

101

AN EVALUATION
OF THE NORFOLK FELLOWSHIP

Massachusetts Department of Correction

Frank A. Hall
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ACQUISITIONS

BY
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I.

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II.

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ABSTRACT

The Norfolk Fellowship is based at Massachusetts Correctional Institution-Norfolk, a medium security facility for adult male offenders. The Fellowship programs bring together, in small groups, prisoners and volunteers from the community in an attempt to create an atmosphere of fellowship. These programs operate in the institution and in the community providing a unique opportunity for continuity of participation both before and after release.

This study focuses on three major areas of concern: recidivism, differential treatment effects and financial benefits. In terms of recidivism, the Fellowship is a positive correctional program, effectively reducing recidivism for program regulars. In terms of differential treatment effects, the program is most successful with the following groups: blacks, those married or previously married, those with prior military service, those 30 or older at present incarceration, and parolees. The financial benefits were substantial, being \$262,240 over a four year period.

I. INTRODUCTION

It has long been recognized that one of the most negative aspects of incarceration is a prisoner's loss of contact with the community. Society changes at a rapid pace and when the prisoner who has had little feedback about the changes is released to the community, he faces re-entry problems somewhat akin to re-entry problems faced by returning Peace Corps Volunteers. The adjustment period can be overwhelming, leading to confusion, problems, and too often reincarceration. The Norfolk Fellowship Foundation Inc. runs a group of programs which address the problems created by isolation from the community.

The Norfolk Fellowship began in 1958 under the direction of Rev. Robert Dutton, the Protestant Chaplain at the Massachusetts Correctional Institution - Norfolk. Since then, under the guidance of Mrs. and Rev. Dutton, the Fellowship has grown and expanded, producing various spin-off groups along the way. The objective of the Fellowship is:

"to create an atmosphere of fellowship, one that fosters mutual understanding, acceptance, and respect among its participants. The result is to enhance in each person a feeling of self-worth as a part of growth towards greater social maturity. It is expected that this program thereby contributes to meeting correctional objectives." (From a statement of program objectives September 25, 1972)

The principal method the Fellowship uses to reach its objectives is to create opportunities both inside and outside the institution for involvement of community volunteers with inmates and former inmates so that meaningful communication can take place. The Fellowship,

currently offers four different programs:

Thursday Night Groups - these are permanent inmate-led discussion groups which meet Thursday evenings inside MCI-Norfolk with outmates (volunteers from the community) in attendance. There are currently eight groups with about 15 participants in each group and a ratio of approximately one outmate to two or three inmates.

Social Education Meetings - somewhat similar to the Thursday Night Groups but smaller, with emphasis upon "growth towards greater social maturity". These groups follow a curriculum of social education topics and the inmate/outmate ratio is often one to one.

Regional Meetings - Relationships between inmates and outmates continue after release. Monthly meetings are held in different regions of eastern and central Massachusetts. Wives of ex-inmates and outmates also attend.

Re-entry Program - These men are also volunteers, the difference being that they are ex-offenders. The ex-offenders function as outmates giving a very personal view of problems facing the "ex-con" on release.

Programs such as the Fellowship are particularly relevant now. As pointed out in the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals,

"In institutions, community involvement can play a crucial role in "normalizing" the environment and developing offenders' ties to the community, as well as changing community attitudes toward offenders. Major institutions seldom have enough money and expertise to accomplish the tasks for which they are responsible. Community participation in institutional programs should improve institutional programs, break down isolation, and help the offender explore the possibilities for his adjustment to the community."

II. FOCUS OF THE STUDY

This study was undertaken by the Research Unit of the Massachusetts Department of Correction in an effort to evaluate the effectiveness of the Fellowship program. The study will focus on three major areas of concern: recidivism, differential treatment effects, and financial benefits. These foci can be stated in question form:

- (1) What are the effects of the Fellowship on recidivism rates?
- (2) Does Fellowship participation affect different types of offenders in different ways?
- (3) Do financial benefits result from the Fellowship?

This effort is similar in scope and structure to a study done in 1969 by Carney, Panagopoulos and Gardner.² The present study both updates and verifies earlier efforts while at the same time revealing some new findings.

III. METHODOLOGY

Two cohorts were examined in this study. Cohort I was the Fellowship Cohort with an N of 219. The Fellowship Cohort consisted of all prisoners who were members of the Fellowship for at least three months and were released from MCI-Norfolk between 1966 and 1969. Cohort II was the Norfolk Cohort with an N of 198. The Norfolk Cohort consisted of all prisoners released from MCI-Norfolk during the year 1966.

