

ASSESSMENT OF VARIABLES USED IN PRESENTENCE RECOMMENDATIONS AND COURT DECISIONS



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ASSESSMENT OF VARIABLES USED IN PRESENTENCE RECOMMENDATIONS AND COURT DECISIONS

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ABSTRACT

In 1976 the Seattle Presentence Unit in Washington State was studied to assess the degree of the Superior Court's acceptance of sentencing recommendations. While the evaluation found that the degree of court acceptance of recommendations was quite high, the final report also emphasized the need for further research concerning the variables that influence recommendations and court decisions. The present study investigates two specific issues. The first issue concerns the possibility that the race of offenders influences recommendations and sentences. The second issue concerns the extent of sentencing disparities due to differences in individual judgments.

The recommendations and sentences of 826 convicted offenders were analyzed using multiple partial correlation to assess the specific effects of race on the sentencing process. Recommendations for one category of crimes appeared to be influenced by the race of the offender. Specifically, black offenders received significantly harsher recommended sentences for drug crimes. However, a more detailed analysis revealed that blacks were more frequently convicted for narcotics violations, and whites were more frequently convicted for marijuana violations. Thus, the differences in sentence severity between blacks and whites convicted of drug crimes may be explained by the type of drug involved. In summary, there was little evidence of racial discrimination in the recommendations and sentences received by offenders.

Concerning the second issue of sentencing disparities, the comparison of sentences across judges revealed substantial variation in the severity of sentences imposed by judges. While there were no significant differences in the recommendations sent to selected judges, the most lenient judges gave 74 percent of the property offenders straight probation. In contrast, the most severe judges sent 71 percent of the property offenders to jail. Such disparities in sentences demonstrate the inequities of the current criminal justice system. Clearly, efforts to establish more consistent standards should be continued.

INTRODUCTION

The Seattle Presentence Unit is responsible for making sentencing recommendations to the King County Superior Court. 1/ In 1973 this unit was expanded in order to provide more complete information to the court prior to sentencing. The effects of this increased service were evaluated 1) to determine the degree of the court's acceptance of the recommendations and 2) to assess the effectiveness of the unit in selecting community alternatives without increasing the risk of recidivism. While the study found that the degree of court acceptance was quite high (92 percent agreement), the final report (Lehman and Holm, 1976) also emphasized the need for further research concerning the variables that influence sentencing recommendations. Such an assessment is necessary to ensure that differential recommendations and sentences are based on legally relevant variables and to ensure that judgments are not based on arbitrary or prejudicial circumstances. Since a comprehensive assessment of variables was beyond the scope of the original evaluation, the present study was initiated in late 1978 to identify and evaluate the variables used in this process.

Prior Research

Previous research has identified an extensive list of variables which apparently influence sentencing recommendations and court decisions. However, there is conflicting evidence, from Sellin's 1928 article to the present, concerning the effects of extra-legal variables (such as race and social class) in the determination of sentences. In order to understand the distinction between legally relevant and extra-legal variables, it is necessary to identify the assumptions behind the sentences imposed in our courts. While there is no concensus as to the single purpose in imposing a sentence, 2/ there is general agreement that the purpose falls into one or more of the following five caregories:

- 1) rehabilitation.
- 2) punishment.
- 3) incapacitation.
- 4) revenge, and
- 5) deterrence.

The purposes selected by a decision-maker determine the variables that are considered relevant and proper as sentencing criteria. For example, a judge who believes that punishment is the primary purpose of sentencing might consider the seriousness of the offense as most relevant. On the other hand, a judge who believes that rehabilitation is the primary purpose of sentencing might consider the treatment prognosis as the most relevant factor in imposing a sentence. Thus, a judge might argue that race is a legally relevant variable if it relates to treatment prognosis. While some assumptions are less defensible than others, every purpose must be considered when identifying a list of legally relevant variables. For purposes of the present study, race is defined as an extra-legal variable.

^{1/} King County includes the greater Seattle metropolitan area and contains 31 percent of Washington's population.

 $[\]underline{2}$ / For detailed discussions, see Howard (1968); Morris (1974); and Ohlin and Remington (1958).

