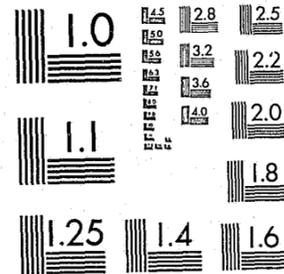


National Criminal Justice Reference Service



This microfiche was produced from documents received for inclusion in the NCJRS data base. Since NCJRS cannot exercise control over the physical condition of the documents submitted, the individual frame quality will vary. The resolution chart on this frame may be used to evaluate the document quality.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

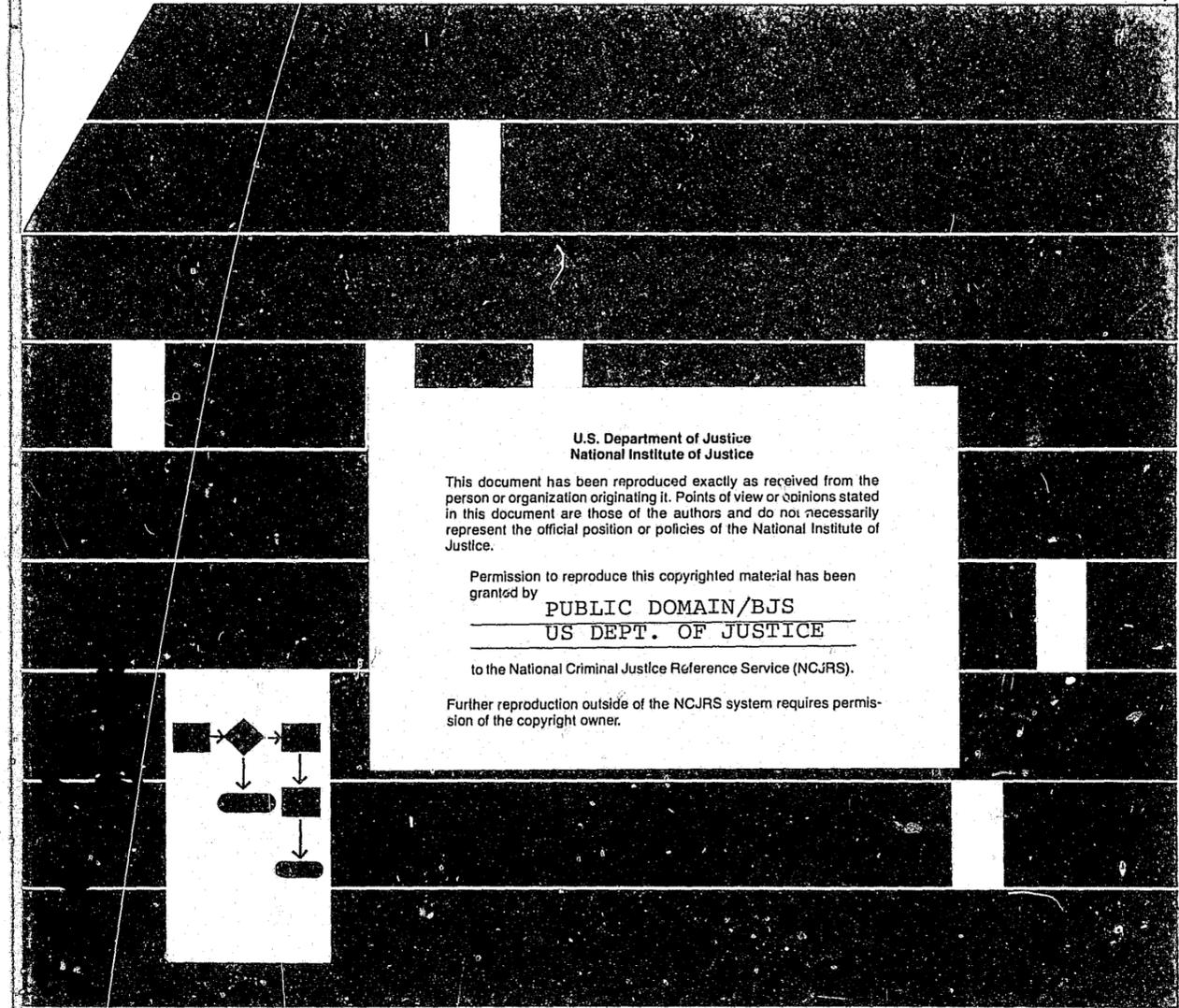
Microfilming procedures used to create this fiche comply with the standards set forth in 41CFR 101-11.504.

Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author(s) and do not represent the official position or policies of the U. S. Department of Justice.

National Institute of Justice
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20531

10/11/85

Sentencing of California Felony Offenders



U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

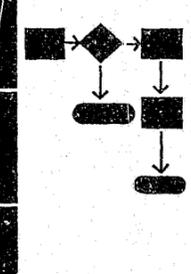
This document has been reproduced exactly as received from the person or organization originating it. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the National Institute of Justice.

Permission to reproduce this copyrighted material has been granted by

PUBLIC DOMAIN/BJIS
US DEPT. OF JUSTICE

to the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS).

Further reproduction outside of the NCJRS system requires permission of the copyright owner.



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service
UTILIZATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS ANALYTIC REPORT 6

**UTILIZATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
STATISTICS PROJECT Publications**

Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics — 1973
by Michael J. Hindelang, Christopher S. Dunn, L. Paul
Sutton, A. L. Aumick

Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics — 1974
by Michael J. Hindelang, Christopher S. Dunn, A. L.
Aumick, L. Paul Sutton

**Public Opinion Regarding Crime, Criminal Justice, and
Related Topics**
by Michael J. Hindelang

**New Directions in Processing of Juvenile Offenders:
The Denver Model**
by Lawrence E. Cohen

**Who Gets Detained? An Empirical Analysis of the
Pre-adjudicatory Detention of Juveniles in Denver**
by Lawrence E. Cohen

**Juvenile Dispositions: Social and Legal Factors Related
to the Processing of Denver Delinquency Cases**
by Lawrence E. Cohen

**Offender-Based Transaction Statistics: New Directions
in Data Collection and Reporting**
by Carl E. Pope

Sentencing of California Felony Offenders
by Carl E. Pope

**The Judicial Processing of Assault and Burglary
Offenders in Selected California Counties**
by Carl E. Pope

**Other National Criminal Justice Information and
Statistics Service Reports**

Criminal Victimization Surveys in the U.S.: 1973

**Criminal Victimization Surveys in the Nation's Five
Largest Cities: National Crime Panel Surveys in Chicago,
Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, and Philadelphia**

**Criminal Victimization Surveys in 13 American Cities:
National Crime Panel Surveys in Boston, Buffalo,
Cincinnati, Houston, Miami, Milwaukee, Minneapolis,
New Orleans, Oakland, Pittsburgh, San Diego, San
Francisco, and Washington, D.C.**

**Crime in Eight American Cities: National Crime Panel
Surveys in Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver,
Newark, Portland, and St. Louis—Advance Report**

**Crimes and Victims: A Report on the Dayton-San
Jose Pilot Survey of Victimization**

**The Nation's Jails: A report on the census of jails from
the 1972 Survey of Inmates of Local Jails**

**Survey of Inmates of Local Jails, 1972: Advance Report
Children in Custody:**

Advance Report on the Juvenile Detention and
Correctional Facility Census of 1972-73

Report on the Juvenile Detention and Correctional
Facility Census of 1971

National Prisoner Statistics Bulletins:

Capital Punishment 1974, 1973, 1971-72 (3 volumes)

Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions on
December 31, 1971, 1972, and 1973

Census of State Correctional Facilities 1974:
Advance Report

**National Survey of Court Organization: 1975
Supplement to State Judicial Systems**

Criminal Justice Agencies in Regions 1-10 (10 volumes)

**Historical Statistics on Expenditure and Employment
for the Criminal Justice System: 1971 to 1973**

**Expenditure and Employment Data for the Criminal
Justice System: 1972-73**

**Utilization of
Criminal Justice Statistics
Project
ANALYTIC REPORT 6**

**SENTENCING OF
CALIFORNIA FELONY OFFENDERS**

by **Carl E. Pope**
Research Analyst

CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESEARCH CENTER
Albany, New York

This project was supported by Grant No. 72-SS-99-6006, awarded to the Criminal Justice Research Center, Albany, New York, by the Statistics Division, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended; the project, entitled "Utilization of Criminal Justice Statistics," is by Michael J. Hindelang and monitored for LEAA by Sue A. Lindgren. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

LEAA authorizes any person to reproduce, publish, translate, or otherwise use all or any part of the copyrighted material in this publication, with the exception of those items indicating that they are copyrighted by or reprinted by permission of any source other than the Criminal Justice Research Center.

Copyright 1975 by Criminal Justice Research Center

SD-AR-6 1975

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

**Law Enforcement
Assistance Administration**

**National Criminal Justice
Information and Statistics
Service**

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration

Richard W. Velde, Administrator

Harry Bratt, Assistant Administrator
National Criminal Justice Information and
Statistics Service

Benjamin H. Renshaw, III, Director
Statistics Division

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Pope, Carl E.
Sentencing of California felony offenders.

(Analytic report — Utilization of Criminal Justice
Statistics Project; SD-AR-6)

Bibliography: p. 29

Supt. of Docs. no.: J 1.42/3:SD-AR-6

1. Sentences (Criminal procedure)—California—

Statistics. I. Title. II. Series: Criminal Justice
Research Center. Utilization of Criminal Justice
Statistics Project. Analytic report — Utilization of
Criminal Justice Statistics Project; SD-AH-6.

