

THE RELATION OF SOCIAL  
CHARACTERISTICS TO PAROLE SUCCESS

by

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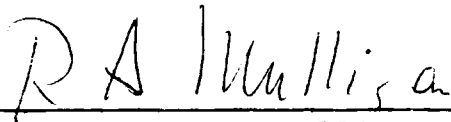
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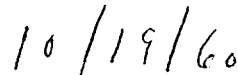
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C.P.S.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

A great need in the field of penology is a scientific method that will predict the parole adjustment of institutionalized offenders. Such a device would be of great help to parole boards and field officers. However, to date, no reliable test has been formulated in spite of research into the area by a number of noted sociologists.

Beginning with Burgess' study in 1928, the reliability of correlating social characteristics with parole success has been tested many times. The foundation of such studies has been built around the relation of numerous factors within the parolee's background, personality, attitudes and environment. The general conclusion of the researchers indicates their belief that parole performance would necessarily relate to certain circumstances, but that there are innumerable variables that would challenge the reliability of such a prediction. At the present time, there seems to be no published work establishing the dependability of any approach heretofore used.

The present study is an attempt to analyze certain selected factors in relation to parole performance that may prove to be of predictive value in a local setting. The success rate of both an active case load and a group

discharged from parole supervision will be considered. The data compiled is an effort to test the hypothesis that there is no direct correlation between selected social characteristics and parole success.

Since at the time of preparation of this paper the writer was employed as a parole agent for the California Youth Authority, the records of this agency were chosen as source material for the study. Not only were these records readily available, but the agency is particularly willing to cooperate in any such project as it may produce facts that could lead to improvement in the program. In order for the reader to better understand this research, it is felt that the following background information on the agency is necessary.

The California Youth Authority was established by legislation in 1941. The original act was designed to handle the age group of sixteen to twenty-three committed from adult courts, but it also provided that juvenile court commitments could be accepted. As soon as the agency was officially established, requests from juvenile courts for commitment began to far outnumber those from criminal courts. Then in 1943, the Youth Authority took over administration of the state's three existing correctional schools for individuals committed to the state by juvenile courts under the age of twenty-one. As a result, the Youth Authority from then on was responsible for handling all of this group committed

to state jurisdiction by juvenile courts. The California legislature reorganized the adult penal system in 1944, and this included lowering of the commitment age to the Youth Authority from twenty-three to twenty-one.<sup>1</sup>

At the present time, the agency is structured to accept both boys and girls committed either from juvenile court or criminal court as long as they are under the age of twenty-one or over the age of eight at the time of their apprehension.<sup>2</sup> Commitment length from juvenile court is to the twenty-first birthday; from criminal court to the twenty-third birthday for misdemeanors and to the twenty-fifth birthday for felonies. However, the Youth Authority Board has the discretion to discharge a youth committed to its custody at any time they deem it feasible.

The Youth Authority is presently divided into three main areas of administration; Field Services, Institutions, and Administrative Services. The Administrative Services Division includes personnel, research, finance, and other necessary administrative functions. The Institutions Division is responsible for operation of the twelve Youth Authority

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1. John R. Ellingston, "The Youth Authority Program," Contemporary Correction, Paul W. Tappan, editor, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1951), p. 126.

2. California law also prohibits commitment to the Youth Authority of individuals mentally or physically ill, merely unfortunate as well as those sentenced to death or life imprisonment or a term less than ninety days.

facilities, as well as coordination of the program for Youth Authority wards<sup>3</sup> placed in a Department of Corrections institution. At the time of this study, there were a total of 3,263 wards in Youth Authority facilities, and 1,457 in those maintained by the Department of Corrections. The Field Services Division is comprised of the Parole Bureau and the Bureau of Delinquency Prevention and Probation Services. When this study was made, there were 9,180 wards on active parole to the agency and 169 field officers to handle their supervision. This compares with eleven agents and 1,760 wards at the time the agency was first established in 1942. The Bureau of Delinquency Prevention and Probation Services aids in the organization of community programs for reducing delinquency and also aids probation and police departments in raising their level of service.

The Youth Authority program is designed so that wards committed to its jurisdiction are given full opportunity of a total rehabilitative program rather than just short term custodial control. Upon commitment to the department, a ward is first sent to a reception center and clinic where he is given complete vocational, educational, medical, and psychiatric testing for a period of six weeks. At the completion of this period of observation, the clinical staff makes a

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3. All individuals committed by the courts to the Youth Authority are referred to as "wards".

recommendation to the Youth Authority Board for further placement. This could mean transfer to any one of the institutions, or in some cases, release on parole. Each case is treated individually. The institutional program is structured so that each ward is referred to a facility best fitting both his emotional and chronological age and program needs. After participation in the treatment and training program of the institution, <sup>4</sup> the wards are referred to parole. The Division of Field Services must locate an adequate placement and then follow up with a continued program of counseling and supervision within the community. The basic parole rules are not too detailed, leaving limitations on individual cases open for adjustment.

Whenever a ward under the jurisdiction of the agency is involved in a new offense, the parole officer must investigate the case to determine the circumstances. Policy states that essentially any ward involved in an offense in which a petition or complaint is filed must have his parole suspended until disposition of the case is made. <sup>5</sup> Once the court makes its decision, then the agency follows through with suitable action depending on the case. In Juvenile

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4. The median length of institutional stay in 1958 was 7.8 months for boys and 9.2 months for girls.

5. Exceptions are in cases in adult court where a small fine or jail term of less than five days is the sentence. In these instances, a report of the incident will suffice without official suspension.

Court, Youth Authority wards are returned to the agency for disposition except when they are declared unfit. When declared unfit for Juvenile Court, a ward must then be tried under the general law. In criminal court, several opportunities for disposition are open to the judge. If, in the case of a ward who is a juvenile court commitment, the court feels that further treatment under the Youth Authority program is in order, a new commitment from adult court may be made. If the judge feels that a ward is beyond the reach of the Youth Authority, then a commitment to the Department of Corrections may be made. Or, in some cases, a commitment to the county jail is made. Whenever a ward is committed to a sentence or alternate jurisdiction beyond the commitment to the Youth Authority, the agency discharges the case as a failure to prevent duplication of effort.

Revocation of parole is also used whenever it is felt that further institutionalization would be of benefit to the ward. This may result from being involved in a new offense that is handled in Juvenile Court <sup>6</sup> and the case referred back to the agency for disposition, or from an overall poor parole adjustment without a new offense.<sup>7</sup> Whenever the

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6. In adult court, if a ward pleads guilty or is convicted of an offense, he cannot just be turned over to the agency for disposition, but must be sentenced according to law.

7. This is referred to as a "Technical Violation."

parole of a ward is suspended, the field agent must keep track of the case and after court disposition is made, a report to the Youth Authority Board must be made with a recommendation for further action.

The total program of the agency studied is aimed at bringing those committed to it up to a reasonable level of community responsibility whereby further anti-social acts will be dispensed with or reduced to a minimum. Such a program must necessarily involve much manipulation, support and counseling of the wards individually as well as frequent review of the overall picture to keep abreast of current developments or ways to improve the level of service.