Past research on extra-legal variables has centered primarily on four variables: the race, socio-economic status, age, and sex of the offender. In an excellent review of research related to extra-legal variables, Hagan (1974) concluded the following:

- (a) Race: Evidence of differential sentencing was found in the southern United States. In samples of non-capital cases, however, when offense type was held constant among offenders with no prior record, the relationship between race and disposition was diminished below statistical significance. Holding offense type constant, among offenders with "some" previous convictions, a modest, statistically significant relationship between race and disposition was sustained in two of three studies. The need for stricter control over the number of previous convictions was indicated.
- (b) Socio-Economic Status: With social class as the relevant variable, some evidence of differential sentencing was again found in <u>capital cases</u> in a non-southern state. This finding withstood controls for legally significant factors. In a sample of <u>non-capital cases</u>, however, the relationship between class and disposition was diminished in strength, and reduced below statistical significance, by holding constant the effects of offense type and prior record.
- (c) Age and Sex: In <u>capital and non-capital cases</u> alike, initial relationships between both age and sex, and judicial disposition, were reduced below statistical significance by the introduction of controls for legally relevant factors.

Thus race and socio-economic status appear to be the primary extra-legal variables which influence sentencing decisions. In addition, Hagan is careful to make the point that extra-legal characteristics contribute relatively little to the actual sentences. While the effects were statistically significant, the extra-legal variables generally accounted for less than five percent of the sentencing variation. Legally relevant variables are, presumably, much stronger determinants of judicial disposition. Thus, a thorough analysis of sentencing should include a discussion of the strength of association (or predictive power) of variables as well as reporting statistical significance.

Another issue which arises in sentencing studies is the concern over disparities resulting from variations in the sentencing tendencies of judges. While sentencing variation from judge to judge is well documented (Gaudet, Harris, and St. John, 1933; Frankel, 1940; Gaudet, 1946; Glueck, 1956; Glueck, 1958; and Partridge and Eldridge, 1974), the issue of equity

is unresolved. It is possible that the "sentencing tendencies" of judges reflect legally relevant factors which previous researchers have failed to consider. In any case, it is important to investigate this issue in order to ensure that dispositions are based on objective information rather than a judge's tendency toward leniency or severity.

Based on the issues identified in prior research, the primary goals of this study are:

- 1) to identify legally relevant and extra-legal variables which are related to sentencing,
- 2) to explore any evidence of differential recommendations and sentences that relate to the race of the offender, and
- 3) to describe and assess differences in the sentencing patterns of superior court judges.

METHOD

Sample

The cases in this study were randomly selected from the records of presentence investigations conducted in King County between June 1976 and August 1977. This time frame was chosen, in part, because the procedures for staffing cases and developing recommendations were relatively consistent. $\underline{3}/$ The 50 percent sample includes 659 males and 167 females, for a total of 826 individuals, whose ages ranged from 16 to 74. All special reports were excluded due to the limited amount of information presented.

Data Collection and Reliability

During March 1979 the project staff met with representatives from the Adult Corrections Division and the Seattle Presentence Unit to develop a list of key variables. The four key variables selected were 1) juvenile history, 2) prior adult history, 3) severity of the current offense, and 4) failure in previous treatment programs. These key variables were then incorporated into a data collection instrument which supplemented the information available through the state reporting system (Criminal Justice Information System). The items used in the data collection instruments (see Appendix A - DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS) also incorporated the seriousness of offense scale developed by Sellin and Wolfgang (1964) and the degree of violence scale developed by Parker (1977).

Table 1 presents the complete list of variables collected from Presentence Investigation reports and from the Criminal Justice Information System (CJIS). As indicated in Table 1, six of the variables were eliminated due to infrequency or unreliability. The final list of 51 variables covers

^{3/} In October 1977 the Seattle Presentence Unit changed procedures for presenting cases. The race of the offender is no longer indicated during the case presentation and development of sentencing recommendations.

TABLE 1

List of Variables

1.	Judge
2.	Victim Provocation (a)
3.	Victim Participation
4.	Victim's Age (a)
5.	
6.	
7.	Relationship of Victim to
	Offender
8.	Degree of Violence
9•	Seriousness of Current Offense
10.	Number of Victims of
	Bodily Harm
11.	Number of Victims of
	Forcible Sexual
	Intercourse
12.	Number of such Victims
	Intimidated by a
	Weapon (a)
13.	Extent of Intimidation
14.	Number of Premises
	Forcibly Entered
15.	Number of Motor Vehicles
	Stolen
16.	Property Value
17.	Prior Juvenile History
18.	Prior Adult History
19.	Response to Previous
	Treatment
20.	Additional Crimes While
	Awaiting Sentence
21.	Race of Offender
22.	Marital Status
23.	Living Arrangement
24.	Alcohol Problem
25.	Drug Problem
26.	Assaultive Problem
27.	Medical Problem
28•	Education Offense
29.	Vocational Training
30.	Military Service
31.	Employed When Arrested
32.	Age at First Juvenile Offense

