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## "Town Hall" Strategies for Organizational Change <sup>\*</sup>

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**THE PENDULUM OF** corrections has been shifting over the last half century. Prior to the late 1960s, there was strong support for rehabilitation of offenders. Then there was a shift in corrections to a more punitive, punishment-oriented approach founded on the belief that rehabilitation did not work when dealing with offenders (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). With the resurgence of scientific studies that have demonstrated positive outcomes from specific programs based on using cognitive behavioral therapies (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Andrews, Hoge, & Bonta, 1990) and risk management strategies (Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2005), a model has emerged that integrates punishment and rehabilitation. This research builds on the knowledge about the social and financial costs that have arisen from incapacitating offenders through incarceration. Removing individuals from families and communities creates a loss of social supports, financial means, and communal identity (Clear, Rose, & Ryder, 2001). As of 2009, the Pew Foundation report estimates that 1 in 31 persons in the United States are under some form of control under the criminal justice system, and that the state cost of corrections has increased by 303 percent in the last 20 years (Pew Foundation, 2009). The drastic increase in cost of supervising and housing offenders, in addition to the social costs, have led many decision-makers to consider alternative effective measures to handle offenders.

The challenge now is to determine how best to transform correctional agencies to accommodate research findings. This transformation is twofold. First, agencies need to modify goals and missions to incorporate the use of evidence-based practices. Second, agencies need to adopt work processes that embrace the components of evidence-based practices. The concern for practitioners and researchers is the method through which new innovations and practices can be spread throughout correctional and associated agencies to advance the principles of evidence-based practices. This is the process of diffusion. Diffusion spreads the innovation, either as an ideology or technology, through the formal and informal social networks of an organization (Rogers, 2003).

The model of diffusion discussed in this paper, modified from the work of Everett Rogers (2003), provides a framework for transforming correctional practice. These elements include

innovation attributes, social communication networks, and adoption time ([Figure 1](#)). Innovation attributes encompass the characteristics of the innovation that affect diffusion processes (Rogers, 2003). Social communication networks refers to the aspects of the communication channels and social system that affect both how and what messages are passed through an organization (adapted from Rogers, 2003). Time for adoption reflects the decision-making process timeline that an innovation flows through (Rogers, 2003). The priority and importance of these concepts may vary based on the innovation being diffused, but they should be considered in organizational transformation.

This article presents a case study illustrating the diffusion concepts in a correctional agency that is in the process of adopting evidence-based practices. These diffusion concepts allow an organization to examine the desired spread of an innovation and address resistance (barriers) to its diffusion. Sometimes the aim of an innovation is to create more efficiency, while at other times the goal is to motivate members of the organization. Whatever the aim, there are certain considerations. First, it is important to determine the innovation being diffused. What are the attributes of the innovation? Can these attributes be modified to make diffusion more effective? Second, the social communication networks need to be taken into consideration. How does information normally flow through this environment? How will leadership promote or hinder diffusion? Finally, organizations need to consider the time for adoption of the innovation. How far along in the decision-making process for adoption is the organization? How can the organization respond when different levels are at different stages in adopting an innovation? The case study is of a prisonbased work release that is being converted into a Community Correction Center (CCC).

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## **Attributes of Innovations that Support a Behavioral Management System**

Innovations range from implementing specific programming technologies to changing ideologies. The corrections field has begun implementing the innovation of evidence-based practices. A first step in this implementation has been shifting agency goals from security (simply housing and maintaining offenders) to offender change. Next the processes of organizations have been examined and adjusted to follow principles of evidence-based practices. Guiding principles of evidence-based practices include assessment (assessing risk level and needs of offenders), responsivity (appropriately matching services to offender needs), deportment (improving interaction between offenders and staff), and compliance management (reinforcing positive offender behaviors). Together these enable a correctional organization to promote and pursue the goal of offender change. This is a multi-pronged intervention and therefore the diffusion requires knowledge and understanding of the innovation attributes, allowing agencies to adapt the innovation so that barriers to diffusion can be minimized. The innovation attributes of primary concern to diffusion are compatibility, relative advantage, complexity, observability, and trialability (Rogers, 2003). These innovation attributes should be adapted as much as possible to achieve the organization's desired change through diffusion.