The Norfolk Cohort was the focus of extensive recidivism research in 1972³ which culminated in the construction of a base expectancy table based on this cohort's actual recidivism experience. A base expectancy table (see Appendix A) is constructed of those offender attributes which have proven through actual experience to be most highly predictive of recidivism. By applying the base

expectancy table to the Fellowship Cohort, a theoretical "expected" rate of recidivism can be derived. For example, by comparing two different men using the base expectancy table in Appendix A, it is readily apparent that prisoner A is much more likely to be a recidivist than prisoner B, and the "expected" rates of recidivism, 57.9% vs. 0.0%, reflect this likelihood.

SAMPLE BASE EXPECTANCY RATES

Prisoner A

Two or more prior arrests for Property offense

Parole as type of release

Nine or more prior arrests

Length of incarceration 16 months or more

Expected Recidivism Rate 57.9%

Prisoner B

One or fewer arrests for property offenses

25 or older at present incarceration

24 or older at first arrest

Expected Recidivism Rate 0.0%

Using the base expectancy methodology one can examine the effects of a program by comparing the expected recidivism rate of program participants with their actual recidivism rate.

Another method for examining program effects is by comparing Fellowship Regulars with Fellowship Dropouts. Regulars were defined as those men who continued Fellowship program participation until their day of release. Dropouts were defined as those men who for one reason or another quit participating in the program prior to their release.⁴ The Regular-Dropout distinction will be discussed in more detail later.

When collecting the recidivism data for the Fellowship

Cohort the same definition of recidivism was used as had been used for the Norfolk Cohort. Recidivism was defined as: "(A) reincarceration (B) within two years of release (C) for thirty days or more (D) in a county, state or federal correctional institution (E) whether as a parole violator or as the result of a conviction for a new criminal offense."⁵

Note to the Technical Reader

Throughout this paper the tests of significance are contained in the notes for the interest of the technical reader. Where comparisons are between the two cohorts the x^2 for independent samples is used. Where comparisons are made within the Fellowship Cohort, that is between the expected and actual recidivism rates, the x^2 for a one sample case was used. In cases where there was support for a directional hypothesis a one-tailed test was used. Much of the support for directional hypotheses came from earlier research done on the Fellowship.² In all cases the exact probability level is given, such as $p = .03$, except where the probability was less than .001 and then it is stated $p < .001$.

IV. FINDINGS

A. Recidivism - In an overall gross comparison of recidivism rates between the two cohorts, "gross" meaning not taking into account individual differences between the two groups, the Fellowship recidivism rate of 31.9% compares quite favorably with the Norfolk recidivism rate of 41.3%.⁶

TABLE 1

COHORT RECIDIVISM RATES

<u>NORFOLK</u>	<u>FELLOWSHIP</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
41.3	31.9	-9.4

A more sophisticated comparison is provided by controlling for individual differences between the two groups through the use of base expectancy scores; that is by generating "expected" rates of recidivism

for members of the Fellowship Cohort. The Fellowship Cohort's expected recidivism is 36.5% which is approximately 5 percentage points higher than their actual recidivism rate of 31.9%.⁷

TABLE 2
FELLOWSHIP RECIDIVISM RATES

<u>EXPECTED</u>	<u>ACTUAL</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
36.5	31.9	-4.6

The expected vs. actual comparison has the effect of controlling for individual differences between the two cohorts on those factors which have proven to be most highly predictive of recidivism. It says that taking into account the fact that the Fellowship Cohort had fewer high recidivism risk cases than the Norfolk Cohort, the Fellowship Cohort's recidivism rate was still 5 percentage points lower than expected.

While this method of comparison has certain advantages, the Fellowship group used for comparison has a built in negative bias. That is, the Fellowship Cohort taken as a whole, (N = 219) contains a large number of men (N = 84) who quit the Fellowship prior to release; these men could not be considered successful program participants. When the dropouts are eliminated from the group, leaving only the program regulars (N = 135), a better estimate of the Fellowship's effects on recidivism emerges, a reduction of 11.4 percentage points.⁸

