



Research Publication

250 Parolees: Characteristics and performance

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SUMMARY

Parole refers to the release of a prisoner, under supervision, into the community earlier than the end of his sentence. In order to optimize the value of this transition period between custody in an institution and relative freedom in society, it is important to know the needs of parolees during this period. The first aim of this study was to obtain a detailed picture both of the type of prisoners released to parole and of their experiences whilst on parole. The second aim was to determine factors which were related to parole outcome.

A sample of 250 parolees, released to parole in 1974, was selected. Their parole files provided the sole source of data. Three major types of information were recorded: demographic data, criminal history and parole details.

Parole outcome was classified as "completed", "breached" (for some minor bad behaviour) or "revoked" (returned to gaol). Although the parolees in these three groups differed in many respects, eight variables were found to be adequate to reproduce these differences. It was of interest that experiences during parole were found to be important to the parole outcome. The eight variables which differentiated among the three parole outcomes were:

- number of instances in juvenile institutions;
- number of instances in prison;
- stability of employment history;
- marital status;
- alcohol problems during parole;
- drug problems during parole;
- employment changes during parole;
- and address changes during parole.

These eight variables formed two dimensions. The first related primarily to alcohol and drug problems on parole and stability of employment history and differentiated the parolees who completed their parole periods from the other two groups. Those who were revoked were differentiated from those who were breached on the second dimension which reflected criminal background, marital status, employment and address changes while on parole.

Three of the eight variables in the final parole prediction equation pertain to factors in the parolee's past: number of instances in juvenile institutions, number of instances in prison and stability of employment history. Such historical factors cannot be modified. However upon release to parole it is not too late to influence number of job and address changes, or alcohol or drug problems experienced while on parole. Marital status largely depends both on the parolee's marital status prior to incarceration and the efforts made to maintain the marriage both while in prison and while on parole. It would seem that if some or all of these factors were influenced positively, the success rate of those on parole may be increased. Recommendations concerning employment, parole supervision and further research are made.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Parole in New South Wales

Parole represents a period of transition between the constant surveillance of the prisoner in an institution and the lesser supervision imposed upon a citizen in society. Parole in N.S.W. came into existence in January 1967, following the Parole of Prisoners Act (1966). Parole refers to the release of a prisoner, under supervision, into the community earlier than the end of his sentence. As discussed in the *Report of the Committee Appointed to Review the Parole of Prisoners Act, 1966*, the purpose of parole is "to assist prisoners to move back into society and lead a law-abiding existence, whilst at the same time protecting society from further crime" (1979, p 7).

A non-parole period is the minimum period of the sentence to be served before release to parole can be considered. Six months is the minimum non-parole period which can be set. Under the Parole of Prisoners Act (1966), if a sentence of one year or less is given a non-parole period *may* be set; if the sentence exceeds one year, the judge or magistrate *must* state what part of that sentence is the non-parole period or he must explicitly decline to set a non-parole period. Past criminal record is sometimes given as the reason a judge or magistrate may decline to fix a non-parole period. Thus parole is not an option given to all prisoners. Prisoners serving short sentences, for example, are not released to parole. Nor are life sentence prisoners, Governor's Pleasure detainees or habitual criminals for whom non-parole periods have not been set. Not even all prisoners for whom non-parole periods have been set are released to parole. In a study of 841 decisions by the Parole Board, Marshall (1979) found that just over one in every two prisoners, for whom a non-parole period had been set, were refused parole. However, Parole Board figures reveal a much higher rate of approximately 70% to 80% granted parole in recent years.

In order to be able to plan parole services, it is necessary to have a detailed knowledge of parolees. While information is available on demographic data such as age and country of birth, previous criminal history, sentencing and non-parole periods of parolees (N.S.W. Department of Corrective Services, 1976), little information is available on other factors pertaining to the parolee such as problems experienced while on parole, living arrangements and employment stability. *The Report of the Committee Appointed to Review the Parole of Prisoners Act, 1966* states that information available at that time was inadequate to enable the Committee to understand fully the scope and the effects of the parole system. Specifically they found themselves unable to answer questions such as:

- How are sentences aggregated in practice when parole is revoked?
- When do breakdowns on parole occur?
- Is there a particular danger period?
- Is there a period beyond which supervision is a waste of resources?
- Are there early warning signs, for instance certain non-criminal breaches, of relapse into criminal behaviour by a parolee?
- Is the system efficient at detecting and bringing in people at risk of relapse? (1979, p 10).

Thus, the first aim of this study was to obtain a detailed picture of parolees based on as wide a data base as possible in the light of information which is routinely recorded.

1.2 Evaluation of alternative sentencing options or pre-release programmes:

The evaluation of the effectiveness of possible alternative sentencing options such as Periodic Detention or pre-release programmes such as Work Release I or II is often made difficult by the absence of a suitable control group. That is, there is no way of knowing how the people on these programmes would have performed under a more traditional sentencing option or if they had gone straight from gaol onto parole, without the benefit of participating on a pre-release programme. The second aim of this study was to establish a prediction equation for success or failure on parole. It is intended that such a prediction equation could be used to provide a baseline measure of the expected success rate of groups of prisoners on other programmes, had they been on parole. In this way the optional programme could be evaluated against parole by comparing the actual success rate on the programme with the predicted success rate had this group been on parole.

1.2.1 Parole Prediction Literature:

Lejins (1963) provides a history of parole prediction in the U.S.A. He defines parole prediction as: "the estimate of probability of violation or non-violation of parole by an offender on the basis of experience tables, developed with regard to groups of offenders possessing similar characteristics" (p 125). Parole prediction was first put into practical operation in Illinois in 1933. A survey of its usage across the 50 states of America was conducted almost 30 years later (Evjen, 1963, p 140). Its usage has been very limited. Of the 48 states which replied, 44 indicated that they had not previously used parole prediction nor were they presently using it. In addition, a number of American criminologists, sociologists, parole board members and prison administrators were asked for their opinion of prediction devices. Of the 44 who replied, three-quarters believed in the potential value of prediction tables. However even those who supported the use of prediction tables, saw them as merely an aid to judgments, as an adjunct to both the individual case history and the individual experience of the parole board member, *not* as a substitute for that judgment (p 142).

Early studies in parole prediction constructed experience tables by listing all factors which were considered to be related to parole outcome and each candidate for parole was given one point for each of the factors in his background. Finally a table, giving the violation expectancy rate for offenders with different numbers of favorable factors, was worked out for the population studied (Lejins, p 127).

Simon, cited by Challinger (1974, p 44), has identified four statistical methods used to construct prediction devices. These methods differ both in the weights they give to individual factors and to whether the intercorrelations between individual factors are considered. The weights given to the individual factors refer to whether each relevant factor is only given one point, as described above, or whether factors which are more strongly related to outcome are assigned a larger number of points than those which are more weakly related. Intercorrelations refer to the relationships among factors. It may be that although a number of factors are each related to parole outcome, the information provided by all of these factors may be retained by only considering a smaller number of the factors. For example, "number of previous offences", "number of prison sentences exceed-

ing one week" and "total time served in institutions for adult offences" may all be related to parole outcome but knowing information about all of these factors may tell you no more than knowing information about one of them. The method used in this study, discriminant analysis, both weights factors so that the more related are given higher weights and reduces the number of relevant factors to the minimum number possible without significant loss of information.

1.2.2 Definition of Parole Success:

In order to be able to establish a prediction equation one must have a method of deciding whether the parolee was successful or not. A definition of parole success does not constitute a clear dichotomy. It is difficult to delineate an effective operational definition of success or failure. Failure may represent: arrests, allegations by parole officers that adjustment is unsatisfactory, different levels of detecting violations by police or different reasons for revoking parole depending on the differential use of discretion by a particular parole officer. A definition of success requiring the successful completion of parole without breach or conviction discriminates in favour of those with a shorter parole period. Such a definition also does not take into account other aspects of success which do not constitute a part of the systematised definition, for example, stable family life, stable employment or overcoming institutionalisation.

In N.S.W. there are three broad outcomes possible for a parolee. The first possibility is that the parolee may complete his or her parole "successfully" by being neither "breached" nor "revoked". The second possibility is that the parolee is reported for some behaviour which violates conditions of the Parole Order but is not considered sufficiently serious to result in revocation and return of the parolee to prison. The third possibility resembles "failure" on parole, when the parole order is "revoked" and the parolee is returned to prison. In this study a three-level measure is used, separating those parolees who completed their parole period without being either breached or revoked (known as the "completed" group), from those who are reported but not revoked (the "breached" group) from those who were revoked and returned to prison (the "revoked" group). Revocation and breach can both involve either behaviour which is a criminal offence or non-criminal violations of the Parole Order.

1.2.3 Australian Prediction Studies:

There has been very little Australian research investigating factors related to parole outcome. Three studies which are relevant include one study of Victorian parolees and two studies carried out in N.S.W., one of parolees and the other of probationers.

Challinger (1974) produced eight devices predictive of parole success for Victorian parolees. In his study, parole failure was defined as re-imprisonment within two years of release to parole (p 47). Forty factors were recorded for each parolee. These included: demographic information, other background characteristics (such as, physical condition, alcohol or drug problems and intelligence rating), information concerning the parolee's family, accommodation and work history, criminal history and parole details (such as, date of Parole Board decision, date of actual release from prison and reason for delay in release [if any]).

By using different techniques eight different predictive devices were constructed based on these factors. Challenger did not provide details of each of these models other than to write that all the devices included the employment features: having no job to go to on release and having a previous bad work record. For those prediction models where the factors were weighted according to their importance, these measures of employment were said to have the highest negative weightings.

The two N.S.W. studies include one by the Research and Statistics Division, Department of Corrective Services (1976) which looked at factors related to parole outcome, but did not try to develop a prediction equation; and one by Ward (1970) which tried to develop a prediction equation for success on probation rather than on parole. The information used by the Department of Corrective Services was restricted to demographic and criminal history data. Parole outcome was dichotomised into "failure", those who were revoked, and "success", all those who were not revoked. Factors found to be related to parole failure included: more commitments to juvenile institutions, more adult convictions, more past adult imprisonments and more incidence of failure on parole in the past. Age, birthplace, offence, sentence, non-parole period, recommendations for parole, and institution released from did not differentiate between the two parole outcomes (p 70).

Ward (1970) recorded twenty-three items of information about each of the probationers in his sample. These reflected details pertaining to age, education, family background, accommodation, employment history, criminal history and type of offence. All twenty-three of these factors remained in the final model. The highest weighting, that is, that which was most strongly related to probation outcome was "no fixed place of abode", followed by "previously in juvenile institution" and "unsteady employment record", then "residence conditions" and "previously imprisoned" and "first offender", the last of which was negatively related to probation outcome.

While providing indications of variables likely to be relevant, none of the three studies is sufficient to provide a prediction model for parolees in N.S.W. The study by the N.S.W. Department of Corrective Services, for example, did not seek to produce a prediction model and was concerned with a relatively narrow data base. The reference groups in both the study of the Victorian parolees and the study of the N.S.W. probationers differ from that of the present study. The different conditions of the N.S.W. and Victorian parole systems could lead to a different range of prisoners being released to parole and to a different quality of supervision.

Similarly, within N.S.W., the criminal history of probationers would differ from that of parolees, and it would be likely that the two groups would differ in many other ways that might affect the outcome of their supervision. In these two studies which were concerned with constructing a prediction model, both final models used all the factors which had initially been put into the model. Challenger used the simplest of the model structures which involved adding one point for each of the factors possessed. Ward weighted his factors in terms of strength of relationship. In neither case was a significant effort made to reduce the model to the minimum number of variables necessary.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 The sample:

A sample of 250 parolees was obtained from the total 1283 parolees released in 1974. 1974 was chosen as a common year of release to allow a minimum of a five year follow-up period at the time of data collection.

2.2 The scope of the data:

A wide range of information was recorded for each parolee. The information gathered followed a specific format and was limited only by the detail available in the parole files. Three major types of information were recorded: demographic, criminal history and parole details.

2.2.1 Demographic Data:

- i) **PERSONAL INFORMATION:** sex, address, age, country of birth, marital status, number of children, responsibility for custody of children, highest level of educational attainment, trade qualifications, whether employed and in what occupation at time of offence, usual occupation, financial problems and whether such problems were considered to contribute to offence, living arrangements and type of accommodation at time of offence;
- ii) **FACTORS PRESENT IN BACKGROUND:** historical factors in personal and family history such as separation of parents, death of parents, whether parolee was adopted, psychiatric or emotional problems, alcohol dependence, drug dependence or excessive gambling, stability of employment and reasons for any instability, membership of groups and type of clubs and/or organizations to which parolees belonged.

2.2.2 Criminal History:

- i) **JUVENILE OFFENCES:** number and type of offences, age at first conviction, age at first criminal conviction, corrective measures given, type of institution allocated, outcome of juvenile probation, outcome of juvenile parole and number of sentences exceeding one week;
- ii) **ADULT OFFENCES:** number and type of offences, age at first adult criminal conviction, year at last conviction, corrective measures experienced, number of sentences exceeding one week, total time served in institutions for adult offences, number of times released on parole, number of revocations, causes of revocations and number of escapes;
- iii) **CURRENT OFFENCE:** type of court, major offence, similarity of current offence to previous juvenile and to other adult offences, number of charges taken into account when sentenced, total sentence, non-parole period, indications in police report pertaining to associates and trial judge's remarks;
- iv) **PRISON DETAILS:** institution allocated, gaol employment and programmes recommended, remission, offences and punishments whilst in prison, psychological and psychiatric assessments.