Examining the compatibility of an innovation means looking at how well the innovation fits into the current values, practices, and needs of the organization (Rogers, 2003). This process involves examining multiple levels of the organization. For example, the written goals of an organization may reflect the value of offender change through the vision of reducing recidivism, but when the individual staff members' activities are examined, it may appear that security remains the practiced goal of the organization. A disconnect between written and actual practices may reflect that the organization's mission has changed based on external needs, but that the innovation has been incompatible with the current values and practices of the organization. This kind of incompatibility can create a barrier for change on the ground level of the organization. For diffusion that promotes change to occur in an effective manner on all levels, the innovation should be adapted to the organizational environment. In a transformation involving adoption of evidence-based practices, reaching compatibility between the current goal of security and the new goal of offender change presents many challenges. However, adapting the guiding principles of evidence-based practices to foster compatibility without compromising

the effectiveness of the practices is always the preferred method of implementation. For example, the assessment principle posits that risk and needs of offenders should be determined based on validated assessment tools. If the organization already uses a validated instrument (i.e., LSI-R) that could fill this assessment need, then that instrument should be used in the change process. Use of a tool that is part of the organization's current practices offers an ability to increase compatibility between evidence-based practices and current agency values. Then the focus can be placed on the process changes in using the tool, instead of implementation of the tool and process all at once.

### **INNOVATION ATTRIBUTES**

*Compatibility:* how well the innovation fits into the current values, practices, and needs of the organization

*Observability:* how visible the innovation's results are to individuals in the organization

*Complexity:* how understandable and clear the innovation is to individuals in the organization

*Relative Advantage:* how much the innovation is felt to be an improvement over current practices

*Trialability:* how much the innovation lends itself to being piloted on a trial basis

An innovation should be observable and understandable to all levels of the organization to promote adoption through diffusion of the innovation (Rogers, 2003). While certain acts may appear to be observable, for example changing the mission statement of the organization, there may be no observable, day-to-day change in the way people perform their jobs. If a change in goals does not reach a point of actual change in behaviors or expectations, then the implementation of the innovation has failed. Beyond observability, the innovation must be understandable and clear (low complexity), so that the actions and goals of the innovation can be carried out (Rogers, 2003). If an innovation becomes too complex for staff, then there will be increased resistance. Members of the organization need to have clear directions (goals and objectives) to follow so that they understand their role in the change process. Problems arise if the organization begins to roll out an innovation without fully developing the goals and objectives. This leads to a disconnect between what leaders of the organization wish to be diffused about the innovation and what actually gets spread. Without clear and observable direction, staff members become more confused and resistant, even if the innovation is low in complexity.

Transitions that include work process changes, such as changes in expectations when providing services to offenders, offer an example of new practices that may be complex and difficult to observe from within the organization. The principle of responsivity (matching offenders to appropriate services based on their needs) in particular appears complex within a correctional setting because of its process-oriented approach. Staff are expected to pull information about the offender from any history, previous interactions, assessments, or any other relevant source, to provide the offender with all appropriate services necessary. Starting off the transition with enhanced trainings on the procedures of reviewing an assessment and matching offenders to appropriate services would decrease the apparent complexity. Depending on the organization, appropriate ways to make this new process visible could include booster sessions, weekly sessions to discuss issues with matching services to needs, or written reminders of using the skills. The important thing to remember in reducing complexity and increasing visibility is to focus on the goal of diffusing the innovation in a clear and understandable way throughout the organization.

In addition to compatibility, observability, and complexity, an innovation should demonstrate a relative advantage for the organization to begin the adoption process. Relative advantage is the

idea that an innovation must be perceived as an improvement over the way things are being done currently (Rogers, 2003). Just because an innovation seems advantageous as a whole, does not mean the benefits will be clearly understood at all levels of an organization. Effort must be devoted to developing buy-in and ownership of the idea throughout the organization. For example, the emphasis on improving offender outcomes may not be seen as advantageous to the line staff, who may see reductions in offender populations as negatively impacting their jobs, potentially even resulting in loss of work. Further, the innovation may increase workload, require new work duties, and require skills and procedures that the staff may not be comfortable performing. Especially with a goal shift to offender change, the role changes of correctional staff from relying solely on power and control to a focusing on improved offender outcomes may carry more negative implications than positive for correctional staff. The principle of department can be adapted in a way that promotes relative advantage to the staff. An example of relative advantage can be improved communication with offenders, staff, and supervisors (department), which will, in turn, reduce incidents of violence and conflict, thereby improving the safety of correctional staff. Adaptation in this manner develops a social marketing plan to help others see the benefit of the innovation.