TABLE 3

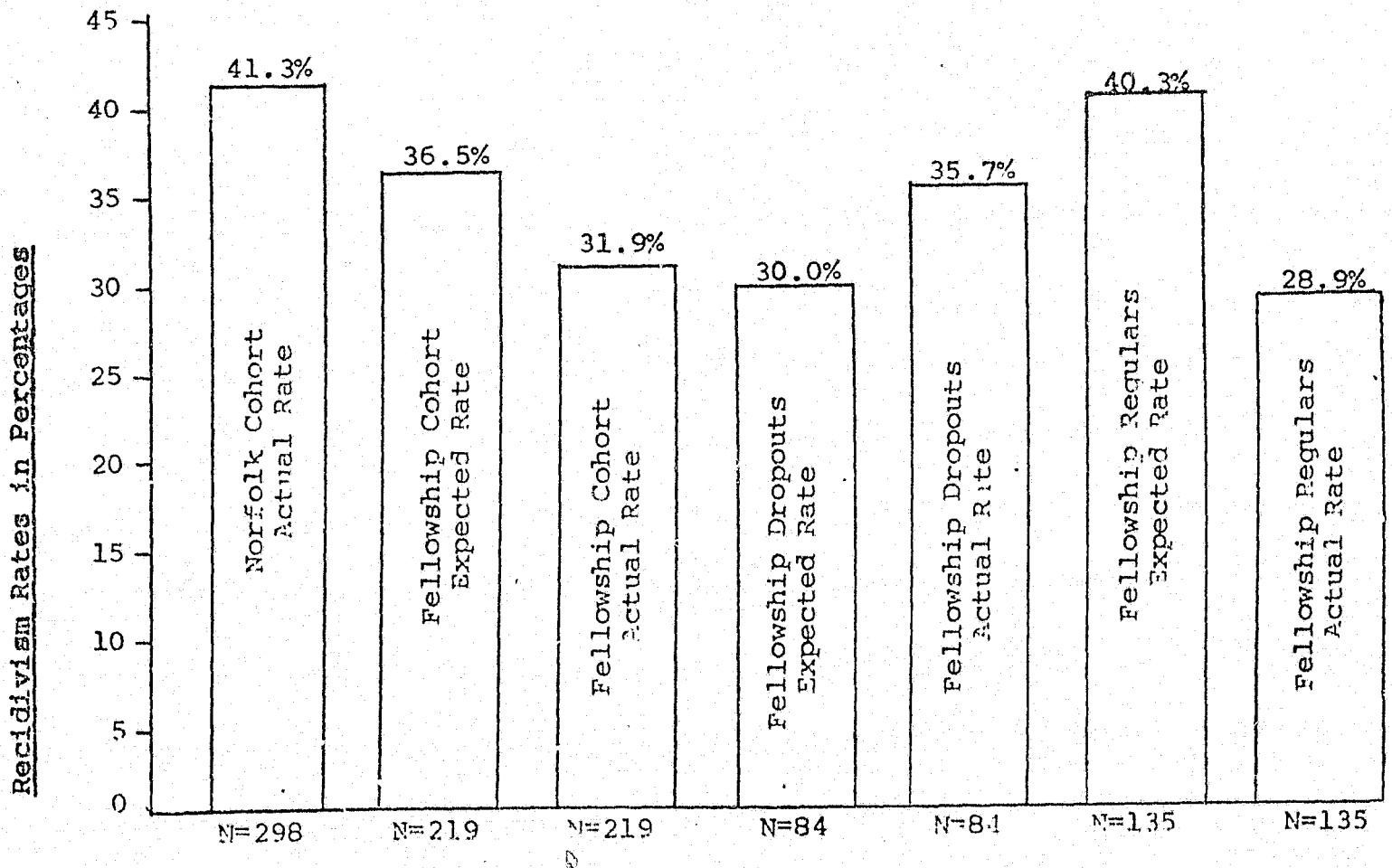
		<u>DROPOUTS vs. REGULARS</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>EXPECTED RECIDIVISM</u>	<u>ACTUAL RECIDIVISM</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
Dropouts	84	30.0	35.7	+5.7
Regulars	135	40.3	28.9	-11.4

This distinction between program dropouts and regulars will be discussed in further detail later. It is important to mention that this reduction in recidivism can be stated in two ways; (1) recidivism was reduced 11.4 percentage points, that is from 40.3% to 28.9% or (2) one can say the recidivism rate was reduced by 28.3%, that is 11.4 is 28.3% of the original rate of 40.3.

In graphic summary the recidivism rate comparisons can be illustrated as follows:

GRAPH 1

GROUP RECIDIVISM RATE COMPARISONS



COMPARISON GROUPS

There are other methods of assessing the Fellowship's effects on recidivism. One can examine how recidivism rates vary:

- by length of Fellowship involvement
- by type of Fellowship involvement
- by continuity of program participation both pre and post-release

Recidivism by Length of Fellowship Involvement

Taking the number of months of Fellowship involvement while at MCI-Norfolk and looking at those with more than one year participation vs. those with one year or less, it appears (see table 4) that the longer a prisoner was in the Fellowship the better his chances were of not becoming a recidivist.⁹

TABLE 4

RECIDIVISM BY LENGTH OF FELLOWSHIP PARTICIPATION

<u>LENGTH OF PARTICIPATION</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>EXPECTED RECIDIVISM RATE</u>	<u>ACTUAL RECIDIVISM RATE</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
1 year or less	141	37.6%	35.5%	-2.1%
1 year plus	78	34.5%	25.6%	-8.9%