KFC70.P664 345'.794'077 75-619288

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402—Price 75 cents
Stock Number 027-000-00381-8

There is a minimum charge of \$1.00 for each mail order

THE UTILIZATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS Project was funded initially in 1972 by the National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. One primary aim of the project is the production of annual editions of the Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, a compilation of available nationwide criminal justice statistical data. A second aim has been and continues to be an examination of the utility that a variety of criminal justice statistical data bases have for addressing questions of practical and theoretical interest in the field.

One product of that examination is a series of analytic reports, of which this volume is one. These reports, written by research staff members of the Utilization of Criminal Justice Statistics Project, all have a common theme: the discussion of a central criminal justice topic using an exemplary or innovative criminal justice data base. Each report in the series not only discusses substantive findings in regard to particular issues, but also considers the qualities and limitations of the data, as well as techniques and problems of analysis, in relation to the substantive findings.

At a time when criminal justice statistics development is extensive, and often expensive, these analytic reports focus attention on one often overlooked function of criminal justice statistics—the analysis of current issues and questions based on available data. In fact, the utilization issue is perhaps as important as any in the area of criminal justice statistics. It often happens that data are collected—usually at great expense—without subsequent efforts to utilize such data to address the pressing problems that confront criminal justice. This series of Analytic Reports explores the problems and prospects inherent in the application of various sources of criminal justice statistical data to issues of interest and concern to agency personnel, planners, researchers, and the public alike.

MICHAEL J. HINDELANG
Project Director

PREFACE

THIS IS THE SECOND in a series of three monographs focusing on the judicial processing of California felony offenders in 12 separate counties. The overall objectives of the series are basically twofold: 1) to describe and analyze a transactional data base in which offenders are tracked through various stages of the criminal justice system; and 2) to demonstrate empirically some of the possible uses of these data in providing information of the type rarely available in the past. The first report described the nature of transaction data and traced the flow of felony arrestees through the California judicial system. In this report both type and length of sentence

are examined with respect to the sex, race, age, and previous criminal histories of California felony defendants. Differences in sentencing patterns across urban and rural areas are analyzed at both lower and superior court levels. The third report focusses on the sentencing of two specific offender groups—those originally arrested for assault and burglary offenses.

We are indebted to the California Bureau of Criminal Statistics for supplying the transactional data base used in this monograph. Without the close cooperation of the Bureau staff, this research project could not have been completed.

CONTENTS

Preface	5
Introduction	9
The Problem of Differential Sentencing	10
Methods	12
1. Measurement of The Independent Variables	12
2. Measurement of The Dependent Variables	14
3. Analytic Format	14
Pre-Trial Screening	16
Disposition and Severity	17
1. Lower Court Sentencing	17
Sentence Outcome by Sex (Lower Court)	17
Sentence Outcome by Race (Lower Court)	18
2. Superior Court Sentencing	20
Sentence Outcome by Sex (Superior Court)	21
Sentence Outcome by Race (Superior Court)	21
Sentence Outcome by Age (Superior Court)	22
3. Summary	23
Sentence Length as a Measure of Severity	24
1. Length of Confinement (Jail Sentence)	24
2. Probation	25
3. Summary	26
Conclusion	26
Bibliography	29

TABLES

1	Distribution of Cohort Characteristics in Urban and Rural Areas	13
2	Lower Court Sentencing Disposition in Rural Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Original Charge, Prior Record, and Status)	18
3	Lower Court Sentencing Disposition in Urban Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Original Charge, Prior Record, and Status)	18
4	Lower Court Sentencing Disposition in Rural Areas, by Race: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Original Charge, Prior Record, and Status)	19
5	Lower Court Sentencing Disposition in Urban Areas, by Race: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Original Charge, Prior Record, and Status)	19
6	Superior Court Sentencing Disposition in Rural Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)	20
7	Superior Court Sentencing Disposition in Urban Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)	21
8	Superior Court Sentencing Disposition in Rural Areas, by Race: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)	21
9	Superior Court Sentencing Disposition in Urban Areas, by Race: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)	22
10	Superior Court Sentencing Disposition in Rural Areas, by Age (Bivariate)	22
11	Superior Court Sentencing Disposition in Urban Areas, by Age (Bivariate)	23
12	Length of Confinement (Lower Court) in Rural Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)	24
13	Length of Confinement (Superior Court) in Rural Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)	25
14	Length of Confinement (Superior Court) in Urban Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)	25

SENTENCING OF CALIFORNIA FELONY OFFENDERS

Introduction

A PREVIOUS MONOGRAPH emphasized the point that much data currently being collected regarding crime and criminals has limited potential for detailed analysis now needed to understand the complexities of criminal justice processing (Pope, 1975). Briefly, summary tabulations, the mainstay of criminal justice statistics, contain little information on how the criminal justice system operates in processing offenders or how agencies and functions relate to one another. Further, with summary data, it is often difficult if not impossible to assess the weight given social factors in criminal processing, what transactions or dispositions occur at various stages, or how much time it takes to move offenders through the system. There are at present no national criminal justice statistics which integrate police, court, and correctional processing functions; however, such information is sorely needed if we are to further our knowledge regarding the control of crime and provide the impetus for improvement.

Within the last few years, however, a new data collection system, offender-based transaction statistics (OBTS), has been proposed and is being implemented in certain States.¹ Under a transaction format, relevant information is compiled on each offender as he proceeds

through the various processing stages of the criminal justice system. Thus, the individual offender is the unit of count and, as such, provides the mechanism for linking together various segments of the system. It was hoped that transaction data would provide much of that systematic information now lacking in summary tallies of crime data.

The monographs in this series were undertaken, in part, to empirically assess the utility of transaction data in supplying information of the type heretofore not widely available and also to highlight many of the uses to which these data may be put. Unfortunately, at the time this project was undertaken, a complete set of transaction data was not available, as implementation had just begun. The California Bureau of Criminal Statistics (BCS), however, has long maintained an active arrest and superior court register for those felony offenders processed within that State. Using this arrest and superior court register, data were re-tabulated along a transaction format for 12 separate counties. These data, covering a 3-year period from 1969 to 1971, were obtained from BCS and serve as the foundation for the analysis undertaken herein. The interested reader is referred to an earlier report for a more detailed discussion of the organization of these data, which will not be repeated here (Pope, 1975).

It should be re-emphasized, however, that the California transaction data are not as complete as that envisioned in future OBTS collections, because much relevant information is not regularly appended to the superior court register. For example, information relating to bail determinations, type of attorney, and pre-trial detention status was not recorded and, hence, our analysis is tempered accordingly.

¹For a general discussion and history of offender based transaction statistics, see the following Project SEARCH publications: Project SEARCH Technical Report No. 3, *Designing Statewide Criminal Justice Statistics Systems—The Demonstration of a Prototype*, November, 1970. Technical Report No. 4, *Implementing Statewide Criminal Justice Statistics Systems—The Model and Implementation Environment*, January, 1972. Technical Report No. 5, *Designing Statewide Criminal Justice Statistics Systems—An Examination of the Five State Implementation*, December, 1972. California Crime Technological Research Foundation, Sacramento, California.

In the previous monograph, the original 12 counties were recombined into urban and rural areas based on information from the 1970 census. Here, we refine those preliminary trends observed earlier and undertake a more intensive analysis of sentencing at both the lower and superior court levels. The various possible sentence dispositions are analyzed with respect to age, race, and sex of offenders and their prior criminal histories. The urban/rural dichotomy is retained in this report, because differences in the judicial processing of offenders have been observed between urban and rural areas. Overall, the California transaction data base proved useful in exploring the critical issue of differential sentencing and its correlates.

The Problem of Differential Sentencing

For years, many critics have charged that the criminal justice system operates in a biased manner toward certain disadvantaged members of society.² According to this perspective, those underprivileged segments of society such as the poor, the black, and other minorities are overrepresented in official crime records and often receive more severe treatment than other similarly situated offenders. In a recent monograph, Schrag points out:

Criminal sanctions also vary according to other characteristics of the offender, and for any given offense they tend to be most frequent and most severe among males, the young (excepting juveniles handled in civil courts), the unemployed or under employed, the poorly educated, members of the lower classes, members of minority groups, transients, residents of deteriorated urban areas. These are precisely the population segments that continued to have the highest rates for most criminal offenses. (1971:90)

More forcibly, Quinney (1970:142) observes that "perhaps the most obvious example of judicial discretion occurs in the handling of cases of persons from minority groups. Negroes in comparison to whites, are convicted with lesser evidence and sentenced to more severe punishment."

²The perspective is generally incorporated in the conflict and labeling schools of criminal deviance. For a concise and thorough discussion, see Cohen (1974).

While observations such as those noted above invoke intuitive reactions, adequate empirical data bearing on the issue is sparse at best. Although a number of social researchers have attempted to measure the degree to which discrimination is operative in sentence dispositions, the findings of these endeavors have often proven to be contradictory.

One of the earliest empirical assessments of differential sentencing practices covering the period from 1930 to 1940 was conducted by Johnson (1941). Studying the court records of 645 adult homicide offenders in North Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia, Johnson concluded that sentencing practices were highly biased against blacks, especially those who were charged with killing whites. Garfinkel (1949), in a replication of Johnson's study,³ reached a similar conclusion—that blacks were treated more severely than white offenders. Both studies, however, were methodologically unsophisticated in their failure to utilize control variables. Neither, for example, considered the effects of prior record on sentence outcome. It is quite possible that those with a more serious prior record were treated more severely, and if blacks had more extensive prior histories of criminal involvement, they would have received more severe sentences.