For the purposes of this paper, eleven characteristics of wards were chosen due to the uniformity of their existence in the files. Those selected were social class, sex, age, ethnic background, religion and family make-up as well as the socio-legal characteristics of commitment offense, court of commitment, institution from which paroled, number of times on parole, and length of present parole term. The study was made on those wards under the specific jurisdiction of the Riverside office of the Youth Authority which handles all cases in Riverside, San Bernardino, and Inyo Counties.

CHAPTER II  
RELATED STUDIES

Initial efforts in the development of a scientific method of parole prediction are credited to Ernest W. Burgess<sup>1</sup> and to Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck.<sup>2</sup> Burgess studied 3,000 parolees drawn equally from three Illinois prisons in an attempt to establish a prediction table of prognosis after release. He cross classified the cases according to outcome on parole and to twenty-one items of significance. Those considered as failures were divided into two groups; "major" and "minor" violators. Those classed as "major" violators had been involved in the commission of a new offense since their release, and those considered as "minor" were involved only in an infraction of the parole rules, without a new offense. The factors he studied were: 1) nature of commitment offense, 2) number of associates involved in commitment offense, 3) nationality of parolees father, 4) parental status ( i.e., whether subject was from a broken or unbroken home), 5) marital status, 6) type of criminal (viz., professional, habitual, first

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1. Ernest W. Burgess, "Factors Determining Success or Failure on Parole," in Andrew A. Bruce, Albert J. Heron, Ernest W. Burgess and John Landesco, The Workings of the Indeterminate Sentence Law and the Parole System in Illinois, (Springfield, 1928) , pp. 205-249.

2. Eleanor T. and Sheldon Glueck, 500 Criminal Careers, (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1930).

offender), 7) social type (viz. ne'er do well, gangster, hobo). 8) county of commitment, 9) size of community from which committed, 10) type of neighborhood lived in at time of commitment, 11) resident or transient in community where arrested, 12) statement of judge and prosecuting attorney with reference to recommendations for or against leniency, 13) whether commitment was on acceptance of a lesser plea, 14) nature and length of sentence, 15) months of sentence served before parole, 16) previous criminal record, 17) previous work record, 18) age at time of parole, 19) record of punishment while institutionalized, 20) mental age according to psychiatric examination, and 21) personality type according to psychiatric examination.

Burgess then determined the violation rate for the total group in each classification studied, and then compared this with the violation rate of each subclassification. If the rate was lower in a subclassification than for the overall group, a credit of one point was given to the subgroup; and if higher, a debit of one point was entered. Thus with this experience table established, Burgess theorized that parole prognosis could be predicted, in that those individuals possessing the greatest number of favorable factors would perform better within the community upon release.

At approximately the same time of the Burgess study, the Gluecks were analyzing the records of 510 males paroled from the Massachusetts Reformatory from 1917 through 1922. They

initially studied the cases in relation to sixty-three socio-legal characteristics, and then made a follow up study after completion of five years on parole to determine the effect of certain factors on parole performance. They determined that only 21.1 per cent of the group could be considered as making successful progress on parole, and also made the finding that the following factors were "considerably" associated with behavior: pre-Reformatory work habits, the seriousness and frequency of pre-Reformatory criminality, arrests prior to commitment to the Reformatory, penal experience preceding Reformatory incarceration, economic responsibility preceding the Reformatory sentence, mental abnormality at the time of commitment to the Reformatory, frequency of offenses in the Reformatory, and criminal conduct during parole. On the basis of the above factors, the Gluecks established prognostic tables for parole prediction.

A further follow up study was made on this same group after another five year period with somewhat different results.<sup>3</sup> The researchers then determined that the pre-apprehension and commitment factors showed almost equal rates for success and failure, and that the most decisive characteristics affecting performance were age and mental abnormality. They stated that the process of aging and maturation seemed to have the most positive correlation with success, and mental abnormality with failure,

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3. Eleanor T. and Sheldon Glueck, Later Criminal Careers, (New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1937).

Shortly after the release of the Burgess research, Tibbetts<sup>4</sup> utilized the same method in a study of 3,000 parolees from the Illinois Reformatory. In this work, he eliminated the classifications of parental status, marital status and county of commitment because they did not differ more than five percentage points from the overall rate and therefore were not felt to be significant. He also added the factors of neighborhood paroled to, first job on parole, institutional work assignment, and employment status at the time of the commitment offense. His study showed mainly that parolees who scored on similar factors would show different violation rates, and he suggested alternate methods of weighing each characteristic. A study made by Vold<sup>5</sup> in the same year, however, in which he analyzed the records of 1,192 Minnesota cases using the Burgess method, pointed out that weighing of the classifications in accord with the frequency of appearance and suspected effect was of little influence in actual results. He was also able to prove, by randomly dividing the sample into two equal groups, that violation rates would differ between two groups just as a matter of chance.

Vold criticized the Burgess method on the grounds that: 1) only official records were used, 2) the study was confined

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4. Clark Tibbetts, "Success or Failure on Parole Can Be Predicted," Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, XXII, May, 1931, pp. 11-50.

5. George B. Vold, Prediction Methods and Parole, (Sociological Press, Hanover, N.H., 1931).

to conduct on the present parole period, 3) subclassifications in some cases overlap and are subjective, 4) no measure of reliability was used, and 5) equal weights were assigned to each factor. He suggested the superiority of the Glueck approach in which he believed the use of field interviews, consideration of previous parole performance, and inclusion of more reliable data would lead to more accurate conclusions. However, he used both methods on the same group, and discovered that each approach measured the same factors to the same extent with a coefficient of .922.

A somewhat different approach was made by Laune<sup>6</sup> who believed that intimate personal knowledge of an inmate, such as could be known by fellow inmates, is likely to be an important supplement to objective information contained in the case files. He sought the opinions of several inmates about the parole prospects of 150 other inmates. These opinions were tested some sixteen years later by Ohlin and Lawrence,<sup>7</sup> with the finding that this approach did provide some accuracy, but not as much as the Burgess method.

Other preliminary studies were made by Monachesi,<sup>8</sup>

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6. Karl F. Schuessler, "Parole Prediction, Its History and Status," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol. 45, No. 4, Nov.-Dec., 1954, p. 427.

7. Ibid., p. 429

8. Elío D. Monachesi, Prediction Factors in Probation, (Sociological Press, Hanóver, N.H., 1932).

Vold,<sup>9</sup> and the Sociologist-Actuary at the Illinois State Penitentiary,<sup>10</sup> but none of these showed any significant deviation from the findings of the researchers cited above. The final work of this initial period was undertaken by Sanders<sup>11</sup> who tested whether an experience table such as used by Burgess would remain relatively unchanged in the short run future. He first studied 5,912 federal prisoners released on parole by correlating their progress with selected characteristics similar to those used by Burgess; and then developed an experience table. He followed this up with a study of 2,838 more federal parolees scored the same way, and it was shown that the pattern of violations for the second group was inconsistent with the first. This pointed out the possibility of chance affecting the statistics, as well as the fact that items used to rank persons as to parole success may well be unreliable or erratic in different times or places.