Recidivism by Type of Fellowship Involvement

As described in Section I there are four basic programs offered by the Fellowship: the Thursday Night Groups, the Social Education Groups, the Re-entry Groups and the Regional Groups. As graph 2 and tables 5 and 6 illustrate, participation in any of the Fellowship programs appears to reduce recidivism,^{10, 11}

Recidivism Rate by Type and Amount of Fellowship Involvement while in Prison

PERCENT RECIDIVISM

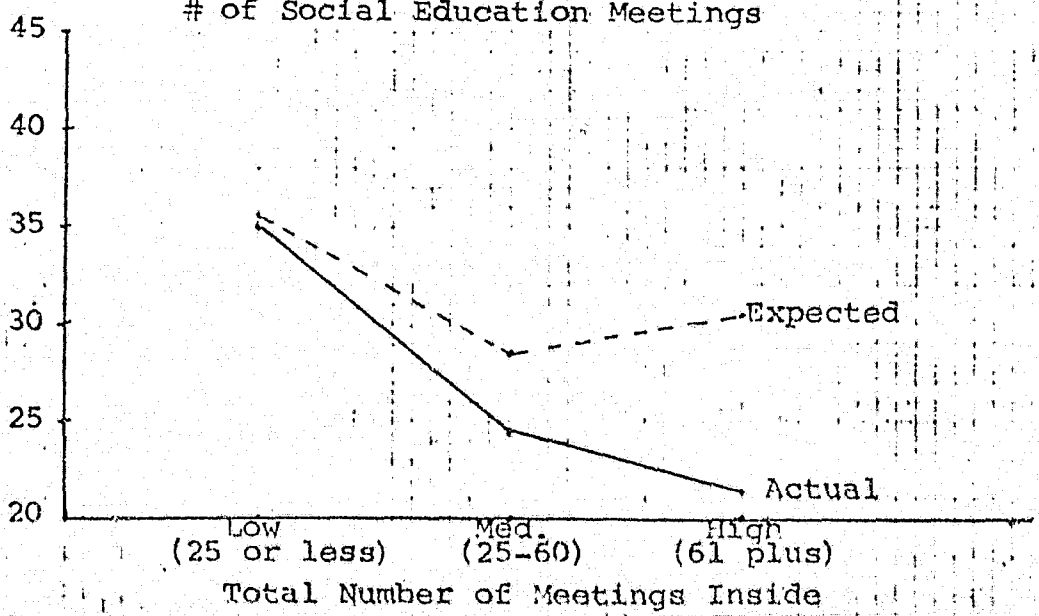
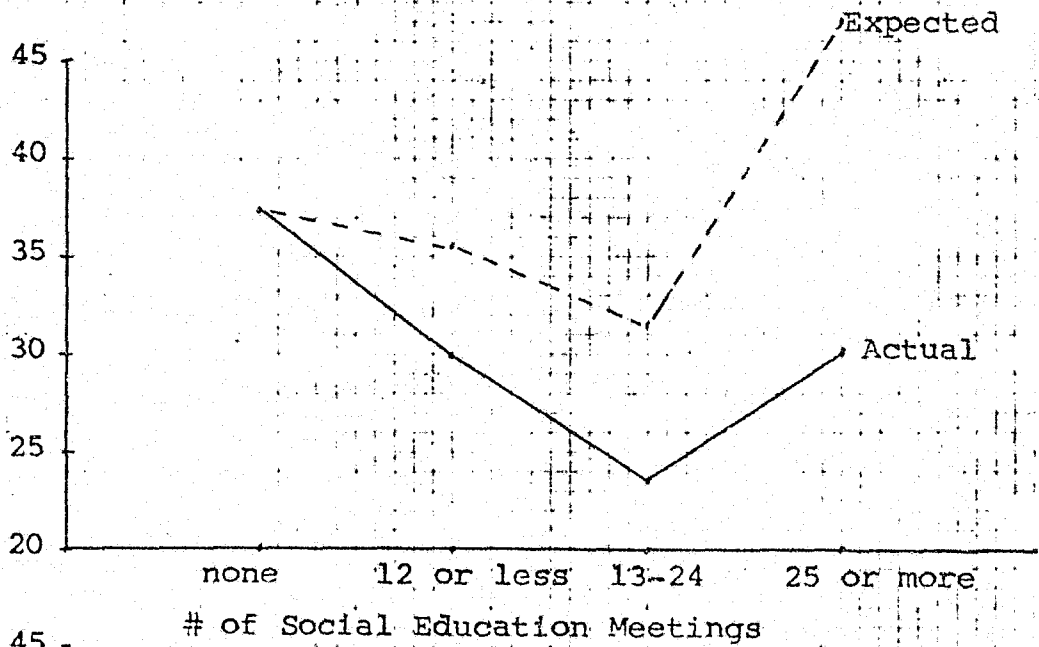
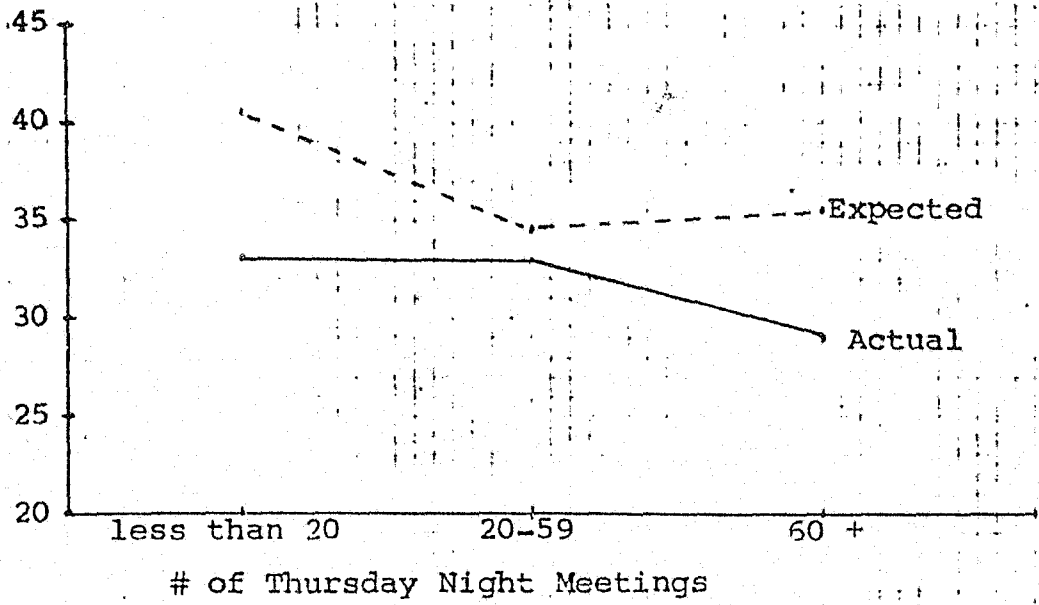


