Parole" action under the primary review provision, assuming no routine expiration had taken place during that time. Data will also be presented regarding the implementation of this policy statement.

Structure of the Correctional System

During the period under study the Department of Corrections Parole Agency was divided into five regional areas, each region being supervised by a regional administrator.* These regions were further divided into districts, each district being an administrative subdivision composed of eight to ten parole agents and administered by a district supervisor. There were forty-one districts in the State at the time of the study.**

In the context of the implementation of the primary review, parole agents are responsible for a case evaluation accompanied by an appropriate recommendation for either

* Since the time of the implementation of the primary review, the California Parole System has undergone several structural changes. For example, there are now four regions instead of five. This discussion is therefore valid only for the period September, 1965 to March, 1967.

** Since some of these districts have a very small eligible client population, they have been collapsed, giving 38 districts for purposes of analysis.

"continue on parole" or "discharge from parole". This report is then submitted to the District Supervisor, who, although he is not empowered to countermand the recommendation of the parole agent, nonetheless possesses the authority to submit a supplementary recommendation of his own, advising that he is not in agreement with the agent. The case is then submitted to a Regional Administrator, whose position is analagous to that of the District Supervisor, in that he is not empowered to overrule the recommendations of his two subordinates (i.e., the parole agent and the District Supervisor), but he is permitted to submit a supplementary recommendation of his own offering a divergent opinion. Each case was then forwarded for review to an "ad hoc" committee composed of two Hearing Representatives from the Adult Authority who were appointed specifically for the task of reviewing that backlog of cases created by the law. It is important to remember that this ad hoc committee was created only to dispose of the backlog of cases. Since its disappearance from the decision process following disposition of the backlog, important consequences for discharge rates under normal operating conditions have occurred. The report was then submitted by the Hearing Representatives to the Adult Authority member in whom was vested the responsibility of making the final decision. After the backlog of cases had been reviewed and the Hearing Representatives removed from the decision process, case recommendations were processed directly from Regional Administrators to the Adult Authority.

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATIVE HIERARCHY FACTORS

This chapter presents an analysis by position in the administrative hierarchy of recommendations submitted under the Primary Review provision at the State and Regional levels under both the Initial and Regular calendars.¹ The Initial calendar refers to the backlog of cases created by the enactment of the legislation as well as those cases which became eligible for review between September and December, 1965 (i.e., cases which concluded two successful years on parole during these months). Initial calendar cases were reviewed in the months of October, November, and December, 1965. All cases reviewed subsequent to that period comprise the Regular calendar.

Table I documents the magnitude of the variation in percentage discharge recommendations between districts within the State of California. The problem is immediately presented of the feasibility of explaining such a variation (from a high of 100% discharge recommendations to a low of 30% discharge recommendations) in terms of variations in the quality of cases evaluated in these different districts.

¹The discrepancies in the number of Initial Calendar cases which occur in the report tables (Table I, N=1,359, Table II, N=1,412, Table IV, N=1,455) are a result of early analysis of the data before all the reports had been collected. This was a consequence of slow processing of reports to the research unit from some of the parole districts. This deficiency resulted in no significant change in decision patterns.

T A B L E I

PERCENTAGE OF DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATIONS ON PRIMARY REVIEW
INITIAL CALENDAR* CASES BY UNIT OFFICE

| REGION | UNIT DESIGNATION | % DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATION | REGION | UNIT DESIGNATION | % DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATION |
|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|--------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| III | 1 | 100 | II | 20 | 65 |
| III | 2 | 96 | I | 21 | 64 |
| II | 3 | 95 | IV | 22 | 63 |
| V | 4 | 95 | IV | 23 | 62 |
| II | 5 | 90 | V | 24 | 61 |
| II | 6 | 88 | I | 25 | 60 |
| III | 7 | 87 | IV | 26 | 60 |
| III | 8 | 84 | II | 27 | 59 |
| I | 9 | 84 | V | 28 | 59 |
| III | 10 | 83 | IV | 29 | 56 |
| IV | 11 | 77 | V | 30 | 55 |
| II | 12 | 73 | V | 31 | 54 |
| IV | 13 | 73 | IV | 32 | 52 |
| III | 14 | 72 | V | 33 | 50 |
| V | 15 | 71 | I | 34 | 49 |
| I | 16 | 70 | II | 35 | 39 |
| IV | 17 | 70 | V | 36 | 34 |
| I | 18 | 68 | IV | 37 | 31 |
| II | 19 | 66 | IV | 38 | 30 |
| STATEWIDE = 64% | | | | | |

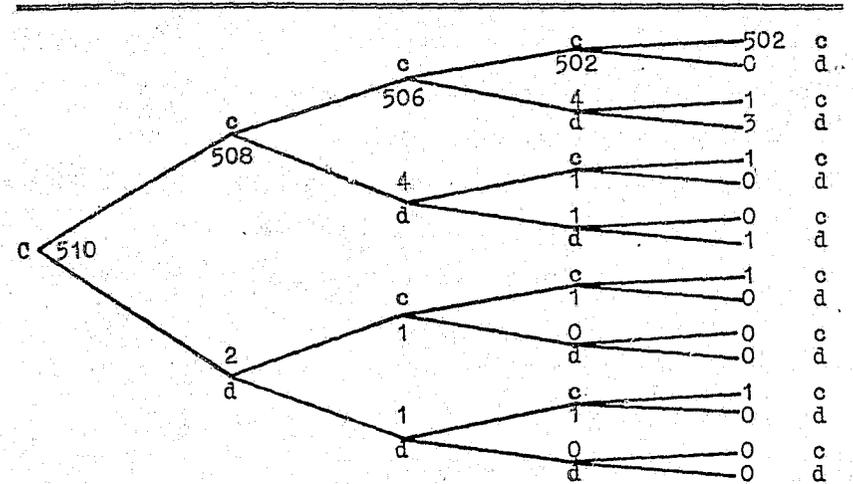
*N = 1,359, i.e., 93% of all Initial Calendar cases.

While some variation may exist in the types of cases reviewed, a more complete explanation would seem to require a thorough examination of the possibility of variation between decision makers in terms of the relative importance they attach to certain types of information in the process of formulating decisions.

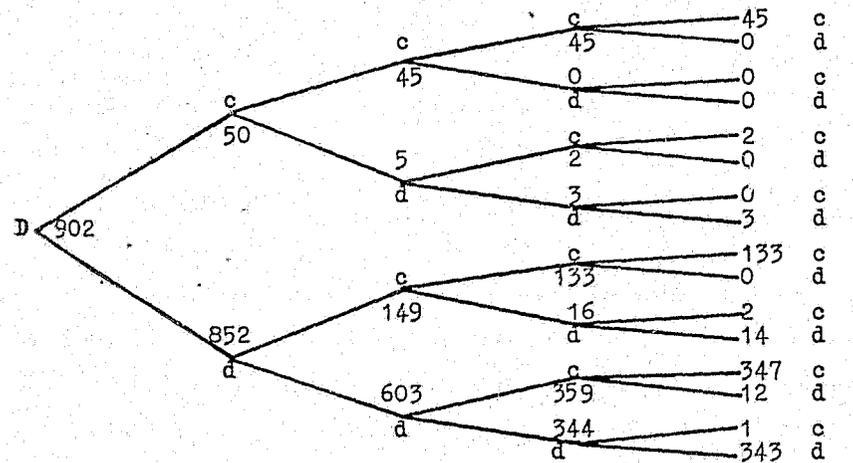
Table II documents three important phenomena. First, given a parole agent recommendation for "continue on parole" then an action to this effect will almost invariably be decided upon by the Adult Authority. Thus, of 510 cases submitted by parole agents recommending continue on parole, 502 enjoyed an uninterrupted passage through the higher levels of decision making, culminating in a continue on parole action by the Adult Authority. Of the remaining eight cases, four, though interrupted at a higher level by supplementary recommendations for discharge from parole, nevertheless received a continue decision from the Adult Authority. Second, a parole agent's recommendation for a discharge will, during its passage through the higher levels in the system, meet with increasing degrees of conservatism; each level, with the exception of the Adult Authority, is seemingly more prone than the preceding level to invert a discharge recommendation to a continue recommendation. Thus, it will be noted that District Supervisors depleted Parole Agent discharge recommendations by 5.5% and Regional Administrators reduced this number by a further 8.3%. The

T A B L E I I

DECISION FLOW CHART
INDICATING DECISIONS RENDERED ON ALL CASES
AT EACH STAGE OF THE DECISION HIERARCHY



1412 CASES



| | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------|
| PA = PAROLE AGENT | DS = DISTRICT SUPERVISOR | RA = REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR | HR = HEARING REPRESENTATIVE | AA = ADULT AUTHORITY | C = CONTINUE | D = DISCHARGE |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------|

Hearing Representatives, upon receiving recommendations for discharge on fifty per cent of the cases presented to them (these cases successfully passed through the lower administrative levels without receiving a supplementary recommendation differing from the original), submitted a continue on parole recommendation to the Adult Authority on over one half of them. Table II indicates that the Adult Authority is doing little more than acting as a rubber stamp to the Hearing Representatives' recommendations.

It is therefore apparent that each level in the decision making hierarchy is evaluating cases against a set of decision criteria different from that operating at other levels. If all levels in the system were evaluating cases against the same criteria, we would expect much closer agreement on all cases at all levels in the hierarchy. Such differences must reflect an inadequate statement of what the Adult Authority considers to be the appropriate standards of successful rehabilitation.

Table III indicates that the percentage of cases recommended for discharge within the five regions under the initial calendar varied from 53% in Region IV to 84% in Region III. Hypothesising that this variation in recommendation patterns might reflect variations in the client populations eligible for review in these regions, mean base expectancy scores were computed for the five regional populations. Table IV indicates the distribution of base expectancy categories for the eligible parole populations within the

T A B L E I I I
 PERCENTAGE OF DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATIONS
 ON THE 2943 P.C. INITIAL AND REGULAR CALENDAR
 BY DECISION LEVEL WITHIN REGIONS

| | <u>PA</u> | <u>DS</u> | <u>RA</u> | <u>HR</u> | <u>AA</u> |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <u>REGION I</u> | | | | | |
| Initial | 61 | 58 | 58 | 37 | 37 |
| Regular | 57 | 57 | 57 | -- | 55 |
| <u>REGION II</u> | | | | | |
| Initial | 70 | 70 | 70 | 32 | 32 |
| Regular | 68 | 68 | 68 | -- | 65 |
| <u>REGION III</u> | | | | | |
| Initial | 84 | 83 | 70 | 24 | 24 |
| Regular | 58 | 57 | 56 | -- | 44 |
| <u>REGION IV</u> | | | | | |
| Initial | 53 | 47 | 27 | 17 | 17 |
| Regular | 35 | 31 | 27 | -- | 24 |
| <u>REGION V</u> | | | | | |
| Initial | 58 | 51 | 40 | 26 | 25 |
| Regular | 38 | 36 | 35 | -- | 30 |

PA = Parole Agent Recommendation
 DS = District Supervisor Recommendation
 RA = Regional Administrator Recommendation
 HR = Hearing Representative Recommendation
 AA = Adult Authority Action

T A B L E I V

BASE EXPECTANCY SCORES OF PAROLEE'S BY PAROLE REGION

| BASE EXPECTANCY 61A SCORES* | PAROLE REGION | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|
| | REGION I | REGION II | REGION III | REGION IV | REGION V |
| 69 - 76 | 12.8 | 9.8 | 6.0 | 6.6 | 8.8 |
| 53 - 68 | 29.1 | 27.3 | 25.9 | 28.3 | 31.6 |
| 46 - 52 | 21.7 | 19.6 | 19.0 | 24.5 | 18.2 |
| 33 - 45 | 26.1 | 33.2 | 37.5 | 29.6 | 30.6 |
| 27 - 32 | 8.4 | 8.3 | 6.9 | 6.1 | 6.2 |
| 17 - 26 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 4.2 | 3.7 | 3.8 |
| 0 - 16 | .5 | 0 | .5 | .7 | .7 |
| TOTALS | 100.1% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 99.5% | 100.0% |
| MEAN BASE EXPECTANCY SCORE | 50.5 | 49.0 | 47.0 | 48.4 | 49.1 |

*A base expectancy score is an actuarial measure of a man's probable success on parole. The table is built utilizing multiple regression methods and based on the following information item:

- Five Year Arrest Free Period
- Few Jail Commitments (less than three)
- No History of Opiate Use
- Six Months Period of Employment per Single Employer
- No Alcohol Involvement
- Favorable Living Arrangements
- First Arrest not for Auto Theft
- This Commitment Offense not for Burglary or Checks
- First Commitment this Serial Number
- Few Arrests (less than three)
- No Family Criminal Involvement.

five regions under the Initial calendar. It is evident from the table that the client population as measured by the base expectancy formula does not vary significantly among regions.* Therefore explanations which attempt to account for variations in discharge recommendations between regions in terms of variations in the quality of material decided upon are not supported by this data.

If we consider variations, both in discharge actions and discharge recommendations between regions over time (i.e., between the initial and regular calendars), certain interesting trends can be observed (see Table III). It is apparent that recommendations for discharge under the regular calendar have fallen in all regions relative to initial calendar recommendations. However, in two of the regions (I and II), recommendations have fallen considerably less than in the other three. The most simple explanation for this occurrence is in terms of the sensitivity of agents to those levels in the hierarchy to whom they are immediately responsible, namely the district supervisors and regional administrators. It will be observed from Table III that in Regions I and II under the initial calendar "interference" in parole agents' recommendations at the levels of regional administrators and district supervisors is minimal in comparison to the other

*The mean base expectancy score for each region was computed by multiplying the mean of each base expectancy category by the number of subjects in that category, summing across all categories for each region and dividing by the total number of subjects in each region. Table III was computed only for those 1455 cases reviewed under the initial calendar.

three regions. It may be hypothesized that the subsequent fall in discharge recommendations submitted by parole agents under the regular calendar in these three regions is a direct response to the greater degree of "interference" in recommendations submitted under the initial calendar by regional supervisors and district administrators. An alternative hypothesis would be that in those regions where discharge recommendations have dropped considerably this reflects a deterioration in the quality of cases eligible for review. Again, this is unlikely.

Additionally, it should be remembered that under the regular calendar the hearing representatives were not an operating decision-level. The consequence of their disappearance from the scene is documented in Table III. The Adult Authority, previously concurring in hearing representative recommendations, now received recommendations processed to it directly from the regional administrators. The cutting back of discharge recommendations characteristic of the initial calendar is absent under regular conditions. Consequently, under the regular calendar, even though discharge recommendations have fallen (presumably due to the agents' becoming more aware of regional administrators' and district supervisors' standards as they were indicated by supplementary recommendations under the initial calendar), discharge actions are greater than under the initial calendar.

We may note that under the regular calendar the

amount of interruption of cases at the district supervisor and regional administrator levels has fallen in all regions, with the exception of Region II. (Under the initial calendar there was no "interference" from these levels in Region II and, hence, no opportunity for "interference" to decline later.) This possibility reflects the fact that parole agent recommendations, having fallen considerably under the regular calendar, are more in line with those of district supervisors and regional administrators. Additionally, known communication between regional administrators probably resulted in adjustments bringing them more in line with each other. Thus, during the regular calendar the amount of interference in recommendations at the regional level is broadly at the same level in all the regions although the actual percentage recommended for discharge continues to vary widely.

Some further points may be noted here regarding the distribution among regions and individual districts of "difference of opinion" submitted by district supervisors (Table V).

1. The phenomenon occurs in four of the regions under the initial calendar; and in one of the four, Region III, it occurs only once.
2. In Region I all "differences of opinion" registered at the district supervisor level emanated from one district.
3. Of the ten districts in Region IV, one of them

T A B L E V

PERCENTAGE OF PAROLE AGENT DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATION CASES DENIED
DISCHARGE BY THE ADULT AUTHORITY BY REGION BY CALENDAR

1/4

| | STATE | REGION I | REGION II | REGION III | REGION IV | REGION V |
|------------------|-------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|
| Initial Calendar | 38% | 24% | 38% | 60% | 36% | 33% |
| Regular Calendar | 8% | 2% | 3% | 14% | 11% | 8% |

NUMBER OF PAROLE AGENTS DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATION CASES SHIFTED TO
CONTINUE RECOMMENDATIONS BY REGION, BY CALENDAR AND DECISION LEVEL*

| | STATE | REGION I | REGION II | REGION III | REGION IV | REGION V |
|-------------------------|-------|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <u>INITIAL CALENDAR</u> | | | | | | |
| District Supervisor | 47 | 4 ^a | -- | 1 | 22 ^b | 20 ^c |
| Regional Administrator | 135 | -- | -- | 27 | 77 | 31 |
| Hearing Representative | 327 | 23 | 126 | 99 | 38 | 41 |
| <u>REGULAR CALENDAR</u> | | | | | | |
| District Supervisor | 11 | -- | -- | 1 | 7 | 3 |
| Regional Administrator | 10 | -- | -- | 1 | 8 | 1 |
| Hearing Representative | 35 | 2 | 4 | 13 | 6 | 8 |

- a. All were from a single district.
- b. 12 were from a single district. 3 districts accounted for 20.
- c. 10 were from a single district. Remainder were distributed.

*Only discharge recommendations shifted to continue recommendations are dealt with here, since shifts in the opposite direction (i.e., continue recommendations shifted to discharge recommendations) occurred in only eleven instances in over two thousand cases.

accounted for 55 percent of the total number of "differences of opinion" in the region. The addition of two more districts accounts for 91 percent of the total.

4. That, in Region V, 50 percent of the "differences of opinion" came from one district.

If, therefore, we examine the "differences of opinion" submitted at the district level by regions, we obtain a rather distorted view since it appears that at least two of the five regions are considerably out of line with the rest. This is, of course, true; but it seems more meaningful to examine the variance by districts, in which case, we find that, of the 38 districts, only five are very much out of line with the rest.