There were no other studies of note until after World War II. Recent research in this area has been primarily methodological in an attempt to improve upon previously

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9. George B. Vold, "Prediction Methods Applied to Problems of Classification Within Institutions," Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, XXVI, July, 1935, pp. 202-209

10. Lloyd E. Ohlin and Otis Dudley Duncan, "The Efficiency of Prediction in Criminology," American Journal of Sociology, LIV, No. 5, March, 1949, pp. 441-451.

11. Barkey S. Sanders, "Testing Parole Prediction", Proceedings of the Sixty-fifth Annual Congress of the American Prison Association, 1935, pp. 222-33.

established approaches, or to test them further after a long lapse of time. Monachesi<sup>12</sup> made a follow up study on 120 of the original 896 cases he surveyed in 1932. He was able to show an encouraging degree of similarity between predicted and actual performance. He also pointed out that, of 50 factors used, only certain ones were of significance and that therefore superfluous items should be eliminated. Hakeem<sup>13</sup> made a study of 1,108 males released from a branch of the Illinois State Penitentiary during 1939-40 using the Burgess method with the exception of some slight changes in categories studied. He left out the factors of county of commitment, statement of trial judge or prosecuting attorney as to leniency, and whether commitment was on acceptance of a lesser plea; and added 1) number and make-up of visits inmate had from the outside during incarceration, 2) employment status at time of arrest, 3) prison work assignment, 4) use of alcohol, 5) contact with Venereal Disease, 6) size of community to which released, 7) type of neighborhood to which released, and 8) first job upon release. He compared expected with actual success rates and found a positive similarity.

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12. Elió D. Monachesi, "A Comparison of Predicted With Actual Results of Probation," American Sociological Review, X, February, 1945, pp. 26-31.

13. Michael Hakeem, "The Validity of the Burgess Method of Parole Prediction," American Journal of Sociology, LIII, March, 1949, pp. 376-87.

An extensive study was made by Lloyd E. Ohlin<sup>14</sup> when he compared parole experience of 8,013 Illinois parolees released from 1936 through 1944 with rates established by the study made of 5,624 releases from 1925-1935 by the Sociologist-Actuary at Illinois State Penitentiary. He pointed out that although an experience table will become outdated due to possible social changes not anticipated, such a table could be kept current by regular feedback of recent parole experience. He also demonstrated that prediction tables can be just as accurate with a smaller selection on inclusive items. He used only twelve, as compared to the twenty to sixty some used by earlier researchers. He showed that the six most efficient items had to do with personal and group attitudes towards criminality, rather than the external characteristics cited before. Along the same line, Glaser<sup>15</sup> theorized that the degree of identification of the parolee to crime would affect his parole performance. He scored a group of parolees on seven items associated with the criminal culture, and developed a statistical table he held superior to previous statistical manipulation. Additional support to this approach was given

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14. Lloyd E. Ohlin, Selection for Parole, (Chicago, Russell Sage Foundation, 1951).

15. Daniel Glaser, "A Reconsideration of Some Parole Prediction Factors," American Sociological Review, XIX, June, 1954, pp. 335-341.

by Schnur,<sup>16</sup> whose Wisconsin studies in 1948 produced the conclusion that previous criminal record or experience had the most definite association with parole success or failure.

In an article on the efficiency of prediction in criminology, Ohlin and Duncan<sup>17</sup> conclude that sequential changes in the factors affecting behavior in the individual are certainly as relevant to scientific analysis as are the background items in case histories. They also point out the errors derived from sampling fluctuations, and a lack of association between accepted predictive factors and other characteristics that may have a direct relationship to parole performance. In commenting on the above paper, Vold<sup>18</sup> points out the unreliability of much of the information contained in case records due to the presence of much personal opinion, and he also mentions the shifting meaning of parole success due to the idiosyncrasies of parole boards and officers. He concludes with the observation that new studies are needed which are based on original data, rather than an evaluation of past studies and systems. He also expresses concern that recent research has produced more concern for technical

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16. Alfred G. Schnur, "Predicting Parole Outcome," Focus, May, 1949, pp. 70-75.

17. Lloyd E. Ohlin and Otis Dudley Duncan, "The Efficiency of Prediction in Criminology," American Journal of Sociology, LIV, March, 1949, pp. 441-51.

18. Ibid., p. 452.

methodology than with the development of more meaningful data.

A recent study of a group of parolees with relation to prediction of their prognosis was made by Bernard C. Kirby<sup>19</sup> who considered 455 federal parolees by weighing specific characteristics in relation to the frequency of their appearance. His final conclusion was that the findings of any such study are vulnerable, and prediction efficiency low, until criteria are established to give a meaningful picture of the parolee's conduct as a husband, father, employee, citizen, and other indications of his participation as a contributing member of society instead of basing success rate on subsequent arrests.

There are still conflicting opinions as to the value of parole prediction on a practical level, as well as to the reasons for success or failure while under supervision. Additional comments on reasons for parole failure have been made by such individuals as Price Chenault<sup>20</sup> and James V. Bennett, Director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons.<sup>21</sup> Chenault states that the predominant causes for parole failure are

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19. Bernard C. Kirby, "Parole Prediction Using Multiple Correlation," American Journal of Sociology, LIX, May, 1954, pp.539-50

20. Price Chenault, "Education," Contemporary Corrections, Paul W. Tappan, Editor, (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951), p. 231.

21. James V. Bennett, Life, September 30, 1957, p. 85

emotional immaturity, impulsiveness, and unwillingness to accept responsibility, and Bennett comments that, all of the other facts notwithstanding, the greatest hindrance towards a man making a success on parole is the mark of being an "ex-con." Bennett also notes that figures for parole success rates are thrown off by the fact that 65 per cent of prisoners have served time before, that parole is often an administrative necessity due to overcrowded facilities rather than an objective evaluation, and finally that variety in the length of parole term would be deceiving in that chances for failure are greater as the length of the parole term increases.

In a comment on the status of parole prediction, Schuessler<sup>22</sup> states that the actuarial methods used by researchers are adequate, but that the absence of data on abrupt social or personal transfiguration minimizes the accuracy of any long range forecasting. Barnes and Teeters<sup>23</sup> note that although students of prediction techniques doubtless have shown promise with their method, there is no indication that these scales will be accepted due to the confusing categories and involved statistical language, as well as the cultural lag existing in the field of penology.

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22. Karl F. Schuessler, "Parole Prediction; Its History and Status," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol. 45, No. 4, Nov. Dec., 1954, p. 431.

23. Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, New Horizons in Criminology, (New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951), p. 798.

In a recent summary of parole prediction methods, Newman<sup>24</sup> states that selection for parole should be based on the readiness of an individual to return to the community determined by examination of all factors associated with the individual. He includes the institutional classification service; personal background information; medical, psychological, and psychiatric data; institutional progress reports, and any staff recommendations. He states that the possibility of using punched cards fed into a mechanical sorter to determine readiness for parole is a long way off, but urges that research into this area be continued.

