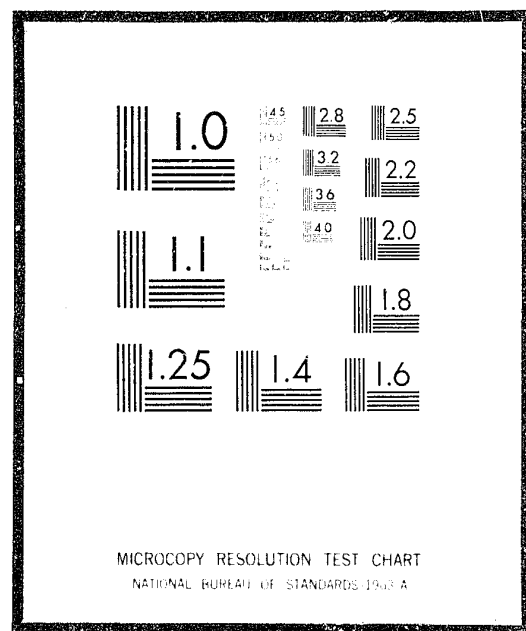


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RESEARCH REPORT NO. 47

RECIDIVISM AMONG WOMEN PAROLEES: A LONG TERM SURVEY

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Department of Corrections
State of California
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FOREWORD

FROM THE
CALIFORNIA WOMEN'S BOARD
OF TERMS AND PAROLE

The Women's Board of Terms and Parole has studied this report on recidivism among California's women parolees and has requested the CDC Research Division for a continuing study with yearly reports in order to evaluate the effects of new correctional policies on parole outcome.

These new policies and programs include revisions in the rules for parolees, the establishment of work furlough programs, methadone centers for narcotics offenders, new institutional vocational and educational programs, and innovations in the handling and disposition of individual problems of inmates and parolees.

Mrs. Eleanor W. Hiller, Chairman
Mr. Addison H. Fording, Vice Chairman
Mrs. Lucile C. Hosmer
Mr. Joseph E. Regan
Miss Kay Riddle

May 15, 1972

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The role of the woman offender in the total world of crime is a minor one. Compared to male offenders, she is relatively rare as a suspect, tractable as a prisoner, and non-threatening to society as a parolee.

Nationwide, only about ten percent of those arrested and five percent of those incarcerated are women (11, 12). In California, women account for only four percent of the State prisoners and ten percent of the parolees.

A partial explanation of the wide sex difference in crime rates may be found in the relative leniency afforded women by the criminal justice system. Women are less likely to be arrested than men; once arrested, they are less likely to be convicted, and when incarcerated they serve less time (11). Some writers attribute this leniency to a hypothesized "chivalry factor," which renders the public and law enforcement personnel unwilling to hold women accountable for their actions (8). A related speculation involves appropriate feminine roles as defined by our society. The role of a woman and the role of a convict, as stereotyped in our culture, are essentially incompatible and difficult conceptually to integrate. This difficulty may create inhibitions in perceiving and labeling a woman as a criminal and in prosecuting her with the same punitive vigor applied to male offenders. The modern correctional treatment of women has roots in the traditions of nineteenth century prison reform where the errant woman was regarded as pathetic rather than dangerous, and the approach was protective rather than punitive (6).

In any case, the greater leniency toward women demonstrates that crime rates vary in accordance with official reactions to the offender and provides an illustration of the thesis of those who hold that deviance is as much a product of social reaction to behavior as the behavior itself (1, 2, 5).

Even allowing for administrative bias, women still commit far fewer offenses than men, and those they do commit are likely to pose less of a threat to society. In California, the rate of new prison commitments per 100,000 population in 1968 was 17 times higher for men than it was for women, and the higher rates hold true in each offense category. Among crimes of violence, the rate for men was seven times higher for homicide, 19 times higher for assault, and 38 times higher for robbery.

Sutherland and Cressey (11) trace the sex differences in criminal behavior to differences in social position which determine the frequency of opportunity for becoming exposed to patterns of delinquency and engaging in criminal activity. Girls are protected and supervised more carefully and taught they must be "nice," while boys are given more latitude and taught they must be "rough and tough." Delinquent behavior can be more easily integrated into the masculine than feminine role. These authors strengthen their argument by pointing out that the greatest sex differences in crime rates are found in countries where women are the most closely supervised and suggest that these differences may disappear with the disappearance of differences in social position. In the United States, sex differences in juvenile crime rates have shown a marked decrease during the last 30 years.

In California, characteristic differences between men and women prisoners are consistent with the Sutherland-Cressey hypothesis. Women prisoners are older and more highly educated, indicating delayed development of criminal involvement. The degree of criminal involvement is less among women as shown by their less extensive prior prison commitment record. Interestingly, the percentage of Mexican-Americans among women prisoners is less than half the percentage among men prisoners, which is not true of other ethnic groups. Traditionally, Mexican-American women have been more carefully supervised than White and Black women in the United States.

Women can thus be characterized as less prone to commit crimes in the first place; and when they do become offenders, they are much less given to violence than are men. As prisoners, they display a marked absence of rioting, homicide, and other varieties of violent behavior not unknown in prisons for men; and as parolees they constitute less danger to society.

The comparatively low crime rate among women may be viewed as a product of the interaction of the behavior of the women offender and the behavior of the criminal justice system. The woman offender is less criminally aggressive than the male; and the response of the justice system is more lenient toward her, even when her offenses are comparable to those of the male offender.

Because their small numbers and tractability generate only a negligible fraction of the total problem of crime and corrections with which society and its agencies must cope, the woman offender has been largely overlooked (8). The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice does not mention women in its comprehensive reports on crime in the United States. Criminological research has been almost exclusively devoted to the study of male offenders. The scattered literature available about women offenders is largely confined to reports on the incidence of offenses, occasional descriptions of correctional programs, and biographical accounts of women offenders themselves. Two studies have described the inmate social structure in women's prisons (3, 13).

In California, the Research Division of the Department of Corrections provides an annual statistical accounting of the movement of women, as well as men, through the correctional system, including demographic information about each group. However, the Department's Annual Research Review describing some 80 projects and 44 published reports lists only three studies other than the present one, devoted exclusively to women offenders (4, 7, 10). Two studies of California's women prisoners were published by non-CDC agencies, one concerning the children of women prisoners (14) and the other describing sociological aspects of the women's prison community (13).

Although a minority, California's approximately 700 women prisoners and 1,000 parolees represent an ongoing problem which results in a considerable expense to the State and about which there is no body of organized knowledge. In comparison either to their numbers or to the resources expended upon them, women are grossly under-represented as the subjects of research projects. As a beginning of filling this information gap, parole outcome among California women was chosen for this study. As an indication of the end result of the correctional process, parole outcome is one measure of the effectiveness of the correctional system in reaching its stated goals of the rehabilitation and successful return of the offender to society.

If the crime rate among women is partly a function of the response of the criminal justice system to the woman offender, then parole outcome - return or non-return to prison - is partly a function of agency response to the parolee. Consequently, parole outcome was studied as a product of the interaction of the behavior of the agency as reflected in its decisions about the woman offender and the behavior of the offender as defined by specified sets of characteristics. Examined in some detail were parolee characteristics in relation to correctional costs as reflected in the number, kind, and frequency of returns to prison and time served in prison and on parole. To add perspective, the recidivism rates of California's women parolees were compared to those of women in other jurisdictions and to the return rates of California's men parolees.

CHAPTER 2
SAMPLE DESCRIPTION AND REPRESENTATIVENESS

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In this survey of parole outcome among women offenders in California, the subjects chosen for study were 660 women released for the first time^{1/} from the California Institution for Women (CIW) in 1960 and 1961. The period studied averaged eight years and three months per subject.

Sources of information include data routinely collected by the Research Division of the California Department of Corrections, case summary files of inmates at the California Institution for Women, and the Uniform Parole Reports of the National Probation and Parole Institute.

Described in general terms, the study subjects were two-thirds White, and their ages tended toward the early 30's. They scored as low-normal on the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Test and at the junior high school level on the California Achievement Test. Most had been convicted of insufficient-funds check and forgery charges or narcotics offenses (Table 1). Approximately two-thirds had served jail on prison terms before entering CIW, and one-third reported heroin use. Within the period up to eight years after release, 40 percent had been returned to prison at least once. Significant variations in these characteristics were found among the various offense types and different ethnic groups.

TABLE 1
OFFENSE GROUP COMPARISON OF
WOMEN RELEASED FOR THE FIRST TIME
IN 1960-1961 AND 1962-1964*

Offense	Study Group 1960-1961 N=660 Percent	Women Released in 1962-1963-1964 N=937 Percent
Homicide	7.0	8.6
Assault	4.1	3.7
Robbery	7.1	5.3
Burglary	5.3	5.7
Theft	12.6	12.9
Forgery & Checks	39.1	38.5
Narcotics	21.6	16.8
All Other	3.2	8.5
Total	100.0	100.0

* The difference between the study group and women released from 1962 to 1964 is significant beyond the one percent level of confidence.

^{1/} It is possible that some women in this group had served a prior term at CIW and had been returned with the present commitment after discharge. They would be expected to represent not more than five percent of the total.

Ethnic Classification

Approximately two-thirds of the study group were White and one-fourth Black, with the remainder divided approximately equally between Mexican-American and those of other racial origin (Table 2).

TABLE 2

ETHNIC COMPOSITION COMPARISON OF STUDY GROUP AND WOMEN RELEASED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 1962-1963 AND 1964*

Ethnic Group	Study Group N=660 Percent	Women Released in 1962-1964 N=937 Percent
White	65.3	70.3
Black	27.1	23.3
Mexican-American	3.5	4.2
Other	4.1	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0

* The difference in ethnic composition of the two groups of releases is significant at the five percent level of confidence.

Age

The average age of the study group was 34 at time of release. Youngest were those convicted of robbery, 26 years for second degree robbery and 29 for first degree. Oldest were the murderers, 46 for second degree and 54 for first degree. Other types of offenders ranged in average age from 31 to 38 (Table 3). The median of the CIW population is apparently rather stable. From 1945 to 1966, median age as of December 31 of each year fluctuated within the limits of 30.2 and 33.7.

TABLE 3

AGE AT FIRST RELEASE OF STUDY GROUP BY OFFENSE TYPE

Offense	Number	Average Age
Murder 1st	5	54
Murder 2nd	7	46
Manslaughter	34	38
Assault	27	36
Theft	83	38
Forgery & Checks	258	33
Narcotics	143	32
Burglary	35	31
Robbery 1st	26	29
Robbery 2nd	21	26
All Other	21	35
Total	660	34

Intelligence Test Scores

Intelligence test scores, derived from routine, individual testing of new arrivals at the institution with an abbreviated form of the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Test, were available for 650 of the 660 subjects in the study group. Scores of most of the women, 81 percent, fell within normal limits (80 to 119) as expected from the distribution in the non-institutionalized population. However, 56 percent more of the CIW scores fell in the low-normal range (80 to 89) than would be expected. Also, higher than the expectation was the number of scores in the defective category, while fewer were found in the superior bracket.

Several factors may be operating to lower the test scores of these women: inexperience with tests of this nature, tensions of the newly incarcerated which could depress performance, and cultural bias in certain verbal areas of the scale which assume exposure to middle-class learning and social situations. The Wechsler-Bellevue was standardized on non-incarcerated Whites, largely from middle-class occupational groupings. Consequently, atypical groups, such as CIW inmates, may be at a disadvantage when responding to this test.

Cultural bias is indicated in that CIW women typically score higher on performance items of the test which presuppose a minimum of exposure to academic and social-learning situations and in that minority groups show significantly lower scores than do Whites. Total group scores and ethnic differences are shown in Table 4, which presents the scores by average (90 to 109), above average, and below average categories.

TABLE 4
WECHSLER-BELLEVUE INTELLIGENCE SCALE SCORES
OF STUDY GROUP BY RACE

Race	Number Tested	Percent Below Average	Percent Average	Percent Above Average	Total
		Test Score 89 & Under	Test Score 90-109	Test Score 110 & Over	
White	428	25.2	54.7	20.1	100.0
Black	176	73.3	25.6	1.1	100.0
Mexican-American	21	71.4	28.6	0.0	100.0
Other	25	44.0	44.0	12.0	100.0
*Total	650	40.3	45.7	14.0	100.0

* Test scores for ten subjects not available.

TABLE 5
INTELLIGENCE TEST SCORES
OF STUDY GROUP BY OFFENSE

Offense	Number Tested	Percent Below Average	Percent Average	Percent Above Average	Total
		I.Q. Score 89 & Under	I.Q. Score 90-110	I.Q. Score 111 & Over	
Homicide	45	64.5	22.2	13.3	100.0
Robbery	46	43.5	45.6	10.9	100.0
Assault	27	63.0	33.3	3.7	100.0
Burglary	35	45.7	45.7	8.6	100.0
Theft	80	45.0	36.2	18.8	100.0
Forgery & Checks	254	28.0	54.7	17.3	100.0
Narcotics	143	45.5	45.5	9.0	100.0
Other	20	40.0	40.0	20.0	100.0
*Total	650	40.3	45.7	14.0	100.0

* Test scores for ten subjects not available.