Reductions in interruptive activity at the intermediary decision levels under the regular calendar are also demonstrated and the effect of the absence of this activity on final actions. Thus it will be observed that "action shifts" of the "DC" type have fallen in all regions under the regular calendar.

CONTINUED

1 OF 4

CHAPTER IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

Parole agent reports were used as a data source for describing the client populations reviewed for discharge during October, November and December, 1965, under the Initial Calendar (1,455 cases), and from January to June, 1966, under the Regular Calendar (687 cases). Of the 1,455 cases reviewed under the Initial Calendar decision procedure 17% were granted discharge compared to 42% of those cases reviewed during the first six months of the Regular Calendar. In order to test the hypothesis that the observed difference in discharge actions across the two calendars reflects differences in the quality of cases reviewed, this chapter is devoted to a comparison of the two populations in terms of parole agent descriptions.

In terms of the characteristics coded from parole agent reports, the two study populations appear quite similar to one another; and the initial calendar population description (see Tables VI, VII, VIII) appears, in many respects, likely to be representative of the two-year "survivor" population. Three percent of the regular calendar population had experienced an interruption of parole (vs 2% initial calendar); 28 percent had been arrested and charged (vs 31%); 21 percent had experienced a "major" board action (vs 23%); 24 percent were required to report

T A B L E V I

PREVALENCE OF CERTAIN FACTOR CODES DURING THE INITIAL AND REGULAR CALENDARS AND THEIR RELATION TO DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATIONS AND DISCHARGE ACTIONS

| | PERCENT CASES WITH CHARACTERISTIC | | PERCENT WITH CHARACTERISTIC RECOMMENDED FOR DISCHARGE | | PERCENT ACTUALLY GRANTED DISCHARGE | |
|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------|---|-----------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | HEARINGS | | HEARINGS | | HEARINGS | |
| | Last Qtr. 1965 | 1st 6 Mos. 1966 | Last Qtr. 1965 | 1st 6 Mos. 1966 | Last Qtr. 1965 | 1st 6 Mos. 1966 |
| | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| | Initial Calendar N=1455 | | Regular Calendar N=687 | | | |
| FAVORABLE MASTER CODE | 42% | 45% | 93% | 84% | 42% | * |
| Good to Excellent General Adjustment | 33 | 34 | 87 | 78 | 40 | * |
| Positive Turnabout | 31 | 21 | 82 | 67 | 29 | * |
| Satisfactory Maturity | 71 | 63 | 79 | 75 | 33 | * |
| Cooperative | 43 | 36 | 78 | 67 | 30 | * |
| Statement of No Vices | 40 | 44 | 76 | 64 | 29 | * |
| No Statement of Vices | 37 | 36 | 73 | 56 | 34 | * |
| Satisfactory Peers & Leisure | 56 | 48 | 71 | 64 | 31 | * |
| Residing w/wife | 41 | 36 | 70 | 53 | 31 | * |
| ALL CASES | 100 | 100 | 64 | 49 | 27 | 43 |
| Conflict Relationship | 24 | 23 | 57 | 40 | 18 | * |
| Residing w/relative | 21 | 23 | 57 | 49 | 19 | * |
| Arrested and Charged | 31 | 28 | 45 | 25 | 7 | * |
| Convicted (sentence at least \$24 or 5 days) | 23 | 17 | 45 | 25 | 7 | * |

*Nearly Identical to Column D.

T-A-B-L-E V-I (continued)

| | PERCENT CASES WITH CHARACTERISTIC | | PERCENT WITH CHARACTERISTIC RECOMMENDED FOR DISCHARGE | | PERCENT ACTUALLY GRANTED DISCHARGE | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|---|-----------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | HEARINGS | | HEARINGS | | HEARINGS | |
| | Last Qtr. 1965 | 1st 6 Mos. 1966 | Last Qtr. 1965 | 1st 6 Mos. 1966 | Last Qtr. 1965 | 1st 6 Mos. 1966 |
| | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| | Initial Calendar | Regular Calendar | | | | |
| | N=1455 | N=687 | | | | |
| Currently Unemployed | 12 | 13 | 45 | 27 | 14 | * |
| Unfavorable Master Code | 58 | 55 | 43 | 22 | 9 | * |
| Mjr. Board Action | 23 | 21 | 42 | 24 | 5 | * |
| Sent. to Jail | 12 | 13 | 39 | 19 | 5 | * |
| Incident Similar to Commitment | 20 | 14 | 36 | 20 | 5 | * |
| Gen. Adjustment Below Satis. | 21 | 17 | 35 | 21 | 9 | * |
| Unfav. Comment Re: Alcohol | 16 | 11 | 32 | 19 | 5 | * |
| Undesirable Associates | 12 | 10 | 28 | 10 | 7 | * |
| Unsatis. Employ. | 16 | 18 | 21 | 6 | 4 | * |
| Unsatis. Adjust: Vices | 23 | 20 | 19 | 7 | 1 | * |
| Unsatis. Peers, Leis. | 11 | 9 | 14 | 2 | 2 | * |
| Neg. Turnabout | 20 | 25 | 13 | 5 | 4 | * |
| Unsatis. Maturity | 23 | 28 | 3 | 2 | 1 | * |
| | RHO=.938 (Columns A & B) | | RHO=.983 (Columns C & D) | | RHO=.944 (Columns C & E) | |

*Nearly Identical to Column D.

TABLE VII

RELATIVE INCIDENCE OF CHARACTERISTICS OF
INITIAL AND REGULAR CALENDAR POPULATIONS
WHICH DID NOT DIFFER BY FIVE OR MORE PERCENT

| | INITIAL CALENDAR | REGULAR CALENDAR | ABSOLUTE PERCENT DIFFERENCE |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Arrested on Suspicion-Charges Dropped | 5% | 5% | 0 |
| Unsatisfactory Family Situation | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| Unsatisfactory Physical/Mental Condition | 7 | 6 | 1 |
| Unsatisfactory Residence | 7 | 8 | 1 |
| Parole Agent Arrest | 4 | 5 | 1 |
| Arrested-Charges Dropped | 8 | 9 | 1 |
| "Suspected" Drug Use | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| Nalline Testing Required | 25 | 24 | 1 |
| Interruption of This Parole | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Major Board Action on This Parole | 23 | 21 | 2 |
| Currently Employed | 78 | 80 | 2 |
| Unsatisfactory Employment | 16 | 18 | 2 |
| Unsatisfactory Peers & Leisure | 11 | 9 | 2 |
| Unsatisfactory "Vices" | 23 | 20 | 3 |
| "Favorable" Master Code | 42 | 45 | 3 |
| Arrested and Charged on This Parole | 31 | 28 | 3 |

TABLE VII

RELATIVE INCIDENCE OF CHARACTERISTICS OF
INITIAL AND REGULAR CALENDAR POPULATIONS
WHICH DIFFERED BY FIVE OR MORE PERCENT

| CHARACTERISTIC | INITIAL CALENDAR | REGULAR CALENDAR | ABSOLUTE PERCENT DIFFERENCE |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Married While On This Parole | 30% | 22% | 8% |
| Satisfactory Level Of Maturity | 71 | 63 | 8 |
| Satisfactory Peer and Leisure Activities | 56 | 48 | 8 |
| "Cooperative" | 43 | 36 | 7 |
| Involved In Incident Related To Commitment Offense | 20 | 14 | 6 |
| Residing With Wife | 41 | 36 | 5 |
| Living Alone | 17 | 22 | 5 |
| Drinking Problem | 21 | 16 | 5 |
| Unsatisfactory Maturity | 23 | 28 | 5 |

to nalline clinic (vs 25%); 4 percent had been suspected of drug usage since last detected (vs 5%); 45 percent received a favorable "master" code (vs 42%). Among other characteristics on which the two populations appeared quite similar were: currently employed, 80 percent (vs 78%); arrest on suspicion, 5 percent (vs 5%); charges dropped, 9 percent (vs 8%); parole agent arrest, 5 percent (vs 4%); unsatisfactory adjustment in area of employment, 18 percent (vs 16%); of residence, 8 percent (vs 7%); of family, 9 percent (vs 9%); of physical and mental condition, 6 percent (vs 7%); of peers and leisure, 9 percent (vs 11%); and of vices, 20 percent (vs 23%). The characteristics on which the two study populations differed by 5 percent or more were the following: Fewer of the regular calendar cases had become married while on this parole (22% vs 30% initial); fewer were residing with wife (36% vs 41%); and more were living alone (22% vs 17%). Fewer of the regular calendar cases were stated to be cooperative (36% vs 43%); judged to demonstrate a satisfactory level of maturity (63% vs 71%); or satisfactory peer relations and leisure activity (48% vs 56%). Fewer of the regular calendar cases were stated to have had a drinking problem (16% vs 21%), or to have been possibly involved in an incident related to a commitment offense (14% vs 20%); but more were judged to have demonstrated an unsatisfactory level of maturity.

Table VI on the previous page lists twenty-six information factors coded from the parole agent reports,

arranged in order (Column C) of how "favorable" they were on the initial calendar study population. ("Favorable" was defined merely on the basis of the percent possessing a characteristic who were recommended for discharge.) It can be noted that, though the baseline recommendation rate for discharge drops from 64 percent on the initial calendar to 49 percent on the regular calendar, the factors retain their ordinal rank vis a vis both the recommendation rate and the frequency of mention. Given the unidirectional nature of dissent on the initial calendar and the near absence of dissent on the regular calendar, the factors also preserve their relative placement on final discharge actions.

To a lesser extent, the 38 parole districts examined also tended to preserve their rank on discharge recommendation rate between the two calendars ($\rho = .522, p < .01$). The discharge recommendation rates for individual districts ranged from 30-100 percent on the initial calendar and from 12-88 percent on the regular calendar.

The code on which the two populations differed most markedly was one which dealt with a stylistic feature, rather than the content of the parole agent reports. The code is labeled "Turnabout" and refers to compound sentences which contain a value shift (favorable to unfavorable or unfavorable to favorable) having relevance to the parolees' behavior or attitudes. Thus, "He has been steadily employed, but he recently went on a drunken binge" conveys a different value emphasis than "He recently went on a drunken binge but

has been steadily employed." The coding system terms the former statement a "negative" turnabout and the latter a "positive" turnabout. Such sentences are believed to be quite important in a report, for they suggest a comparison, weighing, and evaluative attempt on the part of the writer. Coders, in reading the reports, were often surprised by the two content elements brought together in such a sentence and wondered why that particular pair, out of all those in the report, should have been brought into juxtaposition. Frequently, the relevance of the one part to the other appeared to be produced merely by invoking the conjunctions "but," "however," "nevertheless." In the regular calendar reports, the occurrence of negative turnabout statements increased to 25 percent of the reports (from 20%) while positive turnabouts decreased to 21 percent (from 31%).

These findings suggest that, while cases in the regular calendar population appeared somewhat less likely than the initial calendar sample to have been in overt difficulty (arrests, convictions, major board actions, related incidents), its members were also less often depicted by parole agents as meeting satisfactory levels of adjustment in regard to maturity and co-operation and that agents, when confronted with both positive and negative features in a case, grew less prone to accentuate the former. It is speculated that the quality of cases considered on the regular calendar was at least as high as that of those on the initial calendar (e.g., 45% with favorable master

code vs 42% earlier), that the evaluative standard applied by parole agents becomes more conservative (49% recommended for discharge vs 64% earlier), and that this was probably in response to their experience with initial calendar Adult Authority decisions (more than 60% of their discharge recommendations had been overturned).

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

The following three tables indicate differences between the five regions in terms of:

1. The percentage of cases in each region possessing the information factor;
2. The percentage of cases in each region possessing the factor and recommended discharge; and
3. The percentage of cases in each region possessing the factor and receiving a discharge action.

Table IX indicates that significant differences (χ^2 test of statistical significance) exist between the regions in terms of the percentage of cases possessing the indicated information items. These differences are apparent in the reporting of favorable references (e.g., satisfactory maturity) and unfavorable references (e.g., unsatisfactory vices), in the more "subjective" information categories (e.g., cooperation) and the more "objective" information categories (e.g., residence with wife). No clear pattern emerges from the table in the sense that those items which fail to achieve statistical significance

T A B L E I X
INCIDENCE OF SELECTED FACTORS WITHIN REGIONS BY AGENT

| | REGION I | REGION II | REGION III | REGION IV | REGION V | χ^2 |
|-----------------------------------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|----------|
| Satisfactory Maturity | 68.5 | 73.3 | 85.1 | 63.2 | 71.8 | .001 |
| Cooperative | 39.4 | 42.4 | 54.6 | 33.6 | 50.5 | .001 |
| No Statement of Vices | 36.4 | 44.2 | 31.9 | 33.3 | 36.8 | .02 |
| Satisfactory Peers and Leisure | 54.2 | 47.2 | 57.9 | 55.4 | 64.6 | .001 |
| Residence w/Wife | 43.3 | 39.8 | 33.3 | 46.3 | 40.2 | .05 |
| Statement of No Vices | 39.4 | 38.9 | 47.2 | 36.8 | 43.0 | N.S. |
| Conflict Relationship | 25.6 | 18.4 | 23.6 | 30.9 | 22.3 | .01 |
| Residence w/Relative | 18.2 | 18.4 | 30.1 | 21.6 | 18.6 | .01 |
| Arrest and Charge | 30.5 | 26.4 | 36.6 | 37.0 | 26.1 | .01 |
| Convicted | 20.7 | 19.9 | 25.0 | 29.7 | 15.1 | .001 |
| Currently Unemployed | 3.4 | 4.7 | 8.3 | 5.4 | 3.8 | N.S. |
| Unfav. Master Code | 58.1 | 56.7 | 57.9 | 62.5 | 55.3 | N.S. |
| Mr. Bd. Action | 18.2 | 19.6 | 29.2 | 26.2 | 22.3 | .02 |
| Inc. Similar to Commit. | 15.3 | 16.3 | 23.1 | 21.1 | 22.0 | N.S. |
| Unfavorable Alcohol | 17.2 | 14.5 | 15.7 | 20.8 | 11.0 | .02 |
| Undesirable Associates | 11.8 | 10.4 | 9.3 | 14.2 | 11.3 | N.S. |
| Unsatis. Employment | 15.8 | 18.1 | 12.0 | 17.4 | 12.4 | N.S. |
| Unsatis. Vices | 24.1 | 16.9 | 20.8 | 29.9 | 20.3 | .001 |
| Unsatis. Peers & Leisure | 12.8 | 12.5 | 5.6 | 13.5 | 9.3 | .05 |
| Unsatis. Maturity | 24.6 | 16.9 | 10.6 | 32.6 | 22.7 | .001 |

fall into any easily recognizable grouping distinct from those items which do achieve significance. Emphasis should again be placed on the fact that we are concerned with characteristics of parolees as they are reported by parole agents. Differences between regions in reported client characteristics may, therefore, reflect a variety of influences, for example differing information collection systems, differing evaluations by parole agents of what information is important and relevant enough to be included in the case report, as well as any differences that may actually exist between the client populations in the different regions.

Table X indicates the percentage of cases possessing the factor and recommended for discharge by region. High levels of significance are obtained on all but two of the information items. These differences between the regions are to be expected, at least in part as a consequence of differences in the percentage of total cases recommended for discharge in each region. Thus, Region III which recommended a higher percentage of cases for discharge than the other regions (see Table X) is recommending a higher percentage of cases for discharge across all the information items. Thus the significant differences obtained in this table are redundant since they are derivative in some degree from overall differences in recommendation patterns between the regions.

T A B L E X

PERCENT OF CASES POSSESSING THE FACTOR AND RECOMMENDED FOR DISCHARGE BY REGION

| CODE | REGION I | REGION II | REGION III | REGION IV | REGION V | X ² |
|--|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|----------------|
| % CASES RECEIVING A DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATION | 61% | 70% | 84% | 53% | 59% | |
| Satisfactory Maturity | 79.9 | 87.0 | 94.6 | 78.7 | 78.5 | .001 |
| Cooperative | 66.2 | 87.4 | 94.1 | 73.7 | 67.3 | .001 |
| No Statement Vices | 70.3 | 78.5 | 89.8 | 66.9 | 65.4 | .01 |
| Satis. Peers & Leisure | 69.1 | 81.8 | 91.2 | 68.1 | 73.9 | .001 |
| Residence w/Wife | 70.4 | 72.4 | 93.0 | 61.4 | 64.1 | .001 |
| Statement No Vices | 78.8 | 82.4 | 94.1 | 76.7 | 74.4 | .001 |
| Conflict Relationship | 59.6 | 61.3 | 84.3 | 46.8 | 50.8 | .001 |
| Residence w/Relative | 54.1 | 63.5 | 66.2 | 43.2 | 40.7 | .001 |
| Arrest and Charge | 38.7 | 51.7 | 68.4 | 33.8 | 42.1 | .01 |
| Convicted | 47.6 | 52.2 | 68.5 | 33.1 | 36.4 | .001 |
| Currently Unemployed | 52.4 | 48.6 | 67.8 | 18.0 | 57.6 | .001 |
| Unfav. Master Code | 38.1 | 50.3 | 73.6 | 30.6 | 35.4 | .001 |
| Major Bd. Action | 35.1 | 50.0 | 68.3 | 27.1 | 35.4 | .001 |
| Incident Similar. | 35.5 | 32.7 | 72.0 | 23.3 | 29.7 | .001 |
| Alcohol Unfavorable | 28.6 | 38.8 | 64.7 | 21.2 | 21.9 | .001 |
| Undesirable Associates | 16.7 | 40.0 | 63.0 | 24.1 | 18.2 | .001 |
| Unsatis. Employment | 28.1 | 34.4 | 38.5 | 9.9 | 2.8 | .001 |
| Unsatis. Vices | 16.3 | 21.1 | 53.3 | 9.0 | 13.6 | .001 |
| Unsatis. Peer & Leisure | 19.2 | 19.0 | 25.0 | 9.3 | 3.7 | N.S. |
| Unsatis. Maturity | 12.0 | 3.5 | 13.0 | 6.0 | 3.0 | N.S. |

Similarly, in Table XI, significant differences obtained on the information items reflect differences in the overall percentage of cases in each region receiving a discharge action. Interestingly, in this table significant differences are obtained on the favorable but not on the unfavorable items. This is due to the limited number of cases in the unfavorable categories available for statistical analysis, reflecting a) there were fewer cases in these categories as reported by parole agents to begin with, and b) the refusal of the Adult Authority to grant many of these cases a discharge action.