The next issue is trialability of an innovation. Trialability is the ability of the innovation to be piloted before full implementation (Rogers, 2003). The benefit of piloting an innovation is that the organization can discover barriers and strengths to implementation and diffusion. The agency can then adapt the innovation, using the piloted information, to effectively diffuse full implementation. For example, a trial allows the organization to develop such tools of compliance management as the sanctions and rewards offered to offenders for changing behaviors. Feedback from the pilot also allows the development of the outcome measures that will provide feedback necessary for the future growth of the evidence-based practices. Piloting an innovation can also have adverse effects that need to be weighed when determining trialability. If the structure of the organization is such that the piloting agency is one part of a larger organism, then the organization needs to consider the potential negative outcomes of piloting on future stakeholders in the change process. The environment of corrections tends to foster suspicion and doubt. Piloting the innovation in one agency can cause increased suspicion of and questions about the change for the remainder of the organization. Ultimately this can result in reactions of jealousy and bitterness that will hinder implementation when the innovation is diffused further. Reflecting back to the other attributes, the organization should consider ways to adapt the innovation so that future innovators will not feel neglected in the process.

The degree of importance for each attribute will vary depending on the innovation being diffused. All of these attributes need to be considered when deciding the best method to diffuse an innovation through an organization. For the correctional shift taking place, adapting the principles that will guide evidence-based practices is an excellent place to begin a successful diffusion process.

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## **Social Communication Networks**

The process of diffusion uses existing networks within the organization to gain acceptance in the organization. Social networks include organizational norms, communication channels, and types of leadership.

The organizational norms play a valuable role in knowing the limitations and strengths in diffusing an innovation (Rogers, 2003). Organizational norms include the socially acceptable way to address supervisors, behave in meetings, and talk to co-workers or offenders. These norms will incorporate a mix of informal and traditional ways of doing things that make up a large portion of the organizational culture. What makes this difficult for an organization, especially for executive-level administrators, is that while some norms are evident, many norms for lower-line staff are not easily recognizable from outside of the group. Even those who observe behaviors of the staff on a regular basis (i.e., front-line supervisors) may not be aware of all the norms of the lower-line staff. Understanding these norms is still very important to

using the communication channels within the organization to diffuse the innovation. Recognizing and understanding the organizational norms helps practitioners implementing change to identify how much resistance to expect and possible ways to counteract that resistance. The norms may determine the extent to which individuals in the organization are willing to support and diffuse an innovation.

## **SOCIAL COMMUNICATION NETWORKS**

*Organizational Norms:* the socially acceptable values, beliefs, and practices of the organization

*Communication Channels:* network pathways through which information flows in the organization

*Boundary spanners:* individuals who can pass information both externally and internally beyond the boundaries of one group

*Opinion leaders:* informal leaders who can influence others' behaviors

*Change agents:* individuals, either internal or external to the agency, who promote the innovation and its diffusion

Communication channels encompass any pathway through which information flows, ranging from media outlets to people sharing information face-to-face (Rogers, 2003). The communication channels allow the flow of information both internally and externally to the organization. When considering how to use these channels to diffuse an innovation, one should examine the current channels through which most information passes within the organization. Perhaps there are certain people in the organization who always seem to hold all the information or people in the organization use social networking sites to pass information. While most organizations maintain both formal and informal channels, how useful these channels are in diffusing the innovation will vary with the individuals of the organization. Diffusion through communication channels depends on small groups who will initiate the use of an innovation. These small groups tend to contain individuals who share certain traits, such as religious beliefs or education level, making them capable of disseminating accepted information about the innovation. The people most influential in the diffusion process will be those in the group who are boundary spanners. Boundary spanners are individuals who work beyond the boundaries of organizations to accomplish any goal (Tushman & Scanlan, 1981; Taxman & Bouffard 2000). Those that are able to span the boundary of their smaller group will be essential to spreading the innovation to other groupings internally and potentially even spanning to external groups such as community organizations, who may have resources to support the innovation. Recognizing boundary spanners within the communication channels will help identify leadership that can further the innovation.