Among offense types (Table 5, page 8) forgers, checkwriters, and those convicted of theft most closely approach the non-institutionalized population in intelligence test scores. Their comparatively high scores may be related to the fact that checkwriting, forgery and embezzlement, which is included in theft offenses, are of the white-collar variety, confined to the literate, frequently involving arithmetic, bookkeeping and other technical skills more likely to be learned by those whose backgrounds enable them to achieve higher scores on intelligence tests. The lowest scorers were those convicted of homicide and assault, suggesting that women committed to prison for these offenses are more likely to be drawn from socio-economic groups whose educational opportunities and exposure to middle-class cultural experience is restricted.

Educational Achievement

Measured by the California Achievement Test; almost one-half of the 577 subjects for whom test data were available scored at the junior high school level; one-third at the tenth grade or higher and approximately one-fifth in the elementary grades. Educational achievement by offense and ethnic group followed the same pattern as with intelligence test scores (Tables 6 and 7), reflecting again differences in opportunities available to various socio-economic groups.

TABLE 6
CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES
OF STUDY GROUP BY OFFENSE

Offense	Number Tested	Percent Elementary Grades 2.5-6.4	Percent Junior High Grades 6.5-9.4	Percent Senior High Grades 9.5 & Up	Total
Homicide	36	44.5	47.2	8.3	100.0
Robbery	39	20.5	48.7	30.8	100.0
Assault	22	50.0	40.9	9.1	100.0
Burglary	33	24.2	54.6	21.2	100.0
Theft	66	28.8	50.9	30.3	100.0
Forgery & Checks	237	12.2	48.1	39.7	100.0
Narcotics	131	23.7	51.9	24.4	100.0
Other	13	30.8	30.8	38.4	100.0
Total	577*	21.9	47.8	30.3	100.0

* Test data not available for 83 or 12.6 percent of total group of the subjects.

TABLE 7

CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORE DISTRIBUTION
OF STUDY GROUP BY RACE

Ethnic Group	Number Tested	Percent			Total
		Elementary Grades 2.5-6.4	Junior High Grades 6.5-9.4	Senior High Grades 9.5 & Up	
White	380	15.0	45.8	39.2	100.0
Black	157	39.5	51.0	9.5	100.0
Mexican-American	19	26.3	57.9	15.8	100.0
Other	21	9.5	52.4	38.1	100.0
Total	577*	21.9	47.8	30.3	100.0

* Data not available for 83 subjects or 12.6 percent of total group of the subjects.

Prior Commitment Record

Analyses by the CDC Research Division have identified three kinds of pre-prison commitment records which are associated with differences in frequency of returns to prison. Fewest returns are made by offenders with no prior incarceration before entering California penal institutions. More frequent returns are made by offenders who have served not more than two jail or juvenile terms or only one prison term with no other incarceration. Returned with greatest frequency are offenders who have served two or more prison terms, one prison term with at least one jail term, or three or more terms for misdemeanors or as juveniles.

This classification system is used in this study, and the three types of records are referred to as "no prior commitments," "low prior commitments," and "high prior commitments."

Slightly more than one-third of the study subjects had no prior incarceration; approximately 40 percent had a low prior commitment record, while 25 percent had a high prior commitment record (Table 8).

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDY AND COMPARISON GROUPS BY RACE
AND PRIOR CRIMINAL COMMITMENTS SERVED

Prior Commitments*	Study Subjects					Women Released 1962-1964
	White N=431	Black N=179	Mexican-American N=23	Other N=27	Total N=660	Total N=937
None	39.7	26.3	34.8	44.5	36.1	40.7**
Low	44.5	28.5	30.4	37.0	39.4	37.2
High	15.8	45.2	34.8	18.5	24.5	22.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Low Commitments - one prison only or not more than two jail or juvenile terms.

High Commitments- more than two jail or juvenile commitments, one prison term plus at least one jail term, or more than one prison term.

** The difference between the study group and women released in 1962-1964 in frequency of no-prior-commitment record is significant at the five percent confidence level.

Almost three times as many Black women showed a high prior commitment record as did the Whites. The difference lies exclusively in the greater number of misdemeanor and juvenile commitments for the Black women. The two groups did not differ in frequency of prior prison terms. The category of other minority groups showed the smallest frequency of prior prison terms, but because of the small number of cases in this category this finding may not be too dependable.

Narcotics History

Approximately one-third of the study subjects had a recorded history of heroin use or, occasionally, other opiates. A few subjects, two percent, reported marijuana or illegal use of other drugs only. Almost half of the Blacks compared to one-fourth of the Whites reported an experience with heroin (Table 9).

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDY AND COMPARISON GROUPS BY RACE
AND HISTORY OF NARCOTICS USE

Narcotics History	Study Subjects					Women Released 1962-1964
	White N=431	Black N=179	Mexican- American N=23	Other N=27	Total N=660	N=937
No Narcotics	72.4	50.9	52.2	55.6	65.1	73.3
Marijuana & Drugs Only	2.6	2.2	0.0	0.0	2.3	3.6
Heroin & Opiates	25.0*	46.9	47.8	44.4	32.6**	23.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Difference between White and other ethnic groups in heroin use is significant beyond the one percent confidence level.

** Difference between study subjects and women released in 1962-1964 is significant beyond the one percent confidence level.

Returns to Prison

Within an average of eight years since their first release from CIW in 1960 and 1961, 40 percent of the study group had returned to prison at least once. Proportions varied significantly among ethnic groups, with 50 percent returned among Blacks and 35 percent among Whites (Table 10).

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN STUDY GROUP RETURNED
TO PRISON BY RACE

Race	Number	Percent Returned*
White	431	35.3
Black	179	50.3
Mexican-American	23	47.8
Other	27	33.3
Total	660	39.7

* Differences in return rates among ethnic groups are significant beyond the one percent confidence level.

Representativeness of Sample

If the findings of this survey are to be relevant to current problems, the study subjects should be similar to those released in later years. It is assumed that the study subjects are a sample from a population of parolees released over time and are fairly representative of California's women parolees in general. To examine the reasonableness of this assumption, characteristics of the study group were compared to those of a comparison group of 937 women released from CIW for the first time during 1962, 1963 and 1964. Characteristics compared included offense type, narcotics use, ethnic composition, intelligence test scores, prior commitment record and returns to prison.

The differences found were related to changes in ethnic composition and to the opening in 1961 of the California Rehabilitation Center for narcotics addicts.

Whites increased from 65 percent in the study group to 70 percent in the comparison group, a statistically significant difference (Table 2). While a function of many factors, the ethnic composition of the parolee groups rests ultimately upon the ethnic composition of women newly received from court. From 1961 to 1968, the White percentage received each year at CIW fluctuated unpredictably with a low of 61 percent and a high of 77 percent (Table 11). Whatever factors may be involved, the figures do indicate that the ethnic composition of parolee groups may be expected to change over time.

TABLE 11

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF WOMEN
NEWLY RECEIVED FROM COURT
1961 TO 1968

Year	Number	Ethnic Composition			
		White	Black	Mexican- American	Other
1961	372	77.2	19.6	1.6	1.6
1962	285	68.2	24.5	4.9	2.4
1963	259	64.9	25.1	6.9	3.1
1964	324	60.8	32.1	5.2	1.9
1965	378	62.2	30.1	5.6	2.1
1966	356	57.9	31.2	8.4	2.5
1967	272	66.2	25.0	7.4	1.4
1968	282	66.3	28.1	3.9	1.7

Among the study subjects, ethnic differences were found in intelligence test scores, prior commitment record, and returns to prison. If the study group is a representative sample, one would expect that changes in ethnic composition of subsequently released parolee groups would be accompanied by systematic changes in these three characteristics. As expected, the women released from 1962 through 1964 with a significantly higher percentage of Whites, show higher intelligence test scores, fewer returns to prison and a higher percentage of women without a prior commitment record. The differences in intelligence test scores and in prior record are both statistically significant (Tables 8 and 12).

TABLE 12

WECHSLER-BELLEVUE INTELLIGENCE SCALE SCORE
COMPARISON OF STUDY GROUP AND WOMEN RELEASED
IN 1962, 1963, 1964*

Paroles Group	Number Tested**	Percent Below Average	Percent Average	Percent Above Average	Total
		Test Score 89 & Under	Test Score 90-109	Test Score 110 & Over	
Study Group	650	40.3	45.7	14.0	100.0
1962-1964 Parolees	925	34.1	48.5	17.4	100.0

* Differences between groups are statistically significant (Chi-Square = 7.55; P = (5%).

** Test data unavailable for ten in study group and twelve in 1962-1964 parolee group.

Returns to prison decreased by ten percent in the comparison group, but this difference does not reach statistical significance. Return-to-prison rates for the two groups are not strictly comparable because time since first release averaged roughly three years longer for the study group. However all subjects had been released for the first time at least five years before the count was taken.

Comparative educational test data are not readily available, but it seems reasonable to assume that educational level, which is correlated with intelligence test scores, would vary from group to group as a function of ethnic composition.

Both narcotics use and narcotics offenses showed significant decreases among the women released from 1962 through 1964, reflecting the channeling of narcotics addicts to the newly opened California Rehabilitation Center (Tables

1 and 9). Differences between the study and comparison group in other kinds of offenses were negligible.

These comparisons give no reason to reject the assumption that the study subjects form a sample from a population of parolees over time and are fairly representative of other groups of parolees. The data show, however, that shifts in ethnic composition effect changes in total group characteristics and may affect parole outcome as well. Generalizations about sub-groups may be more stable than about total groups of parolees.

If the assumption of a reasonable degree of representativeness is correct, the eight-year parole careers of the study group should provide a basis for predicting the parole careers of currently released parolees, barring substantial changes in parole policies. In the following chapters, the eight-year parole outcomes of the study subjects will be described with regard to frequency and kinds of prison returns, characteristics of successful and unsuccessful parolees, and the relationship of these characteristics to the decision-making functions of the correctional agency.

As an approach to the study of recidivism among California's women offenders, this chapter presents a general picture of parole outcome in terms of the status of the women eight years after release and intervening events: discharges, frequency of returns to prison, and time spent on parole and in custody with its attendant costs.

Immediately emerging from these analyses is the special problem of repeated returns of a comparatively small number of women. Because they incur a disproportionately large share of the prison and parole costs, these multiple returnees were compared to other offenders in regard to original time served, time on first parole before return, and probability of reincarceration after succeeding returns. Differences found indicate that these parolees were seen comparatively early in their prison careers as a special problem group and pose the question of whether they were identified on the basis of differentiating characteristics.

Status of Subjects

Eight years after their first release from prison, approximately thirty percent of the 660 study subjects were still under CDC jurisdiction -- 20 percent on parole and ten percent again in prison. Slightly more than half had been discharged without serious parole incident, while another 13 percent received discharges after having been returned to prison. Three percent were deceased (Table 13).

In general, those who had uneventful parole periods received discharges. Only three percent of those who had not been returned to prison were still under parole jurisdiction, and half of those were homicide cases.

Of the 124 women still under parole jurisdiction, 49, or 40 percent, were at large at the end of the period studied. The length of time at large ranged from one month to nine years, with an average of two years and nine months. One-third of those at large had been missing for less than one year, one-third from one to four years, and one-third for more than four years. Thirty-six of the 49 parole absconders had been returned to prison at least once. The other 13 disappeared on their first parole and had been at large for an average of five years.

Among the 21 deceased, 12 had a history of narcotics use. The average age at death for the 12 addicts was 35 years, and for the non-addicts, 50.

In subsequent analyses of parole careers, the deceased and the 13 who absconded on their first parole without returning to prison have been deleted from the sample, leaving a total number of 626 who can be classified as to number of returns over a comparable period of time. The 13 parole absconders are atypical because most of the time since their release they have not been under parole supervision.

TABLE 13

STATUS OF STUDY GROUP
EIGHT YEARS AFTER RELEASE

Status	Percent	Number	Percent
<u>Discharged</u>		446	67.6
No Return to Prison	54.2		
One or More Returns	13.4		
<u>Active Parole</u>		75	11.4
No Return to Prison	1.7		
One or More Returns	9.7		
<u>Parolee at Large</u>		49	7.4
No Return to Prison	2.0		
One or More Returns	5.4		
<u>In Custody</u>		69	10.4
Returned to CIW	9.5		
In Non-CDC Prison	.9		
<u>Deceased</u>		21	3.2
Total		660	100.0

Returns to Prison

As shown in Table 14, approximately 60 percent of the 626 study subjects were not returned to prison. Approximately 20 percent were returned once only and 20 percent from two to seven times.

Among offense categories, the most successful parolees were the violent offenders with 85 percent of the homicide cases and 72 percent of the assaultive offenders experiencing no returns. Violent offenders also showed the smallest percentage of women returned more than once, two percent of the homicide offenders and 16 percent of the assaultive. Least successful were those convicted of narcotics offenses with only 39 percent remaining out of the institution and 38 percent returned more than once. Property offenders more closely approached the group average in percentage of women returning to prison as well as in the percentage with multiple returns.