Bensing and Schroeder (1960), controlling for seriousness of offense, analyzed 662 homicides that occurred in Cleveland from 1947 to 1954. Their findings proved opposite to those noted by Garfinkel and Johnson in that they found no evidence of racial discrimination once seriousness of offense was introduced as a control variable. Whereas blacks who killed whites were generally treated more severely than whites who killed blacks, the former group were also more apt to have faced more serious charges, such as homicide while perpetrating robbery or rape.

Bullock (1961) also studied the sentence length of 3,644 cases of homicide, rape and burglary for the year 1958. Using the chi square test of independence, while controlling for type of offense, type of plea, prior record, region of State and urbanization, Bullock's findings generally supported the existence of differential sentencing practices. Blacks were frequently sentenced to longer periods of confinement for burglary than

³Garfinkel attempted to improve on Johnson's study by increasing the sample size by 25 percent, including additional dependent variables and dichotomizing homicide offenses into first and second degree.

whites and shorter periods of confinement for murder.⁴ Bullock further concluded that those pleading guilty received shorter sentences than did those who pled not guilty.⁵

In two methodologically more rigorous studies conducted by Green (1961 and 1964), a significant relationship was found to exist between sentence severity and race. Although bivariate tables indicated that blacks were treated more severely than whites, Green found that when severity of offense and prior record were employed as control variables, these relationships disappeared. He concluded that whereas there were sentencing differences among blacks and whites, they resulted not from racial discrimination, but from actual legal differences in the cases of apprehended offenders. Green's analysis demonstrated that blacks who had robbed whites, for example, were significantly more likely to have been armed than were blacks who had robbed other blacks. Vines and Jacobs (1963), however, in examining over 4,000 court cases from New Orleans Parish, Louisiana, for the years 1954, 1958, and 1960, discovered that blacks received significantly longer sentence than whites, even when they controlled for severity of the offense committed.

The findings of these studies are indeed puzzling. The evidence accumulated so far seems to be contradictory and sheds little light on the issue of differential sentencing practices. Hindelang (1969), in reviewing these discrepant results, suggested that they may be accounted for by certain peculiarities in the studies themselves. Hindelang observed that those studies that found evidence of differential sentencing practices utilized data from Southern regions of the country and were, on the average, approximately 10 years older than those studies finding no evidence of discrimination. Furthermore, these studies were generally limited to the single offense of homicide and failed to utilize control variables. Hindelang's analysis, however, was limited to studies conducted before 1965. Since that time a number of additional studies have also explored the problem of sentencing discrimination. Although these recent investigations are generally more methodologi-

⁴Bullock argued that burglary offenses are primarily inter-racial for blacks and intra-racial for whites, while homicides are mostly intra-racial. These suppositions, however, may be unwarranted. See Hindelang (1969:310).

⁵There is no provision in the Texas penal code for granting leniency to those who plead guilty as opposed to those who elect a judge or jury trial.

cally rigorous, use more recent data, and include a wider variety of offenses, their findings are still contradictory.⁶

A partial explanation for these contrary findings may lie in the nature of the data and the strategy often used to explore the issue of differential sentencing. A major shortcoming of many studies in this area is that generally only one indicator of possible severity is employed—that most often being the length of confinement imposed by the trial judge (or jury). Keeping in mind, however, the fact that criminal processing is dynamic rather than static, it would seem worthwhile to employ additional indicators of severity. Decisions made at one stage, for example, may be strengthened, diluted, or left unchanged by those occurring at a later point in time. For example, sentence lengths imposed by trial judges may later be altered by decisions of parole boards. Further, it is quite possible that although certain groups of offenders are more likely to receive longer sentences than others when confined, it may also be the case that these groups are less likely to actually be confined. The failure of many previous research efforts to incorporate this dynamic perspective into their designs is probably more a reflection of the inadequacy of available data than poor methodological strategy.

A corollary point is the fact that a majority of those studies noted above focused on offenses of a very serious nature (e.g., homicide) in which offenders were thought likely to receive prison commitments. As a result, the focus of inquiry was on those offenders adjudicated in superior court or its equivalent (e.g., Federal district court), thus omitting analysis at the lower or municipal court level, where a substantial proportion of all felony cases is actually adjudicated.⁷ It is true that superior court convictions and resulting sentences are generally more severe than those occurring at the lower court, but it would seem worthwhile to investigate sentencing patterns at both stages. Again, adequate data reflecting both stages of processing have not been widely available. Transactional data, however, provide a longitudinal perspective, thus furnishing a stronger analytic foundation for investigating the dynamic aspects of sentencing.

⁶For example see: Chiricos, et al. (1972); Cohen (1974); Rau (1972).

⁷In a previous monograph we reported that, for those urban felony offenders held for prosecution, 45 percent were handled at the lower court level. In rural areas, 38 percent were disposed of by the lower courts (Pope, 1975).

Methods

Included in the California transaction data are a number of social and legal variables that have often been cited as possible determinants of sentence outcome. These descriptive (or independent) variables include sex, race and age of the offender, prior record, criminal status and the offense for which he was originally arrested (original charge). Sex, race, and age are self-explanatory. Prior record is a measure of previous exposure to the criminal justice system referring not only to the number of prior commitments per se, but also to their seriousness. The possible range of prior record is from zero to nine, with zero designating lack of previous arrests or convictions and nine designating three or more prior prison commitments. Intermediate categories represent various combinations of arrests, convictions, and sentences, each increasing in seriousness. Thus, prior record may be thought of as a crude seriousness index measuring the extent and nature of an offender's exposure to the criminal justice system.

Criminal status refers to whether or not an offender was under some type of supervision (and the nature of that supervision) at the time of his arrest. Various possibilities include parole from the California Department of Corrections, parole from the California Rehabilitation Center, felony probation, and the like.⁸ As one might expect, a close relationship exists between prior record and criminal status. An offender who is currently under some form of supervision must, in fact, have a prior record. The converse, however, does not follow; an individual who has a prior record may or may not be under supervision at the time of his arrest. He may, for example, have successfully completed a period of parole supervision and thus be free of State control when arrested.

⁸ Parole from the Department of Corrections encompasses those offenders previously sentenced to a State institution for a felony offense. California Rehabilitation Center parole includes those offenders civilly committed for drug addiction.

1. Measurement of the Independent Variables

The six independent variables were collapsed into mutually exclusive categories according to theoretical and empirical considerations. We wanted, first of all, to create categories that would be meaningful in light of current knowledge of criminal processing and the types of possible patterns to be found in the data; secondly, we were also concerned that each category contain a sufficient number of cases to be amenable to tabular analysis.

Sex, of course, formed a natural dichotomy of males and females. With regard to race, the cases were divided into two mutually exclusive categories of white and black offenders. Of the total data set (n = 32,694) white offenders accounted for 84 percent of the cases, with blacks making up 13 percent of the remainder; 3 percent of the cases fell into a residual category of "other" (including Indians, Chinese, etc.). In light of these percentage distributions, we believed it reasonable to exclude the "other" category from analysis and focus attention on the two homogeneous racial groupings.

Prior record was trichotomized into the categories none, minor, and major. If an individual had no prior record, he was placed in the "none" category. Under "minor" were included those who have had various combinations of previous arrests, convictions and jail and/or probation sentences, but had *no prison commitments*. That is, the "minor" category excluded those offenders who had served prison sentences. "Major" priors refer to those offenders who had previously served at least *one prison commitment* of a year or more in a State institution. For criminal status, two mutually exclusive groups were created based on whether or not the offender was under some type of supervision at the time of arrest. Age covered four categories: 18-24, 25-29, 30-39, and 40 and older. In this way we are able to assess sentencing patterns with respect to two groups of offenders: those younger than 25 (generally cited as the most crime prone) and those older than 40 (often those most entrenched in criminal activity). The two intermediate groups allow us to view any patterns sensitive to age changes over time.

Charge at arrest was divided into violent, property, drug, and "other" offenses.⁹ Violent offenses are serious crimes against the person, such as murder, rape, robbery and assault. Property offenses consist of burglary, theft, forgery, fraud and the like. All drug-related offenses were grouped together. The "other" category included all residual crimes. Some charges were difficult to classify, because they include elements of two or more categories. Robbery, for example, is generally defined as the taking of property from another by force or threat of force, and thus may be classified as either a violent or property offense. In this particular instance, we simply followed the Uniform Crime Reports guidelines and considered it a violent offense.¹⁰ For multiple charges, only the most serious offense was included. Any classification scheme is bound to be arbitrary in some respects, but the present classification of arrest offense seems to be adequate for our analytic needs.¹¹

Table 1 presents the percentage distribution of cohort characteristics in urban and rural areas. As can be seen from Table 1, sex and age showed practically no variation across areas, but the other cohort characteristics varied somewhat. Males, for example, comprised

⁹ We used original charge at arrest rather than conviction offense for the following reasons. First, charge at arrest is probably a more accurate reflection of the actual crime committed than is the offense for which the offender is eventually convicted. Even in those instances where a number of charges are included, they are usually related in some way to the offense at hand; conviction offense, however, often bears little resemblance to the act actually committed. For example, a substantial number of cases, as many as 95 percent in some jurisdictions, never reach the trial courts but are rather adjudicated by means of guilty pleas. Here defendants often exchange guilty pleas in return for sentence leniency in the form of a reduced charge. While an offender may have been originally arrested for rape, he may ultimately plead guilty to an assault charge which carries a less severe penalty. Second, tabular results showed that the distribution of both arrest charge, and conviction offenses differed little with respect to final outcome—probation, jail, or "other."

¹⁰ The UCR classifies murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault as violent offenses. A special category of crimes against the person is less frequently used that excludes robbery offenses.