2.2.3 Parole Details

- i) **PAROLE RELEASE:** details of the length and reasons for any deferment of parole, institution released from, recommendations to parole, length of parole, parole conditions and initial reporting pattern;
- ii) **DURING PAROLE:** variation in parole conditions,

change in reporting pattern, patterns in accommodation and employment, problems experienced by the parolee, problems experienced by the parolee's family, and nature of social networks;

iii) **REVOCATION/TERMINATION OF PAROLE:** outcome of parole, length of supervision prior to termination, reason for termination, reasons for revocation, details of any offences committed, breach of conditions not leading to revocation, breach of conditions leading to revocation and period of parole completed prior to revocation.

Should a revocation and a subsequent parole occur, then details of the subsequent parole ((i), (ii) and (iii) above) were also recorded.

Parole files were used as the sole source of information. This was primarily due to their availability both for the present study and for any follow-up study where the derived prediction equation is used to provide a baseline measure of the success rates of groups of parolees in order to evaluate alternative sentencing options or pre-release programmes.

2.3 Analysis:

Frequency data were used to provide a description of the group of interest: parolees released in 1974. Most of the variables were cross-tabulated against the measure of parole outcome (completed, breached or revoked) in order to determine individual factors which are related to outcome. Then a series of discriminant analyses was performed to determine which combination of factors would best discriminate between those who completed parole, those who were breached and those who were revoked.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Who are these parolees and what happened to them?

Although these 250 parolees had a common year of release, 1974, this seemingly constant event of release to parole represented different points in the lives of the parolees. For 168 (63%), for example, it was their first release to parole, the remaining 92 had been released on parole at least once for a previous offence. For 15 of the parolees it was their second release to parole for the present offence.

The parolees differ in many aspects and the aim of this section of the report is to provide a description of the attributes and experiences of these parolees. This description will be provided under the general headings of: "demographic data", "criminal history" and "parole details".

3.1.1 Demographic Data:

3.1.1.1 Personal Information:

Most of the parolees were Australian-born men, aged 25 or younger who had never married. They completed the first years of secondary school and left without attaining a School or Intermediate Certificate. Very few completed any form of trade training.

The majority of the parolees (98%) were young males. This reflects the small percentage of females (1.5%) held in N.S.W. gaols in 1974 (N.S.W. Department of Corrective Services, 1975). Table 1 provides a profile of the ages of the parolees. About one-quarter of the parolees were 20 years or younger, while three-quarters were 30 years or less.

Table 1: Age of Parolees

Age (in years)	Percentage of Parolees
20 or younger	23.2
21-25	35.6
26-30	17.7
31-35	9.2
36-40	5.2
41-45	4.4
46-50	2.8
51-55	0.8
56 or older	1.2

Most (86%) were Australian born. A further 5% were born in other English speaking countries such as New Zealand, U.S.A. or countries of the United Kingdom, 7% in European countries such as Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia and Germany and the remaining 2% in other countries. Aborigines accounted for 8% of the parolees.

Unlike the larger community in which marriage is the norm, most of the parolees were neither married nor living in a defacto relationship. Most (60%) had never been married, a further 10% were separated and 4% were divorced. Only 14% were married and a further 11% were living in a defacto relationship.

Similarly, most (66%) of the parolees had no children. 12% had one child, 10% two children and 11% had more than two children. Although 84 of the parolees had children, information on the responsibility for the custody of the children was available for only 59 of these. Responsibility for the custody of the children was rare. Only 6 (10%) of these parolees had custody of their children.

Most of the parolees finished their formal education in

the early years of secondary school. The average parolee would have left school in 2nd form, without receiving a School or Intermediate Certificate, documentation of a basic educational achievement. Completion of a tertiary, such as a University or College of Advanced Education, course which is relatively rare in the community as a whole is much rarer within the group of parolees, where only 1% had completed such a course. Table 2 shows the distribution of the educational attainments of the parolees.

Table 2: Educational Attainment

Highest class completed	Percentage of Parolees
Primary school only	14
Secondary school:	
1st form	17
2nd form	34
3rd form	24
4th form	7
5th or 6th form	3
Tertiary course	1

In N.S.W. the legal minimum school leaving age is 15 years (special exemption can be obtained at 14 years 9 months). Over half the parolees (56%) left school when they were 15 years, about a quarter (23%) left before they were 15 and the rest (21%) left after this age. As the average age of pupils in 3rd form of secondary school is 15 years, the fact that the average parolee leaves school in 2nd form at the age of 15 would imply that many were old for their form and possibly had had to repeat one or more classes.

Almost half (42%) had attempted some form of trade training after leaving school. However, of these, less than a third (27%) completed the training.

3.1.1.2 Factors at the time of the current offence:

At the time of the offence, just over half (55%) of the parolees were employed. That is, almost half of the parolees had been unemployed at the time of their offence. Of those working, most were employed by private employers (84%), others (10%) by the government and 6% were self-employed. Two-thirds (67%) were working in their usual occupation.

In over one-third of the parole files (38%) there was no information on whether or not financial problems were thought to have contributed to the offence. In over half (53%) of the cases where information was available, financial problems were thought to contribute to the offence.

At the time of the offence most (80%) were living in a house or flat. Others were living in a hostel, boarding house or caravan (8%), an institution (2%), a hotel or motel (1%) and a further 9% had no fixed place of abode. Almost half (45%) were living with parents or other relatives, about a quarter (27%) were living with their spouse or defacto, 10% were sharing a house with others, 3% were boarding and 16% were living alone.

3.1.1.3 Other background factors:

Information was collected on a number of possible family and personal problems which could have affected the parolee. These problems are listed in order of frequency of occurrence, together with the percentage of parolees experiencing them, in Table 3. There was no information on the factors relevant to these problems in 15% of the parole files. Percentages pertain only to those files where information was available.

Table 3: Factors in the parolees' backgrounds

Factor	Percentage of Parolees
Alcohol dependence	38
Psychiatric or emotional problems	32
Separation of parents	31
Death of parents	31
Placed in an orphanage or state ward	11
Drug dependence	8
Parole adopted	7
Father or mother was an alcoholic	6
Excessive gambling	3

Information was also collected on employment history. Almost two-thirds (60%) of the parolees were considered to have an unstable employment history, with the number of jobs held in the past five years ranging from 1 to 20. Approximately one-quarter of the parolees (22%) had each had one or two jobs, or three to five jobs (25%) but half (48%) had had more than ten jobs within the five year period. The longest period for which the parolees had held one job is shown in Table 4. The average such period was 13 months with only one-quarter (26%) having held one job for more than two-years.

Table 4: Longest period for which parolees had held one job

Length of time	Percentage of Parolees
3 months or less	8
4-6 months	17
7-12 months	24
13-18 months	9
19-24 months	17
More than 2 years	26

The reasons for this instability are presented in Table 5 in order of frequency of occurrence, together with the percentage of parolees to which they apply.

Table 5: Reasons for unstable employment history

Reason	Percentage of Parolees
Lack of marketable skills	72
Retrenchment	40
Casual worker/labourer	19
Dismissals	17
Voluntary unemployment	16
Consistent institutionalisation/imprisonment	9
Itinerant worker	7

(N.B. Percentages in Table 5 may sum to more than 100% since more than one of these reasons might pertain to each of the parolees.)

Lack of marketable skills is by far the most dominant reason for the employment instability, affecting almost three-quarters of the parolees. Such a lack of skills is consistent with the below average educational attainment and the small number who had completed trade training.

When individual job changes are examined the most common reason given is employer dissatisfaction. This and the other reasons are tabulated in order of frequency of occurrence in Table 6.

Table 6: Reasons for individual job changes

Reasons	Percentage of Parolees
Employer dissatisfaction	62
Conflict with employer over conditions or wages	22
Alcohol	22
Drugs	14
Physical or mental handicap	13
Unrealistic aspirations	9
Conflict with other employees	5

(N.B. As with Table 5, percentages in Table 6 may sum to more than 100% since more than one of these reasons might pertain to each of the parolees.)

Employer dissatisfaction is a very broad reason for job changes. The employer could, for example, be dissatisfied with the parolee's attitude to his work or with his performance of the necessary tasks. Table 5, however, indicates that "dismissals" is only a minor reason for unstable employment history in comparison with "lack of marketable skills".

The third type of background material on which information was collected pertained to group affiliations. Almost half (40%) had no group affiliations, neither formal club membership nor informal interests. A third (36%) had informal group affiliations while 14% had formal membership of a club or organisation. Only 1% had both formal and informal group membership. For those belonging to a club or organisation, sporting clubs (93%) were by far the most popular. Other types of clubs and organisations to which the parolees belonged included: cultural (8%) and motor cars (3%). None of the parolees were known to belong to religious, political or industrial organisations.

3.1.2 Criminal History

3.1.2.1 Juvenile Offences

A juvenile offence is any offence committed before a person is 18 years old. Just over half (55%) of the sample had had one or more juvenile convictions. The age at which both these parolees' first juvenile conviction and their first juvenile criminal conviction occurred are presented in Table 7. Juvenile conviction, which is a broader term than juvenile criminal conviction, could include offences such as "destitute or homeless", "exposed to moral danger" or "unfit guardianship" which would not be considered criminal offences on the part of the child.

Table 7: Age at first juvenile conviction

Age	Percentage of Parolees with first juvenile conviction	Percentage of Parolees with first juvenile criminal conviction
6-10 years	7	5
11-12 years	10	7
13-15 years	45	44
16-17 years	38	44

As can be seen from this table, most of the parolees were at least 13 years old at the time of their first offence. On average, the parolee was aged 15 years at the time of both his first juvenile conviction and his first juvenile criminal conviction.

The juvenile offences which had been committed by the parolees, together with the percentage of parolees committing each of the categories of offence, are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Percentage of Parolees convicted of various types of juvenile offences

Juvenile Offence	Percentage of 250 Parolees
Homicides, assaults & like offences	5
Sexual & related offences	4
Robbery & extortion	1
Fraud	2
Offences against property (not elsewhere contained)	50
Driving, traffic & related offences	11
Other offences	15
Orders relating to care and protection of children	15

(N.B. The percentages in Table 8 could potentially sum to more than 100%, since each parolee may have been convicted of more than one type of juvenile offence).

When the number of offences from any one parolee is reduced to one by considering only the parolee's major juvenile offence, or the juvenile offence incurring the heaviest penalty, offences against property such as "break, enter and steal", "larceny of a motor vehicle" and "stealing not elsewhere contained" are the most common (Table 9).

Table 9: Major juvenile offence

Juvenile Offence	Percentage of Parolees
Homicides, assaults & like offences	2
Sexual & related offences	4
Robbery & extortion	2
Offences against property (not elsewhere contained)	76
Driving and related	3
Other offences	7
Orders relating to care and protection of children	5

Approximately one-third of the parolees had experienced juvenile probation (37%). In just over half the cases (52%), this juvenile probation was considered successful. One-third of the parolees had spent time in one or more juvenile institutions, almost half (41%) of these parolees being sentenced there only once (Table 10).

Table 10: No. of juvenile sentences exceeding one week

Number of Sentences	Percentage of Parolees
0	43
1	23
2-4	24
5-9	10

A further 19% had had juvenile fines and 13% juvenile bonds.

3.1.2.2 Adult Offences

Most (81%) of the parolees had at least one previous adult conviction, with an average of five previous offences. The types of adult offences are depicted in Table 11. The larger percentages for each of the categories reflects both the larger percentage of parolees having adult offences and the larger average number of such offences. The parolees' major offences are presented in Table 12.

Table 11: Percentage of Parolees committing various types of adult offences

Adult Offence	Percentage of Parolees
Homicides, assaults & like offences	14
Sexual & related offences	12
Robbery & extortion	2
Fraud	11
Offences against property (not elsewhere contained)	64
Driving, traffic & related offences	34
Other offences	45
Orders relating to care & protection of children	1

(N.B. In a similar way to Table 8, percentages in Table 11 sum to more than 100%, since each parolee may have been convicted of more than one type of adult offence).

Table 12: Major previous adult offence

Adult Offence	Percentage of Parolees
Homicides, assaults & like offences	3
Sexual & related offences	8
Robbery & extortion	2
Fraud	3
Offences against property (not elsewhere contained)	66
Driving, traffic & related offences	6
Other offences	12
Orders relating to care & protection of children	1

Once again offences against property are the most common major offence. For the adult offences, however, the predominance is reduced by the increase in the number of parolees for whom "sexual and related offences"; "driving and related offences"; "fraud" and "other offences" formed the major offence.

Approximately half (52%) committed their first adult offence when they were 18 years old. 18 years is the minimum age at which a person can be convicted of an offence as an adult. Table 15 shows the distribution of the ages at first adult conviction. It can be seen that for those with previous adult convictions, most obtained their first adult conviction when they were still fairly young.

Table 13: Age at first adult conviction

Age	Percentage of Parolees
18 years	52
19	20
20	7
21-25	12
26-30	4
31-35	3
36-40	2

Table 14 portrays the range of corrective measures experienced for adult offences and the percentage of parolees receiving each measure.

Table 14: Corrective measures experienced for adult offences

Corrective Measure	Percentage of Parolees
556A	1
Bond only	32
Fine	56
Probation	4
Bond + Probation	13
Periodic Detention	1
Imprisonment	58
Other	1

(N.B. The percentages in Table 14 may sum to more than 100%, since each parolee may have received more than one type of corrective measure).

The amount of time the parolees had spent in prison was recorded in two ways: the number of prison sentences exceeding one week and the total time served in institutions for adult offences. The number of sentences exceeding one week (Table 15) ranged from 0 to 40 sentences with 41% having no periods of previous imprisonment.