TABLE 14

PERCENT OF WOMEN RETURNED TO PRISON BY
OFFENSE AND NUMBER OF RETURNS

Offense	Number of Subjects	Number of Returns					Total
		0	1	2	3	4-7	
Homicide	45	84.5	13.3	2.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
Assault	25	72.0	12.0	12.0	4.0	0.0	100.0
Robbery	44	56.8	20.5	9.1	9.1	4.5	100.0
Burglary	34	52.9	26.5	5.9	5.9	8.8	100.0
Theft	81	61.8	14.8	9.9	8.6	4.9	100.0
Checks	241	63.0	17.0	10.4	5.4	4.2	100.0
Narcotics	136	38.9	22.8	9.6	16.2	12.5	100.0
All Other	20	80.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
*Total	626	59.1	18.4	8.9	7.8	5.8	100.0

* Data not available for 21 subjects who died and for 13 subjects who absconded on their first parole, 34 of the original 660 subjects.

Time Served and Costs of Recidivism

From the date of their first entry into prison to eight years after first release, the 626 women had served a total of 1,733 prison years and 2,445 parole years, for a total of 4,178 years under the jurisdiction of the California Department of Corrections.

At 1967-68 rates of \$3,924 per prison year and \$462 per parole year, prison costs reached \$6,799,900, and parole expenses \$1,129,407 for a total of \$7,929,307 for the 626 women.

During their original incarceration, the women served a total of 1,207 prison years. Returns to prison increased the original incarceration time and costs by 44 percent. Costs per offender rose with increasing returns to prison from \$8,689 for those with no return to \$30,101 for one woman with seven returns (Table 15).

These figures do not reflect the total eventual costs since at the end of the period studied 29 percent of the women were still under CDC jurisdiction, ten percent in prison and 19 percent on parole.

TABLE 15

COSTS OF PAROLE AND PRISON TIME
SERVED BY RETURNEE GROUPS

Number of Returns	Number of Subjects	PAROLE			PRISON			PAROLE AND PRISON		
		Total Years	Total Cost at \$462 Per Year	Cost Per Subject	Total Years	Cost at \$3,924. Per Year	Cost Per Subject	Total Years	Total Cost	Cost Per Subject
0	370	1,221.5	\$ 564,333	\$1,525	675.5	\$2,650,662	\$ 7,164	1,897.0	\$3,214,995	\$ 8,689
1	115	586.9	271,148	2,358	393.8	1,545,271	13,437	980.7	1,816,419	15,795
2	56	293.8	135,736	2,424	215.3	844,837	15,086	509.1	980,573	17,510
3	49	201.3	93,001	1,898	244.7	960,203	19,596	446.0	1,053,204	21,494
4	24	97.3	44,953	1,873	127.4	499,918	20,830	224.7	544,871	22,703
5	7	27.3	12,613	1,801	40.0	156,960	22,423	67.3	169,573	24,225
6	4	14.2	6,560	1,640	28.8	113,011	28,253	43.0	119,571	29,893
7	1	2.3	1,063	1,063	7.4	29,038	29,038	9.7	30,101	30,101
*Total	626	2,444.6	\$1,129,407	\$1,804	1,732.9	\$6,799,900	\$10,862	4,177.5	\$7,929,307	\$12,667

* Data not available for 21 subjects who died and for 13 subjects who absconded on their first parole.

Multiple returns by a comparatively small percentage of the women accounted for most of the readmission time served. The 22 percent returned from two to seven times served 72 percent of the total readmission time. Six percent of the women who were returned four or more times served 25 percent of the readmission time (Table 16).

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL READMISSION TIME SERVED
BY WOMEN WITH NO RETURNS, ONE RETURN
AND MULTIPLE RETURNS TO PRISON

Returnee Group	Percent of Women	Percent of Total Readmission Time
	Number=626 Women	Number Years Served=526
No Return	59.1	0.0
1 Return	18.4	27.5
2 Returns	8.9	21.3
3 Returns	7.8	26.1
4-7 Returns	5.8	25.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Augmented by repeated returns, the total number of readmissions reached 536 or 86 percent of the original 626 admissions. Eighty percent of the readmissions were accounted for by the 20 percent of the women with multiple returns (Table 17).

The average time served upon return to prison was less than half that of the original sentence which averaged 23 months for all subjects. Readmission time dropped from an average of 12 months upon first return to nine months for four or more returns (Table 18). However, accumulation of many short readmission periods increased the average prison time from 22 months for those with no return to six years and six months for those who returned from four to six times. One subject still incarcerated on her seventh return had served seven years and four months at the end of her sixth incarceration (Table 19).

TABLE 17

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL READMISSIONS AMONG
WOMEN WITH NO RETURN, ONE RETURN AND
MULTIPLE RETURNS TO PRISON

Number of Returns	Number of Women Returned to Prison		Number of Readmissions	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0	370	59.1	0	0.0
1	115	18.4	115	21.5
2	56	8.9	112	20.9
3	49	7.8	147	27.4
4	24	3.8	96	17.9
5-7	12	2.0	66	12.3
*Total	626	100.0	536	100.0

* Data not available for 21 subjects who died and for 13 subjects who absconded on their first parole.

TABLE 18

AVERAGE DURATION OF ORIGINAL AND
SUBSEQUENT PRISON INCARCERATIONS*

Incarceration	Number of Admissions	Average Duration in Months
Original	626	23
First Return	256	12
Second Return	141	10
Third Return	85	11
Fourth Return	36	10
Fifth Return	12	8
Sixth Return	5	8
Seventh Return	1	7
Total Returns	536	11

* Averages computed on 467 admissions where time served had been completed at close of study period. The total of 536 readmissions includes 69 admissions of women in custody whose time served was undetermined.

TABLE 19

AVERAGE TIME SERVED BY WOMEN WITH NO RETURN,*
ONE RETURN AND MULTIPLE RETURNS TO PRISON

Returnee Group	Number of Women	Average Time Served	
No Return	370	1 year	10 months
One Return	115	3 years	4 months
Two Returns	56	3 years	11 months
Three Returns	49	4 years	9 months
Four Returns	24	5 years	5 months
Five Returns	7	5 years	10 months
Six Returns	4	7 years	4 months
Seven Returns	1	7 years	8 months
**Total	626	2 years	9 months

* Includes estimates of time served in 69 incarcerations of women in custody at end of study period whose time served was undetermined. Estimates are averages of time completed by women in the same offense group with the same number of returns.

** Data not available for 21 subjects who died and for 13 subjects who absconded on their first parole.

Multiple Returnees

The probability of future returns to prison was associated with frequency of past returns, time served on original sentence, and time on parole between first release and first return.

The probability of being returned to prison repeatedly rose with increasing numbers of incarcerations. Forty percent of the women were returned after release from their first incarceration; 59 percent after the second release; 65 percent after the third release; and 57 percent after the fourth release. The last decreasing figure is affected by the time factor. Readmission for those returned four or more times was so recent at the end of the period studied that almost half were still incarcerated and time on parole for those who had been released was comparatively short (Table 20).

Women who served more time through returns to prison also served more time in the original incarceration. As seen in Table 21, women with no returns served an average of 22 months; those returned once only served 25 months in the original incarceration; while original time rose from 23 months for those returned twice to 28 months for those returned from five to seven times.

TABLE 20

PERCENT OF WOMEN RETURNED TO PRISON
BY NUMBER OF TIMES RELEASED

Number	Number Released	Percent Returned	Percent Not Re-Released
1st Release*	626	40.9	5.1
2nd Release	243	58.0	7.9
3rd Release	130	65.4	16.2
4-7 Releases	96	57.3	46.9

* Data not available for 21 subjects who died and for 13 subjects who absconded on their first parole.

TABLE 21

AVERAGE TIME SERVED DURING ORIGINAL
INCARCERATION BY RETURNEE GROUPS

Number of Returns	Number of Subjects	Average Months Served
0	370	22
1	115	25
2	56	23
3	49	25
4	24	27
5-7	12	28
Total*	626	23

* Data not available for 21 subjects who died and for 13 subjects who absconded on their first parole.

The average original time served by type of offense and number of returns is shown in Table 22. As would be expected, the longest original sentences were served by those convicted of murder, an average of nine years and eight months for the five subjects with murder first convictions and four years and two months for murder second. The shortest times, from 20 to 21 months, were served by those committing manslaughter, assault, burglary, theft, checks and forgery. Longer sentences were served by narcotics offenders, 26 months, and robbers, 28 months. The number of subjects is small in categories showing the number of returns by offense type, yet the trend toward longer original sentences for those eventually returned to prison is still discernible in all offense categories except robbery and the miscellaneous group.

TABLE 22

ORIGINAL PRISON TIME SERVED IN MONTHS
BY OFFENSE AND RETURNEE GROUPS

Offense	Number of Returns							
	None		One		Two or More		Total	
	Number of Subjects	Average Months Served	Number of Subjects	Average Months Served	Number of Subjects	Average Months Served	Number of Subjects	Average Months Served
Murder 1st	5	116	0	0	0	0	5	116
Murder 2nd	6	42	1	95	0	0	7	50
Robbery	25	29	9	28	10	28	44	28
Narcotics	53	24	31	27	52	27	136	26
Manslaughter	27	21	5	26	1	21	33	21
Assault	18	20	3	17	4	27	25	21
Burglary	18	18	9	23	7	26	34	21
Theft	50	18	12	27	19	21	81	20
Checks	152	18	41	21	48	23	241	20
All Other	16	23	4	20	0	0	20	23
Total	370	22	115	25	141	25	626*	23

* Data not available for 21 subjects who died and for 13 subjects who absconded on their first parole.

Women who eventually became multiple returnees were returned to prison after their first release almost twice as quickly as those returned once only. The average time on first parole for multiple returnees was 15 months; for those returned only once, 29 months. The first parole period dropped steadily from 20 months for those returned twice to eight months for those returned from five to seven times (Table 23).

One possible difference between women returned once only and the multiple returnees could be that time on parole in which to be returned was shorter for those not returned a second time. However, time on second parole averaged 36 months for women returned once only, while those who did return a second time did so in an average of 17 months after their second release. Only 12 of the 141 multiple returnees came back to prison for the second time after three years on parole. Moreover, 55 percent of the women with one return only had been discharged, so their chances of a second return were minimal. Another 20 percent had been on second parole for more than four years. Only three of the group had been on second parole for less than 18 months. These findings indicate that multiple returnees and those returned to prison once only were distinguished by factors other than length of time on second parole.

TABLE 23

MONTHS ON FIRST PAROLE FROM RELEASE TO
RETURN TO PRISON BY RETURNEE GROUPS

Returnee Group	Number of Returnees	Average Months on First Parole
One Return	115	29
Two Returns	56	20
Three Returns	49	14
Four Returns	24	10
Five to Seven Returns	12	8
Total Returnees	256	21

The variations in early prison and parole experience found among those who eventually varied in parole outcome suggest that the different returnee groups may exhibit different patterns of characteristics which evoke differential treatment. It has been noted that narcotics offenders are returned to prison more frequently than other types of offenders and that a disproportionate share of the returns are made by ethnic minority members who are also characterized by greater heroin use, more extensive misdemeanor records and lower scores on intelligence and educational achievement tests.

Subsequent analyses describe the returnee groups in terms of offense type, measured educational achievement, intelligence test scores, ethnic background, narcotics use, prior commitment record, and kind of return, whether with a new court commitment (WNC) or for violation of parole rules (TFT).

CHAPTER 4
PAROLEE CHARACTERISTICS AND PAROLE OUTCOME

Returns to prison are of two kinds, new commitments and parole rule violations. In a new commitment, the parolee has been convicted of a new felony and sentenced to prison again by the courts. In a parole rule violation, the parolee is considered to have broken one or more of her parole rules and is returned again to prison not by the courts but by the Women's Board of Terms and Parole.

The rules of parole are established by the Women's Board. At the time of this study, they required the parolee to secure permission before changing residence, driving a car, leaving the county, buying on credit or borrowing money, associating with other parolees, marrying, speaking in public, or writing for publication. The parolee was also required to maintain a legitimate source of income and observe all municipal, state, and federal laws, including those pertaining to narcotics and the possession of weapons. She was not allowed to use alcohol to excess and was required to observe any special condition which might be imposed and to follow the instructions of her parole agent.

Revised parole rules, effective in 1972, specify that the parolee observe all laws and the instructions of her parole agent, including instructions concerning associates. The parolee must secure the parole agent's permission before leaving the state and keep her informed of changes in employment and residence. Violent behavior, narcotics, and weapons are prohibited. Special conditions may also be imposed.

It is the responsibility of the parole agent to set and enforce controls in relation to parole rules and conditions. The agent maintains a continuous record of the parolee's performance and reports to the Women's Board any arrest, violation of parole rules, or unusual situation. She recommends for Board consideration actions to be taken in response to the parolee, including parole suspension, parole revocation, continuation or extension of parole, or discharge. There is at present no systematic recording of the Board's actions in relation to the recommendations of the parole agent, but in the majority of cases, the Board takes the action recommended.

Violation of parole rules is considered symptomatic of lack of rehabilitation, while a new commitment definitely represents repetition of offending. Because of this distinction it becomes important to know the relative frequency of these two types of return and whether any characteristic differences exist between women returned with new commitments and those returned for rule violations. In this chapter, women with the various parole outcomes are compared in terms of characteristics, frequency of return, and time served.

New Commitments: Frequency and Time Served

The problem of recidivism was found to be much less extensive among women who commit new offenses than it was among women returned for parole rule violations only. Thirteen percent, or 82, of the 626 women in the study group were returned more than once with a new commitment. More than twice as many were returned for parole rule violation only, and because of their higher rate of return they accounted for approximately 80 percent of the total readmissions.