33. Number of Misdemeanor

34. Number of Prior Arrests

Convictions

35. Number of Prior Washington Convictions 36. Number of Prior Out of State Convictions 37. Number of Prior Jail Sentences 38. Number of Probations Successfully Completed 39. Number of Probations Revoked 40. Number of Paroles Successfully Completed Number of Paroles Revoked 42. Number of Prior Washington Prison Commitments 43. Number of Prior Out of State Prison Commitments 44. Age at First Felony Arrest as Adult (b) 45. Prior Offense 46. Current Offense (first charge) 47. Current Offense (second charge) 48. Current Offense (third charge) (a) 49. Physical Force Involved 50. Alcohol Involved in Offense 51. Drugs Involved in Offense 52. Weapon Involved in Offense 53. Finding of Fact 54. Guilt Determined By 55. Custody Status (b) Number of Victims 57. Defense Attorney

legally relevant areas such as the nature and seriousness of the actual offense, aggravating and mitigating factors, and prior criminal history. The extra-legal variables include the judge, race of the offender, method of determining guilt, and type of defense attorney.

All coders received training in the use of the coding manual and scoring system for the data collection. The coding manual and training materials include detailed definitions and examples of offense categories, scoring criteria, and decision rules. Due to the complexity of the coding decisions, some instances arose in which the decision rules were insufficient. In such cases, the coders consulted with the project director and developed additional decision rules for classifying variables. To ensure consistent scoring, periodic meetings were held with all the coders to review these additional decision rules.

The inter-rater reliability was assessed following the completion of the data collection. The records for 78 cases were randomly selected and scored a second time by different coders. The inter-rater agreement across all items was 95 percent. However, three of the variables had substantially lower rates of agreement. The rate of agreement concerning the relationship of the victim to the defendant was only 73 percent, the rate of agreement on prior adult traffic violations was 85 percent, and the rate of agreement on prior adult tertiary victimization was 77 percent. Consequently, the categories for these variables were collapsed into more reliable codes.

Data Analysis

In order to assess the effects of variables on sentencing recommendations and decisions, the statistical analysis included both parametric and non-parametric methods. Chi-square statistics were used during preliminary analyses of the relationships among variables. Multiple partial correlation was used to further assess the relationship between race and the severity of recommendations and sentences. The technique of multiple partial correlation was selected because it removes the influence of selected control variables before measuring the relationship of interest. The influence of selected control variables can be removed through two multiple regressions. The remaining correlation between race and severity of recommendation and sentence reflects the presence or absence of discrimination.

The data analysis involved numerous decisions concerning the inclusion or exclusion of cases and variables, so the following description provides a brief overview of these decisions. More detailed information about such decisions is included in the results section. Since this study is concerned with the discretionary use of information in developing sentences, some cases were excluded because the sentences were dictated by law. Specifically, the Revised Code of Washington 9.41.025 states that any person who commits a felony while armed with a firearm must receive a

⁽a) This variable was reported too infrequently to analyze it statistically.

⁽b) This variable was keypunched incorrectly and is consequently unreliable.

minimum sentence of five years in prison following conviction. Consequently, such cases were excluded from analyses concerned with discretionary recommendations and decisions.

The assessment of race as a variable in sentencing refers to blacks versus whites only. Native Americans, Asian Americans, and other racial minority groups were excluded from this analysis because of the limited number of cases. The present analysis focuses on the direct influence of race on recommendations and decisions rather than indirect or institutionalized sources of discrimination. For example, it is possible that one group may use plea bargaining or jury trials more frequently or more successfully, but such differences were not investigated in the present study. This study simply investigates the direct influence of race on sentencing recommendations and court dispositions.

The severity of each sentence was coded in some detail (see Appendix A - Data Collection Instruments), but the original categories presented two problems in the data analysis. First, the length of a prison sentence imposed by a judge in the state of Washington can be altered by the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles. Thus the actual length of the prison sentence is uncertain at the time of sentencing. Second, recommendations and sentences to the sexual psychopath program at Western State Hospital were quite rare (seven recommendations and three actual sentences out of 826 cases). Consequently, these cases were excluded from the data analysis. The recommendations and sentences for all remaining cases are measured in terms of three basic alternatives: probation, jail, or prison.