It is with the past research in mind that this paper is undertaken. Only factors not colored by personal opinion are used in this study, and each characteristic is present in each case. The classifications were studied on the basis of their correlation with the total group, rather than associating certain factors with certain parolees and weighing of the characteristics in accordance with the frequency of appearance or suspected effect. A statistical test is used to indicate possible correlation rather than experience table; and the characteristics studied are such that they are not likely to be affected by social or personal change, except possibly in the case of maturation.

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24. Charles L. Newman, Sourcebook on Probation, Parole, and Pardons, (Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas, 1958), p. 225

## CHAPTER III

## METHOD

Statistical data for this paper were obtained from a study of the records of the Riverside office of the California Youth Authority. Each of the branch offices of the Parole Bureau maintain complete files on each ward under its direct supervision. These case records contain prior probation reports, institutional material, police reports, correspondence, and all reports and comments of the parole staff. Since much of the information included is the personal opinion of the investigator, it was decided to limit the factors included in this study to specific socio-legal characteristics that are not affected by opinion.

A somewhat different approach was used in the correlation of these factors to parole success than utilized by those doing earlier research in this area. Previous studies have generally taken a number of factors in the make-up of the individuals studied, and then by setting up an experience table illustrating which parolees failed in relation to the number of factors exhibited, a basis for prediction was established. For the purposes of this paper, it was decided that only characteristics exhibited uniformly by each case

would be used, and that success would be related between each factor and the total group surveyed rather than individually.

The characteristics used were social class, sex, age, ethnic background, religion, family make-up, court of commitment, commitment offense, institution from which paroled, number of times on parole, and length of parole term. It was also decided that only male cases would be studied since there is a great variance in the make-up of the female cases, i.e., reason for commitment, type of treatment and program, as well as the disproportionate number of male wards to female.<sup>1</sup>

Socio-economic class was determined by use of Edwards<sup>2</sup> scale based on occupational groups. This scale indicates class standing by a range of occupations from "Professional" through "Clerical Workers" to "Unknown" with class ranking equal to rank in the scale. A slight modification was necessary in that seventy-eight of the cases studied fell into the categories of "Unemployed" and "Recipients of Public

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1. At the time of the study, the ratio of boys to girls under supervision was approximately five to one. There were 102 females among the active Riverside caseload compared to 483 males, and state statistics showed 8,199 males and 1,652 females.

2. Alba M. Edwards, Comparative Occupation Statistics, U.S. 1870-1940, 16th Census, U.S. Bureau of Census, 1943, p. 170.

Welfare" which are not included on the original scale.

The declared employment or source of income of the head of the household was used, based on that listed in the "face-sheet" or descriptive background form made up by the probation department at the time of the ward's initial referral to that agency or on the initial investigation of the parole staff of the family situation at the time of the ward's commitment to the Youth Authority. All of the other information was obtained from study of the total case file and from "face-sheets" used by the parole and institutional staff.

Age was to nearest birthday, and religion was determined by declaration of either the ward or his guardian. Under family make-up, a broken home included all homes where the ward was not living with both natural parents, whether as a result of death, desertion or legal separation. Cases of wards currently institutionalized were not included.

After the basic hypothesis and approach for the research had been established and the source of material located, the study was made. The case file for each male on active parole as of April, 1960 to the Riverside office was pulled and reviewed for the desired information by beginning with

the letter "A" and working through the alphabet. Any cases added to the file after a particular letter had been studied were not included. The information obtained was scored on master charts broken down into cross categories of the characteristics and parole performance. Individual cards were not made in order to completely protect the anonymity of the wards studied.

In order to score for parole performance, criteria were set up for determining either success or failure during the current parole period. For the purposes of this paper, it was decided that a single full suspension of parole by the Youth Authority Board during the present parole term would be considered as indicative of negative progress regardless of final disposition. The field officer does not request such a suspension unless he has investigated the facts thoroughly enough to merit such a decision. Study of all the records indicated that those wards who had their parole suspended at least once were making a poorer adjustment than those not having such a suspension regardless of other factors. Those parolees involved in serious offenses wherein a suspension is made and disposition of the case results in the revocation of their parole or commitment to an alternate jurisdiction for a long period are not included in this study as the case is no longer on active parole. However, those under suspension at the time of the study awaiting court disposition were included as

were all those in which restoration to parole had been recommended after a suspension was made. Certain cases in which the ward was involved in a minor offense, such as traffic violations, not requiring suspension, are classed as successes.

After the above information was obtained on the active caseload, it was decided that it would be of value to compare these cases with those discharged from parole supervision to relate the success rate to available factors. Therefore, cases of all male wards discharged from parole from the Riverside office during the five year period of January 1955 to January 1960 were studied. Since just the single report recommending discharge was on hand, only six factors were available. These were classification of discharge, age, ethnic background, length of most recent parole term, court of commitment and commitment offense. Determination of success was based on the classification of the discharge. All wards given honorable discharges prior to the expiration of their commitment were classified as a success, as were those released at the end of their commitment with a "good" or "acceptable" record on parole. Wards discharged at the expiration of their commitment with the classification of "whereabouts unknown" or "poor" record were classed as failures as were those discharged due to an alternate commitment extending beyond the jurisdiction of the Youth Authority. These alternate commitments were generally sent to the California Department of Corrections, but included terms

in out-of-state facilities and county jails as well as terms of probation supervision for a new offense. These cases were scored similarly to the active cases.

A total of 900 cases were studied, 483 from the active file and 417 from the discharged file.

Since the function of this study is to attempt to show the correlation of socio-legal characteristics to two groups, parole successes and parole failures, tables were set up depicting the numerical and percentage rates of each group. Then, as a statistical tool to scientifically test the significance of the relationship of the characteristics to parole performance the chi square technique as utilized by Hollingshead<sup>3</sup> and described by Freund<sup>4</sup> was used. This test enables the investigator to apply mathematical procedures to categories that are not entirely quantitative, as well as permitting the weighing of each case proportionately to all others. In order to be as accurate as possible, the 1 per cent level of probability as a criterion of significance was adopted in the use of the  $\chi^2$ . This means that the distribution of socio-legal characteristics when measured against parole success or failure, would be attributed

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3. August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1949, pp. 43 and 440.

4. John E. Freund, Modern Elementary Statistics, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1952, pp. 291-302.

to chance only once out of one hundred times.

If the chi square test did show a significant relationship, then the degree of this relationship was measured by the coefficient of contingency, also as used by Hollingshead. This shows the degree of the association between the variables. The range of this test is from 0 to 1, and therefore, the closer the number is to 1, the higher the correlation. These test results are written at the bottom of each table in which they are used. If a significance exists, then the level of probability is written, P is less than 0.01; if no significance is present, it is written, P is greater than 0.01. The coefficient of contingency is also expressed at the bottom of the table (for example  $C = 0.25$ ) if significance is shown.