¹¹ Previous studies exploring the issue of differential sentencing have generally been limited to one or more specific offenses. Rarely have all offenses been included in the analysis, thus lending a broader perspective to the study. Here, we decided to use all offenses reported in the original data set by grouping them into four generic categories. Such a grouping procedure was necessary if we were to include each offense, since many accounted for only a small number of cases. In the subsequent monograph, we examine burglary and assault offenses separately.

TABLE 1 Distribution of Cohort Characteristics in Urban and Rural Areas

		URBAN	RURAL
SEX	Male	87% (17,111)	88% (11,477)
	Female	13% (2,524)	12% (1,581)
	Total	100% (19,635)	100% (13,058)
RACE	White	80% (15,294)	96% (12,090)
	Black	20% (3,826)	4% (526)
	Total	100% (19,120)	100% (12,616)
AGE	18-24	38% (7,420)	38% (5,004)
	25-29	25% (4,979)	27% (3,477)
	30-39	20% (3,908)	19% (2,442)
	40+	17% (3,278)	16% (2,090)
	Total	100% (19,585)	100% (13,013)
PRIORS	None	26% (4,998)	32% (4,078)
	Minor	58% (11,112)	54% (6,971)
	Major	16% (3,141)	14% (1,751)
Total	100% (19,251)	100% (12,800)	
CRIMINAL STATUS	Not under commitment	66% (12,644)	79% (10,118)
	Under commitment	34% (6,606)	21% (2,686)
	Total	100% (19,250)	100% (12,804)
CHARGE AT ARREST	Violent	19% (3,745)	15% (2,011)
	Property	41% (8,067)	40% (5,200)
	Drug	26% (5,169)	31% (4,060)
	Other	13% (2,577)	13% (1,724)
	Total	99% (19,558)	99% (12,995)

87 percent of all urban arrestees and 88 percent of all rural arrestees. Blacks accounted for 6 percent of the population in urban areas and 1 percent in rural areas but 20 percent and 4 percent of the total arrests in urban and rural areas respectively. The 18-24-year-old age group contained the highest percentage of arrestees in both urban and rural areas (38 percent). Further, those younger than 29 constituted 63 percent and 65 percent of all urban and rural arrestees, respectively. Seventy-four percent of all urban arrestees and 68 percent of all rural arrestees evidenced some previous exposure to the criminal justice system. Similarly, more urban than rural offenders (34 percent versus 21 percent) were under State supervision at the time of arrest. With regard to the offense for which the offender was originally arrested, Table 1 shows a slightly higher proportion of violent offenses in urban areas (19 percent versus 15 percent), whereas a greater proportion of offenders were arrested for drug offenses in rural areas (31 percent versus 26 percent). The proportion of arrests for property and "other" offenses remained quite constant across jurisdictions.

2. Measurement of the Dependent Variables

Aside from those social and legal variables noted above, information was also provided regarding sentence outcome at both lower and superior court levels. All cases included herein originally resulted from felony arrests in which the offender was fingerprinted. A substantial proportion of these cases, however, were adjudicated at the lower court level with corresponding misdemeanor convictions. Those cases proceeding to the superior court usually resulted in felony convictions. For lower courts, sentence outcome was collapsed into the three categories: *probation, jail* and *other*. In those instances where sentence included various combinations, for example, probation and jail or fine and jail, the more severe disposition was used. Thus the category jail includes those sentenced to a straight jail term plus those sentenced to jail and any combination of probation and/or fine. "Other" includes those who were fined or had their sentences suspended. At the superior court level an additional category, *prison*, is used, which includes those who were sentenced to a period of confinement in a State penal institution.

In addition to sentence outcome, data regarding the length of both jail and probation sentences were available for both the lower and superior court. Unfor-

tunately, these data were not originally coded in their raw form, but rather aggregated into distinct categories. Based upon these original categories, the data were again re-combined according to theoretical concerns and the distributions of cases in each category. Length of probation was dichotomized into less than or equal to 3 years and greater than 3 years. Length of jail confinement was trichotomized into three distinct categories: less than or equal to 60 days, from 61 to 180 days and greater than 180 days.

As noted above, most prior sentencing research has been limited to only one indicator of severity and analysis confined to the superior or federal district court level. It is quite possible, however, that certain groups of offenders may be treated more harshly than others at the lower court level yet be treated equally or more leniently by the superior court. Those offenders handled at the lower courts have received a sentencing break in the form of a misdemeanor conviction for a felony arrest, but differential sentencing patterns may also be in evidence. Thus, data from both the lower and superior court will be examined with respect to sentencing practices. Although we had no information regarding length of prison commitments (these were not available at the time of analysis), data regarding both jail and probation length were reported and will be used as a relative indicator of sentence severity. Thus, sentencing decisions will be examined from two additional perspectives: (1) actual sentence outcome (either probation, jail, or "other") and (2) length of time sentenced to either probation or jail.

3. Analytic Format

A major consideration in any research undertaking centers on the question of how the data should be analyzed and presented in the final report. Of those numerous statistical techniques available today, which method or combination of methods will best explain the phenomena under investigation? Official data are often presented in the form of univariate tables that depict the distribution of those variables under consideration. It may be incisive to note the proportion of offenders sentenced to probation as opposed to confinement, but it is also necessary to know how other variables relate to sentence outcome. It is only when we begin to combine variables and consider their joint relationship that patterns hitherto hidden in the data begin to emerge (Zeisel, 1968).

Because we are most often interested in exploring the joint effects of two or more variables, summary tables serve only as an initial starting point (often telling the researcher the most meaningful way to combine categories for further analysis). Yet even cross-tabulations of one variable with another are often misleading and cannot account for the possible effects of other variables that may, in fact, influence the relationship being explored. We know, for example, that the crime a person allegedly commits will often influence the outcome of the case. That is, more serious crimes (e.g., rape, robbery, etc.), are more likely to elicit severe sentences. We also know, however, that an individual's prior record may influence the final outcome of the case. That is, those with histories of frequent and serious violations are most apt to be accorded severe dispositions than those without such records. As both offense and prior record affect the sentence outcome, it would be desirable to consider the possible influence of both variables simultaneously. We do this in tabular form by presenting the relationship between type of offense and type of sentence, while controlling (holding constant) the number of priors.

In this monograph, findings are presented in a series of tables depicting bivariate relationships followed by the introduction of one or more control variables. The relatively few decision points and demographic characteristics coupled with a large data base lend themselves nicely to a tabular format. Similarly, cross-tabulations allow us to present the data in an easy-to-read manner that can be readily understood by the professional and lay person alike. A major problem with control tables, however, is that they quickly become cumbersome and repetitious. Inclusion of a large number of tables increases the complexity of interpretation. In order to circumvent this problem, and reduce the large number of possible control tables, we resorted to a procedure refined by Rosenberg (1970) known as *test factor standardization*.

The method of test factor standardization is a straightforward extension of the tabular analysis principles of specification and elaboration (Lazarsfeld, 1955). After introducing a test factor (control variable) into the original bivariate relationship, the relationship may remain unchanged, disappear altogether, or vary depending upon the level of the test factor. In the first instance we could conclude that introduction of the test factor has no effect on the original relationship. Males, for example, may receive more severe sentences than females irrespective of their prior criminal record. In the

second case the control variable would tend to explain the original relationship. Under these circumstances, when we control for prior record, we may find no differences in sentence severity between males and females—for example, males and females with no prior record have the same sentence outcomes. In the final case, we would find an interaction effect in which the original relationship varies depending upon the level of the control variable. Females with no prior record may be treated more severely than males, but those females with an extensive prior record may receive less severe treatment than their male counterparts.

With a large number of partial tables, where we simultaneously control for two, three, or more test factors, it may be difficult to draw meaningful conclusions. What is needed is some summary way of accounting for test factor effects in a single, easily readable table that can be compared to the original zero-order (bivariate) table. Test factor standardization is such a method, which, by weighting both dependent and independent variables in terms of the control variable, a single table is produced that can be directly compared to the original bivariate table.¹² The new standardized tables indicate whether the original relationship has been altered (either increased or decreased) by introduction of the test factor. Although this method is insensitive to interaction effects, separate examination of the partial tables revealed little interaction in the data. Hence, we thought it worthwhile to use this technique as a concise way of presenting our findings.

Before embarking upon our analysis, two additional problems need to be addressed. When tabular results are presented, some method for evaluating the magnitude of observed percentage differences must be stated. An often used method is that of "significance testing." With this procedure some test statistics (such as chi square) is applied to the data, yielding a value that is "significant" at a certain level of probability (generally .05 or .01). If a test statistic is significant at the .01 probability level, for example, the observed relationship would occur by chance alone only once in every hundred times, thereby allowing us to be reasonably confident of our findings. A primary assumption of virtually all tests of significance, however, is that of independent random sampling, a condition not met here, because a *total population* was

¹²A succinct discussion of the test factor standardization method, including the weighting procedure, is provided by Rosenberg (1970), to which the interested reader is referred.

employed. Further, significance tests are directly influenced by sample size: as the number of cases increases, so does the probability of finding a significant (non-chance) relationship. The number of cases used herein is so large that one would expect significance to occur even when only a very small relationship exists. As a result, "tests of significance" were not employed in this analysis. As a substitute we decided to present percents and frequency counts specifying a 10 percentage point difference as a criterion for evaluating the magnitude of observed relationships. Thus, if a percentage difference is equal to or greater than 10 percent, then the relationship will be considered substantial. If the difference is less than 10 percent, then the relationship is considered not substantial.¹³

A major limitation of cross-tabulation is the necessity for a large number of cases to ensure reliable results when relevant control variables are introduced.¹⁴ When one begins to simultaneously control for a large number of variables, the cases in various subcells may be rapidly depleted. The results of tabular analysis under such circumstances are likely to be statistically unreliable. Throughout our analysis, wherever possible, three simultaneous control variables (or test factors) were introduced, these being original charge at arrest, prior record and criminal status. If the data were too attenuated to allow for three simultaneous controls, the following rules were employed:

- a) If we could only control for two variables, *original charge at arrest* and *prior record* were selected. Prior record and criminal status were found to be closely related—each explaining much of the same variance. Therefore, little information is lost by excluding criminal status.