RESULTS

In evaluating the use of discretion in sentencing, the variables in this study were considered separately for each official crime prior to averaging the sentences for categories of crime. There are two reasons for this decision. First, a comparison of the crimes committed by blacks and by whites revealed that whites were convicted of a greater variety of crimes. No blacks were convicted of either negligent homicide or indecent liberties. Thus it would be misleading to include these crimes in a comparison of sentences received for person crimes committed by whites versus person crimes committed by blacks. Second, some variables may be relevant to a specific crime but turn out to be unimportant to the evaluation of crimes in general. For example, the value of property stolen may be important for a case of theft, but it could be outweighed by other factors in a crime of violence.

Effects of Extra-Legal Variables

Considering the four extra-legal variables discussed in the introduction, race is clearly the most controversial because it raises the issue of willful discrimination in the judicial system. This possibility is explored in the present study by first investigating the results of the chi-square tests. These analyses are only a preliminary step in the

evaluation, and some of the initial differences may occur by chance (since the probability of finding significant differences increases with the addition of each chi-square analysis). Of the 20 official crimes considered, only 13 were of sufficient frequency to compare the recommended sentences of blacks and whites. Two of these comparisons revealed significant differences in recommendations. Black offenders received significantly harsher recommended sentences for drug crimes (p < .01) and for theft (p < .05). As shown in Tables 2 and 3, the degree of association between race and severity of recommended sentence as measured by the contingency coefficient was C=.26 for drug crimes and C=.26 for theft. Investigating further, the type of drug involved in each drug crime was compared for black versus white offenders. Information on the type of drug was not collected during the initial data collection, so this variable was created by pulling records and hand tabulating the results.

As indicated in Table 4, there are significant differences in the patterns of drug involvement for blacks versus whites (p < .001 and C = .47). Blacks are more frequently convicted for narcotics violations, and whites are more frequently convicted for marijuana violations. Thus, the differences in sentence severity between blacks and whites convicted of drug crimes may be explained by the type of drug involved. This possibility is explored further in the next step of the analysis.

The effect of race on recommended sentence was assessed for selected crimes and crime categories using partial correlation to measure the relationship. Drug crimes were selected first because of the systematic differences noted during preliminary analysis. A list of variables relevant to the evaluation of drug crimes was identified. Following Hagan's suggestion (1974) that research efforts should develop more systematic measures of prior history, several measures of prior juvenile and adult crimes were included in the analysis. The specific variables identified were 1) prior adult crimes, 2) prior drug related crimes, 3) prior adult crimes resulting in injury, and 4) prior adult theft. In addition, two process variables were included to adjust for possible effects of the legal system. The method of determining guilt was included since some observers believe that cases convicted by a jury receive harsher sentences. Also, the existence of multiple official charges was included in the analysis. Finally, the commission of additional crimes while awaiting sentence was selected as a variable which could potentially increase the severity of the sentence. Note that the type of drug involved was not included in this analysis because that variable was not available through the computerized data base.

The seven selected variables were used as control variables, and the second-order partial correlation coefficients for race and sentence were calculated for each pair of control variables. Table 5 presents the pairs of variables which resulted in the greatest reduction in the relationship between race and sentence (both recommended sentence and actual court disposition). The control variables reduced the correlation between race and severity of court disposition, but the correlation between race and recommended

Chi-Square Test of Race and Recommendation Relationship for Drug Crimes

Recommended Sentence

	•	Probation	Jail	Prison
Race	White	69	24	5
	Black	22	16	9

Chi-square = 10.47 df= 2 p < .01 contingency coefficient = .26

TABLE 3

Chi-Square Test of Race and Recommendation Relationship for Crimes of Theft

Recommended Sentence

		Probation	Jail	Prison
Race	White	52	21	
	Black	8	12	2

Chi-square = 6.99 df= 2 p <.05 contingency coefficient = .257

TABLE 4

Chi-Square Test of Race and Type of Drug Relationship for Drug Crimes

Type of Drug

	Marijuana	Narcotic	Other
Race		<u> </u>] [
White	31	[] 28	 39
	1] 	
Black	1	i 40	 6
]		
			i

Chi-square = 41.661 df= 2 \underline{p} <.001 contingency coefficient = .472

TABLE 5

Second-Order Partial Correlation Coefficients for Race and Sentence for Drug Crimes