## CHAPTER IV

## FINDINGS

Statistics of Active Parole Caseload

Since the source of material for the present study was obtained from both an active parole caseload and from the files of a group of cases discharged from parole supervision, each of these two samples will be considered separately and then comparisons made. The bulk of information gathered concerns the active parolees, and this group will be given initial analysis. Each characteristic will be discussed as an individual unit.

Socio-Economic Class: Determination of class standing was made by use of Edwards scale of occupational groupings.<sup>1</sup> The declared occupation or source of income of the head of the household, as listed in either the probation or Youth Authority reports, was used in each case. A slight modification of Edwards' scale was necessary in that seventy-eight of the cases fell into categories of "Unemployed" and "Recipients of Public Welfare" which are not included in his

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1. Alba M. Edwards, Comparative Occupation Statistics, U.S. 1870-1940, 16th Census, U.S. Bureau of Census, 1943, p. 179.

original breakdown.

If the categories are broken down into two groups, white collar (including all classifications from "Professional" through "Clerical"), and for the purposes of this paper, "Farmers" and blue collar (all remaining categories), it will be observed that 80.9 per cent of the total fall into the blue collar group. This indicates the lower class prevalence among the active case load studied. Study of the numerical and percentage figures in Table I shows a higher rate of success in the classes of

TABLE I: Comparison of success rate of active parole case load by socio-economic group; California Youth Authority Riverside Office; April, 1960

Socio-Economic Group	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Professional	7	2.5	4	2.0	11	2.3
Farmers (Owners-managers)	6	2.1	2	1.0	8	1.7
Wholesale and retail dealers	10	3.5	3	1.5	13	2.7
Other proprietors	18	6.3	8	4.0	26	5.4
Clerical and kindred workers	26	9.2	8	4.0	34	7.0
Skilled	61	21.5	43	21.6	104	21.5
Semi-skilled	73	25.7	41	20.6	114	23.6
Unskilled	48	16.9	45	22.7	93	19.3
Unknown	0	0.0	2	1.0	2	.4
Unemployed	13	4.6	9	4.5	22	4.5
Welfare recipients	22	7.7	34	17.1	56	11.6
Total	284	100.0	199	100.0	483	100.0

Chi square is 22.53; P is less than 0.01; C equals 0.41

professional, farmers, clerical workers, wholesale and retail dealers, businessmen and semi-skilled laborers; an approximately even rate in the skilled laborer and unemployed class; and a lower rate in the remaining categories. The chi square test shows a significant relationship between socio-economic class and parole success among the active cases. It will be noted that failures are more predominant in the lower classes with particular attention drawn to the category of "Welfare recipients" in which 60.0 per cent of that group are classed as failures. The percentage of success among the white collar groups is as follows: professional (63.6), farmers (75.0), wholesale and retail dealers (76.9), other proprietors (69.1), and clerical workers (76.5). This is higher than the total for the sample which is 59.1 per cent.

Religion: Religious preference was listed by 414 of the active cases, or 85.7 per cent. In cases where the ward listed no specific religion, that declared by his parents or guardian was listed, if any. The study group is remarkably evenly divided between Catholics and Protestants, with almost no other faith included. The chi square test shows the existence of a significant relationship between success and religious preference. Those classed as Protestants had 67.4 per cent making successful progress, compared to only 51.4 per cent of the Catholic group.

TABLE II. Comparison of success rate of active parole case load by religious preference; California Youth Authority Riverside office; April, 1960.

Religious preference	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Protestant	139	48.9	67	33.7	206	42.7
Catholic	104	36.6	98	49.2	202	41.8
Other	3	1.1	3	1.5	6	1.2
Unknown	38	13.4	31	15.6	69	14.3
Total	284	100.0	199	100.0	483	100.0

Chi square is 11.53; P is less than 0.01; C equals 0.15

Ethnic background: The active case files in Riverside show a higher proportion of Mexican-Americans and a lower grouping of Negroes than the general state picture.<sup>2</sup> This is no doubt due to the make-up of the area served by the Riverside office, which is largely rural and where a high proportion of the total population is made up of Mexican-American farm laborers. The state statistics show a breakdown among the total active parole caseload of 56.4 per cent Anglo-American, 23.0 per cent Mexican-American, 18.6 per cent Negro, and 0.8 per cent listed as other. The breakdown in the Riverside office is 47.6 per cent Anglo-American, 42.4 per cent Mexican-American, 8.5 per cent Negro, and

2. "Characteristics of Youth Authority Parolees, June 30, 1959," Records and Statistics Section, California Youth Authority.

1.5 per cent other. All of those considered under the category of "Other" were American-Indians. Although the success rates for the ethnic groups differ, the statistical test applied does not show any significant correlation between the groups and parole performance. Of the classifications, 62.4 per cent of the Anglo-Americans were making successful progress; 52.7 per cent of the Mexican-Americans and 61.1 per cent of the Negroes. Table III depicts the breakdown in the respective groups.

TABLE III: Comparison of success rate of active parole case load by ethnic background; California Youth Authority Riverside office; April, 1960.

Ethnic Background	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Anglo-American	143	50.4	87	43.7	230	47.6
Mexican-American	108	38.0	97	48.7	205	42.4
Negro	29	10.2	12	6.0	41	8.5
Other	4	1.4	3	1.6	7	1.5
Total	284	100.0	199	100.0	483	100.0

Chi square is 7.08; P is greater than 0.01

Family make-up: For the purposes of this paper, a broken home was considered to be in existence if either of the natural parents was not present, whether due to death, divorce or legal separation, at the time of the ward's commitment to the Youth Authority. Although no specific scoring was done on which parent the ward was living with, it appeared that the cases

were fairly evenly divided between mother and father. Broken homes accounted for 61.1 per cent of the total cases studied, but the success rate was only slightly lower. Among those from broken homes, 57.6 per cent were making positive progress while 60.6 per cent from unbroken homes were doing well. The statistical test also shows no correlation between family make-up and parole success.

TABLE IV: Comparison of success rate of active parole case load by family make-up; California Youth Authority Riverside office; April, 1960.

Family Make-up	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Broken	170	59.9	125	62.8	295	61.1
Unbroken	114	40.1	74	37.2	188	38.9
Total	284	100.0	199	100.0	483	100.0

Chi square is 0.55; P is greater than 0.01.

Age: The determination of age for this study was made by classifying each ward in the group to the nearest birthday. There were no wards under the age of fourteen on parole to the Riverside office at the time of the survey, and 32.1 per cent of the total group studied were under the age of eighteen. The average, or mean, age of the group was 18.2 years, somewhat lower than the average age of the total state case load which was 19.2 years.<sup>3</sup> The highest rate of success is found among the wards eighteen.

3. Ibid.

or under, and the poorest rate among the 19, 20 and 21 year olds. The average, or mean, age for those considered to be making successful progress is 18.5 years; for failures, 19.1 years. The statistical test shows a significant correlation between age and parole success in the active case load.

TABLE V: Comparison of success rate of active case load by age; California Youth Authority Riverside office; April, 1960.