Forty percent of the women who were recommitted for new felonies were also returned to prison from one to five times for parole rule violations. The 82 women served a total of 105 prison terms for new felonies and another 51 terms for parole rule violations.

Approximately two-thirds of the 82 women were returned with their first new commitment after an absence from the institution of less than two years. Only about ten percent returned with their first new commitment after four years. Eight years after release, 17 percent of the women returned by the courts had been discharged; 43 percent were on parole; and 40 percent were in custody.

Once discharged, their chances of returning to prison were minimal; only two percent of the women in the study group who had been discharged were subsequently recommitted.

The average time served per readmission for new commitments was 20 months, twice as long as it was for parole rule violations. However, because of the greater frequency of TFT returns, the discrepancy becomes smaller when average time per subject is considered. Average time served per person for new commitments was 25 months. Average time served per person for TFT returns was 21 months. Of the total readmission time of 526 prison years, one-third was served in new commitments.

Characteristics of Women with New Commitments (WNC)

With the exception of assaultive offenders, who rarely repeat their felonies, the various offense types share equally in the probability of new commitments. Only one of the 70 women convicted of homicide or assault was returned WNC by the courts. Among other offense types, the percentage of women returned with new commitments ranged from 12 percent for theft to 20 percent for robbery with no statistically significant difference (Table 24).

The women returned with new commitments were fairly consistent in their choice of offense. Most of them repeated their original felony or one similar to it. Exceptions included eight who had previously committed property offenses and were later convicted of narcotics charges. Two narcotics offenders were returned with forgery convictions and one robber was convicted of manslaughter by vehicle.

Women returned by the courts differed significantly from other parolees only in a more extensive record of prior commitments. Women whose educational test scores fell at the elementary and junior high school levels, women scoring in the average and below-average ranges on the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Test, and Black women all tended to receive more new commitments than other parolees, but the differences were small and not statistically significant.

TABLE 24

FREQUENCY OF NEW COMMITMENTS BY OFFENSE

Offense Type	Number	Percent Returning With New Commitments
Murder 1st	5	0.0
Murder 2nd	7	0.0
Manslaughter	33	3.0
Assault	25	0.0
Robbery	44	20.5
Burglary	34	14.7
Theft	81	12.3
Checks	241	13.3
Narcotics	136	16.2
All Other	20	15.0
*Total	626	13.1

* Data not available for 21 subjects who died and for 13 subjects who absconded on their first parole.

Characteristics of Women Returned with Parole Violations (TFT)

All variables examined were significantly associated with TFT returns. Narcotics use and prior commitment record showed the strongest relationships (Table 25). Women with a history of narcotics use or a high prior commitment record were returned for parole rule violations at approximately three times the rate of other parolees.

Also returned for parole rule violations with significantly greater frequency than other parolees were women with educational achievement at the elementary and junior high school levels, women with intelligence test scores in the average and below-average ranges, Black women, and narcotics offenders. The 70 assaultive offenders (with only one new felony conviction among them) were returned for parole rule violations as frequently as were women with other offenses.

TABLE 25

PAROLEE CHARACTERISTICS AND PAROLE OUTCOME

Characteristics	Number of Subjects	Subjects With No Returns N=370 %	Subjects Returned TFT N=174 %	Subjects With New Commitments N=82 %	Total* N=626 %
<u>Educational Achievement</u>					
Grades 10 or Above	164	64.0	25.6**	10.4	100.0
Grades 1-9	384	52.6	32.8	14.6	100.0
<u>Intelligence Test Scores</u>					
111 and Above	89	75.3	16.8**	7.9	100.0
110 and Below	527	55.6	30.2	14.2	100.0
<u>Ethnic Group</u>					
White and Other	457	63.2	24.5**	12.3	100.0
Black	169	47.9	36.7	15.4	100.0
<u>Offense</u>					
Assaultive	70	80.0	18.6	1.4**	100.0
Property and Other	420	62.2	23.8	14.0	100.0
Property and Other	420	62.2	23.8**	14.0	100.0
Narcotics	136	39.0	44.8	16.2	100.0
<u>Narcotics Use</u>					
Non-Users	428	73.2	16.1**	10.7	100.0
Users	198	28.8	53.0	18.2	100.0
<u>Prior Commitment Record</u>					
None	228	78.9	17.1***	4.0**	100.0
Low Priors	245	56.7	25.3	18.0	100.0
Low Priors	245	56.7	25.3**	18.0	100.0
High Priors	153	33.3	47.7	19.0	100.0

* Data not available for 21 subjects who died and for 13 subjects who absconded on their first parole.

** P 1%

*** P 5%

Parole Outcome and Correlated Characteristics

Obviously, some of these characteristics are correlated and should be considered in relationship to each other when evaluating their effect upon parole outcome. Seventy-nine percent of the women convicted of narcotics offenses reported a history of narcotics use, while 83 percent of those with a history of narcotics use also had a prior commitment record. Two-thirds of those with above-average intelligence test scores also scored at the senior high school level on the California Achievement Test. Ethnic group is correlated with all other characteristics, minority groups showing lower educational and intelligence test scores and higher proportions with a history of narcotics use and prior commitments (Tables 4, 7, 8, 9).

These correlations pose several questions: (1) would ethnic differences in return rates still persist if ethnic groups were equated on variables shown to be associated with returns to prison? (2) can differences in return rates among offense types be accounted for on the basis of narcotics use? and (3) are women with a history of both narcotics use and prior commitments more likely to be returned than women with only one or neither of these characteristics? The following analyses examine these questions by considering the correlated variables in combination.

Ethnic Group, Type of Offense and Narcotics Use

When ethnic groups are equated on type of offense and narcotics use, significantly higher TFT return rates for Black women are found in all equated subgroups except among non-narcotic property offenders (Table 26). The largest ethnic difference is seen among assaultive offenders, where Black women are returned TFT at more than twice the rate of White women. When ethnic groups are further equated on prior commitment record, ethnic differences in return rates among narcotic users persist in much the same pattern (Table 27).

Small but interesting variations appear in kinds of parolees with new commitments. Among White women, new commitments are more frequent among narcotics offenders, while among Black women, new commitments occur more frequently among property offenders regardless of narcotics use. The percentage of new commitments among Black non-addict property offenders was twice as high as among their White counterparts. One might speculate that while property offenses may be related to narcotics use in both groups, Black women are equally motivated by economic needs to commit new offenses.

Ethnic Group and Intelligence Test Scores

Among White women, rising intelligence test scores were consistently associated with fewer returns to prison. No relationship was demonstrated among Black women, only two of whom scored in the above-average ranges. When equated on average and below-average test scores, ethnic differences still persisted with significantly more Black than White women returned to prison TFT (Table 28).

TABLE 26
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS BY PAROLE OUTCOME
TYPE OF OFFENSE, ETHNIC GROUP AND NARCOTICS USE
NUMBER OF SUBJECTS=626*

Offense Type	Non-Narcotics Users			Narcotics Users		
	White	Black	Other	White	Black	Other
Homicide and Assault: Number	27	36	6**	0	1**	0**
% No Return	85.2	75.0				
% WNC	3.7	0.0				
% TFT	11.1	25.0				
Total	100.0	100.0				
Property and Other: Number	268	45	18**	45	40	4**
% No Return	71.3	64.5		37.8	17.5	
% WNC	11.9	24.4		15.5	20.0	
% TFT	16.8	11.1		46.7	62.5	
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Narcotics: Number	12**	10**	6**	57	37	14**
% No Return				35.1	27.8	
% WNC				17.5	13.9	
% TFT				47.4	58.3	
Total				100.0	100.0	
Total: Number	307	91	30	102	78	18**
% No Return	73.0	69.2	86.7	36.3	23.1	
% WNC	10.7	14.3	0.0	16.7	16.6	
% TFT	16.3	16.5	13.3	47.0	60.3	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

* Data not available for 21 subjects who died and for 13 subjects who absconded on their first parole.

** Percentages not computed for subgroups of less than 20 subjects.

TABLE 27

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS WITH TFT RETURNS
 BY TYPE OF OFFENSE, ETHNIC GROUP AND NARCOTICS USE
 NUMBER OF SUBJECTS=578*

Offense Type and Prior Commitment Record	NON-NARCOTIC USERS				NARCOTIC USERS			
	White		Black		White		Black	
	Number of Subjects	Percent With TFT Returns**	Number of Subjects	Percent With TFT Returns**	Number of Subjects	Percent With TFT Returns**	Number of Subjects	Percent With TFT Returns**
<u>Homicide & Assaultive Offenders</u>								
No Prior Commitment	19	0.0	22	13.6	0		0	
Prior Commitment	8		14		0		1	
<u>Property & Other Offenders</u>								
No Prior Commitment	118	16.1	11		12		2	
Prior Commitment	150	17.3	34	14.7	33	48.5	38	63.1
<u>Narcotics Offenders</u>								
No Prior Commitment	6		2		11		6	
Prior Commitment	6		8		46	50.0	31	61.3

* Omitted are 48 women of other racial origin.

** Percentages not computed for subgroups of less than 15 subjects.

TABLE 28

PAROLE OUTCOME OF ETHNIC GROUPS BY
WECHSLER-BELLEVUE INTELLIGENCE SCALE SCORES

Parole Outcome	White*			Black			Other		
	Below Average N=103	Average N=218	Above Average N=83	Below Average N=121	Average N=43	Above Average N=2	Below Average N=23	Average N=19	Above Average N=4
No Return	56.4	62.0	76.9	47.5	41.9	0	65.2	47.4	0
Parole Violation Return**	31.0	24.4	14.6	36.7	41.8	0	21.7	36.8	0
New Commitment	12.6	13.6	8.5	15.8	16.3	0	13.1	15.8	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0	100.0	100.0	0

* Among White women, the decrease in TFT returns with rising intelligence test scores is statistically significant at 1%.

** Among women with average and below-average intelligence test scores, significantly more Black women were returned with parole rule violations.

Offense Type and Narcotics Use (Table 26)

The only significant overall differences in return-to-prison rates among offense types were found in narcotics offenders who had high TFT return rates and assaultive offenders who had low new commitment rates.

When narcotics use is taken into account, narcotics offenders do not differ from other types of offenders in TFT returns. Approximately half of the narcotics offenders who also had a history of narcotics use were returned TFT, while only 18 percent of the narcotics offenders without a history of use were returned. These rates differ little from those of users and non-users committed for other types of offenses.

Only one of the assaultive offenders reported a history of narcotics use. When these women are compared to other non-narcotic offenders, they still show a significantly lower new commitment rate. This finding is consistent with the previous analysis showing that narcotics use is not associated with commitments for new felonies.

Multiple Parole Violation Returns and Related Characteristics (Table 29)

Analyses of parolee characteristics so far have been based on the criterion of return-or-no-return to prison, making no distinction between those returned once only and multiple returnees. Because the problem of recidivism has been shown to center around repeated TFT returns to prison, analyses were made of the characteristics of multiple returnees, excluding women with new commitments.

Narcotics use was again shown to be a major factor in recidivism. Four times as many narcotics users were returned to prison more than once for parole rule violations as were non-users. Offense type was not associated with repeated returns among either users or non-users.

Ethnic differences in multiple returns were found exclusively among narcotics users where Black women returned to prison more than once in significantly greater numbers than White women, and these differences appear regardless of offense type. More Black than White women returned to prison TFT, and they are returned more often.

Narcotics Use and Prior Commitments (Tables 30 and 31)

Previous CDC studies have shown a progressive increase in returns to prison as narcotics use is combined with increasing prior commitments, from non-narcotics users with no prior commitments to users with many prior commitments. Application of these findings to the analysis of parole outcome in the present study yields similar results.

As in prior studies, a relationship of narcotics use and prior commitments to return-to-prison rates is found among TFT returns rather than among new commitments. However, among women with low prior commitments, narcotics use does appear to accompany an increase in new commitments, although the relationship is not statistically significant. The data give the impression that women with relatively limited jail or prison experience may be more vulnerable to the development of further serious delinquency if they have a narcotics history.

When equated on prior commitments and narcotics use, ethnic groups still show no significant differences in rate of new commitments. The largest ethnic difference appears among the 67 non-users with high prior commitments, where 15 percent of the White women and 28 percent of the Black women were returned by the courts. Black women in this group are largely the property offenders discussed previously.

While narcotics use in combination with prior commitments does not show a consistent relationship to new commitments, it is consistently associated with the decision to return parolees to prison for parole rule violation. The percentage of women returned TFT rose from 12 percent among non-narcotics users with no prior record to 61 percent among users with high prior commitments; while the percentage of women with multiple returns also rose steadily in the same groups from two percent to 45 percent. Apparently, these two background factors are key prognosticators of TFT return rates and, in different combinations, appear to be accepted as indices of varying degrees of delinquency proneness among parolees.

The direction of ethnic differences in TFT return rates is systematically related to these two characteristics. When backgrounds show neither narcotics use nor prior commitments, TFT returns slightly favor the Black women. With the appearance of either a high prior record or narcotics use, the balance shifts, and slightly more Black than White women are returned for parole rule violations. When both narcotics use and a high prior record are present, Black women are returned at a significantly higher rate than White women. Similar ethnic differences are found when multiple returns are considered (Table 31).