Table 15: Number of sentences for adult offences exceeding one week

Number of Sentences	Percentages of Parolees
0	41
1	16
2-5	26
6-10	11
11-20	5
More than 21	2

For those who had been imprisoned previously, almost two-thirds (63%) had been imprisoned for a total period of less than two years (Table 16).

Table 16: Total time served in institutions for adult offences

Time Served	Percentages of Parolees*
0-6 months	27
7-12 months	14
Over 1-2 years	22
Over 2-3 years	10
Over 3-4 years	4
Over 4-5 years	4
Over 5-10 years	14
Over 10 years	4

(*Percentages refer only to those parolees (59%) who have previously been imprisoned).

Almost two-thirds (63%) of the parolees had not previously been released on parole, many of these having not been previously imprisoned or having served short sentences. A further 30% had been released on parole once before, 5% had been on parole twice before and 2% on three or more occasions. Of those who had been released on parole, over half (59%) had never been revoked, a third (34%) had been revoked once, 7% twice and the remaining 1% revoked three times. 15 (6%) of the 250 parolees had been previously paroled for the current offence. All were back in prison as the result of having their parole revoked.

Of the 250 parolees, ten (4%) had escaped during some prior imprisonment. Nine of these had escaped once, the other had escaped twice.

3.1.2.3 Details of Current Offence

As outlined below (Table 17), most of the prisoners released to parole were imprisoned for offences against property such as "break, enter and steal" and "larceny of a motor vehicle". In most cases the current offence was similar to previous offences. For three-quarters of both those with past juvenile offences (76%) and those with past adult offences (77%), the current offence was similar to these prior offences.

Table 17: Major Offence for which Parolees had been Imprisoned

Offence	Percentage of Parolees
Homicides, assaults and like offences	8
Sexual and related offences	10
Robbery and extortion	18
Offences against property	56
Driving and related offences	3
Other offences	6

The total sentence to be served (Table 18) ranged from 6 months to more than 10 years, with over half the parolees receiving sentences of between 1 and 3 years. The associated non-parole periods are presented in Table 19. Over half of the parolees (56%) were given non-parole periods of between 6 and 12 months. This is consistent with over half (56%) of the parolees spending between 6 and 12 months in gaol before they were released to parole.

Table 18: Total sentence for current offence(s)

Length of sentence	Percentage of Parolees
6 months-1 year	1
More than 1-2 years	24
More than 2-3 years	27
More than 3-4 years	19
More than 4-5 years	11
More than 5-6 years	7
More than 6-10 years	10
More than 10 years	1

Table 19: Non-Parole Period set

Non-Parole Period	Percentage of parolees
6-12 months	56
Over 12 months-2 years	24
Over 2 years-3 years	10
Over 3 years-4 years	4
Over 4 years-5 years	1
More than 5 years	1
Not applicable	5

There was not a strong relationship between total sentence and non-parole period set (see Table 20). Those with non-parole periods of up to twelve months had, for example, total sentences ranging from one year to more than six years.

Table 20: Relationship between Total Sentence and Non-Parole Period set

N.P.P.	Total Sentence (in years)						
	1-2	2 ⁺ -3	3 ⁺ -4	4 ⁺ -5	5 ⁺ -6	6 ⁺ -10	10 ⁺
6-12 months	59	47	17	8	6	3	0
1 ⁺ -2 years		16	28	9	3	2	0
2 ⁺ -3 years			1	10	7	8	0
3 ⁺ -4 years				0	1	8	0
4 ⁺ -5 years					0	1	1
5 ⁺ years						0	1

The distribution of the time spent in prison before release to parole, Table 21, reflects to some extent the distribution of non-parole periods. However it differs from it in that a slightly larger percentage of parolees remained in gaol for longer than 3 years than would have been expected simply from the non-parole period set.

Table 21: Time spent in prison before release to parole

Time in gaol	Percentage of parolees
6 months-1 year	56
More than 1-2 years	21
More than 2-3 years	11
More than 3-4 years	6
More than 4-5 years	3
More than 5 years	3

Most parolees had been sentenced for the current offence in a district court (91%), others had been sentenced in courts of petty sessions (2%), criminal courts (2%), supreme court (2%) or criminal court of appeal (3%). In a sample released more recently, a larger percentage would have been sentenced in Petty Sessions, as the upper limit of Petty Sessions sentences was increased in late 1974. For almost half (42%) of the parolees only one charge was considered. A further quarter (28%) had two charges, while only 7% had more than three charges laid. For almost three-quarters (72%) of the parolees having further charges, the charges were similar to the current offence.

In most (69%) of the police reports there was no information on the parolee's associates in connection with the current offence. Of those reports where this issue was mentioned, almost two-thirds (65%) were stated *not* to associate with the criminal or hoodlum element. The rest were reported to associate with the criminal element (23%), a hoodlum element (10%) or drug addicts or pushers (3%).

3.1.2.4 Prison Details

The parolees were sentenced to a wide variety of gaols, including all gaols in N.S.W. with the exception of Broken Hill and Narrabri. 51% of the parolees were sent to secured, 23% to variable and 26% to open institutions. More prisoners were sentenced to secured gaols than were released to parole from them. This reflects the reclassification to gaols of lower security which occurs during imprisonment.

There was no information available on the gaol employment recommended for one-quarter of the parolees. Those for whom information was available were employed most frequently "as required" (60%). Other jobs included: maintenance (7%), cookhouse (4%), laundry (3%), electrician (3%) as well as a range of jobs pertaining to only one or two individuals, such as: reception shop, tailorshop, blacksmith/welder or frontgate mail-room.

No information was available on whether any special programmes were recommended for one-quarter of the parolees while they were in gaol. Where information was available, it can be seen that no programmes were recommended for most of the parolees (84%). For those for whom a special programme is known to have been recommended (81 of the total of 250), the most common were trade training (64%) and high school education (25%). Other programmes recommended included a basic English course (5%), remedial reading (2%), poultry farming (1%), psychiatric treatment (1%) and Project Survival (1%). Only 44 parolees completed their course, of these two-thirds (66%) completed their course successfully.

With the exception of Governor's Pleasure, life sentence prisoners and periodic detainees, all prisoners serving sentences of one month or more are entitled to receive remission on their sentences. Remission enables a prisoner to be released at a date earlier than the end of the sentence given by the court.

"The remission entitlements are:

- i) one-third remission if no previous sentence of 3 months or more;
- ii) one-quarter remission if one or more previous sentences of 3 months or more;
- iii) one-sixth remission if an habitual criminal.

In addition, further remission at the rate of 2 days per month, or part thereof, may be earned by prisoners in the following circumstances:

- a) Whilst located at an open establishment;
- b) While undertaking a training/educational programme (applicable only to prisoners under (ii) and (iii) above);
- c) While employed in certain specified prison industries.

NOTE: Prisoners may not receive remissions in respect of (a) and (c) above, contemporaneously". (N.S.W. Department of Corrective Services, 1977, p 24). Remission granted to this sample of 250 parolees ranged from 24 days to 3 years 9 months, with the median period being 9 months.

Twenty (8%) of the parolees were punished for infringements of gaol rules and regulations while they were imprisoned. Twelve of these were punished once, five were punished twice and one three times, one four times and the other five times. The most frequent offence was being late to muster. Other offences included: assault on another prisoner, assault on prison officer, disorderly behaviour, breach of house rules on day release, discipline problems (enquiry into Bathurst riots), escape from lawful custody, drug use and attempt to smuggle a letter out. The most frequent punishment was being confined to the cell. Other punishments included transfers to other gaols, such as Parramatta or Bathurst, or being taken off amenities.

There was little information on the results of psychological and/or psychiatric examinations, possibly due to the relatively few prisoners having these examinations. Where these reports were available, the negative assessments outweighed positive ones. There was information on the psychological report for only 46% and on the psychiatric report for 20% of the parolees. Over half of these (54%) were given a negative psychological report, 29%

a neutral and only 17% were given a positive one. Of the thirty-nine with a psychiatric report, 62% received a negative report, 18% neutral and 20% a positive one. The large number of negative reports may be due to the particular types of prisoners for whom such reports are requested.

3.1.3 Parole Details

3.1.3.1 Parole Release

Most (86%) were released on first consideration. Of the thirty-six who had their parole deferred, over one-quarter were deferred for one month or less, two-thirds were deferred for less than four months. For seven of those who had their parole deferred, there was no information on the file for the reason for deferment. Of the remaining twenty-nine prisoners, thirteen were deferred for additional reasons, e.g., "require attitude change in prisoner" or "anti-authoritarian attitude must change". Parole for the other sixteen was deferred for a wide variety of reasons including: inadequate release arrangements, prisoner undecided about parole, and institutional reasons such as: parole officer wished further psychological assessments, parole officer wished continuation of the psychiatric programme or there was no time for the parole officer to assess the case.

The sample included prisoners who were paroled from a wide range of gaols. In fact, with the exception of Broken Hill and Narrabri, parolees had come from every gaol in N.S.W. 43% of the parolees had come from secured, 33% from variable and 24% from open institutions.

Almost all (96%) were recommended to parole both by the parole officer and the supervising officer.

As would be expected, most (96%) were to be supervised by the N.S.W. Probation and Parole Service. Others were to be supervised interstate and one was to be supervised in conjunction with the New Zealand Parole Service.

The parole period set ranged from six months to seven years. The average length of parole for this group was eighteen months. Table 22 portrays the skewed distribution of parole periods set.

Table 22: Length of Parole Period

Length of Parole Period	Percentage of Parolees
6-12 months	27
More than 12-18 months	26
More than 18-24 months	15
More than 24-30 months	10
More than 30-36 months	7
More than 36 months	14

The parolee is released into society under certain conditions, such as, that he must obey the law and report to his parole officer as directed. Special conditions are placed on some parole orders. Most parolees had no special conditions placed on their parole order. The most frequent condition to be imposed was that alcohol was prohibited to 9% of the parolees during their parole period. The other conditions imposed (and percentage of parolees affected) were as follows: medical and/or psychiatric conditions (6%), conditions classified as "other" (4%) and one person had a prohibited localities restriction (0.4%) placed on his parole. None of the sample had restrictions concerning residence, fines or costs or associates imposed.

The parolees were initially required to report either weekly, fortnightly or monthly. Two-thirds (66%) were asked to report fortnightly. The remainder were divided between those who were required to report more frequently (15%) and those required to report less frequently (19%).

3.1.3.2 During Parole

Most often the special conditions placed on parole were not varied. The conditions were varied for only three of the 250 parolees. This involved two additional people having an alcohol restriction imposed and one having a restriction placed on his associates.

During the parole period most (76%) changed to reporting to their parole officer less frequently. Only 2% reported more frequently and 22% did not change their reporting pattern. No information was provided on why 13% changed their reporting pattern. In 60% of the cases the change was initiated by the Probation and Parole Service. In other cases, 16% simply failed to report, 8% reported spasmodically, two parolees were hospitalized and a further two had no one to report to in the area.

On release, most parolees (80%) were living in a house or flat with their parents (53%) or spouse (20%). A further 15% were living in a hostel or a boarding house and 17% were living alone. At this time almost half lived with the person they had lived with at the time of the current offence. In most cases (81%) the information given to the parole officer about accommodation was considered correct. Approximately one-quarter of the sample (22%) had no address changes. A further 42% had between one and three address changes, 19% had six or more address changes. For only two people (0.8%) was "no fixed abode" the most common form of accommodation. All others had some more stable form of accommodation: the most common being a house or flat (80%).

Most (93%) held at least one job whilst on parole, the number of jobs held ranging from nil to sixteen. On average two or three jobs were held. These jobs were interspersed with a number of periods of unemployment, with most (78%) of the parolees experiencing unemployment while on parole. The total period of unemployment ranged from 0 to 56 months, with the average period of employment being less than three months. In most cases (77%) the information given to the parole officer about initial employment was considered correct.

Where information was available, the group of parolees seem to have experienced a wide range of problems while on parole. No information was available on the problems in 10% of the parole files. It is not known whether nothing was recorded on these files because the parole officer had investigated and found that the parolee had no problems or whether this had not been investigated. The categories of problems experienced by the parolees together with the percentage of parolees who experienced these problems are shown in Table 23. The most remarkable aspect of Table 23 is the large percentage of parolees experiencing problems, particularly interpersonal and financial problems.

Table 23: Problems Experienced While on Parole.

Type of Problem	Percentage of Parolees
Interpersonal	53
Financial	36
Alcohol	22
Health (physical)	18
Accommodation	15
Marital	10
Health (mental)	9
Drugs	5
Gambling	2
Other	1

(Note that the percentages in Table 23 sum to more than 100% because each parolee could have more than one type of problem).

