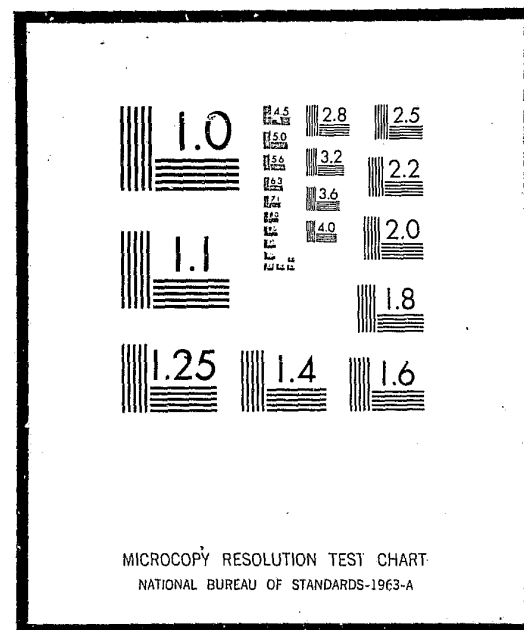


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A STUDY OF PAROLE OUTCOME AS A FUNCTION OF TIME SERVED

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
Summary	1
Background	3
Objective of Study	4
Measurements	4
Subjects.	5
The Relationship Between Time Served and Parole Outcome Among Parolees Convicted of First Degree Robbery	7
The Relationship Between Time Served and Parole Outcome Among Parolees Convicted of Second Degree Burglary. . . .	15
Discussion of Findings	22
An Alternate Approach to the Question	25
Concluding Statement.	25
Appendices:	
A. Definitions of Parole Outcome.	27
B. Offense Severity Scale	29

LIST OF TABLES

<u>TABLE</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
1. Distribution of Characteristics on Which 75 Pairs of Parolees were Matched, First Degree Robbery Commitments Released in 1965.	9
2. Parole Outcomes Within Half, One, and Two Years After Release to California Parole in 1965, 75 Pairs of First Degree Robbery Commitments	10
3. Distribution of Characteristics on Which 120 Pairs of Parolees were Matched, Second Degree Burglary Commitments Released in 1965.	16
4. Parole Outcomes Within Half, One, and Two Years After Release to California Parole in 1965, 120 Pairs of Second Degree Burglary Commitments	18

SUMMARY

Purpose

This is a study of the relationship between length of imprisonment and parole outcome. Earlier studies have indicated that, within offense groups, those serving less time have had better parole outcomes than those serving longer periods. However, a variety of uncontrolled variables has obscured the meaning of the findings. The present study was undertaken to control for many of the differences between those serving less time and those serving longer periods on factors that might be related to parole outcome.

Method

A group of parolees who were released in 1965 from commitments for first degree robbery and had served less than the median time for that offense (45 months) was matched on six variables with a group serving more than the median amount of time. This resulted in two groups of 75 each. Similar procedures were used to develop two matched groups of 120 second degree burglars who also were paroled during 1965. The groups were then compared on parole outcome at the end of six months, one year, and two years.

Results

For the robbers:

It was found that in the two-year followup those who served less time had significantly better parole outcomes. However, based on other factors measured, the two groups were not comparable. This finding suggests that the apparent relationship between time served and parole outcome may have been the result of such differences.

For the burglars:

Again, using the two-year followup, it was found that those released earlier did significantly better on parole. In this case, the more detailed analyses revealed only three out of 35 factors on which the groups differed significantly. This finding places the association between shorter incarceration and positive parole outcome on a different footing for the burglars, inasmuch as there is not a sizeable number of known factors related to outcome on which the two groups differ.

Conclusion

The study of the robbers is inconclusive because the two groups are not comparable. On the other hand, the groups of burglars were similar; this suggests a strong relationship between time served and parole outcome. However, such an interpretation must be modified because there is the possibility that, because of a non-random assignment of subjects to length of time served, there may be a number of unmeasured differences between the groups that could influence parole outcome.

Other ways that this problem might be studied include: (1) the development of a measure of "prisonization" to be applied to pre-defined groups of inmates, and (2) the possibility of some system of random assignment of different lengths of incarceration.

BACKGROUND

Early this year a special report to the California State Assembly Office of Research presented statistical data on the parole outcome following first release during 1957-1966 of the male felons who had been committed for offenses of robbery or burglary. A fairly consistent pattern emerged in that the percentage of favorable outcome among the felons committed for these offenses who served less than the median number of months was greater than the percentage of favorable outcome among those who served more than the median time. These findings generated the question: Is a longer period of imprisonment associated with poorer post-release adjustment than a shorter period when an attempt has been made to control for factors related to parole outcome?

A small but slightly more sophisticated study was then conducted comparing the outcome for male felons committed for robbery or burglary who had served more or less than the median number of months before their first paroles from those commitments. To control for the influence of some of the factors affecting parole outcome, samples of parolees released in 1965 from commitments for burglary and robbery who had served more or less than the median number of months were matched within limits on age, BE 61A, ethnic group, parole region, and type of parole unit. Again, similar findings emerged. For both offense categories in all followup periods, the percent of favorable outcome among the men who served less than the median time was greater than among those who served more. Five of the 12 testable differences were statistically significant.

Donald Clemmer, in The Prison Community, suggests that the longer a man is in prison the more likely he is to acquire the attitudes and values that characterize the prison culture. His concept of "prisonization" refers to the assimilation in various degrees of the folkways, mores, customs, and general culture of the prison. Clemmer postulates the existence of a positive correlation between prisonization and criminality. Derivable from this is the hypothesis that the inmate who has served a longer amount of time, becoming more prisonized in the process, has had his tendencies toward criminality strengthened and is therefore more likely to recidivate than the inmate who has served a lesser amount of time.

On the other hand, Daniel Glaser, in The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, contends that longer periods of time served are not necessarily reflected in less favorable rates of post-release outcome. He proposes that more adequate research be undertaken to evaluate the impact of time served on post-prison outcome. Glaser suggests for this purpose studies wherein similar groups of individuals confined for different lengths of time are observed to determine if consistent relationships exist between length of confinement and behavior subsequent to their release.