The TFT return to prison is generally regarded by the Board as a device to prevent development of further criminality when parole adjustment is judged to be deteriorating. The data suggest that adjustment is more frequently judged to be deteriorating among narcotic users with prior commitments and that among these women Blacks are seen as more likely to develop new criminality than Whites and consequently are returned to prison more often. Consistent with these data is the previous finding that among assaultive offenders more than

TABLE 29

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS RETURNED TO PRISON
FOR PAROLE RULE VIOLATIONS BY TYPE
OF OFFENSE, RACE AND NARCOTICS USE
NUMBER OF SUBJECTS=544*

Offense Type	Non-Narcotics Users			Narcotics Users		
	White	Black	Other	White	Black	Other
Homicide and Assault: Number	26	36	6**	0**	1**	0**
% No Return	88.5	75.0				
% 1 Return	3.8	19.4				
% 2 or More Returns	7.7	5.6				
Total	100.0	100.0				
Property and Others: Number	236	34	18**	38	32	3**
% No Return	80.9	85.3		44.7	21.9	
% 1 Return	11.9	11.8		21.1	21.9	
% 2 or More Returns	7.2	2.9		34.2	56.2	
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Narcotics and Drugs: Number	12**	8**	6**	47	32	9**
% No Return				42.6	31.3	
% 1 Return				17.0	12.5	
% 2 or More Returns				40.4	56.2	
Total				100.0	100.0	
Total: Number	274	78	30	85	65	12**
% No Return	81.8	80.8	86.7	43.5	27.7	
% 1 Return	11.3	15.4	10.0	18.8	16.9	
% 2 or More Returns	6.9	3.8	3.3	37.7	55.4	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

* Omitted are 82 women returned with new commitments.

** Percentages not computed for less than 20 subjects.

TABLE 30

PAROLE OUTCOME OF STUDY GROUP BY PRIOR COMMITMENTS
AND NARCOTICS HISTORY AND ETHNIC GROUP
NUMBER OF SUBJECTS=626*

Commitment and Ethnic Group	Number of Subjects	No Return to Prison %	Return WNC %	One TFT Return %	Multiple TFT Returns %	Total TFT Returns %
<u>Non-Narcotics Users</u>						
No Prior Commitments						
White	143	81.1	5.6	11.2	2.1	13.3
Black	35	91.4	0.0	8.6	0.0	8.6
Other	16**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	194	83.5	4.1	10.8	1.6	12.4
Low Prior Commitments						
White	125	68.8	15.2	8.8	7.2	16.0
Black	31	67.7	19.4	9.7	3.2	12.9
Other	11**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	167	70.7	14.9	8.4	6.0	14.4
High Prior Commitments						
White	39	56.4	15.4	10.3	17.9	28.2
Black	25	40.0	28.0	24.0	8.0	32.0
Other	3**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	67	49.3	19.4	16.4	14.9	31.3
<u>Narcotics Users</u>						
No Prior Commitments						
White	23	56.6	4.3	8.7	30.4	39.1
Black	8**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	3**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	34	52.9	3.0	14.7	29.4	44.1
Low Prior Commitments						
White	55	30.9	20.0	16.4	32.7	49.1
Black	17**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	6**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	78	26.9	24.4	15.4	33.3	48.7
High Prior Commitments						
White	24	29.2	20.8	20.8	29.2	50.0
Black	53	18.9	17.0	11.3	52.8	64.2
Other	9**	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	86	20.9	18.6	15.1	45.4	60.5

* Data not available for 21 subjects who died and for 13 subjects who absconded on their first parole.

** Percentages not computed for subgroups of less than 20 subjects.

TABLE 31

TFT RETURNS TO PRISON BY PRIOR COMMITMENT AND
NARCOTICS BACKGROUND AND ETHNIC GROUP

Background Characteristics	Number of Subjects	Multiple TFT Returns %	Total TFT Returns %
Low or No Priors Non-Narcotics			
White	268	4.5	14.6
Black	66	1.5	10.6
High Prior - Non-Narcotics No Prior - Narcotics Use			
White	62	22.6	31.0
Black	33	9.0	36.4
Low or High Priors Narcotics Use			
White	79	31.6	49.4
Black	60	58.3	71.6

twice as many Black than White women were returned TFT. Black women with a background of narcotics and prior commitments and assaultive Black women are apparently considered greater parole risks than are their White counterparts. On the other hand, when background delinquency is comparatively slight, Black women may be considered as better parole risks than White women, but this difference, reflected in TFT returns, is small.

Reliability of Findings

To test the stability of the relationship found between returns to prison, narcotics use, and prior commitments, comparisons were made between the study group and parolees released for the first time in 1962, 1963, and 1964 (Table 32). Available data for the subsequently released women combined narcotics users with zero and low prior records. These classifications were combined in the study group for purposes of making comparisons. Also, to make the two groups more comparable, all first releases in 1960 and 1961 were included, making a total of 660. The study group did not vary appreciably from the subsequently released women, indicating that the relationship between prison returns, narcotics use, and prior commitments is stable and lending further support to the assumption of representativeness of the findings of this study.

TABLE 32

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDY GROUP
AND WOMEN RELEASED IN 1962, 1963 AND 1964
BY NUMBER OF PRIOR COMMITMENTS
AND NARCOTICS USE

Prior Commitments	All Women Released For First Time in 1960 - 1961		All Women Released For First Time in 1962 - 1964	
	Number	% Return	Number	% Return
<u>Non-Narcotics Users</u>				
None	202	15.8	338	16.6
Low	175	29.1	270	31.9
High	71	49.3	113	50.4
<u>Narcotics Users</u>				
None and Low	121	60.3	122	52.5
High	91	78.0	94	76.6
Total	660	39.7	937	35.7

Parolee Characteristics and Correctional Decisions

In summary, examination of related characteristics has substantiated the superior parole performance of assaultive women in regard to new commitments; demonstrated a relationship between intelligence test scores and TFT returns among White women; shown that TFT returns are related to a background of narcotics use and prior commitments; and indicated that, in general, Black women are returned to prison more frequently for parole rule violation than White women, with the greatest ethnic discrepancy arising among narcotics users with more extensive prior commitment records. Women returned with the greatest frequency for parole rule violation are likely to be characterized by comparatively low educational and intelligence test scores, narcotics use, prior commitment records, and minority group membership. No differences were found among offense types when equated on narcotics use.

It has been suggested (Chapter 2) that jail experience and narcotics use may signify continuing delinquency and that poor educational and intelligence test performance may indicate a lack of exposure to middle-class opportunities and consequently a reduced ability to compete successfully as a member of the non-incarcerated, middle-class group. If this is true, these combined characteristics could be indices of the potential for delinquent behavior. However, the analyses show that only one of the characteristics, prior commitments, is significantly associated with the commission of felonies resulting in new

court commitments. On the other hand, all the characteristics are significantly associated with the correctional agency's decision about original time served, TTT returns to prison, and time on parole before return.

Length of prison time, however, is related to kind of offense, and the process of TTT return to prison is initiated by the parolee's violation of parole rules. Accordingly, the agency decision may represent a response to the parolee's delinquent behavior regardless of her characteristics. If decisions are based only on delinquent behavior, the relationship between parolee characteristics and correctional decisions should disappear when delinquent behavior is absent or minimal.

To see whether parolee characteristics were associated with agency decisions about women with minimal delinquent behavior on parole, the average time between release and discharge for women not returned to prison was analyzed by narcotics use, prior commitments, intelligence test scores, and ethnic group. In the study group, 352 women had been discharged with no return to prison, with paroles ranging in length from six to 96 months and averaging 39 months. The parole behavior of these women was free of delinquency serious enough to warrant return to prison. The decision to discharge or to continue on parole is usually made at the end of two years of successful parole, and within the indeterminate sentence structure, original sentences may be extended or reduced according to the judged need of further parole supervision.

Results of the analysis (Table 33) show much the same pattern as found in analyses of parole outcome in relation to narcotics use and prior commitments. The average number of months until discharge rises progressively from 36 months for non-users without prior commitments to 47 months for narcotics users with prior commitments. Data for women with low and high priors were combined because the numbers were too small for separate comparisons. Equated for narcotics use and prior commitments, ethnic groups also show differences, with Black women remaining longer on parole before discharge than women of other ethnic backgrounds. These effects persist when offense types are examined separately.

In the evaluation of the relationship of intelligence test scores to time on parole before discharge, the number of women with above average test scores became too small for analysis among either narcotics users or minority groups. Among White women without narcotics use, however, the trend was toward shorter parole periods for those with above average intelligence test scores. This effect was seen exclusively among the 106 White women without narcotics use but with a record of prior commitments. Among these women, the 17 with above average scores spent an average of four months less on parole than did those with lower scores. No difference was found among White women with narcotics use or a prior record.

All of these analyses showing a relationship between parolee characteristics and agency decisions in situations where delinquency is minimal or absent strongly indicate that parolee characteristics as well as parolee behavior do act as determiners of judgments about the status of a parolee's rehabilitation and need for correctional action. The same characteristics found to be associated with TTT returns also appear to be associated to greater caution in discharging women from parole supervision.

TABLE 33

PAROLE TIME SERVED BY WOMEN DISCHARGED WITHOUT RETURN TO PRISON BY
NARCOTICS USE, PRIOR COMMITMENTS, TYPE OF OFFENSE AND ETHNIC GROUP
(NUMBER OF SUBJECTS=352*)

Commitment and Ethnic Group	Type of Offense						Total	
	Homicide and Assault		Property and Misc.		Narcotics		Number of Subjects	Average Months to Discharge
	Number of Subjects	Average Months to Discharge	Number of Subjects	Average Months to Discharge	Number of Subjects	Average Months to Discharge		
<u>Non-Narcotics Users</u>								
No Prior Commitments								
Black	19	39	11	38	2	39	32	38
All Others	17	33	95	36	6	29	118	36
Total	36	36	106	37	8	31	150	36
Prior Commitments								
Black	8	43	18	40	4	51	30	42
All Others	3	63	108	38	5	35	116	38
Total	11	45	126	38	9	42	146	39
<u>Narcotics Users</u>								
No Prior Commitments								
Black	0	0	1	24	3	63	4	53
All Others	0	0	7	39	7	45	14	42
Total	0	0	8	37	10	50	18	44
Prior Commitments								
Black	0	0	6	51	7	47	13	49
All Others	0	0	10	41	15	49	25	46
Total	0	0	16	45	22	48	38	47
Total	47	39	256	38	49	45	352	39

* Omitted are six women who returned to prison after discharge with a new commitment and six with negligible parole supervision, discharged from one to four months after release.

Summary and Discussion of Parolee Characteristics

Analysis of frequency of returns to prison among study subjects (Chapter 3) discloses that a major portion of the parole and prison costs are incurred by recidivists and suggests that women who are returned to prison may be identified by characteristics which differentiate them from other parolees. In this chapter, these characteristics were examined, and return rates of women with TFT returns and those with new commitments were compared.

New commitments were found to account for a minor share of the total returns. Compared to other parolees' prior commitment records, intelligence test scores, ethnic group, and narcotic use, women with new commitments differed only in having a more extensive record of prior commitments. The different offense types shared equally in the probability of new commitments with the exception of assaultive offenders who are rarely returned by the courts.

Women returned TFT, who accounted for 80 percent of the readmissions, differed from other parolees in narcotics use, more extensive prior commitment records, minority group membership, and lower intelligence and educational test scores. Frequency of TFT returns did not vary among offense types.

Total TFT returns as well as multiple returns rose as narcotics use appeared in combination with prior record, from non-users with no prior record to users with high prior commitments.

Equated with other ethnic groups on characteristics associated with TFT returns, Black women in general were returned with greater frequency than White women. Black women with assaultive offenses or backgrounds of narcotics use and prior commitment records were apparently considered greater parole risks than matched White women and were returned for parole violation at significantly higher rates. Among women with backgrounds of minimal delinquency, small differences in TFT returns favored the Black women.

All of these characteristics were associated with agency decisions to return parolees to prison where violation of parole rules was involved. They were also found to be associated with agency decisions where violation of parole rules was absent or minimal. Time spent on parole before discharge by women who were not returned to prison was found to rise progressively from 36 months for non-users without prior commitments to 47 months for narcotics users with prior commitments. Black women remained on parole longer than other ethnic groups, and White women with relatively high intelligence test scores tended to be discharged sooner than White women with lower scores. The same characteristics associated with return to prison when parole rules are violated are also associated with longer parole periods when parole rule violation is absent or not considered serious enough to warrant return to prison.

Returns to prison and retention on parole are measures employed as deterrents to the commission of new offenses. Since these deterrents are applied with greatest frequency to women with specified characteristics, it follows that these characteristics are viewed as prognosticators of new criminality and that agency decisions to return parolees to prison are determined by parolee characteristics as well as parolee behavior. The fact that all but one of these characteristics are absent in women returned with new felonies raises

the question of their prognostic value. The answer to this question would require an empirical study of the events and processes surrounding TFT returns.

The analyses indicates the presence of specialized problems in two areas. One was the high frequency of new commitments among Black non-narcotic property offenders, suggesting that a profitable area for study might be the economic status of parolees in relation to the commission of new offenses. A second problem was seen in an elevated rate of new commitments among narcotics users with low prior commitments, suggesting that this kind of parolee with a background of moderate delinquency may be in need of special support.