Table XII presents the rank order of information factors, both favorable and unfavorable, by State and Regions, in terms of the impact of the information item on discharge recommendations. The information items are ordered from Satisfactory Maturity, with the greatest percentage of cases possessing the factor recommended for discharge, to Unsatisfactory Maturity, with the smallest percentage of cases possessing the factor recommended for discharge. Rank order correlations for the regions were obtained for favorable and unfavorable information items independently. It is apparent that despite wide variations between the regions in terms of the probability of receiving a discharge recommendation for cases possessing the designated items (see Table X), nonetheless regions manifest considerable consistency in their rank ordering of the

T A B L E X I

PERCENT OF CASES IN EACH REGION POSSESSING THE CHARACTERISTIC
AND RECEIVING A DISCHARGE ACTION

| CODE | REGION I | REGION II | REGION III | REGION IV | REGION V |
|--------------------------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|
| Satisfactory Maturity | 51.1 | 41.3 | 29.0 | 26.4 | 34.0 |
| Cooperative | 40.0 | 43.4 | 30.5 | 24.8 | 24.5 |
| No Statement Vices | 45.9 | 37.6 | 37.7 | 25.0 | 34.6 |
| Satis. Peers & Leisure | 45.5 | 40.3 | 32.8 | 25.2 | 32.4 |
| Residence w/Wife | 50.0 | 40.3 | 36.1 | 23.3 | 27.4 |
| Statement No Vices | 50.0 | 39.7 | 27.5 | 24.0 | 27.2 |
| Conflict Relationship | 32.7 | 19.4 | 17.6 | 13.5 | 21.5 |
| Residence w/Relative | 29.7 | 23.8 | 21.5 | 14.8 | 20.4 |
| Arrest and Charge | 16.1 | 7.9 | 6.3 | 5.3 | 6.6 |
| Convicted | 16.7 | 6.0 | 7.4 | 4.1 | 4.5 |
| Currently Unemployed | 33.0 | 21.6 | 7.1 | 0.0 | 27.3 |
| Unfav. Master Code | 14.4 | 16.2 | 6.4 | 6.7 | 6.8 |
| Major Bd. Action | 10.8 | 12.1 | 6.3 | 1.9 | 3.1 |
| Incident Similar | 12.9 | 10.9 | 6.0 | 3.5 | 3.1 |
| Unfav. Alcohol | 11.4 | 8.2 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 3.1 |
| Undesirable Associate | 12.5 | 14.3 | 0.0 | 5.2 | 9.1 |
| Unsatis. Employment | 6.3 | 6.6 | 7.7 | 1.4 | 0.0 |
| Unsatis. Vices | 0.0 | 1.8 | 0.0 | .8 | 1.7 |
| Unsatis. Peers & Leisure | 5.6 | 7.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Unsatis. Maturity | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 0.0 |

T A B L E X I I

SELECTED INFORMATION FACTORS RANKED BY IMPACT ON DISCHARGE
RECOMMENDATIONS, STATEWIDE AND BY REGION

| INFORMATION | STATEWIDE | REGION I | REGION II | REGION III | REGION IV | REGION V |
|--|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|
| FAVORABLE REFERENCE¹ | | | | | | |
| Satisfactory Maturity | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Cooperative | 2 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Statement of No Vices | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| No Statement of Vices | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Satis. Peers & Leisure | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| Residence w/Wife | 6 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| UNFAVORABLE REFERENCE² | | | | | | |
| Conflict Relations | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Residence w/Relative | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Arrested and Charged | 3 | 5 | 4 | 6.5 | 3 | 3 |
| Convicted | 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| Currently Unemployed | 5 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 10 | 1 |
| Unfavorable Master Code | 6 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 6.5 |
| Major Board Action | 7 | 8 | 6 | 6.5 | 6 | 6.5 |
| Incident Similar. | 8 | 7 | 11 | 4 | 8 | 8 |
| Unfavorable Alcohol | 9 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 9 |
| Undesirable Associates | 10 | 12 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 10 |
| Unsatisfactory Employ. | 11 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 13 |
| Unsatis. Peers & Leisure | 12 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 11 |
| Unsatisfactory Maturity | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 12 |

¹s = 299.5, n .01 (Kendall Coefficient of Concordance).

²s = 3883.5, p .001 (Kendall Coefficient of Concordance adjusted for N > 7).

separate items. In addition, it will be observed that it is the highly subjective items such as maturity, which when favorable, have the highest association with discharge recommendations, and the lowest association when unfavorable.

CHAPTER V

INFORMATION AND DECISIONS - REGION II

In order to study variations among districts, data from Region II was analyzed in terms of agent recommendations, agent characterizations of the client population, and relationships between information and decisions by district and supervision type.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY DISTRICT

The following table (Table XIII) compares the percentages of parole agents' recommendations and the subsequent Adult Authority decisions for discharge under the Primary Review in the three major districts in Region II.* Reported are the entire initial and regular calendars. The table illustrates the overall differences between districts in recommendation patterns, differences which must be taken into account when noting the effects of information upon recommendations within a district.

Parole agents in District I recommended 79 percent of their cases for discharge; District II, 77 percent; and District III 49 percent (p difference .001 - χ^2 test of significance) on the initial calendar. These differences

* One district area was omitted from consideration in this report. This was because the small number of cases involved in this district precluded the possibility of deriving meaningful conclusions.

T A B L E X I I I
 PERCENTAGE OF PAROLE AGENT RECOMMENDATIONS
 AND ADULT AUTHORITY DECISIONS FOR DISCHARGE
 BY DISTRICT

REGION II: INITIAL AND REGULAR CALENDAR

| DISTRICT | INITIAL CALENDAR | | REGULAR CALENDAR | |
|--------------|------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| | PA Recom. | AA Decision | PA Recom. | AA Decision |
| District I | 79% | 36% | 76% | 73% |
| District II | 77 | 32 | 84 | 78 |
| District III | 49 | 24 | 42 | 42 |

were more or less eliminated at the Adult Authority level, with 36 percent of all eligible cases in District I receiving discharge action, 32 percent receiving like action in District II and 24 percent being discharged in District III. (These differences between districts were not statistically significant.)

Recommendation patterns were similar under the regular calendar. District I (76% recommended for discharge) and District II (84% recommended for discharge) had moved somewhat apart but still maintained a distance from District III (42% recommended for discharge) (p difference .001 - χ^2 test of significance).

Unlike the recommendations on the initial calendar, the geographic differences were not cancelled out at the

Adult Authority level, where 73 percent of all eligible cases in District I received discharge action, with similar action being accorded to 78 percent in District II and 42 percent in District III (p difference .01 - χ^2 test of significance).

ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION FACTORS

The discrepancies between geographic areas in terms of discharge recommendations justified a closer examination of the parole agents' reports with a view toward a more precise understanding of the nature of these differences.

There appeared to be two possible explanations accounting for the discrepancies in the parole agents' recommendations. Either there were significant differences between areas in the kinds of cases being reported or, if the cases were not different to a marked extent, then parole agents in different areas evaluated cases against different criteria. Support was lent to the second hypothesis by the fact that the Adult Authority discharge actions on initial calendar cases cancelled out the geographic differences in the recommendations, seeming to indicate that cases do not differ greatly from area to area. Also, the standards applied at this level (the Adult Authority) were probably consistent since the same two hearing representatives evaluated all the cases under the initial calendar, with the Adult Authority rarely disagreeing with the hearing representatives' recommendations.

The almost total acceptance by the Adult Authority of all parole agents' recommendations under the regular calendar and of the parole agents' continue on parole recommendations under the initial calendar seemed to indicate that the parole agents' recommendations were curcial in determining the outcome of Adult Authority evaluations. This being so, it became necessary to investigate the extent to which parole agents were applying different criteria when forming judgements and, therefore, to what extent similar cases in different areas may have received different recommendations.

Table XIV describes the incidence by districts within Region II of certain selected information factors.* It will be noticed that those factors exhibiting the most significant (χ^2 test of significance) differences between districts in terms of incidence are factors associated with the terms "maturity" and "cooperation." These terms are clearly non-substantive, nebulous terminology communicating no specific information and susceptible to varying definitions, dependent upon the individual who chooses to use them. It seems a not unreasonable hypothesis to suggest that definitions of these terms and the qualities required and demands imposed upon the parolee to merit the receipt of such a label varies markedly between offices, according to

*Coding methodology was discussed in Chapter I. Code definitions appear in the Appendix.

T A B L E X I V
 REPORTED INCIDENCE OF SELECTED INFORMATION FACTORS BY
 DISTRICT IN REGION II, UNDER THE INITIAL CALENDAR

| FACTOR* | DISTRICT I | DISTRICT II | DISTRICT III | χ^2 |
|---------------------|------------|-------------|--------------|----------|
| Residence Alone | 23% | 31% | 10% | .01 |
| Positive Turnabout | 37% | 25% | 29% | .02 |
| Residence w/Wife | 34% | 35% | 52% | .001 |
| Cooperative | 58% | 42% | 26% | .01 |
| Currently Employed | 82% | 68% | 88% | |
| Negative Turnabout | 9% | 13% | 28% | .01 |
| Related Incident | 14% | 15% | 26% | |
| Vices Unsatis. | 15% | 17% | 22% | |
| Maturity Unsatis. | 10% | 17% | 32% | .001 |
| Employment Unsatis. | 18% | 20% | 15% | |
| Convicted | 27% | 17% | 20% | |
| MBA or A & C | | | | |
| 24 months** | 32% | 22% | 25% | .001 |
| Coop-no mention | 34% | 53% | 67% | .01 |
| Family Unsatis. | 7% | 5% | 17% | .02 |
| Peers Unsatis. | 11% | 8% | 22% | |

* Code definitions appear in the Appendix.

** Reported Major Board Action (Violation - Continue on Parole; placed in or released from NTCU; Reinstatement, Suspension or Cancellation) or any incident in which the parolee was arrested by the police department and a charge was filed in the last 24 months.

their general orientation. The only alternative hypothesis to explain the disparity in the incidence of "co-operative" parolees between District I and District III is that these statistics (58% of the parolee population in District I and 26% in District III) reflect an objective distinction between the characters of the parolee populations in these two districts. (This would be based upon the assumption of common agreement as to the criteria of "co-operation" between the districts.) Likewise, with certain other factor codes where a significant difference exists in their incidence between districts. For example, in the case of family and peer relationships, the designation of these relationships as satisfactory or unsatisfactory involves value-judgements which may vary by decisionmakers as to the nature and constitution of an unsatisfactory relationship. Again, there exists no commonly acknowledged criteria against which relationships can be evaluated in order to determine their satisfactory or unsatisfactory nature.

We can proceed from this point to ask: "What is the relative effect by district of the presence or absence of a given factor on the discharge recommendation?" Table XV indicates this effect. Clearly, the presence of a favorable factor will not discriminate very usefully between districts in terms of its effect relative to the possibilities of a discharge recommendation. The exception here is District III, where being currently employed has a profound effect upon the recommendation. This, however, may be a distortion

T A B L E X V

RATIO OF THE PERCENTAGE OF CASES RECOMMENDED FOR DISCHARGE BY PAROLE AGENTS
IN THE PRESENCE OF CERTAIN FACTORS TO THE PERCENTAGE RECOMMENDED
FOR DISCHARGE IN THE ABSENCE OF THESE FACTORS BY DISTRICT

FAVORABLE FACTORS*

Improvement in chances for discharge when the factor is present.

| | <u>REGION II</u> | <u>DISTRICT I</u> | <u>DISTRICT II</u> | <u>DISTRICT III</u> |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Currently Employed | 1.8 : 1 | 2.1 : 1 | 1.7 : 1 | 5.4 : 1 |
| Cooperative | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 1.6 |
| Positive Turnabout | 1.4 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 2.2 |
| Residence Alone | 1.2 | 1.1 | 1.1 | .7 |
| Residence with Wife | 1.1 | 1.3 | .9 | 1.5 |

UNFAVORABLE FACTORS*

Improvement in chances for discharge when factor absent.

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Cooperation - No Mention | 1.3 : 1 | 1.0 : 1 | 1.6 : 1 | 1.2 : 1 |
| Convicted | 1.4 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.7 |
| MBA or A & C 24 Months | 1.7 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 1.8 |
| Employment Unsatisfactory | 2.1 | 2.7 | 1.8 | 7.0 |
| Related Incident | 2.3 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 2.4 |
| Family Unsatisfactory | 3.2 | 3.3 | 4.0 | 4.0 |
| Vices Unsatisfactory | 3.8 | 3.0 | 3.7 | 5.5 |
| Peers Unsatisfactory | 5.1 | 1.8 | 6.4 | |
| Negative Turnabout | 6.6 | 9.4 | 5.7 | 16.2 |
| Maturity Unsatisfactory | 21.0 | 11.0 | | 17.5 |

*Code definitions are located in the Appendix.

attributable to the fact that approximately 90 percent of the District III population considered for discharge under the initial calendar were currently employed at the time of the evaluation of their cases. On the other hand, it will be observed that the absence of an unsatisfactory factor not only affects discharge recommendations across all districts to a greater extent than the presence of a favorable factor, but also discriminates much more successfully between districts. For example, District I appears to be much less sensitive to unfavorable peer relationships than either District II or District III since the absence of this factor in District I has less of an effect in improving one's chances of a discharge recommendation there than its absence in District II and District III.

Table XV also documents the relative effect of subjective categories of information on the discharge recommendations. Thus, in all districts the absence of an unsatisfactory reference to the maturity of the client is associated with a much greater chance of a discharge recommendation within each district than the absence of any other unfavorable reference, including more objective characteristics, e.g., court convictions, and so forth.

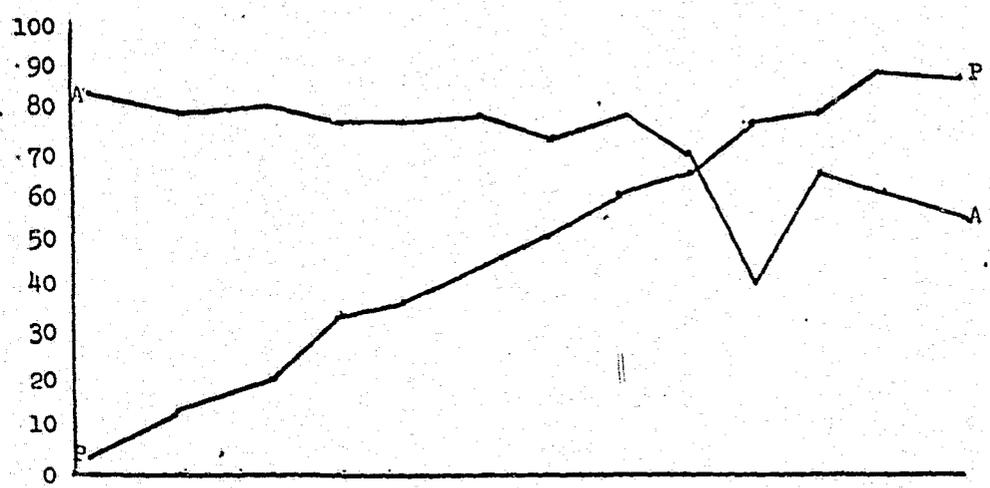
The relative impact of the presence or absence of a factor is shown diagrammatically on the following page (Table XVI). The levels of significance of the difference in impact are also shown. Thus, in Region II of those cases receiving an unfavorable reference to maturity (17%), only

Percentages of cases recommended for discharge given the presence and absence of selected information factors.

| "-" | " " | "_" | " " | "_" | M B A or A&C 24 | C o n v i c t e d | C o o p n.m. | R e s. w / w i f e | E m p l o y e d | R e s. A l o n e | "+" | C |
|--------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|---|--------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| M a t u r i t y | T u r n a b o u t | V i c e s | I n c i d e n t | E m p l o y m e n t | | | | | | | "T" u r n a b o u t | C o o p e r a t i v e |
| I = 17% | 15% | 17% | 17% | 19% | 26% | 21% | 51% | 40% | 79% | 22% | 29% | 43% |

LEGEND

- I= Incidence
- P= Presence
- A= Absence
- "-" = Negative Aspect of Factor



Code Definitions Appear in Appendix IV.

4 percent received a discharge recommendation. On the other hand, of those cases not receiving an unfavorable reference in the area of maturity, 84 percent received a discharge recommendation. Similarly, of those cases receiving an unfavorable reference in the area of vices (17%), only 21 percent received a discharge recommendation; and of those cases not receiving an unfavorable reference in the area of vices, 80 percent received a discharge recommendation. (Each factor was looked at alone and not in combination with others. Interaction effects are therefore not examined.)

Table XVII illustrates the association of selected factors with parole agents' recommendations with Region II as well as the association with the effects upon subsequent Adult Authority decisions on the initial calendar.

Table XVIII charts the association of selected factors with parole agents' recommendations for discharge in percentages by districts within Region II. The proportional comparisons illustrate the proportionate fall in discharge recommendations when the mentioned factors are present.

Table XIX shows that the percentage of parole agents' reports that included unfavorable references varied by district within Region II.