¹³ Although the designation of 10 percent difference as indicative of substantial relationships is arbitrary, differences of this magnitude have been used successfully in previous research endeavors. As Glaser and Strauss state:

In place of making tests of significance, the sociologist can establish working rules to fit his particular situation. For example, two rules for establishing an acceptable percentage difference level are not to consider any relationship of, say, less than 10 percent difference; or any relationship in which three people's changing their minds or being misclassified would change the percentage to below an established level (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:201-202). See also Cohen (1974).

¹⁴ Similarly, in order for the results of test factor standardization to be statistically reliable, the column totals for each level of the control variable must be equal to or greater than one; as the number of cases is depleted, this requirement becomes increasingly difficult to meet.

- b) *Prior record* was used when only one control variable could be introduced, since this variable was consistently found to be most determinant of outcome. That is, those individuals with serious prior records were likely to receive the most severe dispositions, irrespective of criminal status and charge at arrest. In certain instances, separate standardized tables were computed with prior record, criminal status, and charge at arrest each introduced separately as test factors. These tables, again, showed prior record to be the single most important control variable. In fact, when we simultaneously standardized for prior record and charge at arrest, our results differed little from those obtained when prior record only was introduced as a test factor.

Pre-Trial Screening

Before viewing sentencing practices across urban and rural areas, it may prove profitable to examine a prior stage at which cases are selected for later adjudication in both lower and superior courts. Approximately one-fourth of all those arrested for felony offenses had their cases dismissed prior to trial.¹⁵ During pre-trial screening, those cases that face a low probability of conviction are often eliminated from the system, thus reducing the case load burden at later processing stages. Within the data set, pre-trial screening represents a prosecutorial decision (often made in consultation with local police) to eliminate selected cases from the criminal justice system.¹⁶ Overall, the data evidenced little variation in the decision to hold or release suspects across offense categories; for each offense category about three-quarters of all arrestees were held for prosecution. In rural areas, those charged with drug-related offenses were most likely to be dismissed prior to trial; those offenders in the "other" category were most likely to be held. These differences, however, were not substantial. In urban areas, a slightly higher proportion of property offenders were held for trial, whereas both violent and drug offenders were equally likely to be released.

¹⁵ Much preliminary analysis with regard to felony dispositions was undertaken in the preceding monograph. See Pope (1975).

¹⁶ In this data set we were unable to separate pre-trial case dismissals by originating office—the police or prosecutor. Accordingly, we grouped all dismissals under the category of pre-trial screening. All such cases are eliminated before reaching the lower court, whereas dismissals originating there were subsumed under a separate category.

Similar to charge at arrest, no substantial variation by race was observed in the decision to hold or release suspects prior to trial. In both urban and rural areas, black and white arrestees were equally likely to be held for trial. Further, no substantial differences were noted in the percentage of male and female arrestees held for trial. Older arrestees, as one might suspect, were slightly more likely than their younger counterparts to be held for trial, although, again, these differences did not meet our 10 percent difference criterion.

The only substantial bivariate relationship was that for the legal variables of prior record and criminal status. In rural areas, 83 percent of those with a major prior record were processed for trial compared to 73 percent of those with no prior record—a 10 percent difference (table not presented). In urban areas the difference between these two groups was 7 percent. A similar trend was observed for criminal status. Those under some type of commitment at the time of arrest were more likely to be held than those who were not under commitment. An examination of the joint relationship between the three social variables (age, race, and sex) and the three legal variables (offense, prior record, and status) with respect to pre-trial screening, revealed no significant difference over that observed in the bivariate tables.

Findings here generally suggest that post-arrest release decisions are unaffected by age, race, and sex differences. At the bivariate level, charge at arrest was observed to exert little influence on whether or not the offenders were held for trial. In rural areas, for example, those arrested for violent and drug offenses were equally likely to be held for prosecution. Prior record and criminal status exerted a stronger influence in that those with previous criminal involvement were more likely to be processed to trial courts. When the control variables—charge at arrest, prior record, and criminal status—were introduced, there were still no substantial differences with respect to the variables of age, race, and sex and the percentage of arrestees held for trial. In terms of those variables available for analysis, there were few differences between those defendants whose cases were dismissed prior to trial and those defendants who were held for prosecution.

Disposition and Severity

In this section dispositions accorded California felony defendants at both the lower and superior court levels are examined. Emphasis is upon the type of

sentences these defendants received, broken down into probation, jail, "other," and (at the superior court level) prison. In a later section, length of sentence is discussed as a measure of severity. In each instance, actual sentence outcome is cross-tabulated with age, race, and sex, while controlling for legal variables (either prior record, criminal status, charge at arrest, or all three, depending on the distribution of cases). Those tables that proved uninteresting (exhibited no strong relationship) were excluded. In many instances these results were simply summarized in the text. In order to ease interpretation, both bivariate and standardized relationships are generally presented in the same table. Thus, the reader can, at a glance, observe the effects of various control variables on the original relationship.

1. Lower Court Sentencing

Of those felony offenders eventually reaching the trial courts, a significant proportion in both rural (38 percent) and urban (46 percent) areas were adjudicated in municipal courts (Pope, 1975). Further, for each area approximately 99 percent of those individuals handled by the lower court were eventually convicted. The proportion of convictions at the lower court is not surprising—it is likely to occur as a result of a high percentage of cases in which the offender has pled guilty in return for a misdemeanor conviction or has submitted his case for trial on transcript¹⁷ in return for sentencing leniency.

Upon a finding of guilty, the municipal court judge has three general sentencing options. The offender may be incarcerated in a county jail for any period less than 1 year, he may be placed on probation, or he may be fined. In certain circumstances, additional dispositions such as victim restitution may be available. These additional dispositions we included with fines under a category labeled "other."

Sentence Outcome by Sex (Lower Court) Tables 2 and 3 present bivariate and standardized relationships (controlling for original charge, prior record, and criminal status) between sentence outcome at the lower court level and sex of the defendants for rural and urban areas, respectively. Overall, these tables reveal that sentencing

¹⁷ In 1969 section 17 of the California Penal Code was amended to allow certain felony offenses to be processed as misdemeanors. Trial on transcript is quite similar to a plea of guilty in that the disposition of the judge is rarely in doubt (Pope, 1975).

differentials favoring females were more likely to occur in urban than in rural areas. In rural areas (Table 2), the bivariate section shows that males were substantially less likely than females to obtain a probation disposition. Forty-eight percent of rural female defendants were granted probation compared to 35 percent for rural male defendants. No substantial differences were noted between male and female defendants with respect to jail or "other" dispositions. Forty-five percent and 38 percent of male and female defendants, respectively, were sentenced to a jail term.

In the standardized section of Table 2, where original charge at arrest, prior record, and criminal status are statistically controlled, the relationship between sentence outcome and sex remains relatively unchanged. The percentage of male defendants in each category of the standardized section is similar to that reported in the bivariate section. Slight shifts, however, are evident in the case of female defendants. The percentage incarcerated, for example, increased from 38 percent to 41 percent when standardizing for the three legally relevant variables. Correspondingly, the percent of females granted probation decreased from 48 percent to 46 percent. According to our criterion for determining substantial relationships, rural females were no more likely to fare better than the male counterparts, except in the case of probation, where 46 percent of the female

TABLE 2 Lower Court Sentencing Disposition in Rural Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Original Charge, Prior Record, and Status)

Sentence	BIVARIATE		STANDARDIZED	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Jail	45%	38%	45%	41%
Probation	35%	48%	35%	46%
Other	20%	14%	20%	13%
	100% (2,977)	100% (463)	100% (2,953) ^a	100% (457) ^a

^a Column totals do not equal those in original table because of missing cases.

defendants were granted probation compared to 35 percent for the males. With respect to the most severe disposition available, jail, no substantial differences were observed between male and female defendants.

Substantial differences in the sentencing of male and female defendants were noted in both the bivariate and standardized sections of Table 3. As in rural areas, female defendants were substantially more likely to have received probation than were their male counterparts (70 percent versus 50 percent, respectively). This relationship is not significantly altered when charge, priors and status are introduced as control variables. No substantial relationships between sex and jail commitments were noted in rural areas, but substantial differences were apparent for urban areas. In the standardized section of Table 3, for example, 42 percent of the male defendants are institutionalized compared to 31 percent of the female defendants. The only nonsubstantial relationship observed in urban areas is that between sex and "other" dispositions, where both male and female defendants are about equally likely to obtain dispositions other than probation and jail.

TABLE 3 Lower Court Sentencing Disposition in Urban Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Original Charge, Prior Record, and Status)

Sentence	BIVARIATE		STANDARDIZED	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Jail	44%	25%	42%	31%
Probation	50%	70%	51%	64%
Other	6%	5%	6%	4%
	100% (5,002)	100% (873)	100% (4,966)	99% ^a (864) ^b

^a Percentages do not equal 100% because of rounding.
^b Column totals do not equal those in original table because of missing values.