Control Variables	Race and Recommended Sentence	Race and Court Disposition
Multiple Charges and Prior Adult Crimes	•23 **	•16 *
Method of Determining Guilt and Prior Adult Crimes	•19 *	•13
Prior Drug Crimes and Prior Adult Crimes	•23 **	.16 *
Prior Drug Crimes and Multiple Charges	.19 *	•13

df = 146

* <u>p</u> < .05 ** <u>p</u> < .01

9

sentence remained significant (p < .01). In view of this finding, the information on the type of drug involved in the offense was coded and introduced as an additional control variable. The third-order partial correlation coefficients for race and sentence are presented in Table 6. The introduction of type of drug as a control variable resulted in two nonsignificant correlations between race and severity of court disposition. However, the correlation between race and severity of recommended sentence was still statistically significant after controlling for the type of drug involved in the offense. Exploring this further, the fifth-order partial correlation for race and recommended sentence resulted in a partial correlation of .145 which is still statistically significant (p < .05). Thus, after controlling for five other variables, the race of the offender increases the accuracy of prediction of the recommendation by two percent (r = .021). This finding will be discussed in the Conclusion section of this report.

The next set of partial correlations involves property crimes since recommendations for crimes of theft had systematic differences during preliminary analyses. The control variables identified for this category were 1) prior juvenile history, 2) prior juvenile crimes involving theft, 3) prior adult crimes involving theft, 4) number of victims, 5) degree of violence involved in the crime, and 6) the existence of multiple official charges. The second-order partial correlation coefficients for race and sentence were calculated for each pair of control variables. Table 7 presents the pairs of variables which resulted in the greatest reduction in the relationship between race and sentence. For property crimes, the correlation between race and sentence is nonsignificant when appropriate control variables are introduced (30 second-order partials were calculated and none were statistically significant). Thus, a variety of legally relevant variables account for the systematic differences in sentences received for property crimes.

The final set of partial correlations involves crimes that resulted in injury to the victim. The control variables identified for this category of crimes were 1) prior juvenile crimes involving theft, 2) number of victims, 3) physical force involved in the offense, and 4) type of defense attorney.

The second-order partial correlation coefficients for race and sentence were calculated for each pair of control variables. Table 8 presents the pairs of variables which resulted in the greatest reduction in the relationship between race and sentence. For crimes which resulted in injury to the victim, the correlation between race and sentence is generally nonsignificant when appropriate control variables are introduced (12 second-order partials were calculated and only one was statistically significant). When all four control variables are used simultaneously, the fourth-order partial is reduced to .08 for race and recommended sentence while the association between race and actual court disposition is reduced to .12, which is statistically nonsignificant. Thus, the control variables account for the systematic differences in sentences received for crimes involving injury to the victim.

TABLE 6

Third-Order Partial Correlation Coefficients for Race and Sentence for Drug Crimes

Control Variables	Race and Recommended Sentence	Race and Court Disposition
Type of Drug, Multiple Charges, and Prior Adult Crimes	•21 **	•15 *
Type of Drug, Method of Determining Guilt, and Prior Adult Crimes	•16 *	•11
Type of Drug, Prior Drug Crimes, and Prior Adult Crimes	 •21 ** 	.16 *
Prior Adult Crimes, Prior Drug Crimes, and Multiple Charges	 .18 * 	•12

df = 145 * p < .05 ** p < .01

Note: The number of cases in this analysis is smaller than the number reported for Table 5 because one case had no information on the specific type of drug involved in the offense.

TABLE 7

Second-Order Partial Correlation Coefficients for Race and Sentence for Property Crimes

Control Variables	Race and Recommended Sentence	Race and Court Disposition
Multiple Charges and Degree of Violence	• 04 	•01
Multiple Charges and Prior Juvenile Theft	•04	01
Multiple Charges and Prior Adult Theft	.04	01
Number of Victims and Degree of Violence	• 04	01
Degree of Violence and Prior Juvenile Theft	.04	02
Degree of Violence and	•04	01
Prior Adult Theft Prior Juvenile Theft and Prior Adult Theft	.04	01
LLTOL WORTE THETE	1	.1

df = 398

TABLE 8

Second-Order Partial Correlation Coefficients for Race and Sentence for Crimes Involving Injury to the Victim