An additional study was then proposed utilizing Glaser's suggested approach with the intention of looking more comprehensively at the relationship between length of imprisonment and parole outcome.

OBJECTIVE OF STUDY

The present study involved the examination of the relationship between parole outcome and time served for male felons first released to California parole in 1965 after incarceration for offenses of first degree robbery or second degree burglary. The specific hypothesis investigated in the study was that parolees who serve less time in prison make better post-institutional adjustment in terms of favorable parole outcome than do parolees who serve longer time, where both groups are matched on a number of factors related to the parole outcome of all 1965 first releases.

The primary method was a comparison of parole outcome for the matched groups, with emphasis on outcome within two years of release, although outcome data for six months and one year are also presented.

There were two matched groups in each offense category: one comprised the men who had served more than the median number of months; the other consisted of the men who had served less than the median number of months. Each member of the "less-than-median" group had his counterpart in the "more-than-median" group, being matched on as many characteristics as possible.

Differences between the groups in the categories of parole outcome, particularly favorable outcome, within two years after release were tested by means of chi-square to ascertain if they were statistically significant. Where significant differences emerged in parole outcome, more detailed analyses were made to see if there were factors on which the groups differed which were related to parole outcome.

MEASUREMENTS

The data used in this study covered four areas or time periods in the parolee's life relating to the incarceration from which he was released in 1965--namely, pre-institutional, admission, release, and first two years on parole.

The data were from two sources--the Parole Followup Deck maintained within the Research Division and the inmate records. The definitions of parole outcome are presented in Appendix A. The inmate records used for informational purposes included the cumulative case summary, the last two Adult Authority referral reports prior to parole in 1965, and the parole agent's reports within the first two years on parole.

One of the variables of particular interest was the severity of the behavior that was involved in the offense of robbery or burglary for which each subject was convicted. The index for assessing this factor was derived from the average of ratings on a 1-9 scale made by members of the Adult Authority of the descriptions of 12 representative first degree robbery offenses and of 12 representative second degree burglary offenses. The instructions to the raters and the descriptions of the offenses that were rated are presented in Appendix B.

SUBJECTS

In 1965, 7,302 male felons were released from CDC institutions to parole in California. Almost 60 percent, or 4,334, were first releases under their current serial number.

Among the first releases were 454 men convicted of first degree robbery, for whom the median length of imprisonment was 45 months. There were 844 men with convictions for second degree burglary, for whom the median time served was 24 months.

The distribution of time served for those convicted of robbery formed a cluster around the median of 45 months. In order to maximize the difference in time served between the groups selected from above and below the median, the middle portion of 110 men who served 43-48 months was removed from the pool of releases. There remained for sampling purposes 181 men who served fewer and 163 who served more than the median number of months for robbery in the first degree.

From the group convicted of second degree burglary, 100 cases who served around the median amount of time were discarded, leaving 390 who served fewer than the median number of months and 354 who served more than the median number.

In each offense category, pairs of subjects were matched. As previously indicated, one of the members of the pair served less than the median amount of time, and the other served more than the median. The members of each pair were matched as closely as possible on background characteristics. The factors on which they were matched included age, ethnic origin, BE 61A, prior commitment record, narcotic history, type of parole unit, and additionally for the burglary sample--parole region.

There were 75 matched pairs selected from those convicted of first degree robbery, and 120 pairs from the second degree burglary category. These 390 parolees were the subjects for this study.

In the following two sections of this report the data on the relationship between time served will be presented separately for the robbers and the burglars. This organization is dictated, in part, by the differences in the character of this relationship in the two offense groups.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TIME SERVED AND PAROLE OUTCOME
AMONG PAROLEES CONVICTED OF FIRST DEGREE ROBBERY

The sample studied consisted of two matched groups of 75 men each from among the first releases to California parole after incarceration for a conviction of first degree robbery. The men in one group had served 42 months or less, and those in the other had served 49 or more months before parole. The range, mean, and median in time served for each group is as follows:

	<u>Below-the-Median Group</u>	<u>Above-the-Median Group</u>
Range	24-42 months	49-144 months
Mean	36 months	65 months
Median	35 months	59 months

The following six characteristics were those on which the pairs of subjects were matched:

Ethnic origin - same (i.e., white matched with white, etc.)

Narcotic history -

non-opiate user	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> none marijuana dangerous drugs </div> </div>	OR	opiate user	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> heroin other </div> </div>
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Prior commitment record -

minimal	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> none 1 or 2 jail or juvenile 1 prison only </div> </div>	OR	longer	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> 3+ jail or juvenile 1 prison + misdemeanor 2+ prisons </div> </div>
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Age at release - within \pm 4 years

BE 61A - within \pm 5 points of score

Parole unit of release - work unit or conventional unit

Table 1 shows that the samples were reasonably well matched on the six characteristics. There is, for example, a perfect match on race. In terms of narcotic history, the percentage of subjects in the two samples with a background of narcotics use is the same. However, a greater proportion of the above-median group has a history of marijuana use and a lesser proportion is lacking in any history of drug use. The distribution on the next characteristic, prior commitment record, indicates that among the below-the-median subjects there is a greater percentage with no prior record than there is in the above-median group. Also, among the above-the-median subjects, a larger percentage have prison experiences than is the case with the below-the-median subjects. The two groups are quite satisfactorily matched on the variable of age. In terms of BE 61A, there is a somewhat lower percentage of C level cases

and a somewhat higher percentage of X level in the above-median group than in the below. The mean BEs of the two groups, however, are almost identical even though their distributions vary in this way. The same proportions of subjects in both groups were released to conventional and work unit parole offices.

Thus, even though a very conscientious effort was made to match the two groups on these variables, the matching is not perfect. The groups differ both in terms of history of non-opiate use and prior commitment record. To the extent that these differences are related to differences in parole outcome, the findings of this study are limited in terms of the extent to which they can show the impact of length of sentence, per se, on adjustment to parole. Whatever the case, the difficulty of obtaining comparable groups in a situation like this is underscored, particularly as in these circumstances where the attempt is made to match the subjects on not one but six factors.