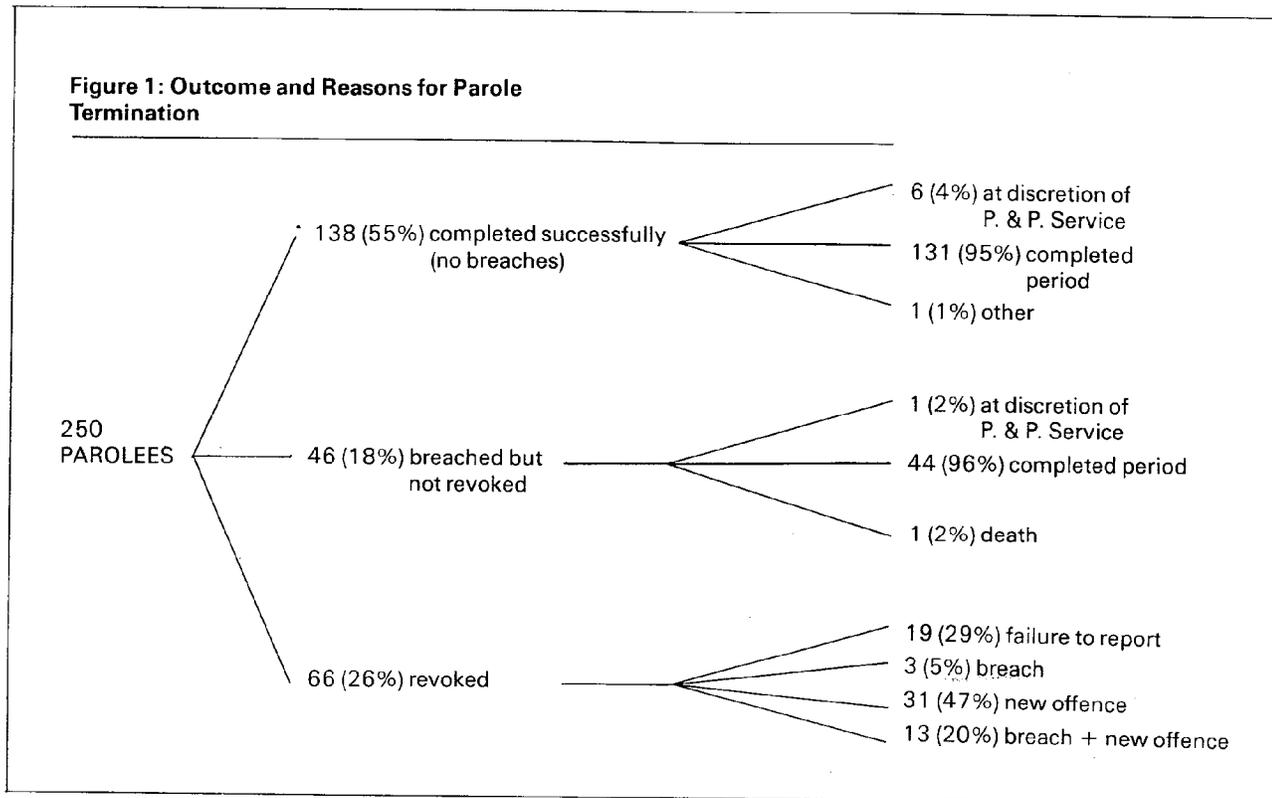
Approximately one-quarter (24%) of the files revealed that problems were being experienced by the parolee's family. Once again in 10% of the files there was no information.

Over one-third (36%) of the parole files contained no information about the parolees' social networks, that is no information concerning support from, for example, family, friends, or known criminals. Of the 160 files which had information on social networks, most mentioned only one (54%) or two (44%) main social supports. In only 2% of the cases were three or more social supports mentioned. The parolee's family was the most frequently mentioned support group (49%). The next most frequently mentioned support groups were: "workmates or friends", "known criminals" and "other parolees" who each represented the major contact for 13% of the parolees. The social support groups given for the remaining parolees included family members with a record or who were also on parole (5%), drug addicts or pushers (4%), club members (2%) and hoodlums or delinquents (2%).

3.1.3.3 Outcome of Parole Supervision

The outcome of the parole supervision and reasons for this outcome are shown in Figure 1. Over half (55%) completed their parole period "successfully": that is, without either breach or revocation. Most of these had their supervision terminated as an automatic feature of completing their parole period, only 4% of these had their supervision terminated early on the recommendation of the Probation and Parole Service. A further 18% were breached, but not revoked, during their parole period. Once again most of these had their supervision terminated as an automatic feature of completing their parole period. The remaining 26% were revoked. The revocations were the result of a further offence committed by the parolee (47%), failure to report to the parole officer (29%), a breach of another condition (5%) or the combination of a new offence and a breach (20%).

Figure 1: Outcome and Reasons for Parole Termination



Seventy-six parolees (30%) committed at least one offence during their parole period. Just over half of these parolees (53%) were revoked, the others were not. Property offences were the most commonly committed, accounting for over half of the offences. The specific offences committed (and the number of people committing them) were as follows: "larceny of a motor vehicle" (17); "stealing—not elsewhere contained" (11); "break enter and steal" (10); "driving under the influence of drugs or alcohol" (6); "use etc. or possession of drugs" (5); "minor assault" (4); "obscene language" (4); "unlawful possession of goods" (3); "offensive behaviour—other" (3); "assault of unspecified nature" (2); "false pretences" (2); "dangerous driving" (2) and one person committed each of the following offences: "major assault", "robbery with major assault", "robbery with minor assault", "forgery and uttering", "evasion of fare", "unlawful possession of firearms" and "other". The offences leading to revocation included: major assault, most property offences and some drug offences; but not: minor assault, driving under the influence of drugs or alcohol, dangerous driving, fare evasion, or obscene language or other offensive behaviour.

In most cases, the new offence was committed early in the parole period. Of those committing a new offence, over one-third (36%) had committed it within three months of release, over one half (58%) within 6 months and most (85%) within the first year.

As would be expected, most (84%) were convicted of their offence in N.S.W., the rest were either convicted interstate (13%) or in New Zealand (2%). Almost half (48%) had no other offences taken into account at this time, a further quarter (28%) had one other offence taken into account while 11% had more than 5 offences also taken into account. For over half (57%) of the parolees committing an offence, the offence was similar to

the current conviction for which they had been imprisoned. This is likely to reflect a combination of the large percentage of prisoners in gaols for property offences committed whilst on parole.

In one-third of cases (33%) the parolee was fined for the offence, while in just under half of the cases the parolee was sentenced to more than one month's gaol. Other penalties imposed included: recognizance (6%), gaol sentence of less than one month (6%), bench warrant (4%) or a bond (2%). Where a gaol sentence of more than one month was imposed, in 40% of cases the gaol sentence was less than one year, 29% were given sentences of between one and two years, a further 20% were given sentences of between two and three years. In no case was a parolee sentenced to more than five years. In over half of these cases (59%) the sentence was to be served concurrently with the sentence given for the offence for which the parolee was paroled, in the remaining cases the sentence imposed was to be additional to the earlier sentence.

In some cases, revocation of parole was a consequence of a breach of conditions rather than a consequence of committing a new offence. Figure 1 shows, of those revoked, 19 (29%) were revoked for failing to report to the parole officer, 3 (5%) for breaching some other condition and 13 (20%) were revoked for breaching one or more conditions in addition to committing a new offence. In some instances conditions were breached but parole was not revoked. Table 24 depicts the numbers of parolees for which the conditions were breached and whether or not these breaches led to revocation.

Table 24: Conditions breached

Condition	Number of parolees breached not leading to revocation	Leading to revocation
Failure to report to parole officer	20	35
Failure to report to police	1	7
Medical/Psychiatric	0	1
Residence	0	2
Alcohol	2	3
Prohibited localities	0	1
Fines/costs	0	6
Associates	0	1

(The figures in Table 24 sum to more than the total of the number of parolees breached, since each parolee may have breached a number of conditions).

For those revoked, the time between release to parole and revocation ranged from less than one month to twenty-six months, with an average length of five months. Half of those revoked (50%) were received in prison less than one month after revocation, over two-thirds (70%) were received within three months of revocation. At the time of data collection, eight (12%) of those revoked were still at large.

The sentences to be served, for those who were revoked (irrespective of whether they were revoked for a breach of a condition or for committing a further offence), (Table 25) ranged from less than one month to five years. A little under one-quarter (23%) had sentences of less than one month to serve, while half (50%) of the revoked parolees had sentences of between 1 and 3 years to serve.

Table 25: Sentence to be served following revocation

Length of sentence	Percentage of revoked parolees
Less than 1 month	23
3-6 months	5
7-12 months	11
Over 12-18 months	16
Over 18-24 months	13
Over 2-3 years	21
Over 3-4 years	5
Over 4-5 years	6

3.1.4 Subsequent parole details

Of the sixty-six parolees who were revoked and returned to prison, half (thirty-three) were reparaoled. Although revoked, eight had never been recaptured and returned to gaol. The remaining twenty-five revoked parolees had completed their sentences in prison and were released into society without a further parole period. The data reported in the following sections pertain to those thirty-three revoked parolees who were reparaoled.

3.1.4.1 Subsequent parole release

Once again most (79%) were released on first consideration. This percentage is slightly less than those released on first consideration for the first release to parole (86%). Of the seven prisoners who had their parole deferred, one was deferred for one month, three for two months, one for three months and two for six months. Three of those deferred, were deferred because of attitudinal reasons, two because of inadequate release arrangements and one for institutional reasons. All were recommended to parole both by their parole

officer and the supervising officer. Most (87%) were to be supervised by the N.S.W. Probation and Parole Service. Others were to be supervised interstate.

Six of the thirty-three parolees (18%) had alcohol restrictions placed on their parole orders. Two had conditions relating to medical or psychiatric treatment imposed and two had "other" conditions. None had conditions relating to: residence, prohibited localities, fines or costs, or associates imposed.

The length of the parole period to be supervised ranged from five to thirty-one months (Table 26). There were fewer parolees with long parole periods in their subsequent parole release than in the first parole release.

Table 26: Length of subsequent parole period

Length of parole period	Percentage of 33 parolees
5-12 months	24
More than 12-18 months	24
More than 18-24 months	36
More than 24-30 months	9
More than 30 months	6

As for the earlier parole, initially approximately two-thirds (63%) were asked to report fortnightly. 26% were asked to report monthly, 11% weekly.

3.1.4.2 During subsequent parole

There were no variations in any of the special conditions imposed on the parole order. Almost two-thirds (63%) changed to reporting less frequently, while the rest (37%) did not change their reporting pattern. No one was asked to report more frequently. The reasons for change in reporting pattern were as follows: as directed by parole officer (42%), failed to report (38%), spasmodic reporting (17%) or hospitalised (4%).

On release most (91%) were living in a house or flat. Two had no fixed place of abode and one was staying in a hotel. Approximately half (48%) were living with their parents or other relatives and the other half (42%) were living with their spouse or defacto. One was boarding with a family and the other two were living alone. In over one-third of the cases (39%) the parolee was living with the same person as he or she had been living with at the time of the current offence.

The number of address changes ranged from nil to eleven, with an average of two changes. The most common form of accommodation for most parolees (89%) was a house or flat. However, two others lived in a caravan and one lived in a boarding house. For no one was "no fixed place of abode" the most common form of accommodation. For over two-thirds of the parolees (70%) the information given to the parole officer about their accommodation was considered correct. This was much less than the percentage considered correct (81%) during the first parole episode.

Most (96%) held at least one job while on parole. The number of jobs held ranged from nil to six, while on average two jobs were held during the parole period. The total period of unemployment ranged from nil to twenty-four months, with the average period of unemployment being three months. For three-quarters (75%) of the parolees the information given to the parole officer about employment was considered correct. This was similar to the first parole episode.

No information was available on the problems experienced by the parolees during the parole period in 12% of the parole files. For those parolees where this information was available, the categories of problems experienced together with the percentage of parolees who experienced these problems are provided in Table 27.

Table 27: Problems experienced on subsequent parole

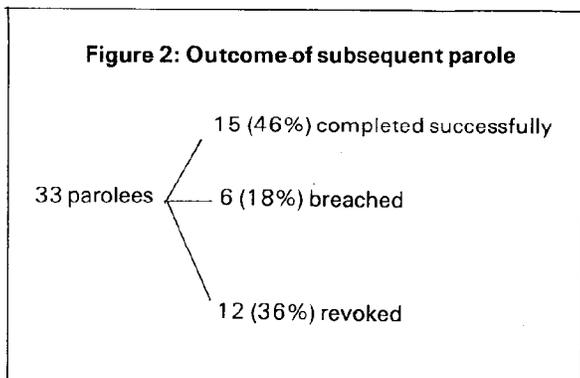
Problem	Percentage of Parolees
Interpersonal	64
Financial	28
Alcohol	21
Accommodation	21
Health (physical)	12
Marital	6
Drugs	3
Health (mental)	3

The frequency of occurrence of the types of problems closely resembles that for the first parole episode. Interpersonal problems were by far the most common, although financial, alcohol, accommodation and physical health problems were also quite common. Approximately one-third (31%) of the parolees' families were also experiencing problems.

In almost half of these parole files (48%) there was no information on the parolees' social networks. Where information was provided, the following profile was obtained. The parolee's family provided support in four cases. For other parolees this support was provided by (and the number of parolees for whom this support was provided), workmates or friends (3), known criminals (3), other parolees (3), hoodlum element (2), drug addicts/pushers (1) and family or spouse who has a record or is on parole (1).

3.1.4.3 Outcome of subsequent parole supervision

The outcome of this subsequent parole supervision is shown in Figure 2.



The percentage of this group of reparaed parolees who were revoked is larger than for the initial group of 250 and, accordingly, the percentage who completed successfully is lower.

The length of supervision ranged from no supervision to more than two years. The period of supervision is depicted in Table 28. Understandably, this group seems to be supervised for a shorter period than for the first episode of parole.

Table 28: Length of supervision in subsequent parole

Period	Percentage of Parolees
Nil	9
Over 0-3 months	15
Over 3-6 months	9
Over 6-12 months	18
Over 1-2 years	30
Over 2-5 years	15

Of the twelve who were revoked, eight were revoked for breaching conditions, three for committing an offence involving a sentence of three months or more, and one was revoked for both a new offence and a breach. This is very different from the reasons for revocation of first parole order in which approximately half (47%) were revoked for a further offence and another 20% for a combination of further offence and a breach (cf., Figure 1).