Control Variables	Race and Recommended Sentence	Race and Court Disposition
Physical Force Involved and Prior Juvenile Theft	.14	 •17
Physical Force Involved	-14	.19
and Type of Defense		

adf = 81 bdf = 78

Sentencing Patterns of Judges

During the 1976-77 period under investigation, a total of 34 King County Superior Court judges sentenced cases which had been evaluated by the Seattle Presentence Unit. Only the category of property crimes was seen frequently enough to draw comparisons among the judges in terms of the severity of their sentences. This category is broadly defined, and it includes crimes ranging from first degree burglary to welfare fraud. Consequently, there is substantial variation in the severity of sentences imposed by most judges. In order to allow for this variation, an arbitrary decision was made to exclude judges who saw fewer than nine property crimes during the 1976-77 period. Thus, 11 judges were excluded because any measure of the severity of their sentences might be unfairly biased by the unique characteristics of a particular case. This decision left 23 judges whose decisions could be compared in terms of the severity of their sentences. Table 9 presents a comparison of the actual sentences imposed by the three most lenient and the three most severe judges. The Chi-square analysis resulted in significant differences between the groups of judges (p < .001 and C =46). Thus, the severity of sentences for property crimes appears to vary dramatically when judges from the two ends of the continuum are compared. The three most lenient judges gave straight probation to 74 percent of the property offenders appearing before them. In contrast, the three most severe judges sent 71 percent of the property offenders to jail and sent seven percent to prison. This finding has several alternative interpretations. The differences could result from the sentencing tendencies of the particular judges or the differences could result from the legally relevant variables influencing each judge's decisions. In an attempt to explore the second possibility, the presentence recommendations sent to each judge were compared for the same groups of property offenders.

If the characteristics of particular cases influenced a judge's decisions, then the same factors could influence the recommendations developed by the staff of the presentence unit. Table 10 presents a comparison of recommended sentences for property offenders sentenced by the three most lenient and the three most severe judges. A chi-square analysis resulted in non-significant differences, indicating that the proportions of probation, jail, and prison recommendations for property offenders were fairly consistent across judges. The lenient judges disagreed with six recommendations for jail and sentenced the individuals to straight probation. The severe judges disagreed with 11 recommendations for straight probation and sentenced nine individuals to jail and two to prison (instead of probation).

CONCLUSIONS

Discussion

The results of this study indicate that there is little evidence of racial discrimination in the recommendations and sentences received by offenders in King County during 1976-77. While differences were observed in the sentencing recommendations for property crimes and for drug crimes, these

TABLE 9

Chi-square Test of Judges and Court Dispositions Relationship for Property Offenders

Court Disposition

	Probation	Jail	Prison
Lenient Judges	28	9	1
Severe Judges	9	30	3

Chi-square = 21.92df = 2 p < .001C = .46

TABLE 10

Chi-square Test of Judges and Recommendation Relationship for Property Offenders

Recommended Sentence

	Probation	Jail	Prison
Lenient Judges	22 	 15 	1
Severe Judges	21	20	1 1

Chi-square = .536 df = 2p > .05 differences could be explained to some extent by variation in legally relevant factors. Specifically, blacks received harsher sentences for property crimes because they were more likely to have prior histories involving juvenile and adult convictions for theft. When these factors are controlled, there are no significant differences in the recommendations and sentences for property crimes committed by blacks and whites. The reasons are less clear for differential recommendations for black versus white offenders involved in drug crimes. After controlling for five other variables, the race of the offender accounted for two percent of the variation in recommended sentence. There are several alternative explanations for this result. One possibility is that the presentence unit subtly discriminates against black offenders who commit drug crimes, while they evaluate other black offenders without discriminating. A second possibility is that blacks and whites who commit drug crimes differ in some other important way. For example, white offenders may express interest in drug treatment programs more often than blacks. While the present study included measures of prior success or failure in treatment programs, no information was reported on the offender's interest or involvement in current treatment. Without knowing this information, it is difficult to determine the reasons for differential recommendations for black versus white offenders. 'The offender's knowledge of the legal system and knowledge of treatment options may affect the severity of the final recommendation.

The issue of disparity in the sentencing tendencier of judges is equally complex. The results of the present study indicate that judges differ significantly in the severity of sentences they impose for property crimes. Since there were no significant differences in the recommendations developed for these property offenders, the differences must be attributed to the judges. Such disparities in the sentencing tendencies of judges introduce an element of chance to the criminal justice system. If a property offender is lucky, he may be sentenced by a lenient judge and receive straight probation. A similar property offender could be sentenced by a harsh judge and receive a jail or prison sentence. Such inequities are difficult to justify, yet they are one consequence of the heterogeneous set of purposes behind sentencing. Unless judges agree to a single set of standards for imposing sentences, the disparities in sentencing will continue.

Since the present study found some evidence of differential sentencing in King County, several additional issues concerning the sentencing process should be discussed. First, Garfinkel (1949) has argued that discrimination only occurs when judges are evaluating serious, interracial crimes (i.e., murder or rape of an individual of a different race). The race of the victim was not included in the present study because it is rarely discussed or even reported in the presentence document. In addition, the number of murders and rapes included in the present study is too small to provide an adequate statistical comparison (n = 11). This issue could be explored if information concerning the race of the victim were systematically collected over a five or six-year period.