When considering social networks in diffusing an innovation, evaluating the different levels of leadership is especially important. There are several different types of leaders found within an organization. Opinion leaders are typically the most informal. These people influence the actions of others by performing actions or being first adopters (Rogers, 2003). Research has identified certain characteristics that opinion leaders appear to share, including being more exposed to external networks, of "higher socioeconomic status," more innovative, and central to the interpersonal interactions in the organization (Rogers, 2003, p.27). In a correctional agency, there could be differences in characteristics that define opinion leaders, depending on their position within the organization. Perhaps at headquarters an opinion leader is defined as someone who has access to confidential information or has the most pull with decision-makers. This opinion leader's influence would be derived from job skills or role in the organization. On the other hand, an opinion leader among correctional officers may be someone who is well liked and does not step out of the norms. This opinion leader is influential because of his or her position, not necessarily because of job skills.

Another leadership position is that of a change agent. The primary role of change agents is to influence diffusion of an innovation in the organization's desired way (Rogers, 2003). These individuals are typically outside the agency and seek to influence the opinion leaders in a positive way toward the innovation. Involving external change agents in the transition process provides outside expertise and a boundary spanner neutral to the organization. This person ideally would know both the organizational environment and evidence-based practices to incorporate into the transition. Additionally, the change agent would be able not only to use the communication channels in place but to build essential channels to other agencies and groups that could provide resources in the transition. Change agents may be internal, but only if they have the knowledge and expertise to work within the organization to influence others. Internal change agents selected may be opinion leaders, able to influence others to move change forward, or they may be individuals selected for outstanding job performance. When making this determination, an organization should select people willing to diffuse the innovation in the manner that the organization desires.

Still another aspect of leadership in the organization is the formal leadership. Successful diffusion of any innovation depends on leadership at all levels not only supporting the innovation but actually participating and modeling the innovation requirements. Supervisors that pass on orders of change without ever actually taking on any of that change for themselves present a problem in the diffusion process. It is important to any innovation that supervisors hold themselves and staff accountable for promoting and demonstrating the innovation. The organization may consider using more techniques to affect buy-in of supervisors rather than only passing directives. One example of this would be providing leadership training that focuses on the skill techniques being implemented. Building confidence and understanding of the skills can enable the formal leader to feel comfortable in modeling the desired changes.

Overall, in examining the social networks of an organization for the purpose of diffusing an innovation, special consideration needs to be given to the informal social networks. While formal communication channels such as newsletters and written directives serve a purpose in diffusing innovation, real diffusion comes from persuasion and spread of an innovation through interpersonal social networks.

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## **Timeline for Innovation Adoption**

In diffusion research, time is described as the amount of time it takes for people to go through the stages of decision-making about an innovation. These stages include knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation, and confirmation (Rogers, 2003). Decisions through government systems tend to occur at different speeds, on different levels simultaneously. Whereas executive leadership levels may have already moved through knowledge about the innovation, persuasive arguments for and against the innovation, and the decision about an innovation, the lower levels of the organization have yet to gain basic knowledge. This means that as the higher levels of the organization are expecting delivery of implementation and confirmation fairly soon, the lower levels at different facilities have barely gotten to consider the beginning stages of the cycle. If enough time is not built in, then the implementation and ultimately results stand to be negatively impacted.

When organizations are considering timelines for implementing innovations, they need to make allowances for staggered pace at which different levels of the organization go through the same processes. If this time is considered and allowed, then innovations can be more thoroughly diffused and possible outcomes greatly enhanced with less resistance. The difficulty for this in the current state of resources is that top-level decision-makers need quick turnaround for their decisions about allocation of resources.

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## **Case Study of a Prison-Based Work Release Center**

### *Organizational Structure and Climate*

The organization is structured so that the center reports directly to both the prison and probation and parole, which are housed within the same agencies. The Prison-Based Work Release Center (PWRC) serves the function of a work release facility enabling incarcerated offenders to go into the community for employment prior to release. The PWRC used to report only to the prison department. The goal of the dual reporting is to have the PWRC function as a prison environment in a community corrections center. The difference between the prison and probation/parole environment is that security underscores the prison environment and offender change drives the community correctional center. The transformation reflects a shift in the expected role of correctional staff in the facility. The traditional prison environment supports the role of control and power, whereas the mission of offender change is based on motivating offenders through the correctional officer serving as a role model and increasing offender access to services and programming.