Nine (14%) of those released on the subsequent parole order committed an offence during their parole period. Four of these were revoked for this offence. The offences committed (and the number of parolees committing each type of offence) were as follows: "carnal knowledge" (1), "forgery and uttering, not elsewhere contained" (1), "break, enter and steal" (2), "larceny of a motor vehicle" (2), "unlawful possession of property" (1), "negligent driving" (1) and "registration and insurance offences" (1). Two of the parolees had committed their offences within the first two months of their release to parole. The other offences were fairly evenly spread between six and thirty-three months following release to parole. For six of the nine parolees committing further offences, these offences were similar to their current offence.

From Table 29 it can be seen that the most frequent condition for which the parolees were breached was failure to report to his/her parole officer. No one was breached for conditions relating to medical or psychiatric treatment, residence, alcohol, prohibited localities, fines/costs or associates.

Table 29: Conditions breached on subsequent parole

Condition	Number of parolees	
	breached not leading to revocation	Leading to revocation
Failure to report to parole officer	4	8
Failure to report to police	0	1
Other	0	1

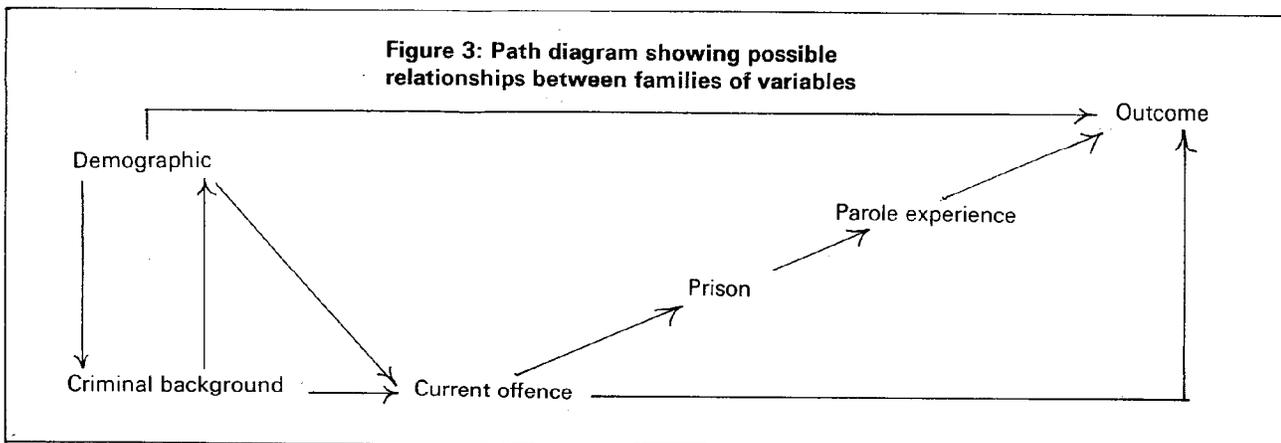
For those revoked, the time between release to parole and revocation ranged from one month to forty-five months with an average length of ten months. Of the twelve who were revoked, at the time of data collection, five (42%) were still at large.

3.2 Variables related to parole outcome: Who are the successful parolees?

Variables measured in this study have been classified under three broad headings: demographic, criminal history and parole details. Previous studies (e.g., N.S.W. Department of Corrective Services, 1976) have concentrated on criminal history with some demographic features, whereas the present study has included information on the parole experience prior to revocation or completion.

Possible relationships between these sets of variables (with criminal history variables subdivided into criminal background, current offence and prison experience variables) can be represented diagrammatically by a path diagram (Figure 3) where arrows indicate direct causes and their directions. It is assumed that demographic, criminal history and parole experience variables are possible direct causes of parole outcome, whereas current offence and prison variables may be indirect causes. Of interest in this study are the interrelationships between the sets of variables and the improvement in prediction by the inclusion of variables related to parole experience.

Two dimensions were found necessary to adequately describe group differences. The first related primarily to ALC, DRU and EMP, and differentiated between the completed and the other two groups. That is, parolees who completed their parole tended to differ both from those who were breached and those who were revoked in having a more stable employment history and in experiencing fewer drug or alcohol problems during their parole period. Those who were breached differed from those who were revoked on the second dimension which reflected criminal background (JUV, PRIS), marital status, employment and address changes while on parole.



Because of the complexity of the diagram, subsets of variables have first been analysed separately and these analyses reported. The variables found to be related to parole outcome within each of the subsets were then combined to determine the effect of each in addition to others, in order to isolate that combination of factors which best discriminates between those who completed parole, those who were breached and those who were revoked.

Throughout much of the analysis the parolees have been divided into three groups in terms of parole outcome (completed, breached, and revoked). At the conclusion of this section two alternative measures are presented and analysed. In the first, the outcome is dichotomized into revoked and not revoked (the measure of parole success used by the N.S.W. Department of Corrective Services, 1976). In the second, outcome is defined in terms of the reason for revocation: not revoked, revoked because of breaches and revoked because of offences.

3.2.1 Summary of discriminant analyses

An overview of the findings from all of the discriminant analyses is presented prior to discussing details of each of the individual analyses for ease of comprehension. In summary, although the three groups (completed, breached and revoked) differed in many respects, the following subset of eight variables was adequate to reproduce the differences:

Number of instances of juvenile institutions	(JUV)
Number of instances of prison as an adult	(PRIS)
Employment stability	(EMP)
Marital status	(MS)
Alcohol problems during parole	(ALC)
Drug problems during parole	(DRU)
Employment changes during parole	(JOB)
Address changes during parole	(ADD)

When the breached and completed groups were combined to form a "not revoked" group and compared with the revoked group, criminal background and employment stability became more important.

Comparison of those revoked because of breaches with those revoked for offences revealed no significant differences between the two groups. Hence there is no discriminant function for this comparison.

3.2.2 Analyses for the individual families of variables

The previous section summarised the findings of discriminant analyses over the entire range of recorded variables. In this section the analyses for the separate sets or families of variables, together with the details of the combined analyses, are presented.

Variables related to parole outcome were determined in two ways. Firstly, most of the variables were cross-tabulated against the measure of parole outcome (completed, breached, revoked) in order to determine which individual factors were related to parole outcome. Secondly, individual variables were combined and a discriminant analysis was conducted. The discriminant analysis was used to determine whether all variables in combination were required to represent the differences among the groups or whether only a subset of these variables were required. Specifically, the discriminant analysis was used to determine which subset of variables would best discriminate among the three groups.

Both those variables which are individually (univariately) related to outcome and the discriminant analysis for each family of variables are reported.

3.2.2.1 Demographic Data

3.2.2.1.1 Variables univariately related to outcome

a. Personal Status

Age, country of birth, being aboriginal, number of children or having responsibility for children, highest level of schooling completed, having attempted trade training, type of employer, whether occupation at time of current offence was the same or different from usual occupation, and living arrangements at the time of offence appear *not* to be related to parole outcome. However, marital status, employment at time of the offence and having a significant financial problem at time of the offence were related to outcome (see Table 30).

Table 30: Personal status at time of offence and parole outcome: significant relationships

Personal Status Factor	Parole outcome			Total
	Completed	Breached	Revoked	
Marital Status				
% Married or defacto	28	39	12	26
n	138	46	66	250
Employed at time of offence				
% Yes	66	40	38	54
n	134	43	60	237
Financial problem at time of offence				
% Yes	37	63	64	47
n	84	27	28	139

As was described earlier, most of the parolees were either single, separated or divorced. When those involved in a relationship (either married or defacto) were compared with those not involved in a relationship (single, separated or divorced), those involved in a relationship were less likely to be revoked and more likely to be breached ($p < .0041$).

A X^2 test of association between employment at time of offence and parole outcome reveals that the two are related ($p < .0001$). Those who were employed had a higher probability of completing their parole period and a smaller probability of being either breached or revoked.

The association between having a financial problem at the time of the offence and parole outcome was significant ($p < .0085$). Those without a financial problem at the time of the current offence had a larger probability of completing their parole than did those parolees with a financial problem.

b. Other background factors

Background factors such as separation of parents, death of parents, psychiatric or emotional problems, or being placed in an orphanage were *not* related to parole outcome. Nor were group affiliations or club membership related to parole outcome.

Those factors which were related to outcome were a history of alcohol dependence ($p < .0351$) and stability of employment history ($p < .0001$) (Table 31).

Table 31: Background factors and parole outcome: significant relationships

Background factor	Parole Outcome			Total
	Completed	Breached	Revoked	
Alcohol dependence				
% Yes	35	58	31	38
n	79	33	52	164
Employment History				
% Stable	56	22	22	41
n	133	45	65	243

Those with a history of alcohol dependence had a greater chance of being breached and a slightly smaller chance of either completing or being revoked than did those without such a history. Those with a stable employment history had a much better chance of completing (associated with a much smaller chance of being either breached or revoked) than did those with an unstable employment history.

3.2.2.1.2 Discriminant analysis

Six background variables were combined in this discriminant analysis: employment status at time of current offence, employment stability, age, marital status, living arrangements at time of current offence and education. Several other variables including history of alcoholic problems, although univariately significant, were not included as there were too many missing cases. (The S.P.S.S. discriminant analysis program used omits any cases with information missing on one or more of the variables).

The relationship between parole outcome and these variables could be summarized by either the two employment variables *or* by employment stability and marital status (Table 32).

Table 32: MANOVA table for demographic variables

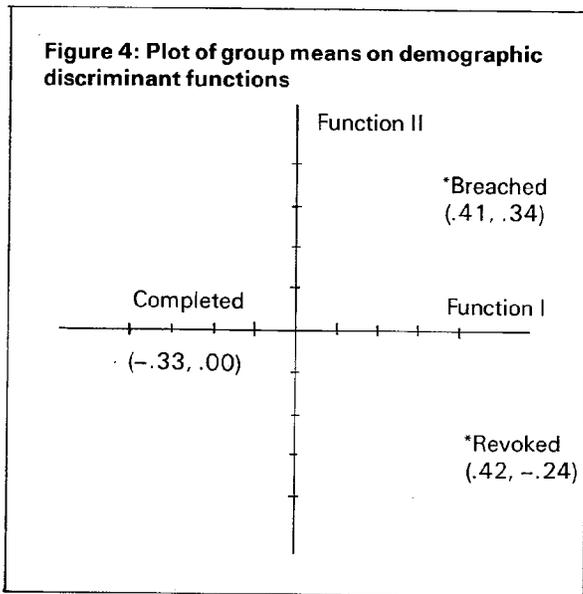
Due to	X^2	df	p
Employment status & stability	34.63	4	<.0005
Employment stability & marital status	25.25	4	<.0005
All variables	46.05	14	

As the two variables in the second set were more independent than the first pair, the second model was more informative. Two dimensions were required (Table 33 and Figure 4). The results paralleled the univariate results: those who completed parole had a more stable employment history than the other two groups who were similar in this respect. These two groups were separated on the second dimension: those breached were more likely to be involved in a relationship than those revoked.

Table 33: Demographic Discriminant Functions

Variable	S.D.F.C.*	
	Function I	Function II
EMP	1.00	0.14
MS	0.02	1.10

*"S.D.F.C." is the standardised discriminant function coefficient. The larger the coefficient the stronger the relationship.



3.2.2.2 Criminal History

3.2.2.2.1 Variables univariately related to outcome

i) Juvenile Offences

The only measures pertaining to juvenile offences which were related to parole outcome were number of juvenile offences, number of commitments to juvenile institutions, number of juvenile sentences exceeding one week, and number of offences "against property N.E.C.", "other" offences and "orders relating to care and protection of children" (Tables 34 and 35). That is, age at first juvenile or first juvenile criminal conviction, major juvenile offence, number of fines, bonds, periodic detentions, type of juvenile institution, outcome of juvenile probations and paroles were *not* individually related to parole outcome in this study.

Table 34: Broad measures of juvenile criminal history variables related to parole outcome

Variable	Parole Outcome			p
	Completed	Breached	Revoked	
No. of juvenile offences	\bar{x} 3.20 s 5.89	3.32 4.98	5.57 6.01	<.044
No. of juvenile institutions	\bar{x} 0.64 s 1.47	0.93 1.63	1.66 2.22	
No. of juvenile sentences exceeding one week	\bar{x} 0.67 s 1.48	0.93 1.65	1.66 2.24	<.0016

From Table 34 it can be seen that the parolees who were revoked had a longer juvenile criminal history than the other parolees. Instances of particular types of juvenile offences, specifically "offences against property N.E.C.", "other offences" and "orders relating to care and protection of children" were also related to parole outcome (Table 35). "Offences against property N.E.C." include offences such as "break, enter and steal" and "larceny of motor vehicles". Those parolees with no such offences were less likely to be revoked than those with one or more such offences ($p < .005$).

Table 35: Specific juvenile offences and parole outcome: significant relationships

Juvenile offence	Parole Outcome			Total
	Completed	Breached	Revoked	
"Offences against property N.E.C."				
% with such offences	45	45	64	50
n	138	44	66	248
"Other Offences"				
% with such offences	11	9	26	15
n	138	44	65	247
"Orders relating to the care and protection of children"				
% with such offences	9	18	24	15
n	138	44	66	248

"Other offences" include drug-related offences and a wide range of offences such as "accessory after the fact", "breach of conditions of release of recognizance" and "trespassing and like offences". For those parolees who had been convicted of "other offences" as a juvenile, most had only been convicted of this once, a further three parolees had been convicted twice. Those with such juvenile convictions had a greater likelihood of being revoked ($p < .01$).