The offender's ability to use the legal system is a far broader and equally serious issue. Differences between blacks and whites in their use of the legal system could result in institutionalized discrimination. While the present study was not designed to address this issue, several important differences appeared during the statistical analysis. First, the method of abtaining a defense attorney (public defender, court appointed, or hired) was related to the severity of the recommended sentence for crimes involving injury to the victim. Second, chi-square comparisons across all crimes revealed that blacks who hired their own attorneys were more likely than whites to receive prison sentences ($X^2 = 18.05$, df = 2, p < .001). There were no differences between blacks and whites who used either a public defender or a court appointed attorney. Since these differences appeared after averaging sentences across all crimes, it is difficult to interpret the results. These differences should be explored systematically within each category of crime, while controlling for other variables, to determine the specific effects of knowledge and use of the legal system.

Recommendations

The offender's knowledge and use of the legal system should be explored further. The present study provides some preliminary evidence of differences between blacks and whites which could result in institutionalized discrimination. Some of the critical variables in this process may include the offender's interest in treatment alternatives, the offender's income, the defense attorney's prior experience in criminal law and the extent of plea bargaining (as measured by the disparity between the official charge and the actual crime).

A second area requiring further investigation involves the sentencing tendencies of judges. While the present study provides evidence of significant disparities in the sentencing of property offenders, an assessment of judges' philosophies of sentencing might provide the basis for a more systematic analysis. Such an analysis might clarify the extent of agreement or disagreement concerning the purposes of sentencing. The next step toward more consistent sentencing might be to establish common criteria for sentencing specific categories of offenders. Multiple regression analysis could be used in order to identify commonly used criteria. In addition, it might be necessary to identify a list of rare events (e.g., victim provocation of the crime) which are generally considered aggravating or mitigating factors. While these variables are difficult to analyze statistically, they are important to document because they do influence sentencing decisions and are legally relevant.

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APPENDIX

DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Offender's Project	:t
I.D. Number	
Date	
Date	
Coded by	

ASSESSMENT OF VARIABLES USED IN PRESENTENCE RECOMMENDATIONS AND COURT DECISIONS

THE OFFICE OF RESEARCH

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL & HEALTH SERVICES

THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

April 1979

GUIDE TO CODING Check box or write in appropriate response column l 1. Card Number Columns Offender's I.D. Number note:all numbers must be 4 digits, so case #1 would be 0001, etc. columns 2. Sentencing Judge (write in name and check coding manual for code) column 8 3. Was there provocation by the victim(s)? (check coding manual for explanation of provocation) If the victim is an abstract No entity like a company, check no provocation. Yes Unknown column 9 4. Victim participation? (see coding manual for definition of participation) If the victim No is an abstract entity, check no participation) Yes Unknown 5. Victim's age columns (write in number: code 99 for unknown) Code as unknown if victim is an abstract entity. If there were several victims, use the youngest age for young victims and the eldest age for elderly victims.

		1	
	the victim is an abstract		column 12
entity, check unki	nown)	Male	1
		Female	2
	Both Male and Fema	ale Victims	3
		Unknown	9
7 Does victim have a	any physical or health prob	olems?	column 13
7. DOES VICELIII HAVE G	,	No	1
Yes, p	physical disability or bad	health	2
Yes, ind	dication of chronic alcohol	l abuse	3
Yes, both he	ealth problem and alcohol a	abuse	4
•	Unl	known	9
8. What is the relati	ionship of victim to defend	dent?	columns 14-15
8. What is the relati	ionship of victim to defend Spouse(including common	1	columns 14-15
8. What is the relati		Jaw	
8. What is the relati	Spouse(including common	Jaw	01
8. What is the relati	Spouse(including common Child	Jaw	01
8. What is the relati	Spouse(including common Child	Jaw	01 02 03 04 05
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8. What is the relati	Spouse(including common Child	Jaw	01 02 03 04 05 06 07
8. What is the relati	Spouse(including common Child	Jaw	01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08
8. What is the relati	Spouse(including common Child	Jaw	01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09
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8. What is the relati	Spouse(including common Child	Jaw	01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10
8. What is the relati	Spouse(including common Child	Jaw	01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09