The work release facility is located in an urban setting and houses pre-release male inmates who typically have less than 18 months on their sentence and are classified as minimum security to be able to work in the community. Staff consists primarily of security (n=35), and case management (n=5). Staff are an average age of 40, female (74 percent), have a minimum of a high school diploma/GED (68 percent), and an average of 9 years working for the division.

To assess the potential organizational issues, a survey on organizational readiness for change was administered to all staff at the PWRC (Taxman & Lerch, 2008). Overall, the staff showed a low level of identification with the organization and their work, viewed the organization as having insufficient funding and staffing, and perceived the department as not open to change or supportive of new ideas. All of these are indicators of low climate for change. Staff reported an average amount of cynicism for change and support by management and supervisors for case planning. While none of the measurements demonstrated a high readiness to change, custodial staff reported lower levels of organizational readiness to change than non-custodial staff members. The custodial staff had higher levels of cynicism about the organization's ability to change than non-custodial staff. Given this low level of readiness, the change process attended to these issues. The goal was to enhance an understanding of the vision of the organization, create an environment open to new ideas and innovations, increase the flow of information within the organization, and increase willingness of staff to take risks in performing their job duties. Attention to these would address staff cynicism.

Another climate issue was the intradepartmental communication. As in most correctional agencies, the prison and probation and parole agencies functioned separately from one another. There was limited sharing of information or resources, therefore limiting the capabilities of either agency to provide a positive environment, supportive of successful re-entry for offenders. Given the necessity of a joint partnership for the transition to a community corrections center, this culture of separation needed to be addressed to ensure sustainability of an environment focused on offender change.

### *Creating a culture of learning and change*

Several mechanisms were put into place within the PWRC to facilitate the transition from a prison environment to a work release/ community correctional center: an external consultant to guide the change process, town hall meetings, PWRC staff workgroups, intradepartmental workgroups, internal change agents, and specialized training on communications skills. These various techniques were used to communicate directly with the employees and to begin the transition process. The focus of this multi-pronged strategy was to address the various cultural issues with the agency along with the issue of transforming from a security environment to an offender change environment.

The external consultant played several crucial roles in the change process for the PWRC. This

consultant provided expertise that did not exist in the agency, such as motivational interviewing, organizational change and development, and project management. First, the consultant trained the staff on key procedures to change the way they interacted with the inmates/offenders in the facility. This training, described below, provided staff with an informed, objective perspective of the communication skills that were now being expected of them. Also, the consultant provided one-on-one skill-building sessions with administrators and supervisors to cultivate their ability to model the expected work processes of those they supervised. Second, the consultant gave expert advice on how this type of organizational change could be developed successfully. It was important for the consultant to see beyond the barriers present in the organization by using experience and knowledge of how change had been achieved in other systems. Such experience enabled the consultant to guide development of a model truly reflecting an environment that promotes offender change. Third, the consultant provided project management to a process that can become rather chaotic, as is the nature of change. In this transition, the consultant assisted in setting timelines and action plans that moved the change forward. In addition, the external consultant helped facilitate the working relationship between the agencies of prisons and probation and parole by building communication channels and providing an external, neutral source of information.

### **TOOLS OF THE CHANGE PROCESS IN PWRC**

*Internal Town Hall Meetings:* addressed concerns and questions from staff about the change process; opened communication networks within the organization

*PWRC staff workgroups:* allowed staff to provide input by identifying current practices and potential barriers to change; familiarized staff with the change process being implemented

*Intra-departmental workgroups:* created an environment where leadership of prisons and probation and parole could share resources, develop the change model, and receive feedback about concerns relating to the change process

*External Consultant:* provided expertise to the organization in the areas of evidence-based practices, project management, and organizational change processes

*Internal change agents:* developed peer leaders who were role models of the communication skills

*Communications Training:* improved staff capability to interact with offenders in a manner that promotes behavioral change

Internal town hall meetings were held as a way to create awareness among staff about the transition taking place, while also addressing the staff's apprehensions. The transition required transferring the staff from the prison division of the organization to community corrections, which required fundamental issues to be addressed such as whether the correctional officers would maintain their retirement benefits, whether uniforms would be required, and what new roles would be expected. In preparation, the staff were queried as to their concerns, and answers to frequently-asked questions were developed. In addition to these broader town hall meetings, PWRC staff workgroups were developed to focus on specific topics related to the change process. These focused topics included policy and procedure, sanctions and incentives, work release, operations, community partnership-service, staffing, and training. Each of these workgroups had the task of identifying the practices currently carried out and potential barriers to the transition within each topic area. The aims of both the town hall meetings and the staff workgroups were to increase the staff's familiarity with the transition, open up communication about concerns, give staff a voice in developing the transition, and provide information about the facility to those administering change activities. Such a strategy supports a learning environment where staff gain knowledge about the transition and become part of the change as opposed to a target of the change. Gaining investment of staff was essential to overcoming the barriers of a low, cynical climate.