"Orders relating to the care and protection of children" relate to both orders arising from neglect of the child and orders arising from the conduct of the child. Examples of orders arising from the neglect of the child include: "destitute or homeless", "exposed to moral danger" and "unfit guardianship". On the other hand, examples of orders arising from the conduct of the child include "absconding from custody", "truancy" and "sexual misconduct". For those parolees with such convictions, the number of convictions ranged between one and three, with thirty-two of the parolees having one conviction, three having two and one parolee having three such convictions. Those parolees convicted of orders relating to the care and protection of children, as juveniles, were more likely to be either breached or revoked than were parolees who had not been convicted of such offences ($p < .01$).

ii) Adult Offences

Of the variables measured pertaining to adult offences four were individually related to parole outcome. These were number of adult convictions, number of times in prison, number of adult sentences exceeding one week and total time spent in prison (Table 36). Other measures such as number of times released to parole, number of revocations, number of escapes, and type of adult offences did not appear to be related to parole outcome. In some cases this was due to the small number of parolees in certain categories. For example, most of the parolees had not escaped, therefore number of escapes did not appear to be related to parole outcome.

Table 36: Adult criminal history variables related to parole outcome

Variable	Parole Outcome			p
	Completed	Breached	Revoked	
No. of adult convictions	\bar{x} 6.65 s 9.41	6.67 7.01	11.80 12.94	<.0033
No. of times in prison	\bar{x} 2.20 s 3.97	1.48 2.47	4.16 4.60	<.0011
No. of adult sentences exceeding one week	\bar{x} 2.19 s 4.00	3.35 6.57	4.16 4.60	<.02
Total time in adult institutions	\bar{x} 16.0 s 34.4	13.1 24.8	30.2 40.4	<.016

It is clear that those whose paroles were revoked had longer criminal backgrounds than the other two groups.

iii) Current Offence

None of the factors pertaining to current offence appeared to be related to parole outcome. This included period spent in prison prior to release on parole, whether or not the current offence was similar to previous juvenile or adult offences, number and type of charges taken into account, total sentence or non-parole period set.

iv) Prison Details

Similarly the information recorded pertaining to experiences in gaol was not related to parole outcome. That is, none of gaol employment, programmes recommended, programme outcome and psychological and psychiatric reports was associated with whether or not the parolee completed, was breached or was revoked.

3.2.2.2.2 Discriminant Analysis

Seven variables, three pertaining to juvenile criminal history (number of juvenile offences, number of juvenile institutions and number of juvenile sentences exceeding one week) and four pertaining to adult criminal history (number of adult convictions, number of times in prison, number of adult sentences exceeding one week and total time in adult institutions) were included in the discriminant analysis. When considered in combination, two variables, number of instances of juvenile institutions and number of instances of prison (as an adult), were sufficient to account for group differences (Table 37). This resulted from the intercorrelations between the variables (Table 38): the three variables measuring adult criminal history were highly correlated, as were the two measuring juvenile criminal history.

Table 37: Discriminant analysis using criminal background variables

Due to	S ²	df	p
Number of juvenile institutions	25.50	4	<.0003
Number of times in prison (as an adult)			
Remaining variables	10.25	812	>.05
Total	35.75	816	

In contrast to the separation achieved by the demographic variables (Figure 4), on the discriminant function for the criminal history variables, the revoked group was separated from the other two groups which were close together (Figure 5). Those revoked had much longer criminal histories than those who were not revoked.

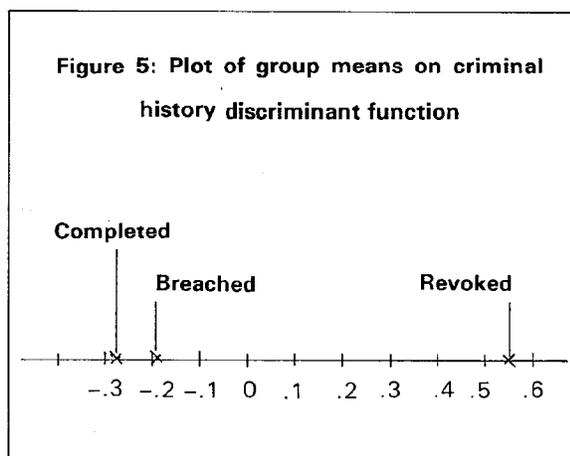


Table 38: Correlations between criminal history variables

(i) Juvenile			
	offences	sentences	
institutions	.709	.985	
offences		.707	
(ii) Adult			
	sentence	conviction	total time
prison	.861	.834	.787
sentences		.719	.678
convictions			.043

3.2.2.3 Parole Details

Information pertaining to parole included details of parole release, experiences during parole and parole supervision outcome.

3.2.2.3.1 Variables univariately related to outcome

i) Release to Parole

Parole deferment, recommendations in parole report and special conditions placed on parole did **not** seem to affect parole outcome. This could be because of the small numbers on whom the individual special conditions were imposed and the small number who were not recommended by either the parole officer or his supervisor. Initial frequency of reporting to the parole officer, however, was related to parole outcome ($p < .0001$). Those who were told to report weekly (a closer than normal form of supervision) had a greater likelihood of being either breached or revoked, while those told to report monthly were more likely to complete their parole period (Table 39). This relationship re-

flects the judgement of the parole officer in deciding the extent to which the parolee was initially thought to be at risk.

Table 39: Relationship between initial reporting pattern and parole outcome

Frequency of initial reporting	Parole Outcome			
	Completed (n=137)	Breached (n=46)	Revoked (n=66)	Total (n=249)
Weekly	10%	18%	23%	15%
Fortnightly	66%	69%	63%	66%
Monthly	23%	13%	13%	19%

ii) During Parole

A large number of the experiences during parole were individually related to parole outcome. These experiences included the following aspects of parole supervision: change in reporting pattern and whether the information given to the parole officer concerning accommodation and employment was considered to be correct. Number of address changes, jobs held and length of unemployment during parole were also related to parole outcome, as were the experiencing of interpersonal, alcohol or drug problems.

The relationship between parole outcome and aspects of parole supervision reflects the parole officer's perception of the parolee. Those who were directed to report more frequently or whose reporting frequency did not change were more likely to be revoked than those who were directed to report less frequently. (Table 40, $p < .01$).

Table 40: Relationship between change in reporting pattern and parole outcome

Change to reporting more frequently or no change	Parole Outcome			
	Completed	Breached	Revoked	Total
%	23	13	34	26
n	137	46	65	248

The relationship between number of address changes and parole outcome (χ^2 , $p < .0004$) is depicted in Table 41. Those with no address changes are more likely to complete their parole period, those with more than five are likely to be breached and those with between one and five are more likely to be revoked.

Table 41: Relationship between number of address and job changes and parole outcome

Type of Changes	Parole Outcome			
	Completed	Breached	Revoked	Total
Address changes	(n=137)	(n=45)	(n=61)	(n=243)
0	28%	11%	18%	22%
1-5	55%	49%	72%	58%
6-13	12%	20%	5%	12%
"Numerous"	4%	20%	5%	7%
Job Changes	(n=128)	(n=38)	(n=61)	(n=227)
0	3%	0%	11%	5%
1-2	42%	39%	57%	46%
3-6	41%	39%	28%	37%
7+	13%	21%	3%	12%

Number of jobs held during the parole period (Table 41) was also found to be related to parole outcome ($p < .0035$). Those with no jobs or only a small number of job changes were more likely to be revoked. Both the effect of number of address changes and the effect of number of jobs held during the parole were confounded by the length of supervision. Many of those revoked, were revoked quite early in their parole periods, thus their period of supervision was relatively short.

Related to the number of jobs held, total period of unemployment was also found to be related to parole outcome ($p < .01$). Those with shorter periods of unemployment were more likely to complete their parole period.

The three types of problems experienced during parole which were individually related to parole outcome were: interpersonal ($p < .0003$), alcohol ($p < .0001$) and drug problems ($p < .0018$). No relationship was present for financial, accommodation or marital problems. Those with interpersonal, alcohol or drug problems were more likely to be either breached or revoked than those without such problems. Of those who were regarded as having an alcohol problem 40% were breached (but not revoked) and only 34% revoked. In contrast, of those with drug problems, more were revoked (50%) than breached (42%). However, only twelve parolees were regarded as having had drug problems. Interpersonal problems, though more common, had a smaller rate of breaches (23%) and revocation (31%).

Table 42: Relationships between problems experienced during parole and parole outcome

Problem	Parole Outcome			
	Completed	Breached	Revoked	Total
Interpersonal				
% Yes	47	71	76	59
n	131	42	54	227
Alcohol				
% Yes	12	52	31	24
n	131	42	54	227
Drugs				
% Yes	1	12	11	5
n	131	42	54	227

iii) Parole Outcome

Only two variables in this section were related to parole outcome. These were length of supervision prior to termination and whether any offences committed during the parole were similar to the offence for which the parolee had been imprisoned.

As can be seen in Table 43, a short supervision was linked to revocation, while a longer period of supervision was related to parole completion ($p < .0001$). This was an artifact of the large proportion of parolees being revoked within six months of release to parole.

Table 43: Relationship between length of supervision and parole outcome

Length of Supervision	Parole Outcome			Total
	Completed	Breached	Revoked	
n=	138	46	66	250
3 months or less	0%	13%	48%	15%
4-6 months	9%	13%	18%	12%
7-12 months	19%	15%	17%	18%
1+-2 years	41%	26%	14%	31%
More than 2 years	31%	33%	3%	24%

There were 82 parolees who committed some type of offence while on parole. Of these, those whose offences were similar to their current offences were more likely to be revoked ($p < .0001$), see Table 44.

Table 44: Relationship between similarity of offence during parole to current offence and parole outcome

Offence during parole	Parole Outcome			Total
	Completed	Breached	Revoked	
% similar to current offence	0	25	77	57
n	5	24	53	82

3.2.2.3.2 Discriminant Analysis

Two separate discriminant analyses were performed combining variables relating to experiences during parole. One combined the different types of problems parolees experienced during their parole periods. The other combined employment and accommodation changes while on parole.

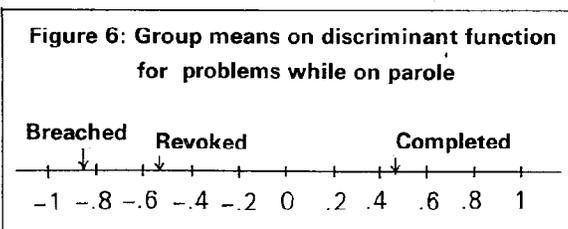
The discriminant analysis combining the problem areas experienced reflects the previous description with three variables (interpersonal, alcohol and drug problems) having the highest (and similar) coefficients on the one discriminant function (Table 45) which was significant ($R^2 = .254$).

Table 45: Discriminant function for problems experienced while on parole

Variable	Univariate p	S.D.F.C.
Marital	<.028	-.337
Interpersonal	<.001	.429
Alcohol	<.001	.766
Drugs	<.001	.595
Accommodation	<.976	-.027
Financial	<.101	.092

($X^2 = 67.25$, $df = 12$, $p < .0001$).

A plot of the group averages on this dimension showed that those who completed their parole period were at one extreme, having less problems than either of the other two groups (Figure 6). These data suggest that the existence of problems during parole led to breaches but not necessarily to revocation.



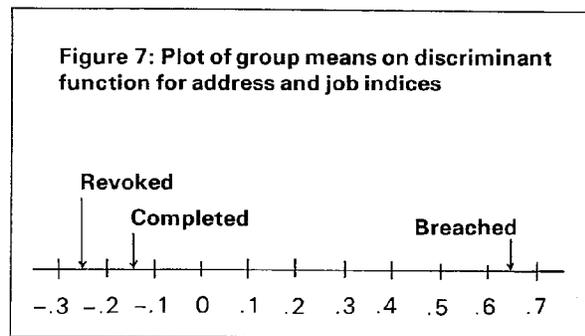
The second discriminant analysis combined the information concerning employment and address changes during parole. Indices related to these changes were calculated by dividing the number of job and address changes by the length of supervision. Those breached had proportionally more address and job changes than the other two groups. This result must be interpreted in the light of the number of job and address changes, and the supervision pattern (Tables 41 and 43).

The completed and breached groups had similar patterns of job and address changes but their length of supervision patterns varied. The latter group had proportionally more with shorter periods of supervision, thus increasing the values of the address and job indices. Those revoked had fewer job and address changes but had much shorter supervision patterns: 52% being revoked during the first 6 months and the rest (except two) revoked during the next 6 months.

Discriminant analysis using these indices gave a significant separation between the groups ($X^2_4 = 14.5$, $p < .0006$) with both variables being required and having similar coefficients (Table 59).

Table 46: Discriminant function for address and job indices

Variable	S.D.F.C.
Job	.828
Add	.591



3.2.3 Discriminant analysis combining demographic data, criminal history and parole details

3.2.3.1 What Best Predicts Parole Outcome?

From the families of variables described in the previous section, the following (Table 47) were selected for a discriminant analysis to determine the combination of variables which best predicts parole outcome.