Table 1

DISTRIBUTION OF CHARACTERISTICS ON WHICH 75 PAIRS OF PAROLEES WERE MATCHED
FIRST DEGREE ROBBERY COMMITMENTS RELEASED IN 1965

Characteristic and Match	Below Median Months Served			Above Median Months Served		
	Proportion	Number	Percent	Proportion	Number	Percent
RACE						
Same ethnic origin:						
White	.68	51		.68	51	
Mexican	.05	4		.05	4	
Negro	.27	20		.27	20	
NARCOTIC HISTORY						
Non-opiate user:	.95			.95		
None		61	81.3		54	72.1
Marijuana		8	10.7		16	21.3
Dangerous drugs		2	2.7		1	1.3
Opiate user:	.05			.05		
Heroin		4	5.3		4	5.3
Other		0	0.0		0	0.0
PRIOR COMMITMENT RECORD						
Minimal:	.73			.73		
None		21	28.0		15	20.0
1 or 2 jail or juvenile		31	41.3		36	48.0
1 prison only		3	4.0		4	5.3
Longer:	.27			.27		
3+ jail or juvenile		11	14.7		8	10.7
1 prison + misdemeanor		8	10.7		9	12.0
2+ prisons		1	1.3		3	4.0
AGE AT RELEASE						
Within \pm 4 years of age:						
21-24		10	13.3		10	13.3
25-27		26	34.7		23	30.7
28-30		16	21.3		18	24.0
31-34		14	18.7		14	18.7
35-39		5	6.7		7	9.3
40+		4	5.3		3	4.0
Average	29.0			29.2		
BE 61A						
Within \pm 5 points of score:						
A. 69-76		3	4.0		3	4.0
B. 53-68		28	37.3		28	37.3
C. 46-52		23	30.7		16	21.3
X. 33-45		19	25.3		26	34.7
D. 27-32		2	2.7		2	2.7
none lower						
Average	50.6			50.2		
PAROLE UNIT OF RELEASE						
Same type:						
Work	.56	42		.56	42	
Conventional	.44	33		.44	33	

Note: Because number of months served clustered about the median of 45 months, 43-48 months were considered the median time.

Below median months: 42 and under

Above median months: 49 and over

Mean months: 35.8

Mean months: 64.6

The findings concerning the relationship of time served to parole outcome for the robbers in this study were consistent with those in the preliminary studies. In the half-year followup, the men who had served below the median had a greater percentage of favorable outcomes and a lower percentage of returns to prison than did the men who had been retained in prison for longer periods of time; however, the differences between the groups are not statistically significant for this period.

Table 2

PAROLE OUTCOMES WITHIN HALF, ONE, AND TWO YEARS
AFTER RELEASE TO CALIFORNIA PAROLE IN 1965
75 PAIRS OF FIRST DEGREE ROBBERY COMMITMENTS

Time Served and Followup Period	PERCENT PAROLE OUTCOME WITHIN FOLLOWUP PERIOD							
	Favorable			Pending	Misc. Unfav. ²	Returns to Prison		
	Clean	Other ¹	Total			Total	TFT	WNC
HALF YEAR FOLLOWUP								
Below Median Months	84.0	8.0	92.0	0.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	0.0
Above Median Months	72.0	13.3	85.3	0.0	6.7	8.0	2.7	5.3
ONE YEAR FOLLOWUP								
Below Median Months	62.6	22.7	85.3	0.0	8.0	6.7	4.0	2.7
Above Median Months	53.3	17.3	70.6	0.0	13.3	16.1	6.7	9.4
TWO YEAR FOLLOWUP								
Below Median Months	{ 36 48.0	{ 19 25.4	{ 55 73.4	{ 1 1.3	{ 1 1.3	{ 18 24.0	{ 9 12.0	{ 9 12.0
Above Median Months	{ 38.6 29	{ 14.7 11	{ 53.3 40	{ 1.3 1	{ 8.0 6	{ 37.4 28	{ 14.7 11	{ 22.7 17

*Difference is statistically significant at the .05 level (one-tailed test).

¹Other favorable includes arrest by parole agent, arrest and release, fines, jail under 90 days, return to NTCU.

²Miscellaneous unfavorable includes jail sentence of 90 and more days, PAL over six months or with felony warrant.

Note: See Appendix A for detailed definitions of categories of parole outcome.

In both the one-year and two-year followups, the below-median group also shows a higher percentage of favorable outcomes and a lower percentage of returns; and in these followup periods the differences are statistically significant.

These statistically significant differences between the two groups in favorable outcome and returns to prison support the hypothesis that parolees who serve less time in prison make a better post-institutional adjustment than do inmates who serve longer amounts of time. As has been previously indicated, a considerable effort was made to match these groups on a number of factors which are related to parole outcome. Because of the fact that matching on any more variables would have resulted in a decrease in sample size, given the population of releases available, the number of factors on which the samples were matched had to be restricted. However, the possibility that there might be differences between the groups in other factors that are related to parole outcome suggested itself. If such differences existed, the interpretation of the fact that a higher proportion of the below-the-median group experienced favorable parole outcomes would be complicated. In fact, the old dilemma would still remain: Is the poorer performance on parole of those who serve longer periods of imprisonment a function of the negative effects of the lengthier imprisonment (prisonization), or does it reflect personal characteristics and experiences which to some extent antedate this most recent term of imprisonment? With this in mind, the next step was to consider other factors in which the groups might differ and which might be related to parole outcome.

Information was available which made the comparison of the above- and below-median groups possible on 35 factors. These factors related to characteristics or experiences of the subjects that were associated with the pre-admission period, the time of admission, or the institutional stay, not including those subsumed under the concept of prisonization. The first step in this part of the analysis was to determine if the differences in these factors between the groups were statistically significant; the next step was to determine if any of the factors was related to parole outcome as far as these groups were concerned. Four possible combinations of differences between the groups and relationships with parole outcome could arise from this sort of analysis:

- The difference between the groups on the factor is statistically significant, and the factor is significantly related to parole outcome;
- The difference between the groups on the factor is statistically significant, but the factor is not significantly related to parole outcome;
- The difference between the groups on the factor is not statistically significant, but the factor is significantly related to parole outcome;
- The difference between the groups on the factor is not statistically significant, and the factor is not significantly related to parole outcome.