Beyond the PWRC staff workgroups, an intra-departmental workgroup was put into place. This workgroup involved the leadership from prisons, probation and parole, and the work release center. This workgroup served several purposes. First, the meetings provided an environment among leaders of these agencies to learn about the capabilities and limitations that each brought to the transition. For example, this workgroup provided an environment for each agency to learn about the policies of the other agencies, so that decisions could be made about where changes were needed. This group was especially important in creating a network of people who had the ability to influence the changes necessary for the transition to a community correction center. Partnerships created by the intra-departmental workgroup provided new avenues to policy changes that were previously unavailable to a single agency within the department. Second, the meetings served as a pooling of resources (e.g., availability of programming) to support the change process. For example, probation and parole had community service connections that were previously unavailable to prisons, but through this partnership, some services could now be utilized in the community correction center. Third, the meetings were a forum where agency leaders could voice concerns about the transition to the external consultant and receive feedback for potential solutions. One such concern was whether staff members of the facility would report to prisons or probation and parole, and what role each agency would have in the hierarchical structure of the shared facility. The external consultant was able to provide guidance based on examples of how other states are addressing management of a community corrections center that falls under the auspices of both corrections and probation.

An important part of the change process was developing champions of the system. This is best achieved by identifying the natural leaders within the organization and building on their skills. Internal change agents were identified and participated in a series of trainings to develop their leadership and communication skills. These internal change agents acted as catalysts to promoting change by modeling skills and becoming peer experts. The internal change agents were selected based on leadership qualities, respect of their peers, and openness to change by the PWRC Facility Administrator. As peer trainers, these staff members received more intense training than other staff so they could facilitate a learning environment for communication skills. Using these respected individuals within the organization made possible continuous expert advice for members of the organization. This access to experts created an opportunity for cynical members of the organization to be influenced. The peer-level coaching motivated an environment of learning the new skills that could not be achieved by an outsider to the organization.

Furthermore, the internal change agents were encouraged to identify concerns and areas of resistance in a confidential manner, as well as contribute their ideas during the implementation of change. Part of the process was empowering the internal organizational change agents to tell their stories through case studies utilized throughout the training. Incorporating work behaviors and scenarios from the organization made changing role expectations more realistic and understandable for the staff. All of these strategies were aimed at initiating a shift in the culture of the organization to be supportive of offender change.

Imperative to the success of the community correction center transition was training the staff to be role models for the offenders. The traditional correctional officer training does not include any communication training or helping correctional officers learn how to use their verbal and body language to motivate offenders to be interested in change. The core communications training was a fundamental part of the process of changing the culture. The aim of the intensive two-day training was to empower the staff to embrace the change and claim it as their own by developing their communication skills to motivate offender change. Communication skills were adapted from the Motivational Interviewing tools of open-ended questions, affirmations, reflective listening, and summarization (see Taxman, Shepardson, & Byrne, 2005). The training became an atmosphere to address the negative perceptions and fears that came with changing officers' communication with offenders by offering an external expert's validation of the change process and having staff take ownership of the change. One such prominent fear addressed was that of fraternization. The perception by staff was that increased communication with offenders could lead to accusations of fraternization. Role plays were used to enable the participants to

experience a situation modeling the difference between communication aimed at offender change and fraternization. The distinction between proper communication based on the skills and fraternization was further supported by the wardens and assistant wardens speaking on this issue. Another approach taken to reduce negative perceptions about the change was encouraging the staff to identify how the change would benefit them personally and professionally in the work environment. Having the staff place the change in advantageous terms for themselves was intended to promote positive affiliations with the change process.