Table 47: Variables included in the combined discriminant analysis

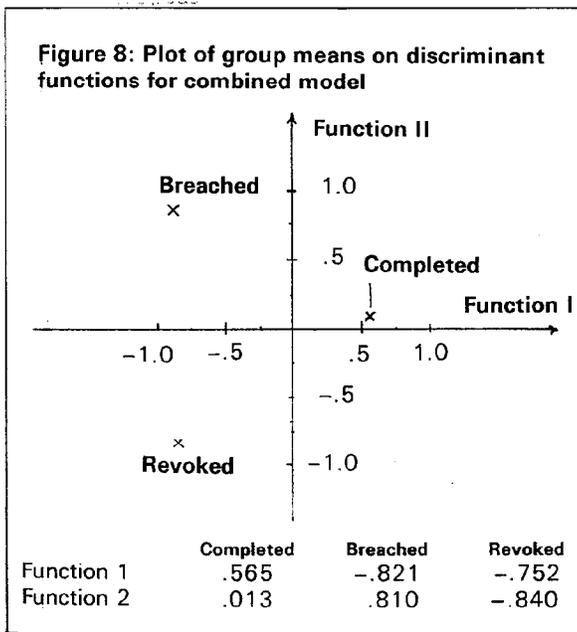
Family	Variable
Criminal background (CRIM)	Number of instances of juvenile institutions (JUV) Number of instances of prison (PRIS)
Demographic (DEM)	Employment stability (EMP) Marital status (MS)
Problems during parole (PROB)	Interpersonal (INT) Alcohol (ALC) Drugs (DRU)
Accommodation and job changes during parole (PAR)	Accommodation (ACC) Jobs (JOB)

The groups of variables were combined in different orders to determine their separate and additional effects. With all nine variables included, ($X^2_{18} = 124.50$, $p < .0001$), each family made a significant contribution to the separation between the three groups, irrespective of the order of fit. Of the problems experienced during parole, interpersonal had the smallest weight on the relevant discriminant function so a model was fitted with this omitted: this did not differ significantly from the full model ($X^2_3 = 5.17$, $p > .05$) so this variable was omitted. This result was due to the pattern of intercorrelations between the variables: having interpersonal problems was relatively highly correlated with employment stability whereas the others were not. The effect of adding variables apart from those listed in Table 48 did not significantly increase the predictive power of the discriminant function.

Thus the final prediction equation included eight variables and is described in Table 48. Two discriminant functions were significant ($R^2_1 = .309$, $R^2_2 = .180$). The first separates those who completed from those who were either breached or revoked, while the second separates the last two groups (Figure 8). The first function reflects problems while on parole (alcohol and drugs) and employment stability prior to conviction for the current offence. Criminal record, marital status, job and accommodation changes contribute to the second function.

Table 48: Discriminant functions for final model
S.D.F.C.

Variable	Function 1	Function 2
JUV	-.288	-.387
PRIS	-.180	-.389
EMP	-.620	.050
MS	-.051	.474
ALC	.606	-.281
DRU	.616	.080
ACC	-.235	.334
JOB	.040	.634
R	.556	.424



From these functions it appears that those who completed their parole period had fewer alcohol and drug problems during parole and a more stable employment history. Those breached, rather than revoked, are likely to have more job and accommodation changes, less experience with either juvenile institutions or prisons, and likely to be in a relationship of some kind. This may reflect prevailing strategies of parole officers in regard to revocation. That is, if a parolee commits a breach, if he is in employment or has a relatively short criminal record his parole may not be revoked. On the other hand, if he has a longer criminal record and is not employed, he may be more likely to have his parole revoked.

Throughout the analyses three variables (alcohol and drug problems while on parole and employment stability) clustered together on one dimension, while criminal history and marital status clustered on the second dimension. When the interpersonal problems variable was included it contributed to the first dimension. The two variables reflecting job and address changes while on parole, though contributing to the separation between the groups, are difficult to interpret as they are indices and their values are largely dependent on the length of supervision. However, when they are removed from the analysis, the pattern of separation as described above is not appreciably altered: parolees who complete their parole period are separated from the others on the basis of problems experienced while on parole and employment stability; breached and revoked parolees are separated on the basis of criminal record and marital status.

The percentage of parolees correctly classified by the above discriminant functions was 67.3% which was significantly better than chance.

3.2.3.2 Social Networks

One variable not included in the discriminant analysis because of the large number of missing cases was that which measured social networks during parole. Table 49 reveals the strong association between outcome of parole and whether the parolees associated with criminals or not ($p < .0001$). Those who associated with criminals (e.g., known criminals, other parolees, family or spouse with a record or is on parole, or drug addicts or pushers) were more likely to be revoked than those whose social networks did not include criminals.

Table 49: Relationship between social networks and parole outcome

Social Networks	Parole outcome			Total
	Completed	Breached	Revoked	
n	108	31	21	160
Criminal (%)	21	52	91	36
Non-criminal (%)	79	48	9	64

For completeness a model was analyzed which included this measure of social networks. This model was based on 148 cases: those for whom information was available for each of social networks, number of instances of juvenile institutions, number of instances of prison (as an adult), employment stability, marital status, alcohol and drug problems and number of accommodation and job changes while on parole.

The group of 148 parolees for whom the variable measuring social networks was observed, differed from the total group of 217 on whom the previous analysis was conducted (Table 50). Of the 69 parolees omitted, 33 (48%) were from those revoked whereas 26 (38%) were from the completed group. Hence the present analysis included proportionally fewer of the revoked group than the complete analysis.

Table 50: Comparison of included and omitted parolees in relation to social networks

Social network information	Parole Outcome			Total
	Completed	Breached	Revoked	
Included	100	29	19	148
Omitted	26	10	33	69

The results of the discriminant analysis including social networks are summarised in Table 51. It is clear that this variable adds significantly to the separation between the groups and contributes to the dimension defined by employment stability and problems experienced while on parole.

Table 51: MANOVA table for assessing effect of social networks

Variables	X ²	df	p
JUV TO ADD	101.96	16	
Networks	12.77	2	<.001
TOTAL	114.73	18	

Comparison of the discriminant functions obtained for the complete and reduced groups using the same eight variables (omitting social networks) showed only minor differences (JUV had a higher loading on the first function for the reduced group than the full group) so that the additional effect of the social networks variable described above could, with some reservations, be generalized to the complete group.

3.2.3.3 Changes in the measure of parole outcome

In the preceding analyses, parole outcome has been categorized into the three possibilities: completed (having been neither breached nor revoked), breached (but not revoked) or revoked. In the following sections the derived prediction model was examined when the measure of parole outcome is firstly changed to compare those who were "revoked" versus those who were "not revoked" (combining the completed and breached groups) and secondly divided in terms of reason for revocation: those revoked for breaches versus those revoked for further offences.

3.2.3.3.1 Revoked versus not revoked

When outcome was dichotomised by combining the completed and breached groups to form a group termed "not revoked" and compared with the "revoked" group, the pattern changed considerably as only one discriminant function was required (Table 52).

Table 52: Discriminant function using outcome as a two-level factor

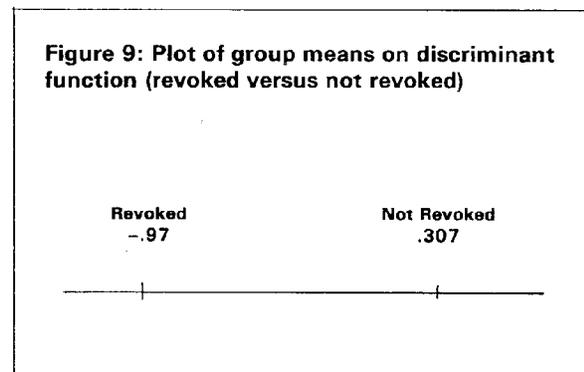
Variable	SDFC
JUV	-.473
PRIS	-.398
EMP	-.338
MS	.299
ALC	.236
DRU	.494
JOB	.487
ADD	.072

(X₈² = 55.73, p < .0001)

Previous criminal history, employment stability, current employment patterns, and drug associated problems contributed to the discriminant function with alcohol problems, marital status and accommodation playing lesser roles. This is in keeping with the previous analysis in which alcohol and drug problems during parole and employment stability separated the completed group from the breached and revoked groups; the other variables differentiated the breached and revoked groups.

Plots of the group means (Figure 9) show the expected directions. Those revoked are more likely to have longer criminal records, greater employment instability and more problems during parole than those who were not revoked.

When the measure of parole outcome is reduced to the two categories "revoked" and "not revoked", the percentage of parolees correctly classified by this discriminant function is 74.7%. This is significantly better than chance.



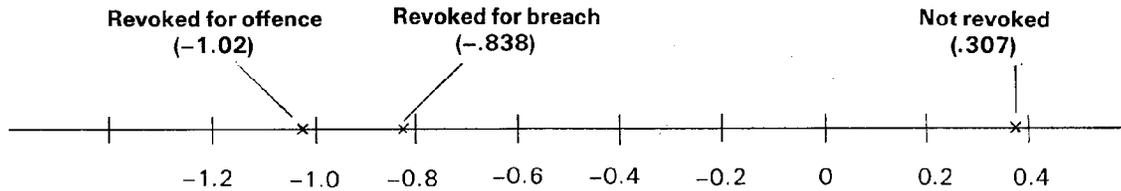
3.2.3.3.2 Revoked for breach(es) versus revoked for offence(s)

For completeness, outcome was defined in terms of the reason for revocation and the following three groups were formed:

- Not revoked (n = 165)
- Revoked because of a breach of conditions (n = 14)
- Revoked because of a new offence (and a breach) (n = 38)

With the eight variables used in the previous analyses, only one discriminant function was significant (Table 53) and this reflected differences between those not revoked and those revoked (Figure 10). Differences between the two different revoked groups (Table 54) were not significant (X₈² = 4.59, p > .05).

Figure 10: Plot of means on discriminant function (revoked for offence versus revoked for breach)



4. DISCUSSION

One of the purposes of this study was to establish a prediction equation for success or failure on parole. It was intended to use this prediction equation to provide a baseline measure of the expected success rate of groups of prisoners on other programmes, had they been on parole. On the basis of the data obtained from the sample of parolees released in 1974, the distinction between parolees who completed, those who were breached and those who were revoked could be summarised on the basis of eight variables: number of times in juvenile institutions, number of times in prison (as an adult), stability of employment history, marital status, alcohol problems experienced during the parole period, drug problems experienced during the parole period, number of job changes and number of address changes during parole period. While the first four of these factors may be known for prisoners on other programmes which are to be evaluated, the last four which refer to experiences during parole will not. Thus when used to provide expected success rates for other programmes, the model will be reduced to one using the first four factors. This, in turn, will result in a reduction in the accuracy of prediction and hence in a decrease in the precision of the estimate of the success rate. For the present data, for example, restricting the prediction equation to the first four factors reduced its accuracy by almost one-fifth (19%).

One of the ways in which this study differed from an earlier study (Research and Statistics Division, Department of Corrective Services, 1976) was by the inclusion of information concerning the parole period. Like the earlier study, the present study found that demographic factors such as age and birthplace were not related to parole outcome but that number of commitments to juvenile institutions and times in prison (as an adult) were. Employment was found to be an important factor in Challenger's (1974) study. The importance of both the prior stability of employment and number of jobs held while on parole was confirmed in the present study. Consistent with the earlier Department of Corrective Services' study, but in opposition to Challenger's findings with Victorian parolees, the nature of the current offence was not found to be related to parole outcome.

Table 53: Discriminant function with reason for revocation as outcome

Variable	SDFC
JUV	-.486
PRIS	-.381
EMP	-.339
MS	.292
ALC	.230
DRU	.500
JOB	.485
ADD	.079

$$(X_{16}^2 = 60.32, p < .0001)$$

Table 54: Summary of MANOVA table

Source	χ^2	df	p
Between groups:	60.32	16	<.0001
Revoked v. not revoked	55.73	8	<.0001
Within revoked	4.79	8	>.05

It is not clear how these eight factors actually relate to parole outcome. It is possible, for example, that having alcohol or drug problems during the parole period leads to breaches of the conditions of the parole order or offences which in turn lead to revocation. Alternatively these eight factors may reflect strategies used by the parole officer. That is, those parolees with alcohol or drug problems may be more likely to either draw attention to themselves or receive closer supervision. Of these, those with shorter criminal histories and a stable job and family life may be merely breached, while those with longer criminal histories, a number of job and address changes and no spouse or defacto may be revoked. In either case, these eight factors have been found to be related to whether the parolee completes his parole period, is breached or is revoked.

Three of the eight variables in the final parole prediction equation clearly pertain to factors in the parolee's past: number of commitments to juvenile institutions, number of times in prison (as an adult) and stability of employment history. Such past factors cannot be modified. However upon release to parole it is not too late to influence the number of job and address changes, or alcohol or drug problems experienced while on parole. Marital status largely depends both on the parolee's marital status prior to incarceration and if married, the efforts made to maintain the marriage both while in prison and while on parole. It would seem that if some or all of these factors were influenced positively, the success rate of those on parole may be increased.

Employment seems related to parole completion. The main reason given for an unstable employment history was a lack of marketable skills. Most of the parolees had left school at the minimum school leaving age (or before) without attaining the Intermediate or School Certificate, documentation of a basic educational attainment. Many of these parolees may have had to repeat one or more years of schooling. Although a number attempted some form of trade training, very few completed it. Thus at the time of entering gaol many of the parolees were unskilled. In gaol, the most common employment was "as required", which would not add to the parolee's repertoire of skills. Specialised programmes were recommended for only the minority. Thus on leaving gaol the parolees were still unskilled, with formal gaol experiences having little effect on parole outcome.

Having specialised technical training or industry within individual gaols presents a number of problems. One problem is that the frequent transfer from one gaol to another may prevent prisoners completing programmes offered at only one or two gaols. Another problem is that equipping prisoners with tools may endanger the safety of prison officers or other prisoners. Presently, planning is taking place to try to overcome the problem of prisoners moving between institutions which do not have related work opportunities. For example, the Department of Technical and Further Education has been involved in planning trade training at the reconstructed Bathurst Gaol so that prisoners who acquire woodworking and metal skills will be able to apply them in work situations within lower security institutions.