Type A: Significant Differences Between the Groups on Factors Related to Parole Outcome.

If the two groups differed significantly on any of the 35 factors, then, by definition, they would not be matched.* However, this lack of comparability would be of little importance unless the factor on which they were not matched was related to parole outcome. As is indicated above, any significant difference between the groups on a variable related to parole outcome, other than time served, would complicate the interpretation of differences between the groups in parole outcome. The problem becomes whether the differences in parole outcome are a function only of the differential negative impact of the varying amounts of time served or of the differences in the characteristics of the groups. The answer to the question of whether or not a longer prison sentence is more "harmful" in terms of its influence on the potential for adjustment on parole than a shorter one is as elusive as ever.

Unfortunately, of the 35 factors that were considered, there were 12 on which there were significant differences between the groups and which were significantly related to parole outcome. These 12 factors are the following:

1. Age at first arrest: 14 and older vs. younger
2. Juvenile record: none vs. some
3. Juvenile confinements: not state level vs. state
4. Escape history: none vs. some
5. Employment record: 6 or more months for one employer vs. less
6. Age at admission: 22 and older vs. younger
7. Type of sentence: simple with no weapon vs. other
8. Institutional vocational rating: none or average vs. poor or dropout
9. Institutional academic rating: none or average vs. poor or dropout
10. Disciplinary actions: none vs. some, or none or one vs. multiple, or none or minor vs. any major
11. Institutional violence: none vs. some
12. Institution of longest stay: minimum custody or conservation center vs. other

*In approximately two out of the 35 comparisons of the two groups, one would expect to obtain indications of statistically significant differences which are erroneous (Type I error). Therefore, strictly speaking, the number of factors on which statistically significant differences appear in this instance should be greater than two before any additional consideration is given to the implications of these factors.

To illustrate the problem of interpretation concretely, it can indeed be asked if the less favorable parole performance of the group serving more than the median amount of time resulted from the effects of the pernicious influences of longer imprisonment. However, since the above-median group has a greater proportion of individuals whose first arrest occurred at age 14 or younger, it can also be asked if poorer parole performance reflects the personal and social problems which are implied in such an early arrest and which may have continued into adulthood. Although it may be said that this study provides no independent evidence of the existence of such personal and social problems, it must also be asserted very strongly that in this study there is also no independent evidence of differing amounts of prisonization directly related to differing lengths of imprisonment.

Type B: Significant Differences Between the Groups on Factors Not Related to Parole Outcome.

The two groups of subjects also differed significantly in terms of the following seven factors:

1. Education claimed: at least some high school vs. grammar
2. Grade placement: 9.5 and higher vs. lower
3. Aggressive history: none or threatened vs. violence inflicted
4. Offense counts: one count and one episode vs. multiple
5. Offense severity rating: 1 or 2 vs. 3-9
6. Aggravated sentence: no vs. yes
7. Weapon used in offense: not used vs. used

Although the two groups differ in their distributions of these characteristics, these differences are of little consequence in this analysis, because the characteristics are unrelated to parole outcome.

Type C: Non-significant Differences Between the Groups on Factors Related to Parole Outcome:

The groups did not differ significantly on the following five factors that were significantly related to parole outcome:

1. Drug use: none vs. some
2. Prior commitment record: none vs. some, or minimal vs. longer
3. Base expectancy (BE 61A) level: high vs. medium + low
4. Institutional work record: outstanding rating vs. other
5. Marital status at release: current or past legal marriage vs. none

The two groups appear to be adequately matched on these factors related to parole outcome. Hence, the factors have no complicating influence in the study.

Type D: Non-significant Differences Between the Groups on Factors Not Related to Parole Outcome.

The groups did not differ on the following 11 factors which were not related to parole outcome:

- 1. Ethnic origin: white + Mexican vs. Negro
- 2. Aliases: none vs. some
- 3. Family criminal record: none vs. some
- 4. Alcohol and offense: social vs. related or alcoholic
- 5. Mail and visits in prison by family: some vs. none
- 6. Institutional voluntary group programs: multiple vs. none or one
- 7. Home offer at final AA appearance: yes vs. no
- 8. Job offer at final AA appearance: yes vs. no
- 9. Age at release: 30 and older vs. younger
- 10. Type of parole unit: work vs. conventional
- 11. Parole region of release: II + III + IV vs. I

Since the groups had been matched on ethnic origin, type of parole unit, and age at release, no differences would be expected in these factors. As it turned out, matching on these characteristics was of little real value, since they, along with the other eight, turned out to be unrelated to parole outcome.

In this study, the group of subjects committed for first degree robbery who served less than the median amount of time for this offense experienced, during the first year and during the first two years after release, significantly more favorable outcomes on parole and significantly fewer returns to prison than did the group serving more than the median amount of time. However, as previously indicated, the problem of interpreting these data still remains. In the design of this study an attempt was made to rule out the interpretation of the expected "negative" relationship between time served and parole outcome as being a function of differences in characteristics of the groups by a strenuous effort at matching the groups.

While the groups were satisfactorily matched on 5 variables, in a further comparison of the characteristics of the groups it was found that there were significant differences between the groups on 12 factors that were related to parole outcome. The result of this is that the interpretation of the differences in parole outcome between the groups as being an expression of differences in group characteristics, other than those included in the definition of prisonization, is very much alive. Its status as a competitor to the interpretation of the results as reflecting the negative influence of longer prison sentences is undiminished as far as the consideration of the data for the robbers is concerned.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TIME SERVED AND PAROLE OUTCOME
AMONG PAROLEES CONVICTED OF SECOND DEGREE BURGLARY

The sample employed in this part of the study consisted of 120 pairs of men in their first release to parole from an incarceration for second degree burglary. The men in one group had served less than the median of 24 months; those in the other group had served 25 or more months in prison before parole. The range, mean, and median in time served for each group is as follows:

	Below-the-Median Group	Above-the-Median Group
Range	8-23 months	25-113 months
Mean	16 months	36 months
Median	18 months	32 months

Each man in one group was matched with a subject in the other group on the following seven characteristics:

- Ethnic origin - same (i.e., white matched with white, etc.)
- Narcotic history -
 - non-opiate user { none, marijuana, dangerous drugs } OR opiate user { heroin, other }
- Prior commitment record -
 - minimal { none, 1 or 2 jail or juvenile, 1 prison only } OR longer { 3+ jail or juvenile, 1 prison + misdemeanor, 2+ prisons }
- Age at release - within \pm 5 years
- BE 61A - within \pm 6 points of score
- Parole unit of release - work unit or conventional unit
- Parole region of release - same

Table 3 shows that the matched samples were quite similar with respect to the seven characteristics.