Age	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
14	6	2.1	4	2.0	10	2.1
15	13	4.6	3	1.5	16	3.3
16	23	8.1	17	8.5	40	8.3
17	69	24.3	20	10.1	89	18.4
18	41	14.4	27	13.6	68	14.1
19	49	17.3	38	19.1	87	18.0
20	39	13.7	46	23.1	85	17.6
21	16	5.6	20	10.1	36	7.5
22	15	5.3	13	6.5	28	5.8
23	7	2.5	4	2.0	11	2.3
24	6	2.1	7	3.5	13	2.7
Total	284	100.0	199	100.0	483	100.0

Chi square is 28.24; P is less than 0.01; C equals 0.23

Court of commitment: As discussed in the introduction, the Juvenile Court has consistently committed more wards to the Youth Authority than the criminal courts. A look at Table VI will show that 76.4 per cent of the active Riverside case load

consists of Juvenile Court commitments. This compares with 69.3 per cent for the total state parole caseload.<sup>4</sup> Successful progress is being made by 59.9 per cent of the Juvenile Court commitments and 54.2 per cent of those from the criminal courts, however the statistical tests show no significant correlation between court of commitment and parole success.

TABLE VI: Comparison of success rate of active parole caseload by court of commitment; California Youth Authority Riverside Office; April, 1960.

Court of Commitment	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Juvenile	221	77.8	148	74.4	369	76.4
Adult	63	22.2	51	25.6	114	23.6
Total	284	100.0	199	100.0	483	100.0

Chi square is 0.76; P is greater than 0.01

Commitment offense: The categories for commitment offenses were based on the same classifications used by the Youth Authority Research Division<sup>5</sup> with the exception that an additional sub-heading of "Violation of Probation" was used due to a high incidence of these cases. Almost all wards committed to the Youth Authority have had a chance on probation, but only those specifically committed as a probation failure rather than for a new offense were considered under this category. The probation

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid

failures each had been involved in some type of offense, but not always in a violation of the criminal code. If more than one offense was involved in a commitment, the first one listed was chosen for use in this survey.

The six offenses of probation violation, burglary, auto

TABLE VII: Comparison of success rate of active parole caseload by commitment offense; California Youth Authority Riverside Office; April, 1960.

Commitment Offense	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Homicide	2	0.7	0	0.0	2	0.4
Robbery	11	3.9	14	7.0	25	5.2
Assault	23	8.1	16	8.0	39	8.1
Burglary	47	16.6	34	17.3	81	16.8
Theft	19	6.6	17	8.5	36	7.5
Auto Theft	23	8.1	24	12.1	47	9.7
Sex Offenses	9	3.2	1	0.5	10	2.0
Narcotics Violation	18	6.3	14	7.0	32	6.6
Disorderly Conduct	7	2.5	4	2.0	11	2.3
Liquor Violation	6	2.1	7	3.5	13	2.7
Other Offenses	16	5.6	14	7.0	30	6.2
Incorrigible	19	6.7	15	7.5	34	7.2
Probation violation	78	27.5	37	18.6	115	23.7
Total	284	100.0	199	100.0	483	100.0

Chi square is 10.07; P is greater than 0.01

theft, assault, theft other than auto, and narcotics violation made up 72.4 per cent of the total. With the exception of the

offense of probation violation, these same offenses make up 70.3 per cent of total state parole caseload. The category of "Other Offenses" included incidents of malicious mischief, receiving stolen property, arson, carrying a concealed weapon, and violation of road and driving laws. Although the success rate was somewhat higher in certain offenses, the statistical test did not show a significant correlation between the commitment offense and parole success. However, it should be noted that 67.8 per cent of those wards committed for probation violation were considered to be making successful progress, which is quite a bit higher than the ratio for other offenses. Success rates of those committed for sex offenses was 90.0 per cent and for disorderly conduct 63.6 per cent, but the number involved in such in this study would seem too small for an accurate rate.

Institution from which paroled: The Youth Authority operates twelve institutions for the treatment of wards committed to its jurisdiction, in addition to making use of several Department of Corrections institutions for older wards. The structure of the institutional program for males is as follows:

- 1). Fricot Ranch School; for younger boys 8-13;
- 2). Nelles School for Boys; ages 11-17;
- 3). Paso Robles School for Boys; ages 13-17;
- 4). Preston School of Industry; ages 15-19;
- 5). Youth Training School, ages 17-22;
- 6). the Northern and Southern Reception Centers and Clinics; all ages;
- 7). Forestry Camps at Ben Lomand, Mount Bullion and Pine Grove; ages 16-22;
- 8). Duell Vocational Institute; ages 17-24; and
- 9). Soledad

State Prison; ages 17-24. The last two facilities are operated by the Department of Corrections, and the Youth Authority also occasionally utilizes other institutions of the adult agency when necessary. Only those institutions from which wards were paroled to the Riverside office at the time of this study are included, and the categories of "Camps" and "Clinics" include all such institutions together as the respective programs are essentially the same.

TABLE VIII: Comparison of success rate of active parole caseload by institution from which paroled; California Youth Authority Riverside office; April, 1960.

Institution	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Fricot	3	1.1	4	2.0	7	1.5
Nelles	52	18.3	43	21.6	95	19.7
Paso Robles	54	19.0	27	13.6	81	16.8
Preston	72	25.4	49	24.6	121	25.1
D. V. I.	28	9.8	22	11.1	50	10.4
Soledad	17	6.0	15	7.5	32	6.5
Camps	30	10.6	32	16.1	62	12.8
Clinics	28	9.8	7	3.5	35	7.2
Total	284	100.0	199	100.0	483	100.0

Chi square is 13.88; P is greater than 0.01

The success rates are higher for those wards released from Paso Robles and the clinics, with 66.6 per cent and 80.0 per cent, respectively, showing positive progress. The remaining

facilities showed success rate of equal to or less than the overall rate of 59.1 per cent. The statistical test failed to show any significant correlation of the institutional factor to parole prognosis.

Number of times on parole: In some instances when a ward under the jurisdiction of the Youth Authority is involved in a new offense, or in a violation of parole without a new offense, his parole is revoked and he is returned to an institution for further treatment and training. After a suitable period, he is again placed in the community on parole, and on rare occasions may be reinstitutionalized a third time. The figures in Table V show that 85.7 per cent of the active Riverside parole case load is made up of wards on their first parole period. This would indicate that wards were either committed to an alternate jurisdiction or discharged after their first parole term in most cases.

TABLE IX: Comparison of success rate of active parole caseload by number of times on parole; California Youth Authority Riverside office; April, 1960.

Number of times on parole	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
First	245	86.3	169	84.9	414	85.7
Second	36	12.7	27	13.6	63	13.1
Third	3	1.0	3	1.5	6	1.2
Total	284	100.0	199	100.0	483	100.0

Chi square is 0.028; P is greater than 0.01.

The success rate of those on their first parole is

59.1 per cent compared to sum rate of 56.5 for those on their second or third release. The statistical test also fails in this instance to show a significant correlation of the characteristic to parole success.