Three out of every ten prisoners are functionally illiterate. Basic literacy and numeracy courses could be continually run in each of the gaols. This would require no tools and prisoners transferring from one gaol to another could continue the programme at the new gaol. While

not providing job specific skills this may increase the parolees' confidence and could put them in a position more comparable to other job applicants. Remedial english classes are currently being held in most of the gaols in the state. However these classes only involve about 5% of the prison population. There would seem to be a greater demand for this type of instruction than is presently being met.

The Work Release Programme enables prisoners of low security classifications to go into the community to work, to gain job experience, returning to gaol at night. This programme could possibly be expanded to include more prisoners. Expansion of the Work Release Programme appears particularly appropriate since recent research has revealed that none of the variables which have been stated as criteria for entry to the programme were in fact related to programme outcome (Turnbull, Porritt & Cooney, 1981). The Work Release Programme has advantages for both the community and for the prisoner. Keeping the prisoner on the Work Release Programme is cheaper for the community than confining him to gaol. For the prisoner an employment situation is established and he is able to earn money to help him on release.

Given that employment is related to parole success, the Department of Corrective Services should attempt to increase prisoners' marketable skills whenever possible. Special attention should be given to ensuring the prisoner has a job to go to on release. This special attention could take the form of encouraging officers from the Commonwealth Employment Service (C.E.S.) to visit and advise prisoners in their last few weeks of incarceration, increasing the number of weekly telephone calls paid for these prisoners to arrange employment and having officers from the C.E.S. run workshops on writing a job application, presenting for a job interview and other basic job and job-seeking skills.

Similarly, prisoners should be encouraged to arrange accommodation before leaving gaol. Prisoners could be allowed additional phone calls to make such arrangements. Provision already exists for prisoners to obtain special pre-release leave, although not many avail themselves of this opportunity. Prisoners nearing the completion of their sentences or having been granted parole should be told about this provision. Since 1980, the Department of Corrective Services has subsidised five half-way houses which attempt to assist ex-prisoners. Not all prisoners are acquainted with the services provided by these homes. In an attempt to acquaint them with the half-way houses, the Department has produced a brochure which is now being distributed throughout the prisons. Information about other cheap accommodation should also be provided.

The Programmes Division of the Department of Corrective Services, in conjunction with the Department of Technical and Further Education, is currently planning a "Pre-Release Programme" which is intended to help prisoners make a successful transition from institutional life to the world outside. It is planned that this programme is going to concentrate on social awareness, money management, job-seeking and accommodation. It will be interesting to evaluate the effect this programme has on outcome of parole. An effective programme covering job-finding and accommodation appears well justified from the results of the present study.

Being married or involved in a defacto relationship has

also been seen to be positively related to parole success. Thus the Department should attempt not to weaken marital ties. Incarceration can lead to the breakdown of the prisoner's relationship with his wife and children (Kemp, 1980). Visiting entitlements should be extended and counselling made available to both husbands and wives in order to increase the likelihood of maintaining the relationship.

Alcohol and drug problems during parole were seen to be negatively related to parole success. Parole officers should be informed of these problems being potential dangers and should see that parolees receive effective help for these problems. The need for this may be reduced if professional help for such problems were made available in gaols. The Professional Association of Probation and Parole Officers is currently working on an educational project to help increase staff understanding of their clients' drug-related problems. Obviously, more needs to be done to assist drug dependent prisoners who need more help. It must be noted however that such assistance is not entirely absent: for example, the Probation and Parole Service at Parramatta Gaol runs a drug programme and various groups have been introduced by the Drug Committee at Mulawa.

Parole officers should also be made aware that it is possible that the findings of this study represent a strategy used by parole officers in deciding whether to recommend revocation or not: that those with alcohol or drug problems are more likely to be noticed, of these those with a short previous criminal history, a family and a job will be breached (but not revoked), while those with longer criminal histories, unstable employment and no family will be revoked. It is intended that by drawing this to the attention of parole officers this practice may be questioned. As discussed in the *Report of the Committee Appointed to Review the Parole of Prisoners Act, 1966* the purpose of parole is "to assist prisoners to move back into society and lead a law-abiding existence, whilst at the same time protecting society from further crime" (1979, p7). This study has identified the areas of: employment, accommodation, marital relationship, alcohol and drug problems as important areas with which the parole officer can assist the parolee. Effective assistance would be far more constructive than keeping such "higher risk" individuals in gaol.

Of the 250 parolees whose files were studied, 66 (26%) were revoked. That is, either they were automatically returned to prison having committed a further offence resulting in a prison sentence of three months or more, or they breached a condition or committed some other offence for which it was decided to return them to gaol, protecting the community. Some people would argue that had these prisoners not been released to parole and had they remained in gaol until the end of their sentences, the community would be spared the expense of any crime committed during their parole periods. Only 44 (18%) were revoked because of a further offence they had committed. For the most part these parolees did not commit offences involving violence. One parolee was convicted of a major assault, the others were convicted of property or drug offences. A further 19 (8%) were revoked for failing to report to their parole officer. It is possible, although unknown, that those parolees who did not report may have been involved in criminal activities, or they may have failed to report for other reasons.

Had these 250 parolees not been released to parole, the

206 (82%) who were not convicted of a further offence would be denied the opportunity of this transition between the surveillance of the prison and the relative freedom of society. Instead, having served their time, all would be released into society unsupervised.

If parole is to continue, it would seem advantageous to establish some rules for the length of non-parole period set. In the present study the non-parole period did not appear to be related to total sentence, current offence or other criminal history variables.

In the *Report of the Committee Appointed to Review the Parole of Prisoners Act, 1966*, a number of questions concerning the nature of parole was posed. One such question was "when do breakdowns on parole occur?" and "is there a particular danger period?". In the present study over half of those revoked (52%) were revoked during the first six months and the rest (except for two parolees) were revoked during the next six months. Of those committing an offence during the parole period, over one-third had committed it within three months of release, over one-half within six months and most within the first year. In answer to the question: "Are there any early warning signs, for instance certain non-criminal breaches, of relapse into criminal behaviour by a parolee?", any such warning signs are not apparent in the parolees' files. Thirty-one of the parolees were revoked for a new offence, only thirteen were revoked for a combination of a breach and a new offence. Thus it would seem that in most cases, a breach need not precede a new offence. The question of: "Is the system efficient at detecting and bringing in people at risk of relapse?" is much more difficult to answer. This is because detecting people at risk of relapse or actually relapsing is not straightforward. People may be committing offences and not be caught. The system is only efficient in bringing in people it has detected as relapsing.

Methodological Considerations

The above discussion has been based on the data obtained from the files of 250 parolees released in 1974. These data may be limited in the following ways:

- i) parolees released in 1974 may be atypical of parolees released in other years;
 - ii) parole files were the sole source of data
- and by iii) the problems incurred in collecting the data.

If the parolees released in 1974 were atypical of parolees released in other years, then the description of parolees provided in the first section of the report would be of historical interest only and the prediction equation may not be applicable to other groups of parolees. The parolees released in 1974 were compared to parolees released in earlier years in an earlier study (Research and Statistics Division, Department of Corrective Services, 1976) and are compared to parolees released in more recent years, on the basis of the data available, in Appendix 1. The 1976 study comparing parolees released in the years 1970-1974, concludes: "These changes in age, offence, sentence and non-parole period, while statistically significant, have been small in absolute magnitude and do not indicate a clear trend" (p 68). More important is the question of how representative are the parolees released in 1974 of those released in more recent years. To answer this question, the demographic, offence and sentencing information recorded in the Reports of the Parole Board for 1977, 1978 and 1979 were compared to that in the Report of the Parole Board for 1974 (see Appendix 1).

Specifically number released to parole, sex, age, major offence and non-parole period of those released in 1974 were compared with those released in more recent years. Two differences emerged. In comparison with more recent years more parolees were released in 1974. Secondly, the percentage of offences against property decreased from 57% in 1974 to 48% in 1978. This decrease in offences against property corresponds to an increase in "other" offences which primarily reflects an increase in drug-related offences and a smaller increase in "driving and related" offences. Thus on the basis of the data available, the parolees released in 1974 seem not to differ significantly from the parolees released in more recent years, with the possible exception of drug offenders. In the present study alcohol problems outnumbered drug problems. It may be that drug problems now outweigh alcohol problems. A smaller scale study concentrating only on drug offenders could be conducted to determine the different types of problems experienced by these parolees and whether an equation predicting their success on parole differs from the equation produced in this study. It is apparent, from the present study, that a follow-up period as long as five years is superfluous; a period of two years would be sufficient.

The parole files were the sole source of data. While supplying a wealth of information that was, for the most part, readily available, reliance on one such source of information has problems. It provides only one side of the story. Given the importance of experiences on parole, it would be interesting to find out more about the parolee's perceptions of his parole period. Bartholomew (1972) in reviewing a Canadian study of prisoners' perceptions of parole expressed the need for more such consumer-oriented research. The information available in the parole files did not cover the parole process (cf. England, 1963). None of the variables recorded is a direct measure of the parole process, so any failure (or success) must reflect failure of individuals. That is, the only likely measure of the success of the parole process is the failure rate in terms of those revoked or those breached, however such failure is attributed to the parolees, not the parole process.

Reliance on parole files presented a further problem. The information in these files is not recorded in any standard format. Nor was the type of information recorded uniform. For example, in over one-third of the files there was no information on the parolees' social networks and in one-tenth of the files there was no information on the problems the parolee experienced while on parole. Other problems in collecting data from these files included: contradictory information on type of offence, contradictory reports in respect of assessment and incomplete information concerning economic circumstances and employment.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations flowing from this research involve employment, parole supervision and further research.

i) Employment

- 1) The Department of Corrective Services should seek to increase prisoners' marketable skills whenever possible. This could take the form of:
 - a) running continuous basic literacy and numeracy courses at each gaol, enabling prisoners transferring from one gaol to another to continue the course at the new gaol;
 - b) extending the Work Release Programme;
 - c) T.A.F.E. or C.E.S. officers should be invited to the gaols to run workshops on writing a job application, applying for a job interview and other such skills.
- 2) Prisoners should be encouraged to arrange employment before leaving gaol. To this end:
 - a) C.E.S. officers should interview prisoners in the final weeks preceding their release;
 - b) the number of paid telephone calls should be increased for prisoners approaching release, allowing them more opportunity to arrange employment.

ii) Parole supervision

- 1) This report should be circulated to probation and parole officers, in order to:
 - i) emphasize the importance of their assistance with employment, accommodation and interpersonal drug and alcohol problems;
 - and ii) to sensitize probation and parole officers about the possible strategy of deciding whether to recommend revocation on the basis of parolee's family, employment and past criminal history.

iii) Further research

- 1) A smaller, but similar study could be conducted using only parolees who had been sentenced for drug-related offences. This would establish whether this group experience a different range of problems and whether the factors which are related to the parole outcome differ for this group.
- 2) The reliance on parole files in this study could be balanced by a further, more consumer-oriented, study of parolees' perceptions of their parole period.

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Appendix 1: How representative were the parolees released in 1974 of parolees released in more recent years?

The N.S.W. Parole Board produces an annual report, listing among other things, the sex, age, major offence and non-parole period for those prisoners granted parole during that year. In order to determine how representative the parolees released in 1974 were of parolees released in more recent years, the demographic, offence and sentencing information recorded in the Reports of the Parole Board for 1977, 1978 and 1979 were compared to that in the Report for the Parole Board for 1974.

Table 1 portrays the numbers released to parole in 1974, 1977, 1978 and 1979. In comparison with more recent years, more parolees were released in 1974.

Table 1: Number released to parole

Year	Number released to Parole
1974	1283
1977	1104
1978	1168
1979	1196

Information on the sex of the parolees is available only for 1974 and 1977. As can be seen from Table 2, this proportion has remained unchanged, with the majority (98%) of parolees being male.

Table 2: Sex

Sex	1974 (%)	1977 (%)
Male	98	98
Female	2	2

While there have been slight changes in the percentages of the parolees in the different age groups (Table 3), the pattern of most of the parolees being relatively young has remained constant for the period for which information is readily available. In each of 1974, 1977 and 1978 approximately one-third of those released to parole were aged 20 or younger and another third were aged between 21 and 25 years.

Table 3: Age

	1974 (%)	1977 (%)	1978 (%)
20 or younger	31	31	27
21-25	35	31	34
26-30	16	18	18
31-35	7	9	8
36-40	5	5	5
41-45	3	3	3
46-50	3	2	2
51-55	1	1	1
56 or older	1	1	2

Offences against property account for approximately half of the major offences for which the parolees released in 1974, 1977 and 1978 had been convicted. The percentage of offences against property decreased from 57% in 1974 to 48% in 1978 (see Table 4). This decrease in offences against property corresponds to an increase in "other" offences which primarily reflects an increase in drug-related offences and a smaller increase in "driving and related" offences.

Table 4: Major Offence

Major Offence	Year		
	1974 (%)	1977 (%)	1978 (%)
Homicides & Assaults	9	10	11
Sexual	9	9	7
Robbery & Extortion	21	19	15
Offences against property	57	49	48
Driving and related	1	4	4
Other	3	8	15

The non-parole periods (Table 5) assigned to those parolees released in 1974 resemble the distribution of non-parole periods for those released in more recent years.

Table 5: Non-Parole Period

Non-parole period	Year			
	1974 (%)	1977 (%)	1978 (%)	1979 (%)
6-12 mths	61	57	58	54
Over 12 mths-				
2 yrs	22	23	22	20
Over 2-3 yrs	6	9	8	8
Over 3-4 yrs	2	3	3	4
Over 4-5 yrs	1	1	1	2
More than 5 yrs	1	2	1	1
Not applicable	7	5	7	10