The findings in this study were consistent with those for the burglars in the preliminary studies in that the below-median group had a greater percentage of favorable parole outcome in each followup period than the men who served the longer time; however, only the difference between the groups in the two-year followup period was statistically significant. In the half-year and the one-year followup periods, the percentage of returns to prison varied slightly between the two groups, while within the two-year followup period there were statistically significantly fewer men returned to prison from the below-median group than from the above-median group. See Table 4.

Table 3
DISTRIBUTION OF CHARACTERISTICS ON WHICH
120 PAIRS OF PAROLEES WERE MATCHED
SECOND DEGREE BURGLARY COMMITMENTS RELEASED IN 1965

Characteristic and Match	Below Median Months Served			Above Median Months Served		
	Proportion	Number	Percent	Proportion	Number	Percent
RACE						
Same ethnic origin:						
White	.76	91		.76	91	
Mexican	.07	8		.07	8	
Negro	.16	20		.16	20	
Other	.01	1		.01	1	
NARCOTIC HISTORY						
Non-opiate user:	.97			.97		
None		100	83.3		99	82.5
Marijuana		11	9.2		14	11.7
Dangerous drugs		5	4.2		3	2.5
Opiate user:	.03			.03		
Heroin		3	2.5		3	2.5
Other		1	0.8		1	0.8
PRIOR COMMITMENT RECORD						
Minimal:	.35			.35		
None		6	5.0		2	1.7
1 or 2 jail or juvenile		33	27.5		39	32.5
1 prison only		3	2.5		1	0.8
Longer:	.65			.65		
3+ jail or juvenile		35	29.2		31	25.8
1 prison + misdemeanor		22	18.3		24	20.0
2+ prisons		21	17.5		23	19.2
AGE AT RELEASE						
Within ± 5 years of age:						
21-24		35	29.1		20	16.7
25-27		32	26.7		40	33.3
28-30		20	16.7		25	20.8
31-34		11	9.2		14	11.7
35-39		9	7.5		9	7.5
40+		13	10.8		12	10.0
Average	29.0			29.5		

(continued)

Table 3 (continued)
DISTRIBUTION OF CHARACTERISTICS ON WHICH
120 PAIRS OF PAROLEES WERE MATCHED
SECOND DEGREE BURGLARY COMMITMENTS RELEASED IN 1965

Characteristic and Match	Below Median Months Served			Above Median Months Served		
	Proportion	Number	Percent	Proportion	Number	Percent
BE 61A						
Within ± 6 points of score:						
A. 69-76		0	0.0		0	0.0
B. 53-68		8	6.7		6	5.0
C. 46-52		8	6.7		10	8.3
X. 33-45		74	61.6		73	60.9
D. 27-32		18	15.0		22	18.3
E. 17-26		12	10.0		8	6.7
F. 00-16		0	0.0		1	0.8
Average	37.4			37.4		
PAROLE UNIT OF RELEASE						
Same type:						
Work	.33	39		.33	39	
Conventional	.67	81		.67	81	
PAROLE REGION OF RELEASE						
Same region:						
I.	.15	18		.15	18	
II.	.22	26		.22	26	
III.	.50	60		.50	60	
IV.	.13	16		.13	16	

Note: Median number of months served was 24.
Below median months: 23 and under Mean months: 16.5
Above median months: 25 and over Mean months: 36.0

Table 4
PAROLE OUTCOMES WITHIN HALF, ONE, AND TWO YEARS
AFTER RELEASE TO CALIFORNIA PAROLE IN 1965
120 PAIRS OF SECOND DEGREE BURGLARY COMMITMENTS

Time Served and Followup Period	PERCENT PAROLE OUTCOME WITHIN FOLLOWUP PERIOD							
	Favorable			Pending	Misc. Unfav. ²	Returns to Prison		
	Clean	Other ¹	Total			Total	TFT	WNC
HALF YEAR FOLLOWUP								
Below Median Months	60.8	15.0	75.8	0.0	10.0	14.2	8.3	5.9
Above Median Months	55.8	19.2	75.0	0.0	13.3	11.7	4.2	7.5
ONE YEAR FOLLOWUP								
Below Median Months	45.8	18.3	64.1	0.0	11.7	24.2	14.2	10.0
Above Median Months	37.5	19.2	56.7	0.0	17.5	25.8	11.7	14.1
TWO YEAR FOLLOWUP								
Below Median Months	35	27	62	1	15	42	24	18
	29.2	22.5	51.7	0.8	12.5	35.0	20.0	15.0
Above Median Months	28.3	12.5	40.8	1.7	10.8	46.7	22.5	24.2
	34	15	49	2	13	56	27	29

*Difference is statistically significant at the .05 level (one-tailed test).

¹Other favorable includes arrest by parole agent, arrest and release, fines, jail under 90 days, return to NTCU.

²Miscellaneous unfavorable includes jail sentence of 90 and more days, PAL over six months or with felony warrant.

Note: See Appendix A for detailed definitions of categories of parole outcome.

As in most of our evaluations of parole outcome, favorable outcome within two years after release to parole was the criterion for this study. Although "Favorable Outcome" is more restrictive than "not returned to prison," our definition does provide for minor infractions (see Appendix A).