When one considers that, among the study subjects, return trips to prison boosted the total number of admissions by 86 percent and that most of these returns were ordered by the correctional agency as a preventive measure, the impression may arise that preventive recidivism among California's women parolees is reaching excessively high levels. However, an evaluation of the role of agency decisions in recidivism and whether the rate is high, moderate, or low can be made only in relation to some standard of comparison. The womens' return rates may be compared to those in other jurisdictions and the effect of changes in agency practice on return rates may be analyzed. Unfortunately, data available for comparison is based on the criterion of return-or-no-return to prison and does not include counts of repeated returns by the same parolees, wherein lies much of the problem of recidivism among California's women parolees. However, comparisons of the numbers of parolees returned will yield some perspective on the problem, and these comparisons are made in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5
SOME COMPARISONS OF RETURN RATES OF MEN AND WOMEN

This study so far has demonstrated that women returned for parole rule violation differ in background characteristics from women returned by the courts with new felony convictions, and that the two types of returns vary greatly in frequency and cost.

Women returned by the courts differed from other parolees only in prior criminal record, and they represented a small proportion of all returns. Women returned by the Women's Board of Terms and Parole for parole rule violations differed from other parolees in all characteristics chosen for analysis except offense type, and they accounted for a vast majority of the total returns. Consequently, the bulk of the returns and their associated costs are attributable to the decisions of the Department of Corrections' Parole and Community Services Division and the Women's Board of Terms and Parole. Findings suggest that the differences in types of returns may be due to sources of variation other than the criminal behavior of the women parolees.

It would thus seem that the response of the Department of Corrections and the Women's Board to women offenders is crucial to the problem of recidivism and therefore should undergo analysis. Analysis may be accomplished through comparisons of decisions by different correctional agencies and by different parts of agencies at different points in time. Such comparisons should reveal and allow for critical tests of how agency responses affect recidivism rates. In this chapter, analyses will compare return rates for men and women in California and in other jurisdictions.

The type of analysis of return rates presented thus far in this report has never been made before, at least insofar as the authors know. Consequently, many of the findings cannot be compared to those of other studies. However, return-to-prison rates of men and women parolees have been compiled in other jurisdictions as well as in California, and these studies make some comparisons possible. These other studies differ from the present one as they include all parolees released, not just those released for the first time; and they also count only the first return and not the number of times each person is returned. Further, they classify the returnee as a new commitment or a parole rule violator on the basis of his first return. In the present study, a woman returned by the courts was classified as a new commitment regardless of her other TFT returns. Approximately one-fourth of the women eventually returned with new commitments had been first returned to prison for parole rule violation. Finally, the follow-up parole periods in other studies varied between one and five years following release.

When the analysis about to be presented was first contemplated, the aim was simply to determine whether women were more or less likely than men to be returned to prison. It might, of course, be argued that recidivism would be higher among women because the criminal justice system is generally assumed to be more reluctant to send women to prison in the first place and therefore incarcerates only those women who are heavily committed to criminal behavior. As will be seen, this expectation, at least in its simple form, is not sufficient

to account for the differences found. Rather, it would appear that variations in agency responses to parolees must be invoked to explain these differences.

The California Experience

Tables 34 and 35 show the rates of return to California prisons for men and women released to parole during the years 1960 through 1966. Inspection of these tables reveals at least four interesting relationships.

First, Table 34 shows that the differences in the TFT return rates between men and women during the first year or two after release are relatively small and not consistent in their direction. It is only during the second or third year after the year of release to parole that the differences become consistent and of any size. After the second or third year, the women's TFT return rate averages about four or five percent higher than that for the men.

Second, Table 35 shows that the WNC return rate for women is consistently lower than that for men, with an average difference of around six percent.

Third, the differences in TFT rates between men and women shown in Table 34 seem to have increased sharply in 1965 and 1966. In order to see if this increase was something more than a chance variation, return rates for some more recent cohorts were used. These rates are for the number of parolees returned to prison within exactly two years after release to California parole.^{1/} Presented in Table 36, these data show that the increase in the difference in TFT return rates for men and women beginning in 1965 and 1966 was part of a consistent pattern. For those released before 1965 the differences at the end of two years of parole were quite small and inconsistent, averaging about three percent, while among those released from 1965 through 1968 differences were consistently large, with the women's TFT return rate averaging about 11 percentage points higher than that for the men. On the average, the men's TFT return rate went down while the women's rate showed no consistent pattern. The differences in WNC rates, however, did not change. The WNC rate for women released before 1965 averaged about eight percentage points lower than that for the men, while among those released from 1965 to 1968, the women's rate averaged nine percentage points lower. Perhaps something started to happen in 1965 causing a difference in the TFT rates but not in the WNC rates. Something did happen in 1965 which might account for this pattern of changes; it was the Parole Work Unit Program for men.

^{1/} These rates are different from those just presented in Table 34 and 35 in that they include returns to prison in other jurisdictions. Also, the follow-up period is exactly two years following the date of release. See footnote to Table 36 for a more complete statement of these differences. This change in statistical data was necessary to obtain useful information for the more recently released cohorts. For the purpose of this analysis these differences are slight.

TABLE 34

CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AND MEN RETURNED
FROM PAROLE TO CALIFORNIA PRISON
WITHOUT A NEW COMMITMENT
BY YEAR OF RELEASE TO PAROLE

Year	Paroled		Year of Parole	Year of Return to Prison				
	Number	Sex		1st Year After Parole	2nd Year After Parole	3rd Year After Parole	4th Year After Parole	5th Year After Parole
1960	412	F	4.4	18.4	27.2	30.5	32.0	32.5
	4,871	M	5.7	19.2	24.6	26.8	27.5	27.9
		d	-1.3	-0.8	2.6	3.7	4.5	4.6
1961	562	F	8.2	20.5	28.8	33.1	35.2	36.7
	5,689	M	4.9	18.3	26.1	28.8	29.7	30.0
		d	3.3	2.3	2.7	4.3	5.5	6.7
1962	605	F	7.3	25.6	29.9	33.8	35.2	35.7
	7,457	M	7.0	22.2	29.5	31.9	32.6	32.9
		d	0.3	3.4	0.4	1.9	2.6	2.8
1963	556	F	9.4	24.8	33.5	36.8	38.8	39.9
	5,821	M	9.0	26.2	32.8	34.4	35.3	35.6
		d	0.4	-1.4	0.7	2.4	3.5	4.3
1964	553	F	9.2	26.6	34.2	37.1	38.5	39.0
	7,216	M	7.9	24.2	29.7	31.9	32.7	33.0
		d	1.3	2.4	4.5	5.2	5.8	6.0
1965	467	F	13.3	30.0	37.7	40.0	41.8	NA
	8,163	M	9.5	22.7	28.8	31.0	31.7	NA
		d	3.8	7.3	8.9	9.0	10.1	NA
1966	558	F	12.3	30.5	37.6	41.4	NA	NA
	6,489	M	6.5	20.4	26.9	28.8	NA	NA
		d	5.8	10.1	10.7	12.6	NA	NA

TABLE 35

CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AND MEN RETURNED
FROM PAROLE TO CALIFORNIA PRISON
WITH A NEW COURT COMMITMENT
BY YEAR OF RELEASE TO PAROLE

Year	Paroled		Year of Parole	Year of Return to Prison				
	Number	Sex		1st Year After Parole	2nd Year After Parole	3rd Year After Parole	4th Year After Parole	5th Year After Parole
1960	412	F	1.0	3.6	6.6	8.0	9.0	9.2
	4,871	M	4.9	14.3	18.0	19.2	19.5	19.6
		d	-3.9	-10.7	-11.4	-11.2	-10.5	-10.4
1961	562	F	3.0	8.2	10.1	11.0	11.9	12.1
	5,689	M	3.8	13.0	16.7	17.8	18.1	18.2
		d	-0.8	-4.8	-6.6	-6.8	-6.2	-6.1
1962	605	F	0.8	3.6	5.6	7.1	7.3	7.3
	7,457	M	5.0	14.0	17.2	18.3	18.5	18.7
		d	-4.2	-10.4	-11.6	-11.2	-11.2	-11.4
1963	556	F	2.7	7.4	9.2	10.8	10.8	10.8
	5,821	M	3.4	10.4	13.3	14.3	14.6	14.7
		d	-0.7	-3.0	-4.1	-3.5	-3.8	-3.9
1964	553	F	1.8	6.9	8.1	9.0	9.8	9.8
	7,216	M	2.8	9.8	12.8	13.6	14.0	14.0
		d	-1.0	-2.9	-4.7	-4.6	-4.2	-4.2
1965	467	F	1.3	4.3	5.8	6.5	6.6	NA
	8,163	M	3.5	10.0	12.3	13.2	13.4	NA
		d	-2.2	-5.7	-6.5	-6.7	-6.8	NA
1966	558	F	1.1	3.2	4.9	5.4	NA	NA
	6,489	M	2.7	9.1	11.7	12.7	NA	NA
		d	-1.6	-5.9	-6.8	-7.3	NA	NA

TABLE 36

PAROLE OUTCOME WITHIN TWO YEARS FOLLOWING RELEASE
FOR MEN AND WOMEN RELEASED TO CALIFORNIA PAROLE
BY YEAR OF RELEASE AND TYPE OF RETURN TO PRISON

Year	Paroled		Type of Return to Prison*	
	Number	Sex	TFT	WNC
1962	597	F	24.1%	5.9%
	6,661	M	26.8	20.1
		d	-2.7	-14.2
1963	546	F	29.7	8.2
	5,191	M	29.6	15.2
		d	0.1	-7.0
1964	515	F	32.0	8.5
	6,438	M	26.0	15.4
		d	6.0	-6.9
1965	443	F	35.2	5.6
	7,302	M	23.4	14.9
		d	11.8	-9.3
1966	539	F	36.4	4.8
	5,681	M	22.0	14.0
		d	14.4	-9.2
1967	593	F	28.3	4.9
	5,910	M	23.1	11.8
		d	5.2	-6.9
1968	568	F	29.7	5.3
	5,063	M	17.0	11.4
		d	12.7	-6.1

* This table differs from the previous two in that it includes only those released to parole in California while the other two include out of state paroles. Also the follow-up is for exactly two years following each person's date of parole while in the prior two tables the system determines whether the person was returned within the year of release, the first year following the year of release, the second year following the year of release and so forth. The system used in this table gives a standard and exact follow-up period while the other system gives a variable follow-up period; however, the system used in this table is limited to two years following release (for men) while the other system extends for a period of (approximately) five to six years and thus allows an assessment of long-term return rates.

The Parole Work Unit Program divided male parolees into three classes which were seen as requiring different amounts of supervision, and each class of parolees was assigned a different number of points, with the class requiring more supervision receiving more points or "work units." The parole agent's workload was then allocated on the basis of the number of work units assigned to his parolees rather than upon their simple number. Each caseload was assigned a quota of 120 work units. Thus two parole agents could have the same number of work units but a different number of parolees. Along with this change came changes in the administration's expectations of the agents. They were supposed to seek alternatives to return to prison and, with the equalized workloads, they were assumed to be able to give more attention and help to the parolees, especially those seen as needing more help. The major purpose of this change was to reduce the return-to-prison rates.

Roughly fifty percent of the parole agents and parolees were put in the Work Unit Program and the other fifty percent were not. The first parole follow-up report did not show the lower return-to-prison rate which had been expected for the Work Unit Program. This finding startled the Parole Division which set out immediately to get the TFT rate down in the Work Unit parole offices. The Chief of the Parole Division talked with agents in each of the Work Unit parole offices, impressed upon them the importance of meeting the program's goal of reducing the return-to-prison rate and exhorted them to do all they could within reason to develop and seek alternatives to return to prison. The TFT rate declined, probably as a result of this effort, and the rate declined for both the Work Unit agents and those not in the Work Unit Program. The WNC rate showed a smaller decline, and this would be expected since the Department has much less control over new court commitments. This decline is general in that the women's WNC rate also decreased as did the rate of commitments to prison for the entire state.

The attribution of the decline in the men's TFT return rate to changes in administrative practices is supported by the findings of three interrelated studies. The first (2) presented all parole agents in California who supervised male felons with ten hypothetical cases based on actual parole violation reports. The agents were asked to make a recommendation to either return the parolee to prison for a parole rule violation or to continue him on parole. Considerable variation was found among the agents in both the number of cases recommended for return and which cases should be returned. Significant variation was associated with administrative differences having nothing to do with the cases, such as the agents' perception of how many cases their supervisor would recommend for return. Based upon the analysis of the data, it was concluded that the culture of the parole unit office, so to speak, had a significant effect upon how many cases an agent would recommend for return.

These same ten hypothetical cases were again administered to some of the same agents and some new agents after the Work Unit Program was initiated. In these two studies (1, 3) the number of return-to-prison recommendations was much lower than found before the advent of the Work Unit Program and its attendant administrative changes. This would seem to support the assumption that the decline

in the actual return-to-prison rate among the men with the advent of the Work Unit Program was due, at least in part, to changes in administrative expectations and practices.^{1/}

The Work Unit Program was not instituted in women's parole and their TFT rate did not change. Piecing the above together, we would say that women have a higher TFT rate than men and that the increase in this difference, which occurred in 1965 and continued thereafter, was the result of differences in administrative practices.