Length of parole term: The length of time an individual spends on parole seems to have a definite relation to success or failure. It should be noted that length of parole term is not set before release but determined by successful performance in the community. However, there is generally a minimum period of positive progress required before discharge. Killinger<sup>6</sup> shows that, of 1,058 parole violations within the federal system in the year 1949, 95.9 per cent of these occurred among persons on parole two years or less, with 81.6 per cent occurring during the first year. Table X shows that 75.4 per cent of those considered failing among the active case load were in the first two years of parole, 52.8 per cent in their first year. However, it will also be noted that 94.0 per cent of those making successful progress were on their first two years of parole, 77.1 per cent in their first year. The rate of success drops steadily as the parole term lengthens, to wit; 76.9 per cent for those during the first six months; 60.7 per cent during the first year; 51.6 per cent during the second year; 32.5 per cent during the third year; 23.5 per cent during

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6. George G. Killinger, "Parole and Other Release Procedures," Contemporary Corrections, Paul W. Tappan, editor, (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951), p. 365

TABLE X: Comparison of success rate of active parole caseload by length of parole term; California Youth Authority Riverside office; April, 1960.

Length of parole term	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
6 months	106	37.3	32	16.1	138	28.6
1 year	113	39.8	73	36.7	186	38.5
2 years	48	16.9	45	22.6	93	19.3
3 years	13	4.6	27	13.6	40	8.3
4 years	4	1.4	13	6.5	17	3.5
5 years or more	0	0.0	9	4.5	9	1.8
Total	284	100.0	199	100.0	483	100.0

Chi square is 50.89; P is less than 0.01; C equal 0.30

the fourth year; and 0.0 per cent five years or more. This may be due partially to the criteria of success in that the longer a ward is on parole, the greater are the chances that he will have become involved in some difficulty requiring suspension. Yet, the table does show that those wards who do not succeed during the first two years on parole, have little chance of ever reaching such a goal. The statistical test shows a definite significance correlating this factor to parole success.

Statistics of a Group Discharged From Parole Supervision

Having considered the effect of certain social characteristics on an active parole case load, it was thought that similar consideration of individuals now discharged from parole supervision would be of value. Therefore, a study of all wards discharged from supervision by the Riverside office from January, 1955 to January, 1960 was made. This sample was of approximately the same size as the active group studied.

Several problems developed in the obtaining of information about these cases. First, the only source of detail was the final report of discharge since all other records are destroyed. These reports give mainly legal information with but a limited amount of detail on social history and characteristics. It was impossible to determine social class, religion, family make-up, employment status, institution from which paroled and number of times on parole. Only the male cases were also included in this part of the study. Two factors presented somewhat of a problem from the standpoint of statistical accuracy. For example, the factor of age, while easily located in the reports, was statistically colored due to the existence of the statutory requirement of discharging wards arbitrarily at the end of their commitment regardless of how well they are doing on parole. As a result, application of a statistical test to these figures could not be accurate.

Similarly, the characteristic of commitment offense was lacking in statistical accuracy in that only the offenses of wards discharged honorably were available. The large majority of the cases discharged as failures were as a result of an alternate commitment beyond the jurisdiction of the Youth Authority, and the nature of the report in these cases does not include commitment offense. Of the 209 cases discharged as failures, 171 of these or 81.8 per cent were given such alternate commitments. For these reasons, the categories of age and commitment offense are excluded from analysis.

The remaining characteristics of ethnic background, court of commitment, and length of parole term are presented for what limited comparison can be made. Table XII is presented to show the breakdown of those cases removed from parole

TABLE XI: Classification of cases discharged from parole supervision; California Youth Authority Riverside office; January 1955 - January 1960.

Classification	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Honorable	118	56.7			118	28.3
Expiration of Commitment	90	43.3	38	18.2	128	30.7
Other commitment beyond C.Y.A. jurisdiction			171	81.8	171	41.0
Total	208	100.0	209	100.0	417	100.0

supervision by the classification of the discharge granted.

Wards who were discharged prior to the expiration of their

commitment to the Youth Authority with records judged as "Honorable," or "Acceptable" were classed as successes, as were wards released at the expiration of their commitment with similar recommendations. Those individuals discharged at the expiration of their commitment with the classification of "Poor" record or "Whereabouts Unknown" were considered as failures, as were wards receiving alternate commitments beyond Youth Authority jurisdiction. All wards discharged as a result of an alternate commitment had been involved in a new offense since release from a Youth Authority Institution and were considered unfit for further training with the exception of two who were sent to the Department of Mental Hygiene. Six wards discharged as "Deceased" were not considered in the study.

Table XII shows that the division between success and failure is almost exactly even with 208 cases (49.9 per cent) classed as successes and 209 cases (50.1 per cent) listed as failures. Of those wards discharged at the expiration of their commitment, 70.3 per cent were given recommendations of good records on parole; 19.5 per cent poor records; and the remaining 10.2 per cent as whereabouts unknown.

Ethnic background: The discharged files show a higher proportion of those listed as Anglo-American than do the active files with 55.9 per cent and 47.6 per cent appearing respectively. It also will be noted that the success rate is lower here for the Anglo-American category with only 55.4

per cent considered as successful compared with 62.4 per cent in the active files. The Mexican-American group showed approximately equal rates, with 52.7 per cent classed as successes in the active caseload, and 50.8 per cent given that classification at time of discharge. The Negro group in the active files indicate successful progress in 61.1 per cent of the cases, but only 40.8 per cent are given this rating at time of discharge. Use of the statistical test failed to show any significant correlation of this characteristic with parole success, which was also true in the active file.

TABLE XII: Comparison of success rate of cases discharged from parole supervision by ethnic background; California Youth Authority; Riverside office; January 1955 to January 1960.

Ethnic Background	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Anglo-American	123	59.1	99	52.4	222	55.9
Mexican-American	73	35.1	71	37.6	144	36.3
Other <sup>8</sup>	12	5.8	19	10.0	31	7.8
Total	208	100.0	189 <sup>9</sup>	100.0	397	100.0

Chi square is 3.02; P is greater than 0.01

Court of commitment: The discharge files show a ratio of 69.5 per cent of the cases as committed from Juvenile Court, compared to 76.4 per cent in the active caseload. Of those

8. Negroes accounted for 12 of the successes and 16 failures.

9. Twenty cases gave no information on ethnic background, court of commitment or length of time on parole.

committed from Juvenile Court in the discharged file, 56.5 per cent were classified as successes compared with 59.9 per cent from the active group. Those discharged from criminal court commitments showed successes in only 42.9 per cent of the cases compared to 54.2 per cent of the active caseload with similar commitments who were considered to be making successful progress. As in the active parole group, the statistical test failed to show a significant correlation between this characteristic and success.

TABLE XIII: Comparison of success rate of cases discharged from parole supervision by court of commitment; California Youth Authority Riverside office; January 1955-January 1960.