Sentence Outcome by Race (Lower Court) In Tables 4 and 5 an interesting pattern is also shown for those black offenders adjudicated in municipal courts. In rural areas, black defendants were substantially more likely to receive severe dispositions than were whites,

but in urban areas these differences were not substantial. Referring to the bivariate section of Table 4, we note that 60 percent of those black defendants convicted in rural lower courts received a jail sentence, but only 44 percent of the white defendants were institutionalized. Similarly, 37 percent of rural white defendants received probation, but only 26 percent of the black defendants received the same disposition. With regard to "other" dispositions, whites (19 percent) were again favored over blacks (14 percent); however, this difference cannot be considered substantial.

The standardized section of Table 4 reveals findings similar to those observed at the bivariate level. For example, these standardized relationships show that 38 percent of rural white offenders were given probation compared to 26 percent of the blacks—a substantial difference. Further, whereas the percentage of black offenders given a jail term decreased from 60 percent to 56 percent, there still exists a substantial difference of 12 percentage points between the number of black and white offenders sentenced to jail. For those receiving "other" dispositions, however, racial differences virtually disappeared in the standardized table, as blacks and whites were about equally likely to receive a disposition other than probation and jail.

TABLE 4 Lower Court Sentencing Disposition in Rural Areas, by Race: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Original Charge, Prior Record and Status)

Sentence	BIVARIATE		STANDARDIZED	
	White	Black	White	Black
Jail	44%	60%	44%	56%
Probation	37%	26%	38%	26%
Other	19%	14%	19%	18%
	100% (3,245)	100% (108)	101% ^a (3,216) ^b	100% (108)

^a Percentages do not equal 100% because of rounding.
^b Column totals do not equal those in original table because of missing values.

In urban areas (Table 5) 54 percent of those white offenders convicted in municipal court were granted probation compared to 49 percent of the blacks. In terms of jail dispositions, 47 percent of urban black defendants were sentenced to confinement, while 39 percent of urban white defendants received a similar disposition. Little variation by race is noted in the category of "other" dispositions. Thus, bivariate relationships reveal no substantial racial differences with regard to severity of disposition. Those slight differences that do exist are substantially lessened when standardizing for original arrest charge, priors and status. Here, 53 percent of urban white offenders and 54 percent of urban black offenders were granted probation. Similarly, 40 percent and 42 percent of white and black offenders, respectively, were incarcerated.

Our findings suggest that original charge, prior record, and status may partially account for the observed differences between racial groups and sentence outcome in urban lower courts. In rural lower courts, however, blacks receive more severe dispositions irrespective of charge, prior record, and status. Unlike sex and race, the relationship between age and sentence outcome proved negligible in both zero-order and standardized tables. That is, these defendants were about equally likely to receive similar dispositions by municipal courts regardless of age differences.

TABLE 5 Lower Court Sentencing Disposition in Urban Areas, by Race: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Original Charge, Prior Record, and Status)

Sentence	BIVARIATE		STANDARDIZED	
	White	Black	White	Black
Jail	39%	47%	40%	42%
Probation	54%	49%	53%	54%
Other	6%	4%	6%	4%
	99% (4,824)	100% (875)	99% ^a (4,783) ^b	100% (873)

^a Percentages do not equal 100% because of rounding.
^b Column totals do not equal those in original table because of missing cases.

2. Superior Court Sentencing

Having viewed sentence outcome at the lower court level, we now proceed to examine these relationships with respect to superior court processing. It should be re-emphasized that data reported in this section are more comparable to those studies reviewed earlier regarding sentence discrimination, because prior studies have generally focused on superior court data.

A majority of felony defendants entering the criminal justice system in both urban and rural areas eventually find their way to the superior court for disposition. Sixty-two percent of all rural offenders held for disposition were adjudicated by the superior court compared to 53 percent in urban areas (Pope, 1975). These percentages are less, perhaps, than one might expect considering the fact that all charges originated from felony arrests. As noted earlier, however, original arrest charges may be altered and subsequently processed through the lower courts. Of those eventually reaching the superior court, approximately 85 percent of those offenders in both rural and urban areas were convicted. The combined dismissal and acquittal frequency is much higher at superior court than at the lower court (where offenders were more likely to plead guilty to reduced charges or submit their case for trial on transcript). An additional dimension is added in terms of superior court processing—that of possible prison commitment (the most severe sentence outcome).

In those standardized tables presented in this section, only the variable "prior record" was introduced as a test factor. There were not enough black and female defendants in rural areas to allow for the simultaneous introduction of more than one control variable. In order that results would be directly comparable across areas, those tables that were also standardized on prior record are reported for urban areas. Prior record proved to be the singly most important control variable, consistently accounting for most of the variance in sentence outcome. For example, in urban areas, when prior record and original charge were simultaneously controlled, results evidenced little or no difference from the results obtained for those standardized tables in which only prior record was statistically controlled. Further, examination of the separate partial tables for rural areas, in which original charge, prior record, and criminal status were controlled, revealed prior record to be the most substantial determinant of outcome.

Sentence Outcome by Sex (Superior Court) Tables 6 and 7 examine both bivariate and standardized relationships between sentence outcome and sex for both rural and urban areas. In the preceding section we observed a relationship between sex and type of sentence in urban lower courts: females tended to receive less severe dispositions than males (see Table 3). The data for superior court show a similar trend at the bivariate level for both rural and urban areas. In rural areas (Table 6) 34 percent of the females but only 17 percent of the males were accorded probation. Further, the percentage of prison commitments was 19 percent for males compared to 8 percent for females—a substantial difference of 11 percentage points. No differences, however, are noted in the percentage of males and females obtaining "other" dispositions. Similarly, the relationship between jail commitment and sex is not substantial.

TABLE 6 Superior Court Sentencing Disposition in Rural Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)

Sentence	BIVARIATE		STANDARDIZED	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Prison	19%	8%	18%	17%
Jail	50%	43%	50%	44%
Probation	17%	34%	17%	25%
Other	15%	15%	15%	14%
	101% ^a (4,136)	100% (422)	100% (4,130) ^b	100% (420) ^b

^a Percents do not equal 100% because of rounding.
^b Column totals do not equal those in original table because of missing cases.

In urban areas (Table 7), at the bivariate level, females were nearly twice as likely as males to be sentenced to probation (40 percent versus 23 percent) and half as likely as males to be sentenced to a State prison (11 percent versus 21 percent).

Viewing the standardized portions of Tables 6 and 7, we note, generally, that in both areas, differences

between males and females with respect to sentence outcome decrease so sharply when prior record is statistically controlled that none remain substantial. In Table 6 for example, 17 percent of the males and 25 percent of the females were granted probation in rural superior courts. The percentage of females granted probation here decreased by 9 percent over the percent of females accorded probation in the zero-order table (34 percent). Overall, differences between males and females are less than those observed in the bivariate table; in fact, there are now no substantial differences favoring females. In the case of prison dispositions, 18 percent of the male offenders and 17 percent of the females were incarcerated. Apparently, the discrepancy between male and female prison dispositions observed in the bivariate table was largely accounted for by prior record, since the percent of each sex receiving a prison commitment is about equal when prior record is introduced as a test factor. Thus, both male and female rural offenders are equally likely to be sentenced to a State penal institution when prior records of each are similar.

The standardized results for urban offenders presented in Table 7 are similar to those noted above for rural offenders. Again, the differences between male and female defendants noted in the original bivariate table decreased when prior record was introduced as a test

factor. No substantial differences favoring females are now evident. Probation was granted to 24 percent of urban males and 32 percent of urban females. Urban superior courts sentenced 47 percent of male defendants and 40 percent of the females to county jails. In the bivariate table a significant 10 percentage point difference between males and females was noted with respect to prison commitments. In the standardized section, however, no sex differences exist in terms of prison sentences.

Sentence Outcome by Race (Superior Court) In Tables 8 and 9, bivariate and standardized relationships between superior court sentencing disposition and race are presented for both rural and urban areas. For rural areas (Table 8), 19 percent of the white offenders were granted probation compared to 13 percent of the black offenders. Although whites were about equally as likely as blacks to receive a jail term (49 percent versus 47 percent), they were substantially less likely to receive the most severe disposition available—prison commitment (17 percent versus 32 percent). Combining both jail and prison commitments, 66 percent of all white rural offenders adjudicated by the superior court were sentenced to be incarcerated compared to 79 percent of all black offenders—a substantial 13 percent difference.

TABLE 7 Superior Court Sentencing Disposition in Urban Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)

Sentence	BIVARIATE		STANDARDIZED	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Prison	21%	11%	20%	20%
Jail	47%	41%	47%	40%
Probation	23%	40%	24%	32%
Other	10%	7%	10%	8%
	101% ^a (5,204)	100% (583)	101% ^a (5,194) ^b	100% (582) ^b

^a Percents do not equal 100% because of rounding.
^b Column totals do not equal those in original table because of missing cases.

TABLE 8 Superior Court Sentencing Disposition in Rural Areas, by Race: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)

Sentence	BIVARIATE		STANDARDIZED	
	White	Black	White	Black
Prison	17%	32%	17%	28%
Jail	49%	47%	49%	47%
Probation	19%	13%	18%	15%
Other	15%	8%	16%	10%
	100% (4,175)	100% (197)	100% (4,168) ^a	100% (197)

^a Column totals do not equal those in original table because of missing cases.

Whereas urban superior courts sentenced 64 percent of all white offenders to serve time incarcerated, 71 percent of all black offenders received a similar disposition (Table 9). Radical differences in prison sentences for urban areas (five percent) were less than the difference existing in rural areas (15 percent). Twenty-six percent and 18 percent of white and black offenders, respectively, were granted probation by urban superior courts.