T A B L E X V I I
 PERCENTAGE OF PAROLE AGENT RECOMMENDATION
 AND ADULT AUTHORITY DECISION FOR DISCHARGE
 BY INFORMATION FACTOR*
 REGION II, INITIAL CALENDAR

| FACTOR | PA RECOMMENDATION | | AA DECISION | |
|---------------------------|---|---|--|---|
| | Cases With Factor (% Recommended for Discharge) | Cases Without Factor (% Discharged) | Cases With Factor (% Discharged) | Cases Without Factor (% Discharged) |
| Unsatisfactory Employment | 36% | 78% | 7% | 36% |
| Unsatisfactory Vices | 21 | 80 | 2 | 37 |
| Unsatisfactory Family | 23 | 74 | 6 | 33 |
| Unsatisfactory Peers | 19 | 77 | 13 | 34 |

*Code definitions appear in Appendix.

T A B L E X V I I I
 DISTRICT PAROLE AGENT RECOMMENDATIONS
 (BY INFORMATION FACTOR)

| FACTOR | DISTRICT I | | | DISTRICT II | | | DISTRICT III | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| | Without Factor | With Factor | Proportional Fall | Without Factor | With Factor | Proportional Fall | Without Factor | With Factor | Proportional Fall |
| Unsatisfactory Employment | 88% | 33% | 3/5 | 85% | 48% | 2/5 | 56% | 8% | 4/5 |
| Unsatisfactory Vices | 88% | 29% | 2/3 | 88% | 23% | 3/4 | 60% | 11% | 4/5 |
| Unsatisfactory Family Relations | 83% | 25% | 2/3 | 80% | 20% | 3/4 | 56% | 14% | 3/4 |
| Unsatisfactory Peers | 83% | 46% | 1/2 | 83% | 13% | 4/5 | 63% | 0% | absolute |

T A B L E X I X
 RELATIVE INCIDENCE OF SELECTED INFORMATION FACTORS
 BY DISTRICT
 REGION II, INITIAL CALENDAR

| REFERENCE | DISTRICT I | DISTRICT II (% With Factor) | DISTRICT III |
|---------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| Unsatisfactory Employment | 18% | 20% | 15% |
| Unsatisfactory Family Relations | 7% | 5% | 17% |
| Unsatisfactory Vices | 15% | 17% | 22% |
| Unsatisfactory Peers | 11% | 8% | 22% |

The data in the foregoing tables were summarized into the following findings.

In the area of employment although no significant difference existed between areas in the reporting of unfavorable references, one's chances of a discharge recommendation, given the presence of the factor, fell by twice as much in District III, as compared to District II, and by one and one-third as much when compared to District I.

With regard to family relations, although the effect of a negative reference in terms of discharge recommendation was not greatly different between districts, District III was reporting unfavorably in this area much more frequently than either District I or District II (p difference $<.01 X^2$ test of significance).

In the area of peer relationships and leisure activities, District III reported more negative references than District I or District II (p difference $<.02 X^2$ test of significance); and discharge recommendations, given the presence of the factor, fell by only slightly less than one-half in District I compared to four-fifths in District II. In District III cases possessing this factor were recommended for discharge. This was the only instance in these four codes in which

District I and District II differed very greatly from each other. (Test X^2 test of significance)

INTERPRETATION OF DISTRICT DIFFERENCES

In attempting to explain the differences, it might first be noted that, with regard to peer and family relationships since District III reported in these areas much more frequently than either District I or District II (Table XIX), the possibilities for a greater number of unfavorable references were increased.

In the case of family relationships, District III provided no information on only 12 percent of the total number of cases, as compared to 25 percent in District I and 34 percent no-information reporting in District II. Similarly, with regard to peer relationships and leisure activities, District III provided no information in this area on 32 percent of its cases, as compared to a 41 percent incidence of non-reporting in District I and District II.

In general, the major differences between districts occurred in the no-information category and unfavorable reference category, while the proportion of cases with favorable references remained relatively more constant.

It was hypothesized that the greater association of unsatisfactory employment with continue recommendations in District III partly reflected the overall employment situation of parolees in that area. In District III, 88 percent of the parolee population considered under this

T A B L E X X

PERCENTAGE OF CASES ON WHICH NO INFORMATION
WAS RECORDED ON SELECTED INFORMATION FACTORS
BY DISTRICT

REGION II: INITIAL CALENDAR

| FACTOR | DISTRICT I DISTRICT II DISTRICT III | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| | (Percent No Information) | | |
| Employment | 2% | 10% | 2% |
| Family Relationships | 25% | 34% | 12% |
| Vices | 47% | 44% | 40% |
| Peers | 41% | 41% | 32% |

survey were reported as being currently employed, as compared to 82 percent employed in District I and to 68 percent employed in District II* (p difference .01 χ^2 test of significance).

It may well have been that in District II, where a significantly greater proportion of the parolee community was reported as being unemployed (Table XXI), the parole agents may have evaluated this factor as being outside the control of parolees and attributable to situational employment conditions in that environment. On the other hand, in District III, where employment within the parolee population was much higher, there may have existed a tendency to attribute unemployment where it existed to certain negative characteristics within the parolee, such as a lack of motivation. Such characteristics would have been captured by the employment overview code.

In other words, the incidence of a factor may have been influential in determining a parole agent's notion of causality and his consequent allocation of responsibility. Furthermore, one might expect parole agents to have evaluated undesirable situations beyond an individual's control much less severely than situations which found their source in certain negative characteristics of the parolee. This might explain the greater apparent impact of "unsatisfactory

*Data from employment factor code.

T A B L E X X I

PERCENTAGE OF CASES REPORTED IN EACH EMPLOYMENT
STATUS BY DISTRICT

REGION II: INITIAL CALENDAR

| STATUS | DISTRICT I DISTRICT II DISTRICT III (Reported Percentage in Each Status) | | |
|----------------------------------|---|-----|-----|
| | Unemployed | 6% | 20% |
| Indeterminate or Not Reported | 12% | 12% | 6% |
| Employed | 82% | 68% | 88% |

employment" upon discharge recommendations in District III.

It may also be suggested that since the incidence of a factor might be crucial in determining the importance of that factor as it is perceived by the parole agent, it consequently will influence his decision as to whether it should be reported. The assumption underlying this hypothesis is that the tolerance level of parole agents for any given form of behavior is directly related to the incidence of that behavior and will expand and contract with the greater or lesser occurrence of that behavior.

This leads to the paradox that the greater the incidence of a given factor, the less negatively it will be evaluated; hence, the less frequently it will be reported. Conversely, the smaller the incidence, the lower the tolerance level; therefore, the more negatively it will be evaluated and the more frequently it will be reported. If such effects do, in fact, exist, then caution is warranted in accepting reported incidence as an index of the actual occurrence of a certain form of behavior.

With regard to the more frequent reporting by District III of unfavorable references in the area of peers and leisure activities, it appears that in District III more parolees are living with their wives (p difference $< .02$ (see Table XXII) χ^2 test of significance). Therefore, parolees in District III might be expected to have had less opportunity and less time to form undesirable associations and indulge in undesirable activities.

TABLE XXII

PERCENTAGE OF CASES REPORTED IN EACH RESIDENCE
STATUS BY DISTRICT

REGION II: INITIAL CALENDAR

| STATUS | DISTRICT I DISTRICT II DISTRICT III (Percentage in Each Status) | | |
|---------------------------|--|-----|-----|
| | | | |
| With Wife | 34% | 35% | 53% |
| Alone | 24% | 31% | 10% |
| With Relative | 22% | 14% | 15% |
| Other or Indeterminate | 22% | 20% | 21% |

It might be assumed as a consequence that both District II and District I would manifest higher tolerance levels for this factor than District III because unfavorable incidents probably occurred in these areas more frequently than in District III; consequently, parole agents in District I and District II would have been less likely to report unfavorably unless a given situation was particularly bad.

District III, on the other hand, seeing less of this problem factor, would have possessed a lower tolerance level with the result that incidents ignored in District I and District II would be reported in District III, thus leading to a greater incidence of unfavorable reporting in District III.

It is, of course, possible that there are differences between the three metropolitan areas that make information of particular types more accessible in one community and less accessible in the other two communities.

MASTER CODE

We may now consider what we have designated the "master code." This is a composite code embracing all seven of the overview codes - the incidence of a major Board action, the incidence of narcotics involvement in any form, plus being arrested and charged and/or convicted. In other words, if the subject were rated unfavorably in any of the above-mentioned areas, he would receive an unfavorable master code. If he were not rated unfavorably (i.e., he was rated either favorably or not at all), he would

T A B L E X X I I I

INDICATING DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATIONS AND DISCHARGE
ACTIONS GIVEN A FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE
MASTER CODE IN REGION II
UNDER THE INITIAL CALENDAR

| | INCIDENCE | % REC. DISCHARGE | % DISCHARGE ACTION |
|---|-----------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Master Code Unfavorable (N = 177) | 55% | 48% | 12% |
| Master Code Favorable (N = 147) | 45% | 95% | 53% |
| All Cases In Region II | 100% | 69% | 31% |

receive a favorable master code. Therefore, we may now consider the incidence of favorable and unfavorable master codes and their association with discharge recommendations by districts within Region II.

We may observe from the preceding table (Table XXIII) that in Region II of those cases possessing an unfavorable master code (55% of the cases in the region), 48 percent received a discharge recommendation; and 12 percent received a discharge action. Both of these totals are considerably below the total discharge recommendations and discharge actions for the region. Conversely, of those cases receiving a favorable master code, 95 percent were recommended for discharge and 53 percent received discharge actions, both considerably above the totals for all cases in the region. Therefore, if one had an unfavorable master code, one had approximately one chance in two of receiving a discharge recommendation and one chance in eight of receiving a discharge action. On the other hand, if one had a favorable master code, one had almost-total certainty of receiving a discharge recommendation and approximately one chance in two of receiving a discharge action. This, of course, was only true of the initial calendar.

Table XXIV shows the incidence of the master code and parole agents' recommendations by districts in Region II over the initial and regular calendars.

As shown on Table III, Regions I and II offered about the same percentage of their cases for discharge at the

TABLE XXI V

THE MASTER CODE - INCIDENCE AND PAROLE AGENT
RECOMMENDATION BY DISTRICT IN REGION II AND
BY INITIAL AND REGULAR CALENDAR

| | <u>INITIAL</u> | | | <u>REGULAR</u> | |
|--------------------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------------|----------------------|
| | <u>INCIDENCE</u> | <u>% REC. DISCH.</u> | | <u>INCIDENCE</u> | <u>% REC. DISCH.</u> |
| Region II 324 Cases | 45% + 55% - | 95% 48% | 138 Cases | 58% + 42% - | 91% 37% |
| District I 116 Cases | 48% + 52% - | 98% 62% | 50 Cases | 70% + 30% - | 97% 27% |
| District II 102 Cases | 49% + 51% - | 100% 56% | 48 Cases | 58% + 42% - | 100% 50% |
| District III 80 Cases | 35% + 65% - | 89% 27% | 28 Cases | 46% + 54% - | 77% 20% |

Note: + = Favorable Master Code
- = Unfavorable Master Code

parole agent level under both the initial and regular calendars as contrasted to the fall in discharge recommendations from the other regions under the regular calendar. This would seem to indicate little change in Regions I and II. However, we can see from Table XXIV that changes have taken place in Region II in the form of a redistribution of favorable and unfavorable master codes and changes in discharge recommendations, given the presence of an unfavorable code. Thus, under the regular calendar, Region II would seem to be presenting a larger number of cases with a favorable master code (58% compared to 45%) and recommending more or less the same percentage for discharge (91% compared to 95%). Simultaneously, of course, the number of cases with an unfavorable master code has decreased; but agents are adopting a more severe attitude toward these cases, recommending only 37 percent for discharge, as compared to 48 percent under the initial calendar.

When we examine the region by districts, we can see that all districts appear to be contributing to this variation, with the greatest contribution emanating from District I. District I has increased its number of favorable* cases and decreased its number of unfavorable* cases to a far greater extent than the other districts (22% as compared to 9% and 11%). However, while maintaining its level of discharge

*Those cases with a favorable or unfavorable master code, respectively.

recommendations for favorable cases consistent with its initial calendar, District I has adopted an immensely more cautious attitude toward its unfavorable cases, recommending only 27 percent of these for discharge under the regular calendar, as compared to 62 percent recommendations under the initial calendar.

We might say, therefore, that the response of Region II to the low number of discharge actions relative to discharge recommendations under the initial calendar was, unlike Regions III, IV, and V, who decreased their discharge recommendations, to increase the number of favorable cases while maintaining the same level of discharge recommendations on these cases and to decrease the number of unfavorable cases but also to decrease the level of discharge recommendations on these cases. The overall result is a level of discharge recommendations identical to that of the initial calendar. This, as circumstances have subsequently proved, was probably an unnecessary device since the Adult Authority, under the regular calendar, accepted parole agents' recommendations in the majority of cases so that discharge recommendations almost invariably resulted in a discharge action, irrespective of case content. It would seem that even if Region II had not made these rearrangements in case quality and recommendations, but merely made the same level of discharge recommendations, as it had under the initial calendar over all cases, the result under the regular calendar in terms of discharge actions would not

have been affected.

It is probably superfluous to point out that it is highly unlikely that the increased number of cases with a favorable master code reflected an objective difference in the cases eligible for review. Rather, it is another example of the use of discretionary power on the part of the individual decisionmaker to report or not report information as he sees fit.

WORK UNIT vs. CONVENTIONAL UNIT - A COMPARISON

There exists in California a dual system of parole supervision, conceptually distinct in terms of caseload size and intensity of supervision. Basically, the work unit style of supervision can be contrasted with the style of the conventional units in the following terms.

1. The work unit program will provide increased community protection:
 - (a) Work unit program parole agents will have a greater awareness of the parolee's activity, thereby allowing the agent to act before the parolee can act out.
 - (b) Parolees under work unit supervision will commit fewer violent crimes.
 - (c) Parolees under work unit supervision will commit fewer felony offenses.
2. The work unit program will provide increased assistance to the parolee. Parolees under work unit supervision will:
 - (a) Be provided access to a wider variety of community resources.
 - (b) Will have a more successful community adjustment.

- (c) Will participate in professional and semi-professional treatment programs more extensively.
3. The work unit program will result in increased savings. These savings will be brought about by:
- (a) Fewer parolees being returned to prison.
 - (b) Less criminal difficulty in the community, thereby creating savings at the local level to welfare expenditures, police and law enforcement activity, and jail custodial cases.*

Work unit agents carry a caseload of approximately 35 parolees under different levels of supervision, while conventional unit agents continue to carry a caseload of about 70 men. At the time of the study, 45 percent of the parolees in Region II were under work unit supervision, with the remaining 55 percent in conventional units.

Table XXV describes differences in decision patterns between work units and conventional units in Region II.

Under the initial calendar, 80 percent of the work unit cases were recommended for discharge as against 60 percent of the cases in conventional units. This difference was eliminated at the Adult Authority level; 29 percent of the work unit cases received a discharge action, compared to 32 percent of the conventional unit cases.

Under the regular calendar, the previous difference in discharge recommendations between work units and

*The work unit stipulations are quoted from "Operation Directive--Work Unit Program: A New Parole Management Program." This document was prepared by the Program Services Section, Parole and Community Services Division, California Department of Corrections.

T A B L E X X V
 PAROLE AGENT RECOMMENDATIONS AND ADULT AUTHORITY
 ACTIONS BY SUPERVISION TYPE
 REGION II: INITIAL AND REGULAR CALENDAR

| | RELATIVE INCIDENCE OF 2943 PC ELIGIBLES | | PERCENT RECOMMENDED FOR DISCHARGE* | | PERCENT DISCHARGED** | |
|----------------------|--|------|---------------------------------------|------|-------------------------|------|
| | Init. | Reg. | Init. | Reg. | Init. | Reg. |
| Work Unit | 45% | 54% | 80% | 66% | 29% | 67% |
| Conventional Unit | 55% | 46% | 60% | 68% | 32% | 70% |

*Parole Agent Recommendation.

**Adult Authority Action.

conventional units disappeared, with the work units recommending 66 percent of their cases for discharge, as against 68 percent of the conventional unit's cases. This similarity in recommendation patterns was sustained at the Adult Authority level, with 67 percent of the work units' cases receiving a discharge action, as compared to 70 percent of the conventional units' cases.

On a region-wide basis, the rate of parole agents' recommendations for discharge remained quite stable between the initial and the regular calendars (70% of all initial cases and 68% of all regular cases - see Table III).

ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION FACTORS BY SUPERVISION TYPE

The following table documents the incidence of selected information factors by supervision type. There appears to be no great difference in the incidence of these factors between types, except that work unit cases generally have a higher incidence of favorable references and a lower incidence of unfavorable references. In terms of relationship to discharge recommendations, the possession of a particular favorable reference does not appear to discriminate between supervision types. That is, the overall chance of a discharge recommendation is greater in work units than in the conventional units in a ratio of 1.33:1. Possession of any favorable reference does not decrease the chance of discharge for a work unit case over a conventional unit case

T A B L E X X V I
 INCIDENCE OF SELECTED INFORMATION FACTORS
 AND PERCENTAGE RECOMMENDED FOR DISCHARGE
 BY SUPERVISION TYPE

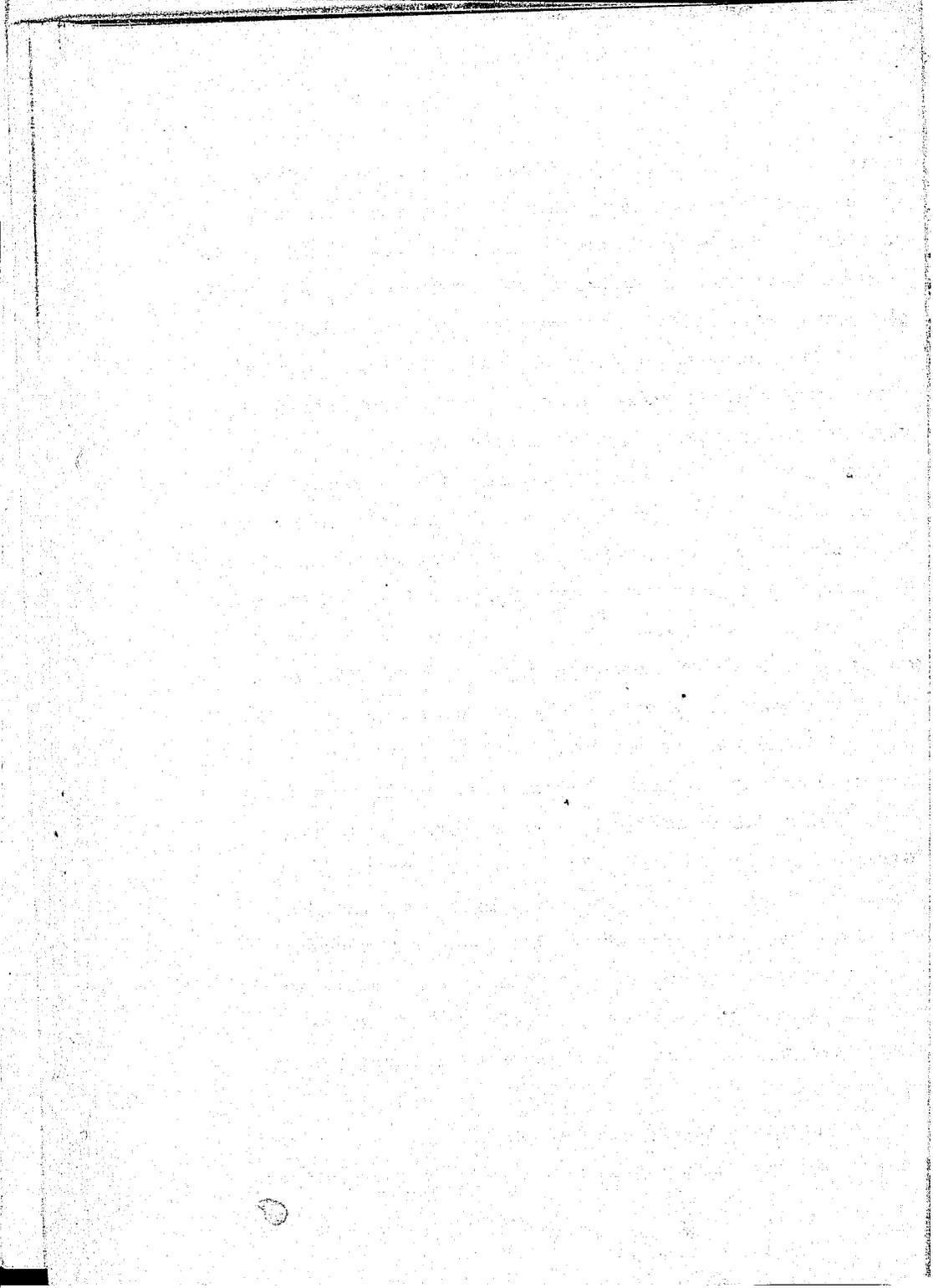
| FAVORABLE REFERENCES | DISCHARGE RATIO | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|------------|------------|--------|
| | INCIDENCE | RECOMMEND. | DISCHARGE. | |
| | WU | CU WU | CU | WU/CU |
| ALL Cases | -- | -- 80% | 60% | 1.33:1 |
| Currently Employed | 82% | 76% 83% | 71% | 1.16 |
| Cooperative | 49% | 38% 90% | 85% | 1.06 |
| Positive Turnabout | 36% | 24% 96% | 79% | 1.22 |
| Residence Alone | 21% | 22% 87% | 74% | 1.18 |
| Residence With Wife | 41% | 38% 82% | 63% | 1.30 |
| <u>UNFAVORABLE REFERENCES</u> | | | | |
| No Mention of Cooperation | 48% | 54% 75% | 48% | 1.6 |
| Convicted | 23% | 19% 71% | 33% | 2.2 |
| MBA or A & C 24 Months | 27% | 25% 62% | 33% | 1.9 |
| Employment Unsatisfactory | 16% | 21% 65% | 18% | 3.6 |
| Related Incident | 16% | 18% 46% | 22% | 2.1 |
| Family Unsatisfactory | 6% | 12% 55% | 9% | 6.1 |
| Vices Unsatisfactory | 13% | 21% 37% | 13% | 2.8 |
| Peers Unsatisfactory | 10% | 15% 40% | 7% | 5.7 |
| Negative Turnabout | 13% | 18% 26% | 3% | 8.7 |
| Maturity Unsatisfactory | 9% | 24% 14% | 9% | 1.6 |
| Favorable Master | 44% | 46% 97% | 94% | 1.0 |
| Unfavorable Master | 56% | 54% 62% | 31% | 2.2 |

above the overall advantage stated. In contrast, given the presence of an unfavorable reference, one's chances of receiving a discharge recommendation are greater than 1.33:1 between work units and conventional units in the case of all the codes, work units being considerably more lenient.

The incidence of favorable and unfavorable master codes would seem to indicate that cases do not differ greatly by supervision type in this regard. However, the manner in which cases are treated in terms of recommendation clearly does differ. Thus, given a favorable master code, one's chances of a discharge recommendation are approximately the same in work units and conventional units. On the other hand, given an unfavorable master code, one's chances of receiving a discharge recommendation are more than twice as good in work units relative to the conventional units.

It will also be observed that those information factors whose impact upon discharge recommendations most dramatically discriminates between supervision types are highly subjective factors. For example, unsatisfactory employment record, unsatisfactory family relationship, unsatisfactory vices, unsatisfactory peer relationships, negative turnabout, and an unsatisfactory reference to the maturity of the subject are all "soft" categories in comparison to court conviction, arrests, and major Board actions.

Hypotheses to explain the greater leniency toward certain negative information on the part of work units



CONTINUED

2 OF 4

must remain tentative. It may, on the one hand, reflect a desire on the part of work unit parole agents to prove they are performing the task for which they were established; i.e., intensive supervision and increased assistance to clients really make a difference. On the other hand, conventional unit parole agents with larger caseloads must, of necessity, have more superficial contacts with their clients and may be inclined to adopt a much more conservative stance toward negative information since they may not be sure what it indicates. Work unit parole agents, having a closer relationship and a more "general" view of the client, may conceivably respond less conservatively.

REGION II: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Parole districts within Region II differed significantly in the proportion of Primary Review cases which were recommended for discharge by the parole agents. Cases submitted from District III under both the initial calendar (late 1965) and the regular calendar (January through June, 1966) of the Adult Authority were significantly less likely to bear recommendations for discharge than cases submitted from District I or District II (p difference .001 on both comparisons X^2 test of significance).

The differences in recommendation patterns for districts within Region II appeared to be in part a consequence of differing standards for the evaluations of negative information about parolees when such information

was reported by parole agents.

More negative information was reported from District III; and when this negative information was reported in this district, it had a higher correlation with continue recommendations by the parole agents.

On the basis of the limited number of informational factors examined in this report, it was not possible to determine whether the higher incidence of negative reporting from District III reflected objectively less satisfactory parolee adjustments in that geographic area, subjectively greater sensitivity in the District III parole agents' perceptions, or a combination of the two.

A lower discharge recommendation rate on the part of parole agents in any one district might reflect either a more conservative outlook on the part of the agents or a greater belief in the utility of parole supervision as a means of controlling behavior among parolees.

The first alternative was to some extent supported by findings from another study conducted in September, 1965, by the Bay Area Research Unit. At that time, all parole agents in the state provided recommendations for Adult Authority disposition - either Return to Prison or Continue on Parole - on a standard set of ten cases in which a violation had occurred. Statewide, 61 percent of all case-carrying agents recommended Return to Prison for at least seven of the ten cases. Parole agents in District I and

District II were similar to one another in recommendation patterns - 40 percent of those in District I and 50 percent of those in District II recommended seven or more returns, while 92 percent of the agents in District III were recommending in this category. The difference between District III and the other two districts was statistically significant at $p < .02$ ($\chi^2 = 9.18$ w/2 df).

CHAPTER VI

INITIAL CALENDAR CASES
DISCHARGED AND CONTINUED

This chapter discusses case outcomes for those 1,455 cases discharged and continued under the initial calendar. For the 26 percent of these cases which were discharged, all entries on Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation (CII)* rap sheets for calendar year 1966 were examined. For those cases continued on parole (74%), all interruptions of parole through suspension or cancellation were obtained from the 1966 year-end Administrative Statistics** deck.

DISCHARGED CASES

Three hundred thirteen of the discharged cases, or 81 percent, had no arrest entry on CII rap sheets within the first year subsequent to discharge. Of the 72 subjects with an arrest, 20 were subsequently released as deemed not arrested, with no complaint filed, or with the case against them dismissed (Table XXVII). For 10 more of the arrested cases, final disposition was indeterminate, being either unrecorded or still pending at the end of the follow-up

*California Department of Justice.

**California Department of Corrections.

TABLE XXVII

PRIMARY REVIEW INITIAL CALENDAR DISCHARGED CASES:
FIRST YEAR FOLLOW-UP SHOWING THOSE PERSONS ARRESTED
AND RELEASED WITH NO CONVICTIONS*

(I.E., Found Not Guilty, Case Dismissed, No Complaint
Filed, Or Person Deemed As Not Having Been Arrested)

| <u>CHARGE (incl. Suspicion, Investigation)</u> | <u>NUMBER OF SUBJECTS</u> |
|--|---------------------------|
| <u>Penal Code</u> | |
| Assault with Deadly Weapon | 1 |
| Rape | 1 |
| Robbery | 2 |
| Incest | 1 |
| Grand Theft | 4 |
| Burglary | 2 |
| Battery | 2 |
| Failure to Provide | 3 |
| <u>H & S Code</u> | |
| Possession of Narc. Paraphenalia | 1 |
| Plant Marijuana | 1 |
| <u>Vehicle Code</u> | |
| Driving When License Suspended | 1 |
| <u>Municipal Code</u> | |
| Gambling | 1 |
| TOTAL | 20 |

ARRESTED, DISPOSITION INDETERMINATE
(Pending, Unrecorded)

| <u>CHARGE</u> | <u>NUMBER OF SUBJECTS</u> |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <u>Penal Code</u> | |
| Burglary 2nd | 1 |
| Battery | 2 |
| <u>H & S Code</u> | |
| Transport Dangerous Drugs | 1 |
| Possession Dangerous Drugs | 1 |
| Failure to Register | 1 |
| <u>Vehicle Code</u> | |
| Driving Under Influence | 2 |
| <u>Municipal Code</u> | |
| Minor in Pool Hall | 1 |
| <u>Uniform Insurance Code</u> | |
| | 1 |
| TOTAL | 10 |

*Obtained From CI & I Records.

period.

Two of the remaining 42 cases received civil commitments. One of these, charged with Lewd and Lascivious Conduct toward a child, was placed in Atascadero as a mentally disordered sex offender (Table XXVIII). The other, charged with Burglary 2nd, was sent to the California Rehabilitation Center as an "N" number commitment. Three subjects were convicted of felonies and committed to the Director of Corrections for imprisonment. The offenses for these three men were Grand Theft, Burglary 2nd, and Forgery. Four received jail terms ranging between one month and one year for Failure to Provide, Grand Theft, Drunk and Disorderly, and Possession of Dangerous Drugs. Ten of the subjects received probation for periods of one to three years. Among these, two were for Vehicle Code violations, two for Health and Safety Code violations, two for Drunk and Disorderly, two for Failure to Provide, and one each for Petty Theft and Receiving Stolen Property.

Sentences imposed on the remaining 23 subjects were all payable by fine or equivalent brief jail stay. Seven of these were for Drunk and Disorderly and the other 16 for various Vehicle Code infractions. Most of these latter consisted of driving under the influence of alcohol or driving with a suspended license.

In summary, while nearly 20 percent of the discharged subjects in the study population had some arrest recorded

TABLE XXVIII

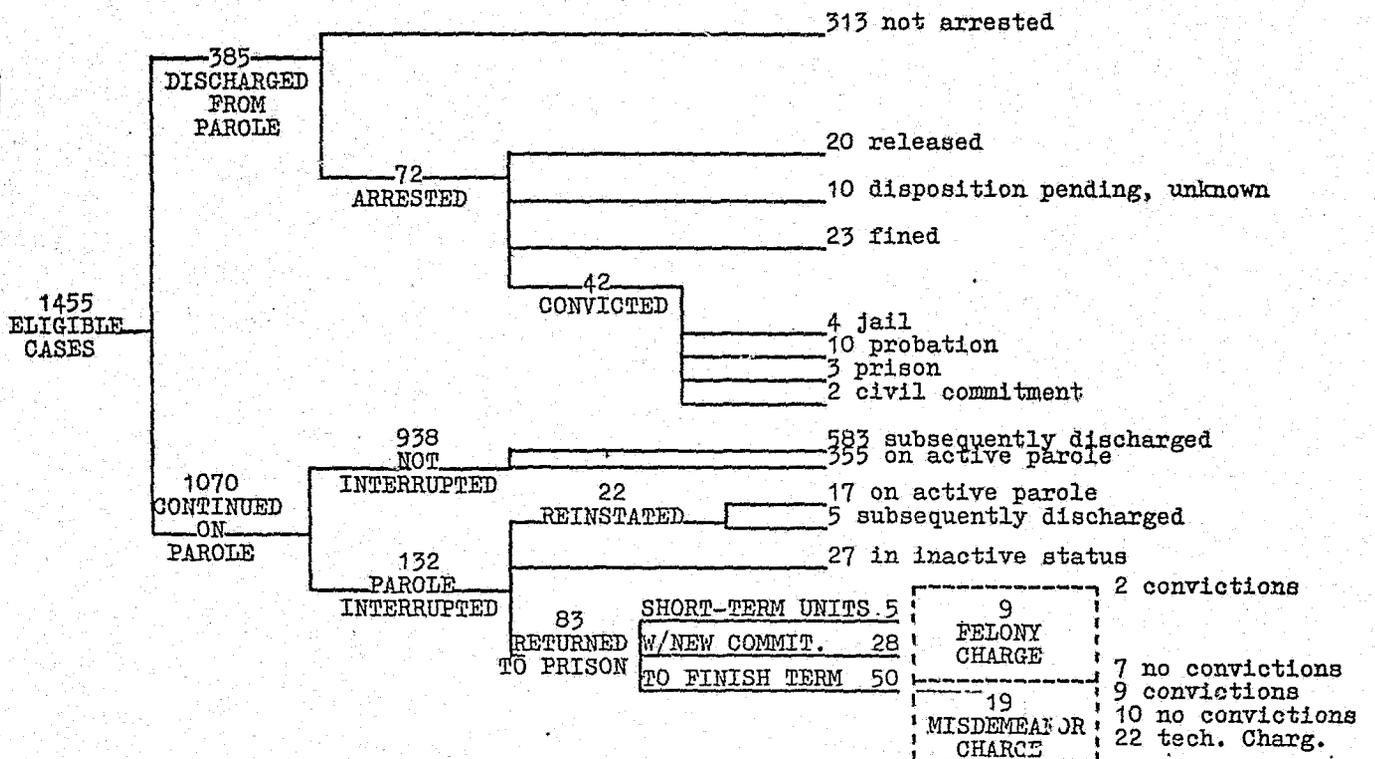
PRIMARY REVIEW INITIAL CALENDAR DISCHARGED CASES:
FIRST YEAR FOLLOW-UP SHOWING THOSE PERSONS ARRESTED,
CHARGED AND CONVICTED

| <u>SENTENCE</u> | <u>OFFENSE</u> | <u>NUMBER OF SUBJECTS</u> |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <u>Imprisonment</u> | | |
| | Burglary 2nd | 1 |
| | Grand Theft | 1 |
| | Forgery | 1 |
| <u>Civil Commitment</u> | | |
| | Burglary 2nd | 1 |
| | Lewd & Lascivious, Child | 1 |
| <u>Jail</u> | | |
| 1 yr. (8 mos. suspended) | | |
| | Failure to Provide | 1 |
| 9 months | Grand Theft | 1 |
| 2 months | Drunk, Disorderly | 1 |
| 1 mo. (suspended) | Poss. Dangerous Drugs | 1 |
| <u>Probation</u> | | |
| 3 years | Receiving Stolen Property | 1 |
| | Failure to Provide | 1 |
| | Vehicle Code | 1 |
| 2 years | Petty Theft | 1 |
| | False Prescription (H&S) | 1 |
| 1 year | Failure to Provide | 1 |
| | Drunk, Disorderly | 2 |
| | Vehicle Code | 1 |
| | Poss. Narc. | 1 |
| | Paraphenalia (H & S) | 1 |
| <u>Fine</u> | | |
| \$250-300 | Vehicle Code | 7 |
| 100-150 | Vehicle Code | 4 |
| | Drunk, Disorderly | 1 |
| 50-99 | Vehicle Code | 1 |
| | Drunk, Disorderly | 2 |
| 10-49 | Vehicle Code | 4 |
| | Drunk, Disorderly | 4 |
| <u>TOTAL</u> | | <u>42</u> |

within the first year after their termination from parole, only 11 percent had been found guilty with a sentence imposed. The majority of this convicted group - two-thirds of them, in fact - had been convicted for either Vehicle Code infractions or drunkenness; and half of all the offenses resulted in sentence payable by fine. Only three cases out of the entire 385 had, within one year, become involved in a felony conviction resulting in their return to prison; and none of these was for a violent offense.