Court of Commitment	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Juvenile	156	75.0	120	63.5	276	69.5
Adult	52	25.0	69	36.5	121	30.5
Total	208	100.0	189	100.0	397	100.0

Chi square is 5.75; P is greater than 0.01

Length of parole term: As in the active files, the length of time spent on parole showed a high correlation to success. Table XV shows that 67.2 per cent of those discharged as failures were in their first two years on parole, 42.3 per cent in the first year. This compares with 75.4 per cent of those in the same group in the active caseload, 52.8 per cent of which were in their first year. The success rate drops in that only 51.0 per cent discharged as successes were in the first two

years as compared to 94.0 per cent in the active sample. It also will be noted that of those discharged during their first year, only 13.0 per cent were classed as successes, wherein 66.6 per cent of those released from supervision after the second year were listed as successes. This may be due largely to the statutory provisions of discharge, as well as agency policy to release wards after two years on parole if satisfactory progress is being made. The proportion of successes of all cases at a given period is as follows: after 2 years, 45.5 per cent; 3 years, 48.1 per cent; 4 years, 51.0 per cent; and 5 years or more, 52.3 per cent. This last figure differs from the 49.9 per cent indicated earlier as being discharged as a success due to the lack of information on characteristics of twenty of those discharged as failures.

TABLE XIV: Comparison of success rate of cases discharged from parole supervision by length of time on parole; California Youth Authority Riverside office; January 1955-January 1960.

Length of parole term	SUCCESS		FAILURE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1 year	12	5.8	80	42.3	92	23.2
2 years	94	45.2	47	24.9	141	35.5
3 years	51	24.5	36	19.1	87	21.9
4 years	31	14.9	17	8.9	48	12.1
5 years or more	20	9.6	9	4.8	29	7.3
Total	208	100.0	189	100.0	397	100.0

Chi square is 75.46; P is less than 0.01; C equals 0.40.

However, the statistical test does show a significant correlation of the two variables, as was found in the same classification among the active parole files.

## CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY

1. Of those wards on active parole at the time of the study, 58.8 per cent were considered to be making successful progress on parole. This compares with 49.9 per cent classified as successes at the time of their discharge. Of those considered failures upon discharge, 80.8 per cent of these had been given alternate commitments beyond the jurisdiction of the Youth Authority.

2. The factor of social class showed a significant relationship to parole performance. Success was more prevalent among the white collar classes, and failures appeared more frequently in the lower class groups. Those wards falling in the category of "Recipients of Public Welfare" showed the lowest success rate with only 40.0 per cent making satisfactory progress. The active parole case load showed that the bulk of the wards were from the lower socio-economic classes, with 80.9 per cent classed as skilled laborer or below.

3. The active cases were almost evenly divided between Catholic and Protestant, with those listed as Catholic showing a lower rate of success. The statistical test, although showing a significant relationship between

religious preference and parole success indicated a rather low coefficient of contingency. Catholics, in comparison with Protestants, came from lower socioeconomic classes. Social class position appears to be the closer determiner of crime than religion.

4. No statistical significance could be attached to the factor of ethnic background in relation to parole success in either the active or the discharged groups studied. However, the Mexican-American group did show a higher incidence of failures with only 52.7 per cent of the active parolees and 50.8 per cent of those discharged classed as successes. This compares with 62.4 per cent of the Anglo group still on parole, and 55.4 per cent of those discharged. Negroes indicated a 61.1 per cent success rate in the active caseload, and then dropped to a 40.8 per cent ratio in the discharged files.

5. Although 61.1 per cent of the wards in the active parole files were from broken homes, there was no significant difference in the rate of success, nor any apparent direct correlation to prognosis.

6. The statistical test showed a positive correlation between the characteristic of age and parole performance. The active parole group successes were more prevalent among the subclassification of "Under 18", and failures more frequent for the 19, 20, and 21 year old wards. The average age of the active group studied was 18.2

7. Juvenile court commitments account for 76.4 per cent of the active case load, and 75.0 per cent of those discharged, but there was no indication of a significant relation between court of commitment and parole achievement. However, the success rate of criminal court commitments was lower among both groups studied; 54.2 per cent to 59.9 per cent among the active cases, and 42.9 per cent compared to 56.5 per cent among the discharged group.

8. The factor of commitment offense showed no significant correlation to parole performance. However, it is notable that the six offenses of probation violation, burglary, auto theft, assault, theft other than auto, and narcotics violations accounted for 72.4 per cent of the commitments for the active case group.

9. Although the statistical test showed no direct correlation between institution from which paroled and parole success, the wards released from the institution at Paso Robles and from the two reception centers and clinics show a better rate of success. This, however, is no doubt a result of the type of population in these facilities. Paso Robles is a minimum security school for median aged boys not involved in serious offenses, and not indicating serious asocial tendencies. The clinics release directly only those wards who indicate the stability to progress on parole without any lengthy institutional treatment.

10. The number of times a ward has been on parole was not significant in the parole adjustment of the cases studied among the active files. However, it should be noted that few wards among those studied are on a second or third parole period with 85.7 percent having been released for the first time.

11. A positive correlation between the length of time spent on parole and adjustment was noted in both the active and the discharged cases. The statistics for both groups indicate that successes and failures were more frequent in the first two years of parole.

CHAPTER VI  
CONCLUSIONS

1. The findings of this study partially support the negative hypothesis concerning social characteristics and parole success in that the statistical test used failed to show a significant correlation in most of the factors. Those characteristics showing a positive relation were social class, age, religion, and length of time on parole.

2. It is believed that the criteria used in this research to determine success or failure is accurate, but there is some doubt that certain characteristics studied are as important as others in parole performance because some would have more direct effect on behavior. This would indicate that weighing of factors would have validity. For example, the internal socio-personality traits of social class, age, ethnic background, family make-up and religion may have a more definite effect on the individual than the external socio-legal factors of court of commitment, commitment offense, institution from which paroled, number of times on parole, and length of parole term. There is indication of this in the category of social class where the large majority (80.9 per cent) of the group studied were from the lower class, and the violation rates were also much higher on that level. There is no scientific explanation of why particular classes perform better than others. The prevalence

of the lower socio-economic class in the active parole sample may be due to a higher rate of crime or delinquency, but it also may indicate that the courts may tend to commit members of this class more readily to official supervision or detention due to apparent non-conformity with the accepted middle-class mores. If the latter is true, then the violation rates for this group would also be higher for the same reason.

3. It is obvious that the first months on parole are the most difficult judging from the violations. It is believed that this suggests that a better transition is needed between institution and parole. This could be helped by more support and supervision of wards recently released, with those wards going into a secondary phase of parole experience being given less attention. The study also points out that most wards either fail, or show positive progress within the first two years of parole, and it is therefore felt that is generally unnecessary from a social point of view to continue the parole period for any additional time.

The findings of this study indicate a need for further research into the specific characteristic of social class as a correlate to parole performance. Along the same line, it is felt that consideration of the possibility of disproportionate justice and its resulting effect would contribute greatly to the field of understanding crime and rehabilitation.

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