TABLE 9 Superior Court Sentencing Disposition in Urban Areas, by Race: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)

Sentence	BIVARIATE		STANDARDIZED	
	White	Black	White	Black
Prison	19%	24%	20%	20%
Jail	45%	47%	45%	49%
Probation	26%	18%	25%	22%
Other	10%	11%	10%	10%
	100% (4,422)	100% (1,225)	100% (4,412) ^b	101% ^a (1,223) ^b

^a Percents do not equal 100% because of rounding.
^b Column totals do not equal those in original table because of missing cases.

Standardizing for prior offense, we find that generally, few differences exist between black and white offenders for both geographic regions (Tables 8 and 9) and that only one is substantial. This occurs for those rural offenders sentenced to prison terms: 17 percent of rural white offenders were sentenced to prison, but 28 percent of rural black offenders received a similar disposition, a substantial difference of 11 percentage points. This, however, represents a change from the bivariate table, where 17 percent of the whites and 32 percent of the blacks received prison sentences. For urban areas there is no apparent difference between black and white offenders with respect to the percent sentenced to prison, as each group was equally likely to receive such a sentence (20 percent) when prior record was introduced as a test factor. Racial differences with

respect to probation, jail, and "other" dispositions are not substantial for both urban and rural areas when prior record is controlled. Whereas 16 percent of the rural whites were accorded an "other" disposition, 10 percent of the blacks were similarly treated.

Our findings for superior courts are essentially similar to those observed for dispositions at the municipal court level (Tables 4 and 5). In the standardized sections of Tables 4 and 5, we noted the absence of racial differences with respect to urban lower court sentencing dispositions but substantial differences in rural courts. Apparently this trend holds for those offenders processed by superior courts as well. For rural offenders processed in municipal courts, variation was noted in the dispositions accorded white and black offenders (Table 4). Blacks, for example, were substantially less likely to obtain probation dispositions than whites and similarly, more likely to be sentenced to jail. Racial differences at the superior court level are also noted for rural areas, where blacks are substantially more likely to be sent to prison.

Sentence Outcome by Age (Superior Court) Tables 10 and 11 depict the bivariate relationship between superior court sentence outcome and age for both rural and urban areas. These tables generally exhibit a mixed pattern with respect to age differences. In Table 10 we

TABLE 10 Superior Court Sentencing Disposition in Rural Areas, by Age (Bivariate)

Sentence	Age				Total
	18-24	25-29	30-39	40+	
Prison	7% (111)	20% (264)	27% (255)	24% (173)	18% (803)
Jail	52% (806)	51% (671)	46% (439)	43% (315)	49% (2,231)
Probation	18% (273)	19% (251)	17% (160)	21% (152)	18% (836)
Other	23% (352)	10% (133)	10% (100)	12% (88)	15% (673)
	1,542 [34%] ^a	1,319 [29%] ^a	954 [21%] ^a	728 [16%] ^a	100% 4,543

^a Figures in brackets refer to the percents in that row falling into the respective columns.

note, for example, that age differences with respect to probation are relatively negligible. Whereas 18 percent of those offenders under 24 years of age were granted probation by rural courts, 21 percent of those over 40 years of age received the same disposition. For all age categories, those in the 18-24 year group were most likely to receive a jail sentence (52 percent) yet least likely to be sent to prison (7 percent). Similar trends are evident for urban areas (Table 11). Again those in the 18-24 year age category were most likely to be sentenced to a jail term (48 percent) yet least likely to receive a prison commitment (8 percent). A strong linear trend is observed for urban prison sentences, where 8 percent of those under 24 were institutionalized compared to 30 percent of those offenders over 40, a substantial difference of 22 percentage points.

For the relationship between age and sentence outcome, the introduction of prior record as a control variable produced little change over those relationships observed in the bivariate tables. In both rural and urban areas, for example, those under 24 were more successful in avoiding prison confinement than their older counterparts, regardless of their prior record.

Initial differences with respect to dispositions accorded felony defendants by sex and race at the superior court level were generally shown to disappear when prior

record was introduced as a control variable. The one exception was for those rural defendants receiving prison dispositions. Here, blacks were substantially more likely than their white counterparts to be sentenced to prison by superior court judges, even when the prior records of each were similar. In contrast to findings at the lower court level, superior court sentences were found to differ with regard to the age of felony defendants. In both urban and rural areas, younger defendants generally received the less severe dispositions.

3. Summary

The following is a synthesis of our major findings with regard to sentence outcome:

1. At both the municipal and superior court levels, bivariate relationships generally showed that female defendants were more likely to receive less severe sentences than were male defendants. This trend was stronger in urban than in rural areas. When we controlled for prior criminal history, however, substantial relationships disappeared for those defendants adjudicated by the superior court. For those defendants handled at the lower court, standardized tables showed females to fare better than their male counterparts.

(a) Urban female offenders sentenced by the lower court were substantially more likely to obtain a probation disposition and, further, more likely to avoid a jail sentence than their male counterparts at both the bivariate and standardized levels. No differences were observed in the percentage of males and females accorded "other" dispositions. Similarly, for rural areas female defendants were substantially more likely than males to receive probation at both levels of analysis. Sex differences for jail and "other" sentences, however, were not substantial at either level. Thus, our findings here suggest that females sentenced at the lower court level generally fare better than males—more so in urban than in rural areas.

(b) For both urban and rural superior courts, in those standardized tables presented, no substantial relationship was found to exist between severity of disposition and sex. With respect to the most severe disposition available, male and female offenders were equally likely to be sentenced to prison.

2. Overall, rural courts tended to sentence blacks more severely than whites at both lower and superior court levels. These differences tended to remain even when control variables were introduced. For urban areas,

TABLE 11 Superior Court Sentencing Disposition in Urban Areas, by Age (Bivariate)

Sentence	Age				Total
	18-24	25-29	30-39	40+	
Prison	8% (145)	21% (356)	28% (352)	30% (287)	20% (1,140)
Jail	48% (919)	47% (782)	44% (551)	43% (411)	46% (2,663)
Probation	28% (533)	24% (394)	22% (282)	22% (213)	25% (1,422)
Other	16% (305)	8% (129)	6% (76)	5% (47)	10% (557)
	1,902 [33%] ^a	1,661 [29%] ^a	1,261 [22%] ^a	958 [17%] ^a	100% 5,782

^a Figures in brackets refer to the percents in that row falling into the respective columns.

however, sentence differentials between white and black offenders were negligible at both levels of analysis.

(a) In both urban and rural lower courts, the bivariate tables revealed that black offenders generally received more severe sentences than white offenders, but only the rural difference met our criteria of substantiality. After we standardized for initial charge at arrest, prior record, and criminal status, these differences disappeared in urban areas, but remained relatively unchanged in rural areas. Blacks sentenced by rural courts, for example, were substantially more likely to be confined and less likely to obtain a probation disposition.

(b) With regard to superior court sentences, bivariate tables again showed whites to be favored over blacks in rural areas, but no substantial differences existed in urban areas. When "prior record" was statistically controlled, the small urban difference between the percentage of white and black offenders sentenced to prison disappeared. In rural areas, however, blacks were still found to be disproportionately sentenced to prison.

3. Age trends were similar across both urban and rural jurisdictions, but differences were noted in both lower and superior courts.

(a) Age played a minor role at the lower court level, as few differences in sentence outcomes were observed across age categories.

(b) At the superior court level, younger offenders tended to fare better than their older counterparts: they were more likely to obtain less severe sentences, especially with respect to prison dispositions. This relationship was substantial and remained even when we controlled for prior criminal history.

Sentence Length as a Measure of Severity

Having examined sentence type in relation to the independent and control variable, we now turn our attention to severity of disposition as measured by the length of time sentenced to either probation or confinement. Variations in sentencing dispositions are evident across geographic regions, but such differences may or may not exist with respect to sentence length. In the previous monograph, for example, we observed that probation was a more likely alternative in urban than in rural lower courts, but urban probationers were sentenced to considerably longer periods of time under supervision (Pope, 1975). Similarly, with respect to

length of jail confinement, offenders adjudicated in rural courts were sentenced to serve less time than their urban counterparts (Pope, 1975).

The following tables present the joint relationship between length of jail and probation terms and the variables of sex and race. No substantial differences were noted across age categories; hence, these tables were omitted altogether. Again, case attenuation precluded the introduction of simultaneous control variables; therefore, prior record was selected as a single control variable in those standardized tables reported below. We have noted earlier that prior record proved to be the single most important control variable.

1. Length of Confinement (Jail Sentence)

Table 12 presents both bivariate and standardized relationships between length of sentence at the lower court level and the defendant's sex for rural areas. The bivariate section of Table 12 shows that rural female defendants received shorter sentences than their male counterparts. Eighty-four percent of rural females adjudicated by the lower court were sentenced to 60 days or less in confinement compared to 74 percent of the males. For urban areas the corresponding figures were 63 percent and 56 percent for females and males respectively (table not presented). When prior record was introduced as a test factor, the percentage differences

TABLE 12 Length of Confinement (Lower Court) in Rural Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)

Length of confinement	BIVARIATE		STANDARDIZED	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
60 days or less	74%	84%	74%	77%
61 to 180 days	17%	10%	17%	13%
More than 180 days	9%	6%	8%	9%
	100% (1371)	100% (175)	99% ^a (1362) ^b	99% ^a (172) ^b

^a Percents do not equal 100% because of rounding.
^b Figures do not equal those in original table because of missing cases.

between rural male and female defendants virtually disappeared. In the standardized section of Table 12, females (77 percent) and males (74 percent) were about equally likely to be sentenced to 60 days or less.