The statistically significant difference in favorable outcome between the two groups upheld the hypothesis that time served in prison is inversely related to favorable outcome. Since the subjects were matched in pairs on seven characteristics, the two resulting groups appeared to be similar parole risks. However, the same considerations apply to the comparison of the above- and below-median groups of second degree burglars as apply to the comparison of the groups of robbers. The negative relationship between time served and parole outcome has been found throughout this series of studies. The problem, here as elsewhere, is accounting for the relationship. The two explanations, again, that are most likely to be used in accounting for this relationship are: (1) that the members of the groups may have differed significantly prior to this most recent incarceration on a number of factors which are related to parole outcome and that the differences in parole outcome are an expression of these differences, and (2) the differences in parole outcome between the groups are a function of the differing degrees of exposure to prison life and the resulting differing degrees of prisonization. As was the case with the analysis of the data for the robbers described in the previous section, the next task in this part of the study was to evaluate the applicability of the first explanation by determining if the groups did differ in terms of characteristics that are related to parole outcome. There did not appear to be differences of this sort of sufficient magnitude to be worthy of much consideration. As previously indicated, such an absence of statistically significant differences between the groups on factors which are related to parole outcome appears to strengthen the interpretation of the association between less favorable outcome and longer time served as an expression of prisonization. However, as we will attempt to show in our discussion, there still doesn't seem to be a clear indication from the results of this study which is the more appropriate interpretation of the two.

Following the procedure previously employed with the robbers, the above- and below-median groups of burglars were compared on the same 35 factors reflecting individual characteristics or experiences associated with the time prior to the critical imprisonment, the time of admission, or the period of imprisonment. Once the differences between the groups on these 35 factors had been tested for significance, the next step was to relate each of the variables to parole outcome. As previously indicated, each of the variables could be placed in one of four categories depending upon whether or not the groups differed on the variable and whether or not the variable was related to parole outcome. The 35 variables were categorized as follows:

Type A: Significant Differences Between the Groups on Factors Related to Parole Outcome.

1. Aliases: none vs. some
2. Institutional academic rating: good vs. poor or dropout
3. Home offer at final AA appearance: with wife vs. none or other

These factors are both few in number and slightly related to parole outcome. With the five percent confidence level, it would be expected that for approximately two of the 35 comparisons the statistical tests would yield indications of differences between the groups that were erroneous. Furthermore, the highest correlation (phi coefficient) between any one of the three and outcome, that of "home offer at final AA appearance" is rather low. It would not be possible to make a very reasonable case on the basis of the differences between the groups on these three that the differences in parole outcome between the groups are a function of background characteristics. It is necessary to conclude, therefore, that the situation for the burglars differs from that of the robbers where the groups differed on a greater number of factors which were related in a more substantial way to parole outcome.

Type B: Significant Differences Between the Groups on Factors Not Related to Parole Outcome.

1. Age at first arrest: 14 and older vs. younger
2. Juvenile record: none or one episode vs. multiple
3. Juvenile confinements: none vs. some
4. Aggressive history: none vs. some
5. Employment record: 6 or more months for one employer vs. less
6. Alcohol and offense: related or alcoholic vs. social
7. Escape history: none vs. some
8. Age at admission: 24 and older vs. younger
9. Offense severity: 1-4 vs. 5-9
10. Weapon carried or used in offense: no vs. yes
11. Aggravated sentence: no vs. yes
12. Institution of longest stay: Conservation Center vs. other
13. Institutional work record: average or above average vs. outstanding
14. Institutional vocational rating: none or average vs. poor or dropout
15. Institutional academic rating: no participation vs. some
16. Institutional violence: none vs. some
17. Disciplinary actions: none vs. some, or none or one vs. multiple, or none or minor vs. any major

The two groups differed on these 17 additional factors. That is to say, these factors were related to time served; however, they were not related to parole outcome in the burglary sample. Consequently, the differences in the groups on these things have no significance from the standpoint of accounting for the differences in parole outcome. The interesting thing is that some of these factors, such as age at first arrest, employment record, and escape history, were found to differentiate the above- and below-median robbers and to be related to parole outcome, thereby substantiating a hypothesis of there being differences between the groups, other than those reflecting prisonization, which produced differences in parole outcome.

Type C: Non-significant Differences Between the Groups on Factors Related to Parole Outcome

1. Drug use: none vs. some
2. Job offer at final AA appearance: no vs. yes

These factors are related to parole outcome; however, this is of no consequence since the differences between the groups are not significant.

Type D: Non-significant Differences Between the Groups on Factors Not Related to Parole Outcome

1. Ethnic origin: white vs. non-white
2. Family criminal record: none vs. some
3. Prior commitment record: minimal vs. longer
4. Offense counts: one count and one episode vs. multiple
5. Education claimed: at least some high school vs. grammar
6. Grade placement: 6.5 and higher vs. lower
7. Base expectancy (BE 61A) level: high vs. medium + low
8. Institutional voluntary group programs: multiple vs. none or one
9. Mail and visits in prison by family: some vs. none
10. Marital status at release: current or past legal marriage vs. none
11. Age at release: 30 and older vs. younger
12. Type of parole unit: work vs. conventional
13. Parole region of release: II + III + IV vs. I

These factors are completely inconsequential as far as this study is concerned, inasmuch as the groups neither differ on them nor are they related to outcome.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The present study was undertaken to attempt to clarify the relationship between time served and parole outcome. The data for both the first degree robbery and the second degree burglary offenders indicate the expected relationship. The robbers serving above the median amount of time have significantly fewer favorable outcomes on parole and significantly more returns to prison in both the one- and two-year followups than those serving below the median amount of time. Similarly, the above-median group of burglars shows significantly fewer favorable outcomes and significantly more returns to prison in the two-year followup.

The findings diverge, however, in that the above- and below-median groups of robbers differ significantly on a number of factors related to parole outcome, while the burglars differ significantly on a much smaller number of factors that are so related. In fact, it might be said regarding the burglars that these factors are so small in number and so slightly related to parole outcome that, for all practical purposes, this study provides no evidence of differences between the above- and below-median groups of burglars on factors other than time served that are related to parole outcome. Under these circumstances, the temptation is to say that the members of the above- and below-median groups of burglars selected for this study are the "same," with the exception of the differences in time served. Following from this would be the argument that the differences in parole outcome among the burglars are, in fact, reflections of the differing lengths of imprisonment, i.e. the greater prisonization of those serving longer periods of time. The conclusion would be that the negative effects of imprisonment are accumulative with time and that with a lengthier imprisonment there is a greater accumulation of these effects. The greater degree of prisonization is reflected in greater difficulties in adjustment on parole, which in turn are reflected in more unfavorable parole outcome statistics.