Though more than 25 percent of the subjects (101) in the population had a history of prior opiate usage, only three subjects had, within their first year following parole discharge, received a conviction for violation of the Health and Safety Code; and each of these resulted in an imposed sentence of jail or probation.

TABLE XXIX
DISPOSITIONS WITHIN ONE YEAR SUBSEQUENT
TO CONSIDERATION FOR DISCHARGE PER 2943 PC



CONTINUED CASES

Nine hundred thirty-eight of the continued cases, or 88 percent, had received no suspension or cancellation of their parole by year-end 1966. Five hundred eighty-three of these were discharged from parole (the great majority through routine expiration of term) sometime during the year, and 355 remained on active parole at year-end. One hundred thirty-two of the cases continued on parole (12%) had a violation leading to interruption of parole status during 1966. Twenty-two of these cases were reinstated on parole within the year; 27 remained in inactive status at year-end; and 83 were returned to prison. Thus, only 8 percent of the cases retained on parole were returned to prison from parole status by year-end 1966. Only one-third of those returned, 28 of 83, entered prison with a new felony commitment. The new commitment offenses for this group were:

RETURNS TO PRISON
WITH NEW COMMITMENT

| <u>OFFENSES</u> | <u>NUMBER OF SUBJECTS</u> |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| ADW | 1 |
| Robbery 1st, att. | 3 |
| Possession of firearm | 1 |
| Lewd and Lascivious, child | 1 |
| Burglary 2nd | 2 |
| Grand Theft | 1 |
| Forgery | 1 |
| NSF Checks | 2 |
| Sale Narcotics | 1 |
| Possession Narcotics | 2 |
| Sale Marijuana | 5 |
| Possession Marijuana | 6 |
| Drunk Driving | 1 |
| Indecent Exposure | 1 |
| TOTAL | <u>28</u> |

Nearly 40 percent of the parolees returned with new commitments were convicted of marijuana offenses. Few of the new commitments were for offenses involving violence or threat of violence.

Fifty-one cases were returned to prison on a technical violation of parole (TFT). Of these, only two had received felony convictions on the occasion eventuating in return; and both of these had received probation sentences (one for possession of firearm, one for petty theft with prior). Nine cases had received misdemeanor convictions shortly preceding the time of their return. Five of those nine were Battery convictions. Seven subjects returned TFT had been charged with felony offenses (four involved narcotics; two, burglary; one, abortion), but no conviction ensued. Similarly, 10 of the parolees had been charged, though not convicted, on a variety of misdemeanor offenses and were returned TFT. The remaining 21 cases were returned to prison TFT for technical violations of the Conditions of Parole, the majority of these charged by the parole agent on the basis of some evidence of drug use or excessive drinking. In addition to the WNC and TFT returns to prison, five continued subjects were suspended and placed in NTCU or Chino's Short Term Return Unit.

In summary, over half of the cases continued on parole under the Primary Review were successfully terminated from parole during the subsequent year, and another third completed a subsequent full year on parole. These two

groups, comprising 88 percent of the cases continued, suffered no incident sufficient to warrant interruption of parole status. Only 12 percent of the continued cases were suspended or cancelled in the year subsequent to the Primary Review decision, and a number of these were reinstated. Just 8 percent were returned to prison by year-end 1965, and the great majority of these were returns To Finish Term. The offenses resulting in return, even for those with new commitments, were, for the most part, relatively non-injurious.

CHAPTER VII

SUBSEQUENT IMPLEMENTATION AND EFFECTS
OF PRIMARY REVIEW AND ADULT AUTHORITY
RESOLUTION 275 (SUBSEQUENT REVIEW)

This chapter will cover: first, the implementation of the Primary Review from July, 1966, through March, 1967. Second, the implementation of the Subsequent Review for those cases reviewed between December, 1966, and March, 1967. As stated earlier, the Subsequent Review is an Adult Authority resolution put into effect on October 31, 1966, providing for further review of cases one year subsequent to a continue action on the Primary Review and at all subsequent twelve-month periods, assuming discharge is not granted and no routine expiration of term occurs. The detailed analysis on the Primary and Subsequent Reviews had been done on Regions II and IV. Third, the impact of the Primary and Subsequent Review provisions on parole population statistics between September, 1965, and September, 1967.

2943 PG: JULY, 1966 - MARCH, 1967

Table III, presented earlier in this report, showed regional decision processes for the first quarter of the regular calendar January - March, 1966. Table XXX compares decision patterns for the first two quarters of the regular calendar with those on the initial calendar (October - December, 1965). It can be seen that discharge recommendations

T A B L E X X X
VARIATION BY TIME AND CALENDAR TYPE

| REGION | INITIAL CALENDAR (late 1965) | REGULAR CALENDAR (1-6/66) | CHANGE |
|--------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------|
| I | from 61% | to 57%, | down 4% |
| II | " 70 | " 67, | " 3 |
| III | " 84 | " 59, | " 25 |
| IV | " 53 | " 35, | " 18 |
| V | " 58 | " 38, | " 20 |
| STATE | " 64 | " 49, | " 15 |

PAROLE AGENT
DISCHARGE
RECOMMENDATIONS
FELL:

| | | | |
|-------|----------|---------|--------|
| I | from 38% | to 55%, | up 17% |
| II | " 32 | " 68, | " 36 |
| III | " 24 | " 45, | " 21 |
| IV | " 17 | " 24, | " 7 |
| V | " 26 | " 31, | " 5 |
| STATE | " 27 | " 42, | " 15 |

ADULT AUTHORITY
DISCHARGE
ACTIONS
ROSE:

have fallen in all regions although only slightly in Regions I and II. Differences between regions in the extent of the reduction in discharge recommendations across calendars conceivably reflect agents' responding to differences in the amount of "interference" in case recommendations at intermediate levels in the decision hierarchy under the initial calendar. Region III, although reducing its level of discharge recommendations to a greater extent than any other region, was initially recommending such a high percentage of cases for discharge that under the regular calendar its recommendations became similar to Regions I and II. Adult Authority discharge actions have increased in all regions. In Regions I and II, Adult Authority discharge actions are high; and in the absence of intermediary level changes in recommendations in those regions, final actions are almost identical to agent recommendations. In the remaining three regions, "differences of opinion" submitted at the district supervisor and regional administrator levels have resulted in less proximity between agent recommendations and final actions.

In Region III discharge actions have increased markedly across the calendars, and this may be attributed to a low level of discharge actions on the initial calendar and a high level of discharge recommendations on the regular calendar. The general increase in discharge actions across all regions reflects the absence of the hearing representatives, who were largely responsible for the "cutting back" of agent

recommendations under the initial calendar. The statewide figures indicate that, while discharge recommendations overall have fallen by 15 percent, discharge actions have risen by 15 percent.

Table XXXI indicates that in Regions II and IV parole agent recommendations have remained fairly stable across the three quarters from July, 1966, to March, 1967, with Region II recommending approximately 20 percent more of its cases for discharge. Discrepancies between agent recommendations and Adult Authority actions are more marked during this time period in Region IV than Region II, which reflects differing recommendation patterns at intermediary levels in the system. This is indicated in Table XXV as "Overturned Discharge Recommendations/All Discharge Recommendations."

Table XXXII indicates the flow of decisions through the system for this time period. Agents in Region IV recommended 44 percent of their cases for discharge compared to 64 percent in Region II. Compared to the first six months of the regular calendar (January-June, 1966), this represents an increase of 3 percent in Region II and 9 percent in Region IV. The table also indicates the point mentioned in connection with the previous tables that the variable proximity across regions between agent recommendations and Adult Authority actions reflects, to a large extent, differences in the volume of interruptive activity cases through the decision hierarchy. It will be observed that

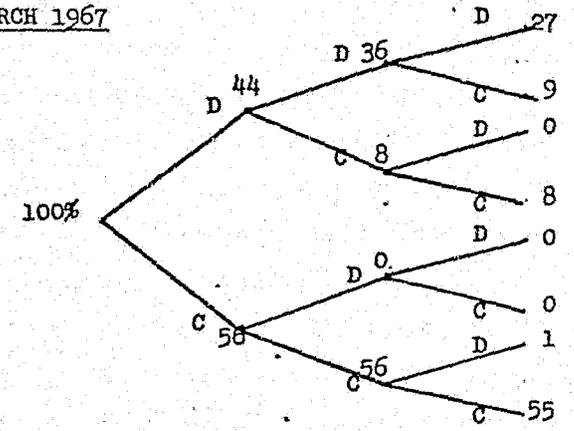
T A B L E X X X I
V A R I A T I O N B Y T I M E A N D R E G I O N

| | | <u>3rd</u> <u>QTR</u> <u>1966</u> | <u>4th</u> <u>QTR</u> <u>1966</u> | <u>1st</u> <u>QTR</u> <u>1967</u> | |
|---|----|---|---|---|---------------------|
| PAROLE AGENT DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATIONS: | | | | | |
| | II | 62% | 63% | 68% | |
| | IV | 46% | 42% | 43% | |
| ADULT AUTHORITY DISCHARGE ACTIONS:* | | | | | |
| | II | 58% | 54% | 65% | |
| | IV | 34% | 22% | 28% | |
| OVERTURNED DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATIONS/ALL DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATIONS: | | | | | |
| | II | 7% | 15% | 6% | 7/66- 3/67 9% |
| | IV | 28% | 52% | 38% | 38% |

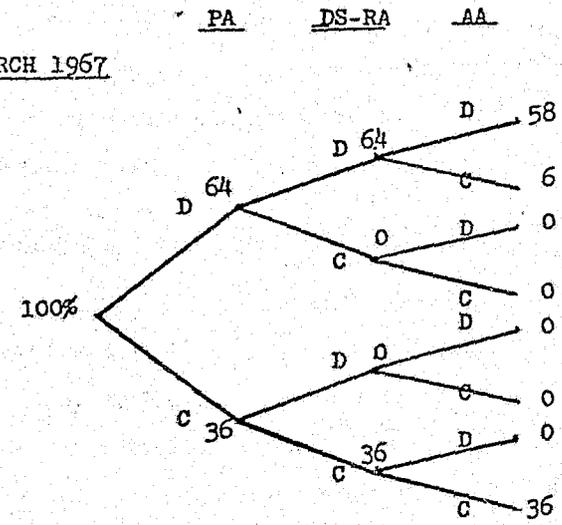
*Examination of Region III for June, 1967, revealed 51/140, or 36 percent, received discharge (PS 275 included for Region III, excluded for Regions II and IV).

TABLE XXX11
2943 Decision Process

REGION 1V
JULY 1966-MARCH 1967
N= 378



REGION 11
JULY 1966- MARCH 1967
N=350



LEGEND

D=Discharge
C=Continue
PA= Parole Agent
DS= District Supervisor
RA= Regional Administrator
AA= Adult Authority

in Region IV, while 44 percent of the eligible cases received a discharge recommendation at the parole agent level, only 29 percent received a discharge action. This is to be compared with 64 percent of the cases in Region II receiving a discharge recommendation and 58 percent receiving a discharge action. Reductions in discharge recommendations initiated by the Adult Authority are similar in the two regions (6% compared to 9%). In Region IV, however, 50 percent of all the reductions in agent discharge recommendations can be accounted for by district supervisor and regional administrator activity, whereas the comparable statistic in Region II is zero. The table also indicates a similarity between initial and regular calendar decision processes in that cases recommended continue enjoy an almost completely uninterrupted passage through the decision system, whereas cases recommended discharge experience considerable more interruptive activity at the intermediary decision levels.

IMPLEMENTATION OF ADULT AUTHORITY RESOLUTION 275

Table XXXIII documents recommendations and actions in Regions II and IV for all cases reviewed in the period December, 1966, to March, 1967, under the Subsequent Review provision. Comparing recommendation patterns under this provision with those of the regular calendar, Primary Review, the following points emerge:

1. While discharge recommendations in both regions under Subsequent Review are slightly higher than regular

TABLE XXXIII
SUBSEQUENT REVIEW DECISION PROCESS

LOCATION:
Region IV

PERIOD:
12/66-3/67

SAMPLE:
138 Cases

| | | ADULT AUTHORITY ACTION | | | | |
|---|-------|------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----|
| | | | | DOP CASE | | |
| | | Discharge | Continue | Discharge | Continue | |
| R E A C T I O N S | DISCH | 37% | 3% | 1% | 9% | 50% |
| | CONT | 1% | 49% | 0% | 0% | 50% |
| | | <u>38%</u> | <u>52%</u> | <u>1%</u> | <u>9%</u> | |
| | | 39% DISCHARGED ← | | | | |

LOCATION:
Region II

PERIOD:
11/66-3/67

SAMPLE:
75 Cases

| | | ADULT AUTHORITY ACTION | | | | |
|---|-------|------------------------|------------|-----------|----------|-----|
| | | | | DOP CASE | | |
| | | Discharge | Continue | Discharge | Continue | |
| R E A C T I O N S | DISCH | 66% | 4% | 0% | 0% | 70% |
| | CONT | 1% | 29% | 0% | 0% | 30% |
| | | <u>67%</u> | <u>33%</u> | | | |
| | | 67% DISCHARGED | | | | |

calendar Primary Review recommendations, the regions have retained a similar distance from each other in the percentage of cases recommended for discharge (20%).

2. District supervisor and regional administrator activity has remained absent in Region II under the Subsequent Review, while Region IV cases continue to experience this type of activity invariably on cases recommended for discharge. Since interruptive activity at these levels is almost always ratified by the Adult Authority, a higher percentage of cases recommended for discharge in Region II received a discharge action than was the case in Region IV. The discrepancy between the regions in agent discharge recommendations has therefore been magnified at the level of final discharge actions.

3. It may be necessary to further emphasize that all cases reviewed under the Subsequent Review have completed at least three continuous years on parole. Nonetheless, in Region II only 70 percent of these cases are receiving a discharge recommendation and only 50 percent in Region IV. Moreover, particularly in Region IV, these recommendations have been further diminished at the final action level.

EFFECTS ON PAROLE POPULATION STATISTICS

Table XXXIV documents the relationship between all other types of discharge* from parole and Primary and

*Men are discharged from parole at the routine expiration of the term set by the Adult Authority on the maximum term through a Governor's pardon or under the provisions of 3025.5 PC. (The last two processes seldom occur.) All procedures require Adult Authority action.

T A B L E X X X I V
V A R I A T I O N B Y A R E A

| | Q4 1965 | Q1 1966 | Q2 1966 | Q3 1966 | Q4 1966 | Q1 1967 | Q2 1967 | Q3 1967 | |
|---|----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|----------------------------|------|
| <u>ACTIVE POPULATION</u> | 11620 | | | | | | | 10156 | |
| North (I&II) | 4462 38% 7158 62% | | | | | | | 3692 36% 6464 64% | |
| <u>EXPIRATIONS</u> | 490 | 463 | 557 | 499 | 508 | 517 | 509 | 472 | 4015 |
| North | 44% | 42% | 40% | 39% | 37% | 39% | 38% | 31% | 39% |
| South | 56% | 58% | 60% | 61% | 63% | 61% | 62% | 69% | 61% |
| <u>PRIMARY AND SUBSEQUENT REVIEW DISCHARGES</u> | 438 | 144 | 183 | 243 | 269 | 328 | 316 | 309 | 2230 |
| North | 43% | 56% | 47% | 50% | 48% | 54% | 59% | 50% | 51% |
| South | 54% | 44% | 53% | 50% | 52% | 46% | 41% | 50% | 49% |

ENTIRE PERIOD
Oct 65 - Sept 67

| | SOUTH | NORTH | |
|----------------|-------|-------|------|
| PRIMARY REVIEW | 1092 | 1138 | 2230 |
| EXPIR. | 2455 | 1560 | 4015 |
| | 3547 | 2698 | 6245 |

PRIMARY REVIEW
AS PERCENT
OF ALL DISCHARGE

| | |
|-------|-----|
| STATE | 36% |
| North | 42 |
| South | 30 |

$$\chi^2 = 81.55$$

$$P < .001$$

Subsequent Review discharges. The Primary and Subsequent Review provisions account for 42 percent of all discharges from parole in the South. This differential utilization of the discharge provisions by North and South is presented in Table XXXIV and is significant at the .001 level.

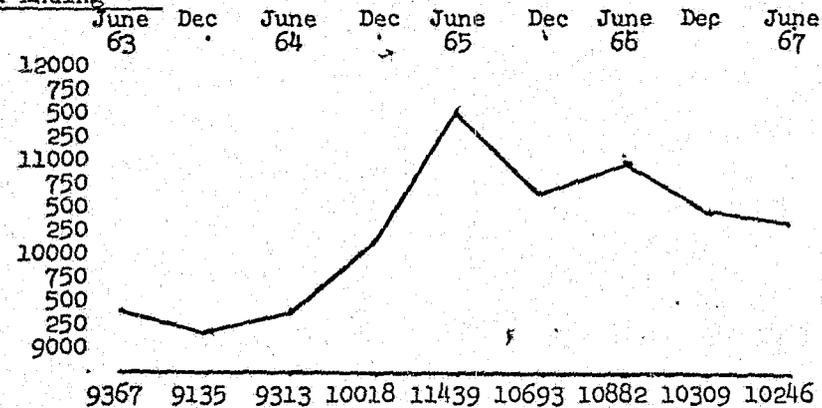
Table XXXV documents fluctuations in the total active population and losses to the system through discharges by routine expiration of terms and Primary Review releases. The total active population, while fluctuating somewhat, has generally declined over the period of implementation of the Primary Review. Routine expirations have remained stable (fluctuating between 1006 and 1076), while Primary Review releases have generally increased except for the early months of operation under the regular calendar. Variations in total active population figures are reflections of variations in gains and losses to the parole system. Inputs into the system are institutional releases and reinstatements; and outputs are comprised of cancellations, suspensions, and discharges. The relationship between inputs and outputs and their effect on the total active population can be observed from Tables XXXV and XXXVI.