TABLE 5

RE-ENTRY PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

	<u>N</u>	<u>EXPECTED RECIDIVISM</u>	<u>ACTUAL RECIDIVISM</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
No	197	36.4	33.0	-3.4
Yes	22	38.4	22.7	-15.7

TABLE 6

REGIONAL MEETINGS PARTICIPATION

	<u>N</u>	<u>EXPECTED RECIDIVISM</u>	<u>ACTUAL RECIDIVISM</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
No	150	35.1	33.3	-1.8
Yes	69	39.5	28.9	-10.6

Recidivism by Continuity of Program Participation both Pre- and Post-Release

One of the more unique aspects of the Fellowship program is its ability to provide a great deal of program continuity to participants. Unlike most correctional programs the Fellowship is not restricted to operating either inside or outside the institution. Rather, the Fellowship runs programs both inside and outside the institution. Therefore, the same type of meetings with basically the same familiar faces and friendships that were available to a man in the institution are also available to the man when he hits the street.

Some program participants drop out of the Fellowship prior to release and subsequently seldom, if ever, participate in the post-release Fellowship programs, i.e., Regional Groups or Re-entry Groups. Conversely, those who do participate in post-release programs are almost exclusively those who were not dropouts. Therefore by dividing the Fellowship Cohort into Dropouts, those who dropped out of the

Fellowship prior to release and Regulars, those who participated up until their release, one can examine the effects of continuity in program participation. Examining table 7 it appears that continuity of program participation is a very important factor in the reduction of recidivism.⁸

TABLE 7

DROPOUTS vs. REGULARS

	<u>N</u>	<u>EXPECTED RECIDIVISM</u>	<u>ACTUAL RECIDIVISM</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
Dropouts	84	30.0	35.7	+5.7
Regulars	135	40.3	28.9	-11.4

B. Differential Treatment Effects

After examining the effects of the Fellowship program on recidivism in general it becomes important to see if there is a certain group of offenders whose recidivism rate is exceptionally reduced or perhaps a group that seems adversely affected by the program. In this study information was collected on 50 variables comprising five general areas:

- General Background Characteristics
- Criminal History
- Data on Present Incarceration
- Recidivism Data
- Fellowship Program Data

Here in the text of the report only those variables producing significant differences will be elaborated upon. These variables will be presented in the following sequence:

- Background Variables

Race
Marital Status
Service

- Present Incarceration Variables

Parole Violation or New Offense
Type of Release

Background Variables

Race

Comparing the racial make-up of the Fellowship Cohort with the Norfolk Cohort (table 8) it is evident that the Fellowship attracts a disproportionate number of blacks.¹² This appeal to the blacks is further illustrated by the racial make-up of the Dropouts and the Regulars (table 9). About half (47.1%) of the whites who join the program eventually become Dropouts while only about a quarter (27.6%) of the blacks become Dropouts.¹³

TABLE 8

RACIAL MAKE-UP OF THE NORFOLK COHORT COMPARED TO THE FELLOWSHIP COHORT

	<u>NORFOLK</u>		<u>FELLOWSHIP</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
White	220	(73.8)	121	(55.3)
Black	78	(26.1)	98	(44.7)
TOTAL	298	(100.0)	219	(100.0)

TABLE 9

RACIAL MAKE-UP OF DROPOUTS COMPARED TO REGULARS

<u>Fellowship</u>	<u>BLACK</u>		<u>WHITE</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Dropouts	27	(27.6)	57	(47.1)
Regulars	71	(72.4)	64	(52.9)
TOTAL	98	(100.0)	121	(100.0)

The blacks also appear to benefit more from the program in terms of recidivism than the whites do (table 10). The black recidivism rate is reduced 17 percentage points while the whites is reduced 6 percentage points.¹⁴

TABLE 10

RECIDIVISM RATES BY RACE

<u>RACE</u>	<u>NORFOLK</u>	<u>FELLOWSHIP</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
White	39.5	33.9	-5.6
Black	46.8	29.6	-17.2

Marital Status

Married or formerly married prisoners seem to benefit more from the Fellowship than do single prisoners (table 11). Marital status is highly correlated with age at incarceration, since the younger prisoners were more likely to be single when incarcerated. This raised the possibility of a spurious correlation between recidivism and marital status. However, even when age at incarceration is held constant there is still a significant relationship between marital status and recidivism.¹⁵

TABLE 11

RECIDIVISM RATE BY MARITAL STATUS

	<u>NORFOLK</u>	<u>FELLOWSHIP</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
Single	42.1	46.2	+4.1
Married or Formerly Married	40.8	24.1	-16.7

Military Service

Those prisoners who have served in the military seem to benefit more from the Fellowship than those who never served. Of the men who served, those with honorable discharges recidivated less than those who received other types of discharges.¹⁶

TABLE 12

RECIDIVISM BY MILITARY SERVICE CATEGORY

	<u>NORFOLK</u>	<u>FELLOWSHIP</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
<u>Never Served</u>	40.6	41.4	+0.8
<u>Served</u>			
Honorable Discharge	45.8	15.9	-29.9
Other type of Discharge	36.7	33.3	-3.4

Present Incarceration Variables

Reason for Current Incarceration and Type of Release

There are two ways of looking at parole as a variable: (1) Was the current incarceration the result of a parole violation? and (2) Was the current release from prison the result of a parole or a sentence expiration? Those prisoners who are incarcerated as the result of a criminal offense appear to benefit much more from the Fellowship than those who are incarcerated as the result of a parole

violation.¹⁷ The evidence also seems to suggest that those incarcerated for a parole violation might have been adversely affected by the Fellowship.¹⁸

TABLE 13

RECIDIVISM RATE BY REASON FOR PRESENT INCARCERATION

<u>REASON</u>	<u>RECIDIVISM RATE</u>		
	<u>NORFOLK</u>	<u>FELLOWSHIP</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
Parole Violation	36.8	58.0	+21.2
Criminal Offense	42.6	23.9	-18.7

TABLE 14

RECIDIVISM RATE BY TYPE OF RELEASE

<u>TYPE OF RELEASE</u>	<u>RECIDIVISM RATE</u>		
	<u>NORFOLK</u>	<u>FELLOWSHIP</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
Parole	45.9	29.7	-16.2
Discharge	24.6	40.9	+16.3

At first these results seem conflicting. However there is a highly significant relationship between the two variables. That is, those prisoners whose "present incarceration" was for a parole violation are for the most part those prisoners whose subsequent "type of release" was a discharge at sentence expiration.¹⁹ In other words, it is the same people who do so poorly in tables 13 and 14.