The burdensome thing about the apparent inconsistency between the data for the robbers and the burglars is that more questions are raised than are answered from the standpoint of interpreting the relationship between time served and parole outcome. Following are two examples of attempts that might be proposed for resolving the problem of interpretation:

1. The Burglars are More Susceptible to Prisonization Hypothesis.

From the standpoint of the greater-prisonization-with-longer-imprisonment theorist, this hypothesis in its simplest form would be stated as follows: the burglars have different personality characteristics from the robbers and these render them more susceptible to the harmful influences of prison life, thereby producing the deficit in adjustive capacity which is expressed in the greater amount of unfavorable outcomes among those serving longer periods of time. Attached to this notion of differential susceptibility is the secondary notion of a decrement in potential for adjustment on parole associated with each increment in time served. What is implied here is that the response to imprisonment is such that the

effects of the factors on which the above- and below-median groups differ are "leveled," whereas this leveling effect does not seem to occur with robbers.

There are a number of problems with a hypothesis of differential susceptibility. The first of these is that you have to specify the personality factors that render the burglars more susceptible to the negative influences of confinement, or to put it another way, contribute toward making their response to confinement apparently different from that of the robbers. This would not be easy under any circumstances, and the difficulty of the task is not lessened by the crudity of the burglar-robber categorization, which means that both of the groups are likely to be quite heterogeneous in terms of the distribution of personality variables. Thus, locating that which makes burglars more susceptible than robbers from the standpoint of personality means that you have to pull something out of this heterogeneity. The situation is not helped by the blurring of the robber-burglar distinction resulting from the fact that yesterday's robber may be today's burglar and vice versa. The existence of such a mixed type is likely to only complicate the situation further.

Another disturbing factor is that the amount of time served does not say anything directly about the degree of prisonization an individual has experienced.

2. The Pre-existing Personality Differences Hypothesis.

The data generated in this study indicate that the following factors related to parole outcome differentiated both the above-median robbers from the below-median robbers and the above-median burglars from the below-median burglars:

Age at first arrest	Weapon and offense
Juvenile record	Institutional data:
Juvenile commitments	Academic education rating
Escape history	Vocational training rating
Employment record	Place of longest stay
Aggressive history	Number of disciplinarys
Aggravated sentence	Inmate violence
Offense severity rating	

All or some of these variables may be utilized for purposes of time-setting by the Adult Authority for robbers and burglars. However, these variables and the others that have been cited as differentiating between the above- and below-median burglars are scarcely the totality of factors on which these groups could differ. In short, there is a substantial possibility that there are a number of other factors, in evidence prior to this last incarceration, on which the groups might differ and which might be related to parole outcome. There is even a hint of the existence of such factors in this study. In any event,

any argument on the part of the advocates of the prisonization point of view that robbers are "different" from burglars feeds right into the hands of those who hypothesize that these differences in and of themselves are the factors that underlie the negative relationship between time served and parole outcome.

One of the major disadvantages of the prisonization argument in relation to a study of this sort is that no information is collected relating directly to the extent of prisonization itself--that is, to the degree to which criminal values have been internalized or other manifestation of acculturation have been indicated in the course of imprisonment. There are merely a number of unverified assumptions, including (1) the degree of prisonization for the above- and below-median groups is the same at the beginning of their most recent terms, (2) each unit of time of imprisonment yields an increment of prisonization, and (3) these increments of prisonization are cumulative so that the subject who has served longer amounts of time is more prisonized. If we look at the first assumption, which must be valid for the kind of research design used in this study to be appropriate, we must be concerned with the fact that among both the robbers and burglars the above-median groups tend to be in a more negative position with respect to the following factors: age at first arrest, juvenile record, juvenile commitments, offense severity rating, employment record, etc.

Is it possible that the subjects who served longer sentences were more prisonized (in the sense that they were more criminally oriented) at the beginning of their sentences than those serving less than the median amount of time? Unless one assumes that prisonization is something which is discarded like a cloak at the time of imprisonment or re-imprisonment, this is a real possibility. The more extensive juvenile record, for one thing, suggests a longer exposure to criminogenic influences on the part of the above-median group. If the above- and below-median groups differ in the extent of the internalization of criminal values at the beginning of their terms, what is there to indicate that they would not maintain the same relative positions with respect to these matters regardless of whether their imprisonment is the same or different in length? In any event, it is most naive to assume different degrees of prisonization solely on the basis of different lengths of time of the most recent imprisonment. What is needed are measures of prisonization that are independent of time served.

AN ALTERNATE APPROACH TO THE QUESTION

This study seriously raises the question of whether its kind of design is an appropriate one for investigating the relationship between time served and favorable outcome. As long as individuals receive different periods of imprisonment on a non-random basis, the possibility exists of their differing in ways that are independent of the effects of the most recent imprisonment and related to parole outcome. Inevitably, then, with this kind of design the influence of the "prior" factors are inextricably entangled with the prisonizing influences so that the effects of one set of influences cannot be separated from the other.

The most adequate means for controlling for these differences between groups is to develop a system for randomly assigning predetermined lengths of imprisonment to individuals within a specific group of inmates. For example, a pool of inmates available for a randomized release system might be selected from among inmates committed for second degree burglary after they had been in prison for approximately nine months to one year. Waiting until this point would afford some opportunity to screen out cases where a term is indicated that is longer than that specified in the random assignment scheme; the terms indicated in this randomized scheme might be, for example, 15, 21, and 27 months. Upon being certified as appropriate for release within 15 to 27 months, the inmate would be randomly assigned one of three lengths of imprisonment, 15, 21, or 27 months. If an inmate did not disqualify himself from parole through infractions in the ensuing period, he would automatically be released upon completion of the time to which he had been randomly assigned.