From June, 1965, to December, 1965, input to the system fell, while output increased, leading to a net loss of 713 cases. In this period the Primary Review contributed 10 percent of the total loss to the system. In the next period (December, 1965 - June, 1966) traffic in all three output routes had fallen while the institutional release

TABLE XXXV

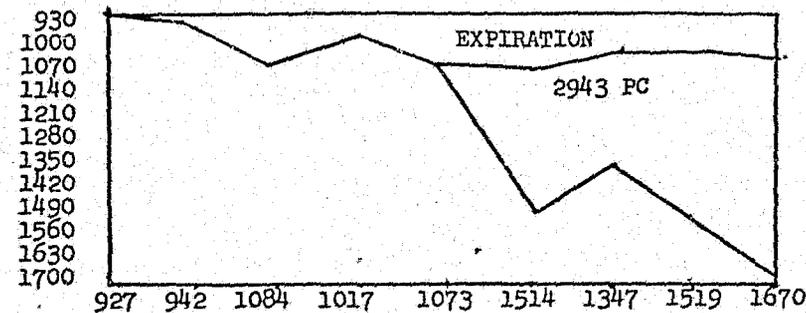
POPULATION, RELEASES AND DISCHARGES 1963-67

Active Pop. for
Period Ending -



Scale: 12 Intervals of 250

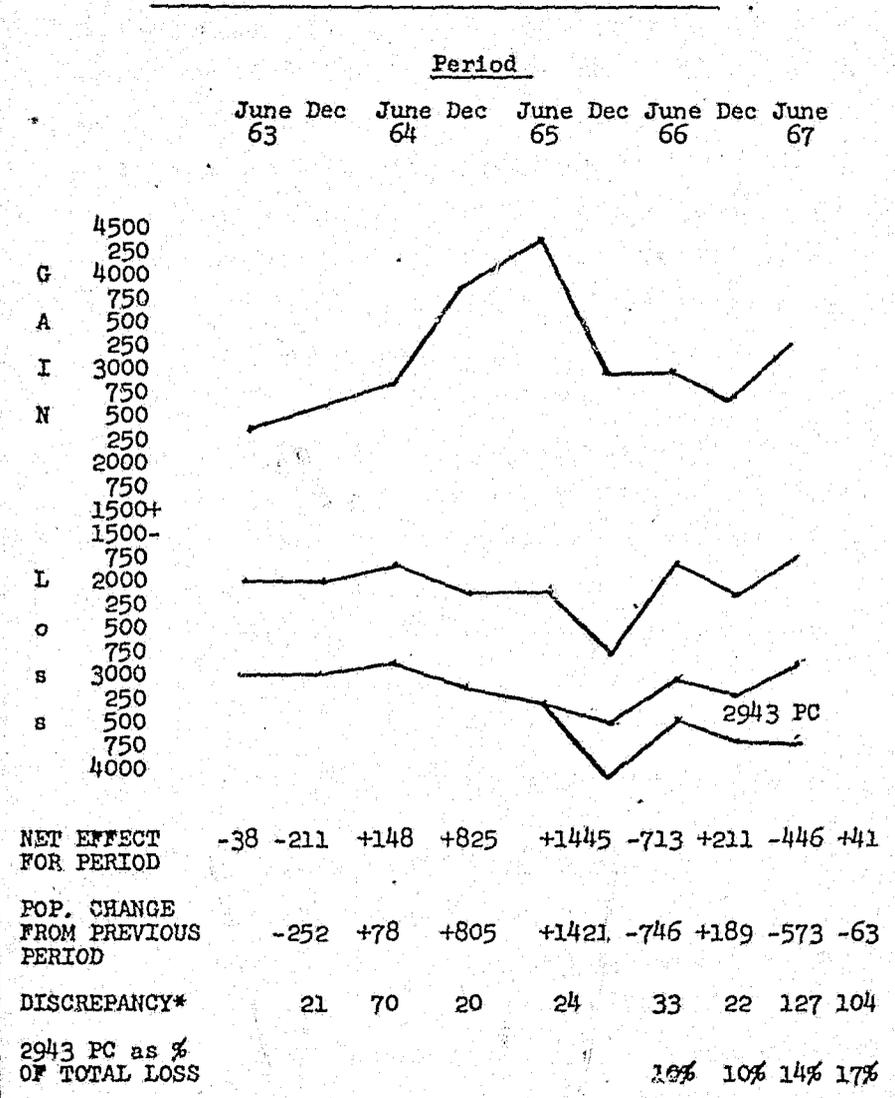
Number Discharged



SCALE: 12 Intervals of 70

TABLE XXXVI

MOVEMENT EFFECTS ON PAROLE POPULATION - IN STATE ACTIVE ADULT MALE FELONS.



* DISCREPANCIES ATTRIBUTABLE TO DEATHS, PRESUMPTIVE DEATHS, PARDONS, AND IMBALANCES BETWEEN IN-STATE vs OUT-STATE TRANSFERS

level had stabilized, leading to a net gain of 211 cases in the period. Again, the Primary Review accounted for 10 percent of the total loss. In the third period under the Primary Review (June, 1966 - December, 1967) institutional releases again fell while traffic in the three output routes rose, leading to a net loss of 446 cases, Primary Review accounting for 14 percent. In the final period (December, 1967 - June, 1967) Primary Review releases levelled off; and cancellations, suspensions, and other discharges fell, which, when balanced with an increase in institutional released, led to a net gain of 41 cases to the system. Primary Review accounted for 17 percent of the total loss. Throughout the period, Primary Review releases have accounted for an increasing proportion of total losses to the system, which does not seem to have been compensated for by increased institutional releases.

SUMMARY

1. Under the regular calendar, the proportion of parole agent discharge recommendations fell in all regions, and most markedly in those regions experiencing interruptive activity on case decisions by district supervisors and regional administrators under the initial calendar.
2. Adult Authority discharge actions rose in all regions under the regular calendar, most markedly in those regions where discharge recommendations remained high under the regular calendar.

3. The amount of interruptive activity at the intermediate decision levels varies by region and is reflected in Adult Authority discharge actions.

4. Initial and regular calendars are similar in that interruptive activity, when present, almost always occurs on cases recommended for discharge.

5. Under the Subsequent Review provision, discharge recommendations in Regions II and IV rose slightly in comparison to the regular calendar Primary Review; and the two regions maintained a similar distance (20%) in terms of percent of cases recommended for discharge as they had under the regular calendar.

6. Regions II and IV manifest continuity in the amount of interruptive activity at intermediate decision levels between the regular calendar Primary Review and the Subsequent Review. Such activity is absent in Region II under both provisions and present in Region IV. Similar to the regular calendar, district supervisor and regional administrator supplementary recommendations are ratified at the Adult Authority level under the Subsequent Review. This has led to a closer proximity between agent recommendations and Adult Authority actions in Region II, where interruptive activity is absent compared to Region IV, where it is present.

7. In spite of the fact that all cases considered for discharge under the Subsequent Review have successfully completed three continuous years on parole, agent recommendations

do not differ significantly from those made on Primary Review cases. Only 50 percent of all cases in Region IV received a discharge recommendation and 70 percent in Region II on the Subsequent Review, compared to 44 percent and 64 percent, respectively under the Primary Review.

8. Over the regular calendar period, differences emerge between the Northern and Southern California parole regions in their utilization of the Primary Review discharge provision. The Northern regions contributed 38 percent of the total population, accounting for 51 percent of all Primary and Subsequent Review discharges in the period September, 1965 - September, 1967.

9. Primary Review releases have reduced the size of the total active parole population throughout the period, and no compensating increase in the input system is evident.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONSSUMMARY

Through our analysis of parole agent recommendation patterns we found:

1. That districts and regions vary widely in the percentage of cases recommended for discharge from parole, and that such differences cannot be explained by variations in the quality of material being decided upon. Consequently some cases are retained on parole with the concomitant restrictions of civil rights while other similar cases are released from such deprivations. This is consistent with the findings of Green and Hood in their respective analyses of judicial decision making discussed in Chapter I.
2. Agents vary in the type of information they choose to include in their reports.
3. Agents vary in the importance they attach to the same items of information in the process of formulating a decision. This is consistent with Wilkins' findings as reported in "Confidence and Competence in Decision-Making" discussed in Chapter I.

4. Agents are more sensitive to their immediate supervisor's policy than they are to the Adult Authority.
5. That under "natural" conditions, as opposed to "simulated conditions" position in the administrative hierarchy is positively correlated with conservatism in decisions. We suggest that this discrepancy in findings is attributable to problems of responsibility and accountability which occur if a case "blows-up" in the "natural" situation. Since the Takagi-Robison study was under simulated conditions such pressures would not be operative. It should be remembered that in our study decisions were made sequentially through the administrative hierarchy whereas in the Takagi-Robison study they were made simultaneously.
6. That given an initial recommendation of continue on parole, this recommendation is unlikely to be interrupted in its passage through the administrative hierarchy in contrast with the recommendation for discharge. This may be contrasted with the Wilkins-Carter findings discussed in Chapter I, which indicated that the rate of agreement between probation officers' recommendations and judges' decisions was much

higher when probation officers recommended more lenient dispositions (i.e., probation) than when they recommended more severe dispositions (i.e., institutionalization).

7. That under the Subsequent Review, providing for further review of cases continued under the Primary Review, districts and regions remain fairly stable relative to each other in the percentage of cases continued on parole.
8. That under the Subsequent Review a large number of cases are still recommended continue on parole despite the successful completion of three years on parole.
9. Subsequent criminal activity of cases continued on parole is minor and not very much different from subsequent criminal activity of cases discharged.

CONCLUSIONS

In general, decision makers, operating under conditions of uncertainty regarding the consequences of decisions, evolve rules for the resolution of uncertainty. These rules may be classified as Errors of the First Type (rejection of the hypothesis when it is true) or Errors of the Second Type (acceptance of the hypothesis when it is false). These rules become occupational norms influencing decision choices. In the field of medicine, for example, it is characteristic

that uncertainty regarding the status of the patient's health is resolved by judging him sick. (Type Two Error). This resolution is justified by the medical profession on the grounds that treating a healthy person as if he were sick is less serious in consequences than treating the sick person as if he were healthy.¹ In the field of jurisprudence, uncertainty has traditionally been resolved through adoption of the Type One Error philosophy, and thus the benefit of the doubt is accorded the accused who is declared innocent.

It is suggested that the parole bureaucracy, operating under conditions of uncertainty regarding the consequences of decisions, has abandoned the legal model and invoked the medical model for resolution of uncertainty leading to a low percentage of cases receiving a discharge action. However, it is open to doubt whether equally good reasons for the adoption of this model prevail in the parole system as they do in the medical system.* It remains to be demonstrated that the consequences of discharging eligible cases is more injurious than continuing them on parole. This might be true if it could be demonstrated that parolees who would reengage in criminal activity if discharged can effectively be prevented from so doing if continued on parole. However, no evidence exists to support this

*The application of this model even to the medical system is not without undesirable consequences. (See Reference 3).

contention and indeed evidence exists which suggests that parole supervision may have no effect on the criminal involvement of the client.² Even if the belief in the efficacy of parole supervision were tenable, it is unlikely that the prophylactic efforts of parole agents would be necessary for more than a small proportion of cases. It should be remembered here that all cases have already completed two successful years on parole. It then becomes questionable whether it is worth retaining a large proportion of cases on parole in order to attempt prevention of minor crimes committed by a small percentage of cases. Furthermore, the base rate problem precludes any possibility of predicting which cases will commit these minor crimes and which will not so the problem cannot be solved that way.

We suggest that an explanation of the conservative implementation of the Primary and Subsequent Review provisions lies in the nature of the relationship between the parole system and the political environment. Correctional organizations are held accountable for the behavior of offenders in their charge who thereby become potential sources of political embarrassment and criticism. If we consider the Primary and Subsequent Reviews as involving two decision choices (discharge/continue) and two possible outcomes (criminal behavior/no criminal behavior), we are presented with the following four possibilities:

1. Continue On Parole - No Criminal Behavior
2. Continue On Parole - Subsequent Criminal Behavior
3. Discharge From Parole - No Subsequent Criminal Behavior
4. Discharge From Parole - Subsequent Criminal Behavior.

Of Alternative 1 it can be said that retaining the client on parole prevented more criminal behavior. (An assumption for which no supportive evidence exists.) Alternative 2 can be justified since the re-engagement in criminal behavior indicated the wisdom of continuing the client on parole. Alternative 3 needs no explanation and again justifies the wisdom of the decision. Of the four alternatives only 1 is problematic and difficult for the agency to rationalize. It is this alternative which constitutes the potential source of political criticism and it is therefore this alternative which the agency seeks to control, which in the case of the implementation of the Primary and Subsequent Reviews it has achieved through discharging only a small percentage of cases. We conclude that this strategy is non-rational in terms of the stated objectives of the Primary Review; that the high financial and social costs of such a policy do not justify the slight (if any) gains; and that a more rational procedure would be to discharge all eligible cases from parole.

In the popular image correctional agencies are usually depicted as society's last outposts battling valiantly but helplessly against the rising tide of recidivism generated

by recalcitrant criminals. Only rarely does one encounter the suggestion that official rates vary with factors other than the characteristics of offenders. In the foregoing chapters we have indicated that one important rate is very clearly controlled by the parole agency and susceptible to manipulation by that agency. Other authors have studied the parole violation rate, an important component of recidivism and reached the same conclusion, that it too can be and is manipulated by the parole agency. These studies suggest that increased effectiveness of correctional operations may lie in the direction, not of more treatment and rehabilitation programs (proven failures)³ which focus on the personality of the offender, but in the manipulation of correctional decisions through change in agency policy.

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1. Scheff, T. "Preferred Errors in Diagnosis," Medical Care, July-September, 1964, Vol. 2, No. 3.
2. Carter, R. "San Francisco Probation Project," Berkeley: School of Criminology, 1967.
3. Bailey, W. "How Corrective Is Correctional Treatment," Los Angeles: University of California, School of Social Welfare.

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGY

A coding manual comprising approximately fifty code categories was constructed by the investigators for the purpose of content analysis of agent reports. The coding manual was developed using all of the initial calendar cases in Region II as a test sample (324 cases). Each of the Region II initial calendar cases was coded by two coders independently. Revisions in the coding structure were built into the manual where estimates of reliability between coders indicated this was necessary. Trial revisions in the manual were often written, and redefined codes applied by seven coders to a sample of cases to check the level of agreement obtained. Whenever a code was redefined, all cases were reexamined to determine whether they were affected by the change. The completed manual was then applied to the remaining four regions with a reliability check conducted on a random sample of twenty percent of the cases.

The codes are divisible conceptually into Factor Codes and Overview Codes. The Factor Codes captured specific, discrete items of information, while the Overview Codes represent a summation of all the agents' comments pertaining to a particular area of concern. In the area of employment, for example, the factor employment code recorded whether the parolee was reported as employed or unemployed at the time the report was written. The overview employment code, on the other hand, embraced such areas mentioned by the parole agent as stability of employment,

adequacy of earnings, motivation to work, frequency of job changes, etc. All references to the area of employment, both favorable and unfavorable, were noted by the coder, and balanced according to previously created rules of evaluation.* In this way a final judgement as to whether the client's adjustment in this area was favorable or unfavorable was arrived at.

It is important to keep in mind that most of the parolee characteristics herein discussed are derived from reported information which has been categorized for content analysis. Most of the categories were developed on the basis of their presumed relevance to the immediate decision - whether to discharge or continue on parole. Information reported by parole agents is selective, consisting of what they consider necessary or worthwhile to report; guidelines for reporting are flexible and meanings for the same term may differ widely from agent to agent. Much of the information and many of the coding categories rest on inferences and should not be taken as denoting "real" characteristics of the subjects. Finally it should be borne in mind that when the agent fails to make reference in his report to any code area, this could be for a variety of reasons among which the researcher cannot discriminate.

*It is not considered necessary to present these judgemental rules here since they are somewhat detailed and complicated. It may be mentioned however that acceptable levels of coder reliability were achieved in their application.

For example, if the agent makes no reference to the client's drinking habits, this could be because the client does not drink, or he drinks but the agent does not know about it, or he drinks and the agent knows but desires to suppress the information, or the agent knows but considers it of no importance and so on.*

In the following pages we shall present data indicating the distribution of reported characteristics of the client population by Region and District and the associations between various categories of information and parole agent recommendations. The information items chosen for presentation were selected on the following basis:

1. They occurred in more than 10% of the total cases.
2. Their presumed relevance to the decision process as indicated by Adult Authority instructions to parole agents.**

*In response to a questionnaire recently submitted to all parole agents throughout the state, 27% of the respondents affirmed that: "It is sometimes necessary to withhold certain kinds of information about the parolee (such as common law wife) because it appears to be helpful to the parolee's overall adjustment."

**Parole agents were instructed by the Adult Authority to focus in their case evaluations upon certain specified areas of parole adjustment. However, the Adult Authority failed to inform the agents as to the precise meaning and weight that should be attached to positive and negative performance in these areas when the agent attempted to formulate a recommendation. In other words, given employment adjustment as one designated area, what meaning should be given to a current unemployment status? And how should this be balanced against an otherwise stable history of employment? The areas of adjustment specified by the Adult Authority for

3. That the information categories be representative of the observed wide range of association between information and decisions. We wished to include both information categories associated with a high probability of a discharge recommendation, and information categories associated with a low probability of a discharge recommendation.

The code definitions presented in the appendix, cover all the information categories discussed in this report and are presented there for reference purposes.

inclusion in the agent's case evaluation were:

1. Employment
2. Residence Pattern
3. Family Relationships
4. Physical and Mental Condition
5. Peer Relations and Leisure Activity
6. Vices (Alcohol, Crugs, Sex, Gambling)
7. Maturity and Cooperation
8. Arrest Record
 - a) Any Police Arrest and Charge
 - b) Any Major Board Action.