. Degree of violence involved	columns 16-17
in the current offense.	
Death resulting from a violent act with intent to do bodily harm	10
(Above act, but in self defense)	08
Major injury inflicted with a weapon	08
(Above act, but in self defense)	06
Major injury inflicted with an objector with the body	07
(Above act, in self defense)	0.5
Minor or no reported injury inflicted with a weapon.	07
(Ahove act, in self defense)	0.5
Threat with or possession of a weapon	06
(Above act, in self defense)	04
Threat with an object	05
(In self defense)	03
Minor or no reported injury inflicted with an object or body	04
(In self defense)	02
Threat in words or gestures only	03
(In self defense)	01
Nonviolent act, without intent to do bodily harm	00
Unknown	99
(see examples of basic types of violence in coding manual)	businemed

10. Seriousness of current offense Effects of event (circle one)		column 18
Injury Theft Damage	Not applicable	О
	I	1
	Т	2
	D	3
I. Number of victims of bodily harm	Number Weight	columns
a. receiving minor injuries	X 1 =	21 22
b. Treated and discharged	X 4 =	23 24
c. Hospitalized	X 7 =	25 26
d. Killed	X 26 =	
		Columns
II. Number of victims of forcible sexual intercourse	x 10 =	27 28
a. number of such victims intimidated by a weapon	x 2 =	29 30
III. Intimidation (except II above)		columns 31 32
a. Physical or verbal only	X 2 =	33 34
b. by weapon	X 4 =	
IV. Number of premises forcibly entered (if 9 or more code 9)	X 1 =	35
V. Number of motor vehicles stolen	X 2 =	36 37

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		Number	ı	Weight		
VI.	Value of property stolen, damaged or destroyed (in dollars)					
,	a. Under 10 dollars		х	1		
	b. 10-250		х	2		
•	251-2000		х	3		
(d. 2001-9000		х	4		
•	9001-30,000		х	5		
	E. 30,001-80,000		х	6		
8	g. Over 80,000		Х	7		
calcu write	alate total score for this category and e result in columns 38-39				38	mns 39
P	rior Juvenile History-number of rior offenses (convictions) involving: . bodily injury	•••••	•••	• • • •	colu 40	mns
Ъ	. Property theft	• • • • • •		•••	41	
С	. Property damage	• • • • • • •	•••	• • • •	42	
d	. Intimidation	• • • • • • •	• • • •	• • • •	43	
e.	Traffic violations	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		• • • •	44	
f.	Primary victimization	•••••	• • •	•••	45	
g.	secondary victimization	•••••			46	
h.	tertiary victimization				47	

	4~~~~~~~
Question 11 continued:	columns 48
i. Mutual victimization	
j. no victimization	49
<pre>12. Prior Adult history-number of prior offenses(convictions) involving:</pre>	columns 50
a. Bodily injury	51
b. Property theft	I
c. Property damage	l
d. Intimidation	}
e. Traffic violations	
f. primary victimization	55
g. secondary victimization	
h. tertiary victimization	57
i. mutual victimization	59
j. no victimization	39
13. Response to previous treatment programs: (if 8 or more code as 8: if not applicable code as 9)	columns 60
Number of failures	61
Number of Successes	

		Column 62
14.	Did the offender commit additional	
	crimes while awaiting sentence?	1
	Yes, a misdemeanor	2
	Yes, a felony	3
	Yes, more than one felony	4
	Unknown	9
15.	Presentence Recommendation:	Column 63
	Prison	
	Mental health Institution or observation	<u> </u>
	Sexual Psychopath program	3
	Probation and a suspended sentence	4
	Probation and a deferred sentence	5
	Probation only	6
	Unknown	9
16.	Length of Probation Period Recommended:	Column 64
	No time	0
	One year	1
	Two years	2
	Three years	3
	Four years	4
	Five years	5
	Six or more years	6

#16 continued:	column 64 continued:
(N/A) Prison, Mental health, observation	7
Unknown	
17. Number of days in jail recommended:	columns 65 66 67
(write the number of days or code 000 for no jail time or suspended jail time)	
18. Restitution:	column 68
No	0
Yes	1
Unknown	9
	column 69
19. Community service volunteer work: No	
Yes	
Unknown	9
20. Count discount	column 70
20. Court disposition: Prison	1
Mental health institution or observation	2
Sexual Psychopath program	3
Probation and a suspended sentence	4
Probation and a deferred sentence	5
Probation Only	6
Unknown	9
21. Number of days in jail:	columns 71 72 73
(Write the number of days or code 000 for no jail time or for suspended jail time)	

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AND HEALTH SERVICES

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PRESENTENCE OR INTAKE SUMMARY REPORT

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