One final difference between the return to prison rates for men and women, which may be worth some analysis, is the difference in the ratio of TFT rates to WNC rates. An analysis of Tables 34 and 35 shows that the ratio of TFT returns to WNC returns for women varies between 2.5 and 11.2 with the average ratio being 5.0 while the same ratio for the men varies between 1.2 and 2.8 with the average being 2.0. Only two of the women's ratios, 2.5 and 2.7, are lower than the highest men's ratios, i.e., there is virtually no overlap among the men's and women's ratios. A woman is thus two to three times more likely to be returned for a technical violation of parole, rather than a new commitment, than is a man.

If we take the view, as some have (4), that the WNC rate is less subject to administrative manipulation by the Department than is the TFT rate, and therefore is a more rigorous measure of criminal involvement, then it would appear that women are less criminally involved but that they are returned to prison by the Department more often than men. Using this same type of argument, it could also be said that the five to ten percent higher TFT return rate for women is an underestimate of the differences between the methods of operation of men's and women's parole.

The Nationwide Experience

The Uniform Parole Reports System of the National Probation and Parole Institute collects and publishes parole outcome data for 55 agencies, serving 50 states and other correctional jurisdictions giving return-to-prison rates for the first year after release to parole. While the sampling technique does not guarantee representativeness, and the parole systems differ among themselves, the reporting system probably gives a reasonably good estimate of the nationwide rates. One of its services is the provision of parole outcome rates for men and women.

Excluding California, the nationwide data show return rates for 1,931 women and 35,174 men who were released to parole in 1967 and 1968. Eleven percent of the women and 15 percent of the men were returned without new commitments, while two percent of the women and five percent of the men were returned with new commitments. Thus, at the one-year point, the technical return rates for men and women were similar, while the new commitment rate for the women was

^{1/} Unfortunately for this analysis, these studies included no parole agents supervising women parolees.

less than half that for the men. Also, the ratio of technical returns to new commitments was much higher for the women. And finally, this nationwide system shows a technical return rate of 19 percent for female California parolees as compared with a technical return rate of 11 percent for women on parole in other jurisdictions.

California and the Nation

Putting together the information for California and the other jurisdictions leads to several tentative conclusions. The rate of technical returns for women on parole in California is high in comparison to women on parole in other jurisdictions, and in comparison to men in California in recent years, due to changes in administrative behavior brought about by the introduction of the Work Unit Program for men, and in relationship to the rate of return of new court commitments.

The introduction to this chapter mentioned that recidivism might be higher among women than among men because women committed to prison in the first place may possibly be more criminally involved than men. As was indicated, this explanation of the women's higher return rate is not sufficient to account for the variations presented in this chapter. If the higher TFT rates among women result from their greater criminal involvement, then their rates should not vary among jurisdictions, nor should differences in rates between men and women vary with changes in administrative practices. However, the TFT rates have been found to vary among jurisdictions and also to vary sharply from those of men upon the introduction of the men's Work Unit Program.

Further, to sustain the argument that TFT rates vary with degree of criminality, one would have to conclude that the Work Unit Program among men affected criminal behavior to produce a slight decrease in new commitments and a marked decrease in technical returns. Conversely, one would have to conclude that the lack of a Work Unit Program among women affected criminal behavior in such a way as to produce a slight decrease in new commitments but no effect in technical returns. This seems a rather tortuous postulate, and it becomes even more devious when it is remembered that the administrative change in the men's program was accompanied with a reduction in recommendations of returns to prison for identical parole violations. It seems much more straightforward to attribute these differential changes to variations in administrative reactions rather than to differences in rates of criminal behavior. Further, this explanation is consistent with variations in return rates associated with characteristics of the women parolees presented in prior chapters of this report.

Information on the number of returns experienced by each person over a long period of time as presented for women in the prior chapters of this report is not available for men parolees in California or for parolees in other jurisdictions. Consequently, no comparative data are available by which to determine whether the number of returns experienced by each woman on parole in California is relatively high or low. However, in the light of the comparisons just presented, it would seem a fairly safe assumption that male parolees in California are not returned as many times as are women.

Based on the information presented in this and the preceding chapters, it seems rather certain that more women parolees in California are returned to prison for parole rule violations, with more frequency than it might be reasonable to expect. Since 1965 the women's TFT rate has averaged about ten percentage points higher than that of the men. Since in other jurisdictions the women's rate is lower than that of the men, the California women's rate appears to be at least ten percentage points higher than it should be.

Another approach would be to look at the lowering of the men's TFT return rate in California since 1965. The men's rate has decreased by some five to ten percentage points while the women's rate has remained roughly constant. This increased differential, apparently brought about by changes in administrative policy, discloses again that the women's rate is currently ten percentage points higher than could be expected.

Yet another way of assessing the size of the women's TFT rate would be to compare the ratio of TFT returns to new commitments for men and women. At the end of two years on parole the men's ratio of new commitments to TFT returns averages 2.0, a ratio which has more recently become closer to 1.0. Application of the 2.0 ratio to the average six percent new commitment rate for women gives a TFT return rate of approximately 12 percent. The actual TFT rate for women is about 30 percent. On this basis, the women's TFT return rate is more than twice as high as it might be.

It would thus appear that women do have a higher TFT rate, and depending upon how the data are viewed, the rate for women is moderately higher than that for men or much higher than it might be, and these differences may be due to differences in administrative procedures. Obviously, much more data are needed before a definitive conclusion can be reached, including an analysis of the reasons for return for both men and women, and perhaps an experimental study in which the TFT rate for women would be reduced in order to determine what the consequences would be, particularly in terms of additional new offenses.

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CHAPTER 6
SUMMARY

This analysis of long-term parole outcome among California's women parolees outlines the extent and costs of recidivism, describes the characteristics of women returned to prison, compares the California women's return rates to those in other jurisdictions, and attempts to identify factors associated with recidivism among women.

Subjects

The subjects were 666 women released for the first time from the California Institution for Women in 1960 and 1961. In general terms, two-thirds of these women were White and in their early thirties. They scored as low-normal and at the junior high school level on intelligence and educational achievement tests. Approximately two-thirds of this group had served prior commitments, and one-third reported heroin use. Most were insufficient funds check writers or narcotics offenders. At the end of eight years, 40 percent had been returned to prison at least once.

These characteristics varied among ethnic group, with White women showing higher educational and intelligence test scores, less narcotics use, fewer pre-prison misdemeanor convictions, and fewer returns to prison after release.

Comparison of the study group with women released in 1962 through 1964 showed that the only significant differences in characteristics were related to the channeling of narcotics offenders to the newly opened California Rehabilitation Center and an increase in White parolees. It was concluded that there was no reason to reject the assumption that the study group is fairly representative of other groups of parolees.

Return Rates and Correctional Costs

When parole outcome is examined in terms of status of subjects eight years after release and the intervening events, recidivism appears as a major problem overwhelmingly caused by repeated returns of a comparatively small number of parolees who appear to be identified before release as a special problem group.

Status of Subjects

Eight years after their first release from prison, two-thirds of the women had been discharged, and one-third was still under CDC jurisdiction -- ten percent in prison, 11 percent on active parole and seven percent at large.

Returns to Prison

Approximately 60 percent of the women had not been returned to prison, 20 percent had been returned once only, and 20 percent from two to seven times. Assaultive offenders were the most successful parolees, with only 15 percent returned.

Time Served and Costs

From their first entry into prison to eight years after first release, the 626^{1/} women had spent a total of 4,178 years under CDC jurisdiction for a total cost, estimated at current rates, of \$7,929,307. The average cost per offender rose from \$8,688 for women with no returns to prison to \$30,101 for one woman returned seven times. Returns to prison increased the original incarceration time and costs by 44 percent. Multiple returns to prison of 20 percent of the women accounted for 72 percent of the total readmission time and costs.

Multiple Returnees

Returnees and non-returnees differed in early prison experience. Women who were returned to prison served more time during their original incarcerations, and those who eventually became multiple returnees were brought back after their first release twice as quickly as women who were returned once only.

The probability of returning to prison rose with each reincarceration; 40 percent of the women were returned after their first release and 65 percent after their third release.

Parolee Characteristics and Parole Outcome

The variations in early prison and parole experience found among those who eventually varied in parole outcome suggest that the different groups may be identified as having different patterns of characteristics, which evoke differential correctional treatment. Consequently, characteristics of parolees with different kinds of parole outcomes were compared. Kinds of parole outcome considered were returns with new commitments (WNC), returns for parole rule violation only (TFT), and no return to prison.

Frequency of New Commitments and TFT Returns

Thirteen percent of the study group were returned to prison with new commitments, accounting for one-third of the total readmission time served and 20 percent of the total number of readmissions. On the other hand, 25 percent of the study group with returns for parole rule violation only accounted for two-thirds of the total readmission time and 80 percent of the readmissions. The recidivism rate is thus overwhelmingly the result of the women being returned for parole rule violations, rather than the commission of new felonies which result in new commitments to prison.

Characteristics of Women with New Commitments

Only one of the 70 assaultive offenders in the study group returned with a new commitment. Among other offense types new commitments occurred with equal probability.

^{1/} Omitted are 34 women who were deceased or absconded parole shortly after release.

The extent of prior commitments was the only factor consistently and significantly associated with new commitments. Narcotics use tended to be related to new commitments among women with relatively limited prior records, suggesting that narcotics may be a factor in tipping the scales toward further delinquency among these women.

Ethnic groups did not vary in proportions returned with new commitments but tended to differ in the kinds of woman so returned. Among narcotics users originally convicted of narcotics offenses, more White than Black women were returned with new commitments, while among non-users originally convicted of property offenses more Black than White women were returned by the courts. Economic need as a motivation for new offenses may be more prevalent among Black than among White women.

Characteristics of Women with TFT Returns

In contrast to new commitments, TFT returns were significantly associated with all characteristics examined except offense type, where apparent differences were found to be a function of narcotics use. Returned more frequently for parole rule violations were parolees with a history of narcotics use and prior commitments, average and below average educational and intelligence test scores, and minority group membership.

Most strongly associated with TFT returns were narcotics use and prior commitment record. When the effects of prior commitments were examined separately among users and non-users, technical return rates were found to rise progressively from 12 percent among non-users with no prior commitments to 61 percent among users with high prior commitments.

Persistent ethnic differences in TFT returns, apparent when groups were equated on narcotics use and offense type, were found largely among narcotics users with prior commitments. The data indicate that when Black women do not use narcotics and have no or relatively few prior commitments, they are returned TFT no more frequently than their White counterparts. However, as prior records and narcotics use become more extensive, more Black women are returned, and they are returned more frequently than White parolees with the same narcotics and commitment records. Similarly, Black women committed for assaultive offenses are more likely to be returned TFT than are White women.

Parolee Characteristics and Correctional Decisions

The findings posed the question of the relative roles of parolee delinquency and parolee characteristics as determinants of correctional decisions. Accordingly, the relationship of parolee characteristics to the decision to discharge was analyzed for women whose parole behavior was free from delinquency serious enough to warrant return to prison. Among these women, length of time on parole before discharge was found to be associated with parolee characteristics in the same manner as number of TFT returns. Non-narcotics users were discharged sooner than narcotics users, and within those groups, women with no prior commitments were discharged sooner than those with prior commitment records. In groups equated for narcotics use and prior commitments, White women were discharged sooner than Black women. Nearly all of the women with above-average intelligence and educational test scores were White, non-narcotics

users, and they were discharged sooner than other White non-users with lower educational and intelligence test scores. The findings strongly indicate that parolee characteristics as well as parolee delinquency do act as determinants of correctional decisions.

Reliability of Findings

Comparisons between the study group and women released for the first time from 1962 to 1964 showed no appreciable difference in the relationship of prison returns to narcotics use and prior commitments, indicating that this relationship is stable and that the findings of the study are representative of other parolees.

Some Comparisons of Return Rates of Men and Women

Up to this point the study has demonstrated that the great majority of returns to prison and the larger portion of the associated costs are accounted for by TFT returns, which are the results of decisions made by the Department of Corrections and the Women's Board of Terms and Parole. Since these decisions are crucial to the problem of recidivism and apparently subject to sources of variation other than criminal behavior of the parolee, they were further evaluated by comparing them to decisions in other parole jurisdictions. Such comparisons should show how agency response affects recidivism rates and also whether recidivism among California's women is high or low in relation to that among other groups of parolees.

The California Experience

Comparison of return rates for men and women released in California from 1960 to 1968 showed that: the return with new commitment rates for women was consistently lower than that for men; that after the second or third year on parole the women's TFT return rate was consistently higher than that of men; and that the difference in TFT return rates increased sharply in 1965.

The increase in differences in TFT's between men and women coincided with administrative changes brought about by the inauguration of a Work Unit Program for men but not women parolees.

The implication that the reduction in returns of men parolees to prison was a result of administrative policy is supported by previous experimental studies where the parole agent's recommendations in hypothetical cases were found to vary in accordance with his perception of how the cases would be viewed by his supervisor. Subsequent replication of the experiment found that the percentage of recommendations for return to prison in the hypothetical cases was much lower after the Work Unit Program was initiated.