At the superior court level, the bivariate sections of Tables 13 and 14 reveal that, for both rural and urban areas, males were substantially more likely than females to be sentenced to longer confinement terms. These differences remained even after prior record had been employed as a test factor. In Table 13, for example, the standardized results for rural areas show that 44 percent of the males were sentenced to more than 180 days compared to 34 percent of the females. In urban areas

TABLE 13 Length of Confinement (Superior Court) in Rural Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)

Length of confinement	BIVARIATE		STANDARDIZED	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
60 days or less	27%	38%	27%	34%
61 to 180 days	29%	37%	29%	32%
More than 180 days	45%	26%	44%	34%
	101% ^a (2055)	101% ^a (183)	100% ^b (2050) ^b	100% ^b (183)

^a Percents do not equal 100% because of rounding.
^b Column totals do not equal those in original tables because of missing cases.

(Table 14), males (54 percent) were substantially more likely than females (37 percent) to be sentenced to more than 180 days in confinement. Apparently, females are treated more severely with regard to sentence length by the superior court than by municipal courts.

For race, the data revealed no substantial differences between black and white defendants and sentence length dispensed by lower court judges. That is, for both rural and urban areas, black and white defendants were equally likely to receive the same sentence lengths from lower courts. Earlier, it was observed that rural blacks were substantially more likely than rural whites to be sentenced to a jail term by municipal court judges. It

may well be the case that rural municipal courts readjust this overrepresentation in jail dispositions for blacks by treating them equally with respect to sentence lengths. The data, however, do not permit us to resolve this discrepancy.

TABLE 14 Length of Confinement (Superior Court) in Urban Areas, by Sex: Bivariate and Standardized Relationships (by Prior Record)

Length of confinement	BIVARIATE		STANDARDIZED	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
60 days or less	19%	27%	19%	23%
61 to 180 days	26%	36%	27%	40%
More than 180 days	55%	36%	54%	37%
	100% (2544)	99% ^a (250)	101% ^a (2539)	100% ^b (200) ^b

^a Percents do not equal 100% because of rounding.
^b Column totals do not equal those in original tables because of missing cases.

Similar to those findings noted above for municipal courts, racial differences with respect to sentence lengths imposed by superior court judges are not evident for either rural or urban areas. Although the bivariate relationship between race and sentence length for urban areas revealed blacks to be substantially more likely to be sentenced to more than 180 days in confinement, this relationship disappeared when prior record was introduced as a test factor. For both urban and rural areas, black and white defendants were equally likely to be sentenced to jail terms of 60 days or less.

2. Probation

Whereas probation is generally considered to be a less severe disposition than incarceration, it nonetheless imposes restrictions on an individual's freedom: he must observe certain requirements and periodically report to a probation officer. Here, we assess the severity of that disposition by considering the length of time one is

sentenced to remain under State supervision.¹⁸ Overall, the data revealed no substantial difference between probation length and the sex or race of those defendants sentenced by either lower or superior court judges. Both bivariate and standardized tables, with prior record introduced as a test factor, showed that male and female defendants were equally likely to be sentenced to the same length of time under probation supervision. Similarly, black defendants were no more likely than their white counterparts to be sentenced to more than 3 years on probation even when the prior record of each was statistically controlled. This trend maintained for urban and rural defendants at both the lower and superior court levels.

3. Summary

Aside from type of sentence, the length of time that offenders were sentenced to either jail or probation was examined. We found, generally, that for urban and rural lower courts, no substantial differences existed between male and female defendants with regard to length of time sentenced to incarceration once prior record was controlled. At the superior court level, however, females were frequently sentenced to serve less time than their male counterparts even when prior record was controlled. Differences were more pronounced in urban than in rural superior courts.

No racial differences in sentence lengths were evident for either urban or rural areas at the lower or superior court level. It will be recalled that sentence length refers only to jail time and does not reflect prison commitments, as these data were not reported. Further, sentence length reflects that period of time an offender is sentenced to serve and not the amount of time he actually serves. Parole boards, for example, may drastically alter the amount of time an offender spends in custody. Similarly, sentences may be reduced by credit for good behavior. Sentence alterations, however, are more likely to affect those offenders confined in State prisons than those serving time in county jails.

With regard to the amount of time offenders received under probation supervision, no differences between male and female defendants were observed for

¹⁸ Under length of probation are included all those offenders originally sentenced to probation. This includes those given a straight probation term, probation plus jail confinement and probation and fine.

either urban or rural areas. This trend held for both lower and superior courts. Similarly, racial differences in probation lengths were not substantial. For urban and rural areas, black and white defendants were equally likely to receive the same probation terms at both lower and superior court levels.

Conclusion

Prior studies examining sentence disparity have generally focused on felony defendants convicted by either superior or federal district courts. Scant attention has been given to possible sentencing differentials occurring at the municipal court level. Further, aside from studies of juvenile offenders (Arnold, 1971; Terry, 1967; Thornberry, 1973), most research efforts have relied almost exclusively on sentence length imposed by the trial judge as a measure of differential sentencing practices. In the present investigation, we have tried to correct for these shortcomings by examining sentencing practices at both the lower and superior courts and by analyzing both type of sentence and length of time sentenced to incarceration or probation as indicators of sentence severity.

It should, however, be emphasized that the findings presented herein are indicative of general patterns in the data for which further detailed research is indicated. As additional offender-based transaction data elements are included, and data become available for more geographic regions, a more refined analysis of the sentencing process and variations may be undertaken. At present, much valuable information such as pre-trial detention status or type of counsel are unavailable. Thus, the implications to be drawn from this preliminary investigation are restricted, as those factors and others are likely to influence the sentencing decisions. Nonetheless, our initial attempt at analyzing these data has provided insight with regard to urban/rural variations in sentencing and the interrelationships among selected variables and sentence outcome. Hence, we believe that the California transaction data examined herein constitute a basic improvement for the criminal justice system. Not only do these data provide a more accurate picture of system processing, diversion, and similar concerns than do summary data, but they also facilitate more detailed and specific analysis of important issues such as sentencing differences. Only a data base organized on counts of individual entities or persons and their

characteristics can support the forms of analysis necessary for addressing the complexities of modern crime control systems.

In the third and final monograph in this series, two specific offenses are selected for more intensive analysis. It is quite possible that by combining offenses into

generic categories (e.g., violent, property, drug and other), we may have masked relationships that might be evident when focusing on distinct offenses. Hence, sentence outcome is examined for both assault and burglary offenders with respect to their age, race, sex and previous criminal histories.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arnold, William R.
1971 "Race and Ethnicity Relative to Other Factors in Juvenile Court Dispositions." *American Journal of Sociology*, 2:211-227.
- Bullock, Henry A.
1961 "Significance of the Racial Factor in the Length of Prison Sentence." *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 52:411-417.
- Chambliss, William J. and Robert B. Seidman
1971 *Law, Order and Power*. Menlo Park, California: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Bensing, Robert C. and Oliver Schroeder
1960 *Homicide in an Urban Community*. Charles C. Thomas.
- Blalock, Hubert M. Jr.
1972 *Social Statistics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Chiricos, Theodore G. *et. al.*
1972 *Race, Crime and Sentence Length*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. New Orleans, Louisiana.
- Cicourel, Aaron V.
1968 *The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice*. New York: John Wiley.
- Cohen, Lawrence E.
1974 *Conferring the Delinquent Label: The Relative Importance of Social Characteristics and Legal Factors in the Processing of Juvenile Offenders*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University Microfilms. Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Emerson, Robert M.
1969 *Judging Delinquents: Context and Process in the Juvenile Court*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Garfinkel, Harold
1949 "Research Note on Inter- and Intra-Racial Homicides." *Social Forces*, 27:369-381.
- Green, Edward
1964 "Inter- and Intra-Racial Crime Relative to Sentencing." *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 55:348-358.
- Green, Edward
1961 *Judicial Attributes in Sentencing*. Macmillan Press.
- Hindelang, Michael J.
1969 "Equality Under the Law." *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 60:306-313.
- Hirschi, Travis and Hanan C. Selvin
1967 *Delinquency Research: An Appraisal of Analytic Methods*. New York: The Free Press.
- Johnson, Guy
1941 "The Negro and Crime." *American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 271:93-104.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F.
1955 "Interpretation of Statistical Relations as a Research Operation." In Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, *The Language of Social Research*. New York: The Free Press.
- Newman, Donald
1966 *Conviction: The Determination of Guilt or Innocence without Trial*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Pope, Carl E.
1975 *Offender-Based Transaction Statistics: New Directions in Data Collection and Reporting*. Research Report No. 6, Utilization of Criminal Justice Statistics Project, Criminal Justice Research Center, Latham, New York.
- Quinney, Richard
1970 *The Social Reality of Crime*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Rau, Richard M.
1972 *Sentencing in the Federal District Courts*. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Rosenberg, Morris
1970 "Test Factor Standardization as a Method of Interpretation." In Dennis P. Forcese and Stephen Richer (eds.) *Stages of Social Research*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Schrag, Clarence
1971 *Crime and Justice: American Style*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Terry, Robert M.
1967 "The Screening of Juvenile Offenders." *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 58:173-181.
- Thornberry, Terrence P.
1973 "Race, Socioeconomic Status and Sentencing in the Juvenile Justice System." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 64:90-98.

Vaz, Edmund W.
1971 "Explorations in the Institutionalization
of Juvenile Delinquency." *The Journal of
Criminal Law, Criminology and Police
Science*, 62:396-405.

Vines and Jacobs
1963 "Studies in Judicial Politics." *Tulane
Studies in Political Science*.

Zeisel, Hans
1968 *Say It With Figures*. New York: Harper
and Row.