A P P E N D I X B

APPLICATION OF THE DISTRICT SUPERVISOR TYPOLOGY

The district supervisor typology developed by P. Takagi (along the dimensions of professional-administrative orientation and expectations of deviance from procedural rules on the part of subordinates) was examined in relation to the 2943 P.C. data in order to determine whether differences in supervisor orientation was associated with differences in recommendation patterns. Takagi presents the following table and summary describing each supervisor type:

| | <u>Expects Deviations</u> | | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | |
| <u>Professional Judgement</u> | 10 | 8 | 18 |
| (A) | (A) | (B) | |
| <u>Case Decisions</u> | | | |
| <u>Administrative Policy</u> | 11 | 9 | 20 |
| (C) | (C) | (C) | |
| <u>TOTAL</u> | 21 | 17 | 38 |

Since the cell entries are small, summaries on demographic characteristics to describe the supervisors will not be attempted; but instead a supervisor from each of the types will be sketched.

Supervisors in cell (A) who exercise professional judgement in case decisions and expect agent deviations tend to be younger as a group, and most of them were recently promoted to their present positions. Mr. Martin, one of the supervisors in this category, is a Doctoral candidate in one of the professional schools. He is 32 years old, having been a member of the parole agency for almost ten years. Mr. Martin is labelled a "social worker". Mr. Martin is the one who stated that the agents told him about their deviations.

Supervisors in cell (B) base their case decisions on their professional judgement and do not

expect their agents to deviate. These supervisors tend to be older and have been with the agency for many years. For example, Mr. Brown is close to retirement, after 25 years of service. He verbally identifies with the problems of the agents and the clients, but the agents in Mr. Brown's unit are suspicious of him stating that they would be "sold down the river" if a case should blow up. Mr. Brown is the supervisor who reassigned the agent described as being a "lousy peace officer."

Cell (C) consists of supervisors who are also older as a group, and they have many years of experience but less than supervisors in Cell (B). The (C) supervisors appear to be "unpromotables." The supervisors in Cell (B) have tried other careers such as business, law, and other types of work whereas the supervisors in Cell (C) seem to be making the parole agency their careers. The (C) category consists of supervisors who consider administrative policy in making case decisions and expect their agents to deviate. Mr. Smith, for example, refuses to take any promotional examinations and has remained in his present position and location for the past fifteen years. Mr. Smith is labelled a "cop". He is the supervisor described as being hostile to headquarters.

Cell (D) is represented by supervisors governed by administrative policy and who expect their agents to adhere to administrative requirements. This category of supervisors includes a mixture of persons with respect to their level of education, age, seniority, etc. The one characteristic which describes this group of supervisors is their reputation of "hard workers". Mr. Grey, for example, is a conscientious worker often remaining in the office after hours until his work is all done. He is described by the agents as being consistent and fair but somewhat "rigid in matters of lending funds to the clients, permitting parolees to leave the county of residence, issuance of driving permits, etc."

Applying this framework to discharge recommendations under 2943 P.C., the following observations emerge: that whereas parole agents under the supervision of Types A, B, and D recommended 71%, 72%, and 69% respectively, of their

T A B L E X X X V I I
DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATIONS BY DISTRICT SUPERVISOR TYPE -
INITIAL AND REGULAR CALENDARS

| TYPE OF SUPERVISOR | INITIAL CALENDAR | | | REGULAR CALENDAR | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| | NO. OF CASES | NO. REC DISCH. | % REC. DISCH. | NO. OF CASES | NO. REC. DISCH. | % REC. DISCH. |
| A | 431 | 305 | 71% | 168 | 91 | 54% |
| B | 347 | 253 | 72% | 151 | 87 | 58% |
| C | 400 | 204 | 51% | 202 | 80 | 40% |
| D | 204 | 142 | 69% | 141 | 69 | 49% |
| TOTAL | 1382 | 904 | 65% | 662 | 327 | 49% |

cases for discharge, agents under the supervision of district supervisors of Type C recommended only 51% of their cases for discharge (under the initial calendar). Under the regular calendar, the same general pattern prevails (although all types have lowered their discharge rates) with C recommending significantly fewer cases for discharge than either A, B, or D. The disparity in discharge recommendations between agents under the supervision of Type C supervisors and agents under the supervision of Types A, B, and D, suggested the need to investigate the Base Expectancy scores of clients under the supervision of agents in all four types. The findings are expressed in Table XXXVIII and indicate that, according to Base Expectancy scores, clients under the supervision of Type C do not represent more difficult cases than clients under the supervision of Types A, B, and D.

The disparity in recommendations by supervisor type therefore seems to reflect differences in the orientation of these types towards the parole process and standards of rehabilitation and does not reflect differences in types of clients. Supportive evidence is offered for this hypothesis if we consider the incidence of selected "hard" and "soft" factors by supervision type. It can be seen from the following table, Table XXXIX, that on the initial calendar there is no significant difference in the incidence of Major Board Actions, Minor Board Actions, or numbers of

T A B L E X X X V I I I
 DISTRIBUTION OF CLIENT BASE EXPECTANCY SCORES BY DISTRICT SUPERVISOR TYPE
 INITIAL CALENDAR CASES

| <u>DISTRICT SUPERVISOR TYPE</u> | <u>NO. OF CASES</u> | <u>% OF CASES 0 - 32</u> | <u>% OF CASES 33 - 45</u> | <u>% OF CASES 46 - 52</u> | <u>% OF CASES 53 - 68</u> | <u>% OF CASES 69 - 76</u> |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| A | 431 | 9% | 30% | 23% | 29% | 8% |
| B | 347 | 13% | 35% | 18% | 27% | 7% |
| C | 400 | 11% | 32% | 19% | 29% | 9% |
| D | 204 | 10% | 24% | 22% | 32% | 11% |
| TOTAL | 1382 | 11% | 31% | 21% | 29% | 8% |

T A B L E X X X I X
INCIDENCE OF SELECTED "HARD" AND "SOFT"
INFORMATION FACTORS BY SUPERVISOR TYPE

| <u>CODE</u> | <u>DISTRICT SUPERVISOR TYPE</u> | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>C</u> | <u>D</u> |
| Major Board Action | 23% | 26% | 22% | 23% |
| Minor Board Action | 35% | 29% | 33% | 36% |
| Conflict Relations | 25% | 24% | 25% | 26% |
| Arrested and Charged | 32% | 30% | 31% | 33% |
| Cooperation | 45% | 48% | 35% | 49% |

CONTINUED

3 OF 4

arrested and charged by supervisor type. On the other hand, in the area of cooperation, an extremely subjective category, the cases under the supervision of Type C supervisors are perceived as significantly less cooperative than cases under the supervision of Types A, B, and D. This is despite the fact that according to Base Expectancy scores and the incidence of selected objective factors cases do not differ between supervision types.

A P P E N D I X C

VARIATIONS IN DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATIONS
BY GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

All parole districts in the state were classified according to their predominant geographical characteristics into URBAN, SUBURBAN AND RURAL.

The data was then examined in order to discover whether or not differences existed between areas in the types of cases as they are reported by agents and whether or not certain information factors exercised a variable impact on discharge recommendations across area type.

Under the initial calendar (see Table XL) urban areas are recommending more of their cases for discharge (68%) than either suburban (60%) or rural (55%) areas. Under the regular calendar discharge recommendation rates have fallen in all areas but urban areas are still recommending more cases for discharge (54%) than either suburban areas (44%) or rural areas (44%) who are now recommending equal percentages of cases for discharge.

A review of 22 information factors by incidence in these areas indicated that the differences in cases by area type are very slight. On the other hand, if we examine the influence of these information factors on discharge recommendations by area type differences are immediately apparent. If we examine this influence in rural areas against the statewide statistics (rural areas were not extracted from the statewide figures since the difference obtained would not have justified the effort) we discover that rural agents are consistently more conservative in their decision making. In the case of all factors rural

TABLE XL

DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATIONS BY AREA GEOGRAPHICAL
TYPE INITIAL AND REGULAR CALENDARS

| | <u>GEOGRAPHICAL TYPE</u> | | |
|---------|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| | <u>URBAN</u> | <u>SUBURBAN</u> | <u>RURAL</u> |
| INITIAL | 68% | 60% | 55% |
| REGULAR | 54% | 44% | 44% |

TABLE XLI
DISCHARGE RECOMMENDATIONS BY DISTRICT GEOGRAPHICAL
TYPE OVER INITIAL AND REGULAR CALENDARS

| REGION | DISTRICT | GEOG. TYPE. | % REC. | | | | | |
|------------|----------|----------------|--------|-------|--------|----|----|-----|
| | | | N | NDIS. | DISCH. | | | |
| REGION I | 10 | S | 18 | 15 | 83% | 1 | 0 | 0% |
| | 11 | R | 43 | 16 | 37% | 13 | 8 | 62% |
| | 12 | S | 25 | 16 | 64% | 11 | 6 | 55% |
| | 13 | R | 16 | 11 | 69% | 12 | 8 | 67% |
| | 14 | S | 41 | 29 | 71% | 16 | 10 | 62% |
| | 15 | R | 14 | 12 | 86% | 16 | 8 | 50% |
| | 16 | S | 22 | 14 | 64% | 12 | 9 | 75% |
| | 17 | R | 9 | 5 | 56% | 9 | 4 | 44% |
| REGION II | 18 | R | 15 | 5 | 33% | 3 | 1 | 33% |
| | 20 | U | 71 | 52 | 73% | 34 | 26 | 76% |
| | 21 | U | 33 | 29 | 88% | 16 | 14 | 88% |
| | 22 | U | 57 | 37 | 65% | 17 | 12 | 71% |
| | 23 | U | 41 | 38 | 93% | 18 | 13 | 72% |
| | 24 | U | 20 | 19 | 95% | 19 | 16 | 84% |
| | 25 | R | 28 | 17 | 61% | 12 | 7 | 58% |
| REGION III | 26 | S | 44 | 16 | 36% | 14 | 4 | 29% |
| | 27 | S | 43 | 29 | 67% | 17 | 8 | 47% |
| | 31 | U | 10 | 9 | 90% | 8 | 1 | 12% |
| | 32 | U | 26 | 25 | 96% | 10 | 8 | 80% |
| | 33 | U | 30 | 25 | 83% | 15 | 11 | 73% |
| | 34 | U | 31 | 27 | 87% | 18 | 12 | 67% |
| REGION IV | 35 | U | 37 | 27 | 73% | 17 | 11 | 65% |
| | 36 | U | 50 | 40 | 80% | 23 | 14 | 61% |
| | 37 | U | 32 | 29 | 91% | 13 | 4 | 31% |
| | 40 | S | 30 | 19 | 63% | 10 | 3 | 30% |
| | 41 | S | 36 | 11 | 31% | 23 | 4 | 17% |
| | 42 | S | 37 | 23 | 62% | 21 | 6 | 29% |
| | 43 | S | 30 | 15 | 50% | 20 | 11 | 55% |
| | 44 | S | 67 | 38 | 57% | 17 | 2 | 12% |
| | 45 | S | 30 | 22 | 73% | 14 | 7 | 50% |
| REGION V | 46 | S | 33 | 25 | 76% | 18 | 10 | 56% |
| | 47 | U | 28 | 19 | 68% | 13 | 8 | 62% |
| | 48 | U | 82 | 24 | 29% | 39 | 10 | 26% |
| | 49 | U | 35 | 21 | 60% | 14 | 6 | 43% |
| | 50 | U | 24 | 14 | 58% | 21 | 7 | 33% |
| | 51 | U | 19 | 11 | 58% | 17 | 8 | 47% |
| | 52 | U | 54 | 31 | 57% | 22 | 9 | 41% |
| | 53 | U | 35 | 12 | 34% | 22 | 3 | 14% |
| REGION V | 54 | U | 83 | 51 | 61% | 22 | 9 | 41% |
| | 55 | U | 20 | 19 | 95% | 20 | 11 | 55% |
| | 56 | R | 18 | 12 | 67% | 9 | 4 | 44% |
| | 57 | R | 38 | 21 | 55% | 21 | 7 | 33% |

U = URBAN S = SUBURBAN R = RURAL

agents given the presence of the factor, are recommending fewer cases for discharge than their statewide colleagues. It must be borne in mind of course that there exists a basic difference in overall discharge recommendations across all factors - 55% recommended for discharge in rural areas vs. 64% statewide. The number of individual factors which transcend this basic 9% difference is limited. Those which do are the following:

- Cooperation
- Residence with wife
- Residence with relative
- Currently unemployed
- Incident related to commitment offense
- Undesirable associates
- Unfavorable master code.

It will be observed that these codes constitute both favorable and unfavorable references.

It was believed that certain types of information might discriminate between these areas more effectively than others. Two further codes were examined - the Base Expectancy score indicating any past opiate use, and the ethnic group to which the client belonged. The data indicated that the incidence of opiate use in the history of clients from rural areas was not significantly different from that of clients in the combined urban and suburban areas. (31% of the clients in rural areas possessed this characteristic against 37% in urban and suburban areas.) The difference in impact of this factor upon discharge recommendations between areas exceeds the overall 9% difference across all factors. Thus, in the rural areas 44% of cases

possessing the factor were recommended for discharge compared to 59% of those cases possessing the factor in the combined urban and suburban areas.

In the case of our final code - the ethnic background of the client - it was noted that a greater proportion of the population in rural areas was Caucasian (67%) than in the urban and suburban areas (48%). On the other hand, a greater proportion of the population in urban and suburban areas was Mexican (25%) and Negro (26%) than in rural areas (19% and 13% respectively). In considering the impact of this factor upon discharge rates there appears to be no discrimination between areas with regard to the Negro population (66% of those in rural areas recommended for discharge compared to 64% in urban and suburban combined). Sixty-eight percent of Caucasians in urban-suburban areas received a recommendation for discharge compared to 58% in rural areas. This difference is approximately the same as the difference in overall recommendations between the areas. However, with regard to the Mexican-American population a real difference seems to exist. In urban and suburban areas 62% of this population received a discharge recommendation compared to 37% in rural areas.

A P P E N D I X D

CODE DEFINITIONS

Factor Codes - Coding discriminations made on the basis of the factual material contained in the report.

Board Action:

A major board action is a case in which the Parole Agent has submitted a violation report which has resulted in the Adult Authority's continuing the parolee on parole, placing him in NTCU, or temporarily suspending or cancelling his parole. A minor board action is one in which the Adult Authority has acted on the Parole Agent's request to restore the parolee's civil rights; has added or removed a special condition of parole; or has placed the parolee in a Halfway House.

Police Department Arrest on Suspicion:

Arrests made by the police department for a non-specified offense or on suspicion of a particular offense, after which the parolee is released with no formal charges having been filed. The code identifies one, two, or three or more such occurrences.

Police Department Arrest with Charge Filed:

Any arrest (excluding minor traffic violations) made by the police department after which a charge is filed. The code identifies one, two, or three or more such occurrences.

Number of Convictions:

The number of convictions resulting from the parolee's being arrested and charged. The code identifies one, two, or three or more such occurrences as well as cases in which the final disposition is not recorded.

Present Employment Status:

The parolee is considered employed if he is currently working in full-time or part-time status at a year-round or seasonal job. He is considered unemployed if he is currently out of work, even on a seasonal basis, and whether or not he is drawing any type of benefit payments. Benefit payments include unemployment insurance, pension, social security, and any type of general assistance payments.

Parole Incidents Related to Any Commitment Offense:

An incident or activity in which the parolee is involved which is similar in nature to his commitment offense. The code records the seriousness of one such incident, ranging from slight suspicion of occurrence in the PA's judgment or the filing of a board report or the parolee's being arrested by the police and charged. Two or more incidents are recorded with no discrimination as to their seriousness.

Current Residence:

The code records whether the parolee is currently living with his wife, with a relative, alone, in a common-law relationship, or in some other situation.

Co-operation:

The PA's use of some variant of the word co-operation in evaluating the parolee's attitude toward him or the agency. The scale includes: very co-operative, co-operative, less than co-operative, and uncooperative.

Turnabout Sentences:

A compound sentence or a pair of linked sentences which contain a value shift (favorable to unfavorable or unfavorable to favorable) and have relevance to the parolee's behavior or attitudes. The code records the value emphasis (positive or negative) for one set of turnabout sentences and for more than one set.

Overview Codes - Coding discriminations made on the basis of the Parole Agent's opinion of activity in the particular area.

Overview Employment:

The area to be evaluated in this code is the PA's judgment of the parolee's employment status, considering type of job held or obtainable, stability of work history, motivation, and income adequacy.

Overview Family Relationships:

The area to be evaluated in this code is the PA's judgment of the character of family members and their influence on the parolee, the nature of the relationship between the parolee and family members, and the parolee's financial obligations to his dependents.

Overview Peer Relationships and Leisure Activities:

The area to be evaluated in this code is the PA's judgment concerning how the parolee spends his time outside the normal work week, the stability of his associates or friends and his relationship with them, and his community status.

Overview Vices:

This code covers the PA's evaluation of the parolee in the areas of narcotics addiction, usage, and sales, Nalline testing, the Narcotics Treatment Control Unit (NTCU), alcoholism, drinking, arrests associated with drinking, alcohol prohibition as a Condition of Parole (5B), gambling, and sexual deviations that are not being treated clinically and incidents related to them.

Overview Maturity and Co-operation:

This code covers the PA's evaluation of the parolee in the areas of : adherence to conditions of parole, co-operation with the PA, reaction to and necessity for supervision, adjustment to parole or the society, character, and attitude toward authority.

Overview Master:

This code designates whether or not a report contains no arrests and is coded "satisfactory" in all of the Overview areas covered. An overall satisfactory is coded "1". An unsatisfactory in any area is coded "2" in the Master Code.