The ratio of TFT's to new commitments among California parolees released from 1960 to 1965 showed that a woman is two to three times more likely than is a man to be returned to prison TFT rather than with a new commitment. If the new commitment rate is less subject to administrative manipulation than is the TFT rate, then the new commitment is the more rigorous measure of criminal involvement. By this criterion, women are less criminally involved but are returned to prison by the correctional agency more often than are men.

The Nationwide Experience

According to the Uniform Parole Reports System of the National Probation and Parole Institute, 11 percent of 1,931 women parolees released nationwide in 1967 and 1968 were returned to prison TFT within one year after release, compared to 19 percent of California's women parolees. The nationwide TFT rates showed little differences between men and women parolees, but more men than women were returned with new commitments.

California and the Nation

The TFT rate for women in California is high in comparison to that of women in other jurisdictions; high in comparison to men in California in recent years, due to changes in administrative behavior brought about by the introduction of the Work Unit Program for men; and high in relation to the rate of return by new court commitments.

The argument, that women would be expected to be returned to prison more frequently than men because the criminal justice system is more lenient toward women and sends to prison only those heavily committed to criminal behavior, was tested. This argument was found to be inconsistent with study findings demonstrating that the rate for women is higher only in California; that fewer women than men return to prison with new felony convictions; and that marked differences between men and women in return rates appeared with a change in administrative policy when the men's Work Unit Program was introduced.

Since 1965 the women's TFT rate was found to average about ten percentage points higher than that for men. In relation to the number of WNC returns, the women's TFT rate was found to be more than twice as high as could be expected. It was concluded that the women's TFT return rate is relatively high and that the difference in recidivism among men and women is brought about by differences in administrative practice. More data are needed before some definite conclusions can be reached, including an analysis of the reasons for return for both men and women and, perhaps, an experimental study of the relationship of reduced TFT returns for women to eventual parole outcome.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS

The percentage of women returned to prison for parole rule violation in California is high. It is almost double the average for the rest of the nation; higher than found among California's male parolees; and high in relation to rate of return of women with new court commitments. The process is costly, boosting the total prison and parole operating expenses to nearly \$8 million for the 626 women in the study group during the period studied. Returns to prison increased the original costs of incarceration by 44 percent. A disproportionately large portion of this cost resulted from the repeated returning to prison for parole rule violation of a comparatively small percentage of women. Parolees who were returned by the courts with new commitments accounted for a minor part of the recidivism.

The TFT return to prison is ordered by the Women's Board of Terms and Parole in consultation with the parole agent when violation of parole rules is judged to be symptomatic of deteriorating parole adjustment which could lead to new delinquency. Thus, the recidivism rate is seen as a product of two interacting factors, the behavior of the parolee and the response of the agency to her behavior.

Comparisons of variations in responses to parolees by agencies in several jurisdictions clearly show the impact of agency decisions on return-to-prison rates. One example was found in the experience of the men's Work Unit Program, where TFT rates were reduced when agents were encouraged by the administration to seek alternatives to prison returns. Under this system new commitments did not increase. The relationship of parolee behavior to recidivism is more obscure. Criminal behavior among women parolees, as reflected in new commitment rates, was found to be fairly constant bearing no relationship to the marked variations in TFT rates between California and the rest of the nation or within California over time. Women were shown to be less committed to crime than men, but in California their TFT rate was higher than that of men parolees.

While parolee criminal involvement could not be related to variations in recidivism rates, a strong relationship was found between parolee characteristics and TFT rates. Women with identifiable sets of characteristics were accorded differential correctional treatment. Those with lower educational and intelligence test scores, records of more extensive prior commitments and narcotics use, and Black women were returned more frequently TFT than other kinds of parolees. They served longer original sentences, and those who eventually became multiple returnees were returned from first parole twice as quickly as those returned once only. When not returned they served more time on parole before discharge. Among White, non-narcotics users, women with average and lower intelligence and educational test scores were returned TFT more frequently than other parolees; while among narcotics users with prior commitments, Black women were returned TFT with greater frequency than were White women. Apparently these women were perceived by the agency as more delinquency-prone, posing a greater threat to society and needing more extensive correctional attention than were other parolees. Yet, women who were returned

by the courts for committing new offenses exhibited only one of these characteristics, a more extensive prior commitment record. Decisions for TFT returns were thus found to be associated with parolee characteristics which were not also associated with offenses resulting in new court commitments. The obvious implication is that differences in the recidivism rates of sub-groups of California's women parolees are results of agency response to parolee characteristics not necessarily related to criminal behavior.

Emerging from the study was no evidence that lengthy incarceration or return trips to prison result in rehabilitation. Women with the shortest prison terms were the most successful on parole. The probability of reincarceration was found to increase with each succeeding incarceration. While 40 percent of the women under CDC jurisdiction were returned to prison at least once, only two percent of those discharged from that jurisdiction were subsequently returned by the courts.

Return to prison for violation of parole rules is a device freely employed in California as a delinquency-prevention measure to deter new offenses, yet in the rest of the nation where TFT return rates for women are much lower than in California, women parolees are returned by the courts with new commitments no more frequently than are California's women parolees.

These considerations touch on only a part of the total problem of recidivism among women, and much more information is needed before definite conclusions can be reached. An obvious need is an analysis of the reasons for TFT returns and the extent of the delinquency involved. The high TFT rate among women with a history of narcotics use suggests that narcotics may be the major factor in prison returns. More definitive would be a study of the effects of an experimental reduction of TFT returns especially in regard to new commitment rates. Among men parolees the Work Unit Program reduced TFT returns without increasing new commitments. Since women are less inclined than men to new criminality, a similar experimental program among women would seem to stand an even greater chance of success.

Among women returned with new commitments, the study identified two special problem areas which might profitably be explored further. One was the possible economic motivation for new offenses seen in Black women, where among non-addict property offenders twice as many Black as White women were returned by the courts. Do Black women have fewer economic resources than White women? An evaluation of the economic status of women on parole, with the possibilities of coordination of various community resources including job placement services, may be indicated.

A second problem was seen among women with relatively few prior commitments where narcotics use appeared to be associated with new court commitments. Among other parolees, narcotics users did not return with new commitments more frequently than non-narcotics users. One interpretation might be that women with limited prior commitments have reached a vulnerable turning point in their criminal careers and are in need of special support on parole.

The women studied appear to be representative of California's women parolees in general. Their general characteristics, and parole outcomes in relation to prior commitments and narcotics use, did not differ significantly from those of subsequently released comparison groups. Consequently, the parole processes described as operating among California's women felons may be expected to continue, barring specific changes in agency practice.

CHAPTER 8
ADDENDUM

The parole careers of the 626 women described in this study began more than a decade ago. The question arises as to the relevance of study findings to current parole problems.

The study assumes that the parolees described form a representative sample of a population of parolees released from CIW over time. If the assumption is correct, their parole careers should be similar to those of parolees released in later years, and should indicate the kinds of problems which may be expected to arise, barring specific administrative policy changes. If the assumption is not correct, the study has no current relevance.

Comparisons of the study subjects with those of women released in the three succeeding years (Chapter 2) revealed no reason to reject the assumption that no great differences existed between the women studied and those released later. A more crucial test of the assumption would be a comparison of the parole outcome of the original group with the outcome of current parolees. Newly compiled data make possible such a comparison.

The new subjects were all of the women (both first releases and re-releases) entering California parole from 1967 through 1969. The parole outcome was noted for each woman at exactly two years after her release. This arrangement allows for a study of the parole operation from January 1, 1967 to January 1, 1972. Their characteristics and two-year parole outcomes were compared to the characteristics and two-year parole outcomes of all women released to California parole in 1960 and 1961. (The original study subjects released in 1960 and 1961 included first releases only.)

Findings

1. Overall parole outcome. The parole outcome shows slightly fewer new commitments and discharges, and a seven percent higher TFT₁/ rate for the current group (Table 37). The difference in TFT return rates would be expected to arise from chance factors alone less than one time in one hundred.

In the original study, the TFT rate was found to be associated with narcotics use and prior criminal commitments. An overall rise in TFT rates would therefore be expected if the number of women with narcotics use and prior criminal commitments had increased.

1/ Return to prison for parole rule violation without a new commitment.

TABLE 37

TWO YEAR PAROLE OUTCOME OF ALL WOMEN
RELEASED TO CALIFORNIA PAROLE
DURING 1960-1961 AND 1967-1969

Parole Outcome	1960-1961	1967-1969
	Number of Women=911 Percent	Number of Women=1,614 Percent
On Parole	57.5	56.1
Discharged	11.5	9.3
TFT Return	22.5	29.4
WNC Return	8.5	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0

To investigate this possibility, the parolees were divided into three groups:

- a. Women with no narcotics use and no prior criminal commitments, labeled "above average background";
- b. Women with a history of both narcotics use and prior criminal commitments, labeled "below average background"; and
- c. The remaining women, labeled "average background." The average background group included women without a history of narcotics use, but who did have prior criminal commitments (92%) and women with a history of narcotics use but with no prior criminal commitments (8%).

The current parolees showed six percent more women with an average background and slightly fewer with above and below average background (Table 38). The rise in TFT rates cannot, therefore, be attributed to an increase in narcotics use or prior criminal commitments.

TABLE 38

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL WOMEN RELEASED TO CALIFORNIA PAROLE DURING 1960-1961 AND 1967-1969 BY BACKGROUND OF NARCOTICS USE AND PRIOR CRIMINAL COMMITMENTS

Parolee Background	1960-1961		1967-1969	
	Number of Women=911	Percent	Number of Women=1,614	Percent
Above Average		23.5		19.9
Average		40.6		46.7
Below Average		35.9		33.5
Total		100.0		100.0

2. TFT rates, narcotics use and prior commitments. The association of TFT rates with narcotics use and prior criminal commitments found in the original study is accentuated among current parolees. As shown in Table 39, the TFT rate of the current parolees rose from nine percent for women with an above average background to 50 percent for those below average, while for women released in 1960 and 1961 the rate rose from seven percent to 40 percent.

TABLE 39

TFT RETURNS TO PRISON BY ALL WOMEN RELEASED TO CALIFORNIA PAROLE DURING 1960-1961 AND 1967-1969 BY BACKGROUND OF NARCOTICS USE AND PRIOR CRIMINAL COMMITMENTS

Parolee Background	1960-1961		1967-1969	
	Number of Women	Percent Returned TFT	Number of Women	Percent Returned TFT
Above Average	214	6.5	321	9.3
Average	370	16.7	753	23.5
Below Average	327	39.4	540	50.0
Total	911	22.5	1,614	29.5

3. Race and TFT rates. The original study found that race was a factor in TFT rates. Black women were returned more frequently for parole rule violation than were White women, and the difference was found almost exclusively among women with prior criminal commitments and narcotics use. As shown in Table 40, this pattern still persists among current parolees. Present differences between Blacks and Whites are quite similar to those found among women released in 1960 and 1961.

TABLE 40

COMPARATIVE RATES OF TFT RETURNS TO PRISON WITHIN TWO YEARS FOR ALL WOMEN RELEASED TO CALIFORNIA PAROLE DURING 1960-1961 AND 1967-1969

Parolee Background	All Releases to California Parole			
	1960-1961		1967-1969	
	Number of Women	Percent Returned TFT	Number of Women	Percent Returned TFT
<u>Above Average</u>				
White	154	7.8	206	9.2
Black	44	2.3	83	9.6
Other	16	6.3	32	9.4
Total	214	6.5	321	9.3
<u>Average</u>				
White	267	16.5	457	22.3
Black	82	18.3	257	26.8
Other	21	14.3	39	15.4
Total	370	16.7	753	23.5
<u>Below Average</u>				
White	142	36.6	253	46.2
Black	143	42.0	231	52.8
Other	42	40.5	56	51.8
Total	327	39.4	540	50.0
Total All Women	911	22.5	1,614	29.4

4. Comparison of first releases. Data presented thus far has concerned all releases to California parole during the two periods studied. Because the original study included first releases only, it is of interest to compare their two-year parole outcome with the two-year outcome of the current first releases only. These comparisons show the same pattern found among all releases (Table 41).

Conclusions

It is concluded that the women paroled in 1960 and 1961 are a representative sample of the parolee population, since their parole outcomes have predicted in a rather precise way the pattern of current returns. Consequently, the original study findings may be considered relevant to current parole operations.

TABLE 41

COMPARATIVE RATES OF TFT RETURNS TO PRISON
WITHIN TWO YEARS FOR WOMEN RELEASED TO CALIFORNIA PAROLE
FOR THE FIRST TIME DURING 1960-1961 AND 1967-1969

Parolee Background	First Releases to California Parole			
	1960-1961		1967-1969	
	Number of Women	Percent Returned TFT	Number of Women	Percent Returned TFT
<u>Above Average</u>				
White	140	7.8	175	6.9
Black	40	2.5	72	8.3
Other	16	6.3	25	8.0
Total	196	6.6	272	7.4
<u>Average</u>				
White	176	14.8	235	19.1
Black	58	12.1	154	22.1
Other	16	12.5	20	30.0
Total	250	14.0	409	20.8
<u>Below Average</u>				
White	78	32.1	86	46.5
Black	72	37.5	50	50.0
Other	15	46.7	16	56.3
Total	165	35.8	152	48.7
Total All Women	611*	17.5	833	21.5

* This number represents 611 of the total of 660 original study subjects. Women released to out-of-state parole are not included in any of the comparisons in this addendum. They were included in the original study.

END