The groups differing in length of randomly assigned sentences would have to be continuously compared on factors that are known to be related to parole outcome to make sure that the system of random assignment had been effective in controlling for differences in these factors. Also, it would be important to develop a series of measures of prisonization for the purpose of determining if the groups serving the longer periods of time do, in fact, exhibit a greater degree of prisonization than do the groups serving shorter periods of time. With these assurances obtained, it would be possible to conduct a followup study with some assurance that the question of the impact of the length of time served was being dealt with in a reasonably adequate way.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The study reported in this paper adds to the growing accumulation of correlational studies which indicate a negative relationship between length of time served and parole outcome. Although the study has a number of ambiguities built into it, its results suggest that the problem of the relative

effectiveness of differing lengths of imprisonment is an important one that merits further investigation. The fact may be that, when it is possible to control adequately for pre-existing differences between groups of parolees with differing lengths of imprisonment, there may be clear indications of the greater effectiveness of shorter or longer periods of imprisonment.

DEFINITIONS OF PAROLE OUTCOME

The index of PAROLE OUTCOME used in this study is the most serious disposition received while on parole during a specific time period after release from a CDC institution to California parole. The time periods are Half Year, One Year, and Two Years after release.

The first disposition received by a parolee is carried through-out the two-year followup period, or until a more serious disposition is meted out, at which time the outcome is changed accordingly. Record is kept of violations, and changes made, only when a more serious disposition ensues.

Should a parolee be discharged prior to the end of the two-year followup period, the most serious disposition received while on parole will be included in the data.

Should a parolee be returned to prison from parole, followup ceases thereafter, and this disposition is retained throughout the two-year followup; if he were rereleased during this period, he would become part of a new cohort of releases.

In this study, Favorable Parole Outcome is compared with Not Favorable outcome. For this purpose, "Not Favorable" outcome includes Pending and the various dispositions considered unfavorable.

Dispositions are listed below in order of increasing severity:

FAVORABLE PAROLE OUTCOME

Clean: no difficulty

Other:

3056 P.C. - arrest on technical charges only
Arrest and release (with or without trial)
Parolee at Large (PAL)
Return to Narcotic Treatment Control Unit (NTCU)
Jail sentence under 90 days
Any jail sentence all suspended
Misdemeanor probation (i.e., under five years)
Fine, or bail forfeited

PENDING (not available at half and one year for 1965 releases)

Awaiting trial or sentence on a misdemeanor or felony charge and with no previous sentence during this parole period; considered neither favorable nor unfavorable parole outcome.

UNFAVORABLE PAROLE OUTCOME

Miscellaneous Unfavorable Parole Outcome

- Declared PAL six months or over
- PAL with felony warrant outstanding or with felony charge unresolved
- Arrest on felony charge - guilt admitted and restitution provided
- *Awaiting trial or sentence on a felony charge
- *Awaiting trial on a charge punishable as either a felony or misdemeanor
- Declared criminally insane
- Death in commission of a crime, or from drug overdose
- Jail sentence of 90 days or more
- Felony probation (i.e., five or more years)
- Suspended prison sentence
- Commitment to California Rehabilitation Center (CRC)

*Changed to PENDING for the two-year outcome

Return to Prison to Finish Term (TFT)

Includes return to Short Term Return Unit, to Felon Addict Program, to any CDC institution, but NOT to NTCU.

Return to Prison With New Commitment (WNC)

Return to any California or out-of-state prison from parole with a new felony commitment.

OFFENSE SEVERITY SCALE

One problem in trying to match parolees within an offense category is that the conviction and the degree thereof covers various gradations of the severity of the offense itself. With the cooperation of the members of the Adult Authority, a ranking for severity was established for offenses that resulted in convictions for first degree robbery and a separate ranking for second degree burglary offenses.

The severity scales used in this study resulted from the averaging of the ratings of severity made by Adult Authority members of brief descriptions of typical incidents. The instructions to the AA members were:

"Here are two envelopes, Robbery First and Burglary Second, each containing brief descriptions of twelve offenses. You are requested to rate the descriptions on a 1 (least serious) to 9 (most serious) scale. Each envelope is to be rated separately and without regard to any other possible events. That is, in each envelope, the description(s) you deem to be the least serious of the twelve will be rated 1, the most serious will be rated 9, and the others somewhere in between."

The application of the severity scale involved the determination of which of the offense descriptions rated by the Adult Authority most closely fitted the "Facts of the Offense" reported in a given subject's cumulative case summary. Once this determination was made, the severity scale value derived from the Adult Authority ratings of that description was assigned to the subject's offense.

The two severity scales are listed below:

Severity Scale for Robbery First Convictions

- 1...S was driver and lookout at their only robbery. Partner threatened to shoot clerk.
- 2...S held up bus driver at gunpoint. First robbery.
- 3 {
 - ..S took money in three robberies while armed partner threatened to shoot clerks.
 - ..S was driver and lookout at their only robbery. Partner shot at clerk, but gun jammed.
- 4 {
 - ..S displayed revolver during series of robberies.
 - ..S drove the car at three robberies. In one, partner shot at, but missed clerk
- 5...S, unarmed, took money while partner held gun on victims. One man was shot in leg.
- 6...S was lookout in series of robberies. In one, partner shot clerk in hand.

7...S shot man in arm during scuffle when he refused to give wallet.
First robbery.

8 { ..S shot at, but missed, store owner. S earlier had robbed other stores.
..S shot at, but missed, the attendant. First robbery.

9...S shot clerk in arm when he delayed to give money. S earlier had
robbed other stores.

Severity Scale for Burglary Second Convictions

1...S broke a window to loot an isolated, unoccupied home.

2...S forced rear door of store at night to steal several radios. First
burglary.

3...S, the day porter, used master burglar keys to rifle locked closets
when no one in area.

4 { ..S looted houses at night of people who were out of town.
..S used master key and moving van for daytime looting of homes of
vacationing owners.

5...S forced rear door during an evening party but was caught, unarmed,
during this first burglary.

6...S, unarmed, forced downstairs window to loot den while maid ironed
upstairs. First job.

7 { ..S escaped with loot from unoccupied office after threatening to shoot
returning clerk.
..S, never armed, quietly burglarized homes at night while occupants
slept.

8 { ..S, armed, was caught after his first burglary of an occupied house
at night.
..S was always armed when he burglarized occupied homes in daylight.

9...S was always armed when he burglarized unlocked houses whose occupants
were asleep.

END