Age at Incarceration

The average age at incarceration for both the Norfolk Cohort and the Fellowship Cohort was 30 years, implying that the Fellowship attracts all available age groups. This appeal to all age groups is further supported by comparing the average age of Dropouts and Par-

lars; both groups have an average age of 30 years, suggesting that no particular age group has a greater propensity to drop out than any other. But when examining recidivism the results are quite different. As table 15 indicates, those prisoners who are 30 years or older when incarcerated benefit from the Fellowship far more than those 29 years or younger when incarcerated.²⁰

TABLE 15
RECIDIVISM RATES BY AGE AT INCARCERATION

<u>AGE AT</u> <u>INCARCERATION</u>	<u>RECIDIVISM RATE</u>		
	<u>NORFOLK</u>	<u>FELLOWSHIP</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
29 or younger	41.5	38.8	-2.7
30 or older	41.0	23.5	-17.5

C. Financial Benefits

The financial benefits of the Fellowship program derive mainly from the reduction in recidivism. There were 219 men in the Fellowship Cohort. The "actual" recidivism rate of these men was 31.9% or approximately 5% lower than the "expected" recidivism rate of 36.5%. This 5% reduction represents roughly 11 of the 219 men in the Fellowship Cohort. The average length of incarceration for the Fellowship Cohort was 34.8 months. The yearly per capita cost of incarceration at MCI-Norfolk is \$8,220 making the monthly per capita cost \$685. Multiplying this monthly figure \$685 times the average months of incarceration, 34.8 months, gives us approximately \$23,840 as the average per capita cost of a Fellowship participant's stay at MCI-Norfolk. Taking this average per capita cost of \$23,840 and multiplying it times 11, the theoretical reduction in recidivism due to the effectiveness of the Fellowship, gives us \$262,240 as an es-

timate of the dollars saved by reduced recidivism during the four year study period.

The foregoing falls far short of a comprehensive cost-benefit analysis. It fails to take into account costs incurred by the police and courts in processing a recidivist. It also does not attempt to attach any cost to the public for the direct economic loss due to crimes committed or the indirect costs such as prisoners' families on welfare. The amount saved might increase twofold were it possible to give a good estimate of these costs. But the above analysis does give some estimate of the magnitude of savings resulting from a reduction in recidivism due to a program like the Norfolk Fellowship.

V. SUMMARY

This study was designed to evaluate the Fellowship in three different areas; (1) recidivism, (2) differential treatment effects, and (3) financial benefits. In all three areas the Fellowship emerges as a very positive correctional program. The Fellowship significantly reduces recidivism for program regulars, it has appeal and is effective with a wide variety of prisoners, and, finally, the financial benefits resulting from the program operation are substantial.

NOTES

1. National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. (1973) "Corrections" Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office
2. Carney, Panagopoulos and Gardner (1969) "An Evaluation of the Effect of the Fellowship Program at MCI-Norfolk on Recidivism," Massachusetts Department of Correction (Mimeo)
3. Graves, David S. (1972) "An Analysis of Recidivism Among Men Released from MCI-Norfolk During 1966", Massachusetts Department of Correction (Mimeo)
4. This is the same definition that was used in the Carney, Panagopoulos and Gardner article referred to in number two above.
5. Graves, David S. (1972) "An Analysis of Recidivism Among Men Released from MCI-Norfolk During 1966", Massachusetts Department of Correction

6.

	<u>Norfolk Cohort</u>	<u>Fellowship Cohort</u>
Recidivists	123	70
Non Recidivists	175	149

$\chi^2 = 4.678 \quad p = .02$

7.

	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Fellowship Cohort</u>	<u>Observed</u>
Recidivists	80		70
Non Recidivists	139		149

$\chi^2 = 1.97 \quad p = .08$

8.

	<u>Fellowship Cohort</u>			
	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Dropouts</u> <u>Observed</u>	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Regulars</u> <u>Observed</u>
Recidivists	25	30	54	39
Non Recidivists	59	54	81	96

$\chi^2 = 1.42 \quad p = .12$ $\chi^2 = 6.95 \quad p = .004$

9.

	<u>Fellowship Cohort</u>			
	<u>One year or less</u>		<u>More than one year</u>	
	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Observed</u>	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Observed</u>
Recidivists	53	50	27	20
Non Recidivists	88	91	51	58
	$\chi^2 = .27 \quad p = .31$		$\chi^2 = 2.77 \quad p = .05$	

10.

	<u>Fellowship Cohort</u>			
	<u>No Re-entry</u>		<u>Yes Re-entry</u>	
	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Observed</u>	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Observed</u>
Recidivists	72	65	8	5
Non Recidivists	125	132	14	17
	$\chi^2 = 1.07 \quad p = .15$		$\chi^2 = 1.77 \quad p = .09$	

11.

	<u>Fellowship Cohort</u>			
	<u>No Regional</u>		<u>Yes Regional</u>	
	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Observed</u>	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Observed</u>
Recidivists	53	50	27	20
Non Recidivists	97	100	42	49
	$\chi^2 = .26 \quad p = .40$		$\chi^2 = 2.98 \quad p = .04$	

12.

	<u>Norfolk Cohort</u>	<u>Fellowship Cohort</u>
White	220	121
Black	78	98
	$\chi^2 = 19.40 \quad p < .001$	

13.

	<u>Fellowship Cohort</u>	
	<u>Race</u>	
	Black	White
Dropouts	27	57
Regulars	71	64
	$\chi^2 = 8.76 \quad p = .003$	

14.

	<u>White</u>		<u>Black</u>	
	<u>Norfolk</u>	<u>Fellowship</u>	<u>Norfolk</u>	<u>Fellowship</u>
Recidivists	87	41	37	29
Non Recidivists	133	80	41	69
	$\chi^2 = 1.07 \quad p = .15$		$\chi^2 = 5.90 \quad p = .008$	

15.

	<u>Single</u>		<u>Married</u>	
	<u>Norfolk</u>	<u>Fellowship</u>	<u>Norfolk</u>	<u>Fellowship</u>
Recidivists	48	36	46	20
Non Recidivists	66	42	68	64
	$\chi^2 = .31 \quad p = .29$		$\chi^2 = 5.95 \quad p = .007$	

Correlation Analysis

- | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Marital Status | 2. Recidivism | 3. Age at Incarceration |
| 0 = single | 0 = non recidivist | In Years |
| 1 = other | 1 = recidivist | |

	<u>Coefficient</u>	<u>Significance</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>
Zero order partial $r_{12} =$	-.2263	.001	217
First order partial $r_{12.3} =$	-.1629	.009	217

16.

	<u>Honorable Discharge</u>	
	<u>Norfolk</u>	<u>Fellowship</u>
Recidivists	38	11
Non Recidivists	45	58
	$\chi^2 = 15.36 \quad p < .001$	

17.

	<u>Parole Violation</u>		<u>Criminal Offense</u>	
	<u>Norfolk</u>	<u>Fellowship</u>	<u>Norfolk</u>	<u>Fellowship</u>
Recidivists	25	30	98	40
Non Recidivists	43	22	132	127
	$\chi^2 = 5.20 \quad p = .01$		$\chi^2 = 14.85 \quad p < .001$	

18.

	<u>Parole</u>		<u>Discharge</u>	
	Norfolk	Fellowship	Norfolk	Fellowship
Recidivists	107	52	16	18
Non Recidivists	126	123	49	26
	$x^2 = 11.4 \quad p < .001$		$x^2 = 3.25 \quad p = .04$	

19.

<u>Type of Release</u>	<u>Present Incarceration</u>	
	<u>Parole Violation</u>	<u>Criminal Offense</u>
Parole	24	151
Discharge	28	16
	$x^2 = 48.39 \quad p < .001$	

This table yields a contingency coefficient of .425

20.

	<u>29 or Younger</u>		<u>30 or Older</u>	
	Norfolk	Fellowship	Norfolk	Fellowship
Recidivists	73	47	50	23
Non Recidivists	103	74	72	75
	$x^2 = .21 \quad p = .32$		$x^2 = 7.52 \quad p = .003$	

21. Massachusetts Department of Correction (1971) "Statistical Reports of the Commissioner of Correction", Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Public Document No. 115.

BASE EXPECTANCY OF RECIDIVISM CATEGORIES FOR NORFOLK

REPEAT RATE

TOTAL NORFOLK RELEASEES DURING 1966 N= 298 41.3% Return	ONE OR FEWER PRIOR ARRESTS FOR PROPERTY OFFENSES N= 116 23.3% Return	25 OR OLDER AT PRESENT IN- CARCERATION N= 78 14.1% Return	24 OR OLDER AT FIRST ARREST N= 29 1.0%
		24 OR YOUNGER AT PRESENT IN- CARCERATION N= 38 42.1% Return	23 OR YOUNGER AT FIRST ARREST N= 49 22.4%
			ONE OR MORE CODEFENDANTS N=23 26.1%
			NO CODEFENDANTS N= 15 66.7%
TWO OR MORE PRIOR ARRESTS FOR PROPERTY OFFENSES N= 182 52.7% Return	DISCHARGE OR EXPIRATION AS TYPE OF RELEASE N= 48 31.3% Return	TOTAL TIME PREVIOUSLY INCARCERATED 30 MONTHS OR MORE N= 31 23.3%	
		TOTAL TIME PREVIOUSLY INCARCERATED 29 MONTHS OR LESS N= 17 47.1%	
	PAROLE AS TYPE OF RELEASE N= 134 60.4% Return	8 OR FEWER PRIOR ARRESTS N= 57 43.9% Return	NO MILITARY SERVICE N= 36 30.6%
			SOME MILITARY SERVICE N= 21 66.7%
	9 OR MORE PRIOR ARRESTS N= 77 72.7% Return		LENGTH OF PRESENT INCARCERATION 16 MONTHS OR MORE N= 38 57.9%
			LENGTH OF PRESENT INCARCERATION 15 MONTHS OR MORE

END