After the intensive two-day training, refresher or booster sessions were conducted on-site to each shift addressing issues with using the communication skills. This type of continuous training model is based on evidence that one-time training models are not as effective in creating changed work processes as those that continue training into the work environment (Sholomskas et al., 2005). Boosters provided an opportunity for staff to receive immediate feedback on their use of the skills. The goal of this continuous training model was to create a more open environment of team learning and improve communication, thus increasing safety and improving offender outcomes. Both the two-day training and booster sessions allowed the staff to confront their perceptions on the shifting roles, so they could experience how the roles of security and offender change can be intertwined.

### *Challenges External to the Change Process*

An external issue addressed was the difficulty in meeting political pressures for progression in the change process. The directive for this transition came down from the executive level of the state legislature. Prior to this decision, the executives had gained knowledge about evidence-based practices, been persuaded to use them, and decided to implement them. After these processes, the change was directed to the agencies and then the PWRC. The process to determine how to achieve buy-in from line staff and create lasting change on the ground level took considerable time. The knowledge stage for the line staff of the organization came rather late in the change process timeline of the original executive-level decision-makers, who were already expecting implementation and results from the organization. This opened up the question of how to address this gap in adoption time by either speeding up the line-staff's processing or slowing the expectations of the higher-level executives. For the PWRC, middle executive leadership extended the time that lower staff had to move through the process by continually presenting levels of progress and explaining the longevity and difficulty in such a large-scale transformation. This middle executive leadership was informed and guided by the intra-departmental workgroup, with focus on ensuring the sustainability of this change.

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## **Lessons Learned on Diffusion in Community Corrections**

The adoption of evidence-based practices requires attention to the security-minded culture of a correctional agency. It does not mean that security is not important, but rather that both security and offender change need to be equally important. More important, given the 30-year history of a focus on punishment, correctional agencies have incorporated the security and enforcement models in all facets of their programming with offenders. It is these aspects that need attention if the movement to re-shift focus on offender change is to be successful. As shown by recent evidence, attention to the working alliance between correctional staff and offenders in an environment that supports offender change is an important component of successful implementation of evidence-based practices (Taxman & Ainsworth, forthcoming).


This case study has illustrated the techniques to bring about change in the organizational culture within a correctional agency to marry the security and offender change goals. Among the lessons from the efforts to diffuse evidence-based practices within correctional agencies are the following:

- *Leaders must work closely together on a renewed vision and the importance of the organizational goals.* Staff respond to the leadership of any agency. Leaders need to be

aware of the key components of the new innovation (evidence-based practices) and the process of change in order to support the efforts. Staff are sensitive to what is being asked of them, and therefore the leaders need to reinforce

- *Staff must be motivated through positive reinforcement as they go through a change process.* One effective diffusion technique is to acknowledge the staff throughout the process. Motivating the staff through acknowledgement reduces anxiety and reinforces that the staff are responding as expected. There is often a level of uncertainty when an innovation occurs. Resistance may come from peers and supervisors. It is therefore essential to support the innovation. Motivating staff through brief interactions of encouragement or providing affirmations builds their confidence while fostering positive relationships with administrators.
- *Consultants and change agents can be used effectively as neutral arbitrators.* The benefits of using external change agents/ consultants are numerous. Staff at all levels have a forum to express both positive and negative concerns about the innovation, without being worried about repercussions if they do not agree with the process. The “neutral” party then can provide feedback and foster agenda items to address these concerns. This process aids in creating an environment of open dialogue and sustainability once the change agent is no longer with the organization.
- *The organization should identify how and where the external consultant can be most effective to the change process.* Variations in use of an external consultant will arise based on the type of change being implemented, the organization implementing, and the level of involvement expected. Despite these differences, some general guidelines can be taken from this case study on how an external consultant can be used most effectively. First, the external consultant is foremost an expert resource on how effective practices are being implemented elsewhere. He or she should be used to provide the most up-to-date approaches to the issues that the organization is facing during the change process. Second, the consultant provides a point of view from outside of the constraints placed on the organization. Often actors within the organization are overwhelmed by the constraints they feel on a daily basis (e.g., fear of repercussions for raising issues). An external consultant can pose the difficult questions that internal agents cannot, therefore addressing problems arising within the social network not visible to more executive leadership.
- *At an early point staff should be educated on why the change is occurring.* A natural question for most people when implementing anything new is “what’s in it for me.” Agencies should take the time to address this basic survival need. In an environment focused on security, the safety of the facility, the individual, and the offender is paramount; therefore this is the most likely area to begin with. Interventions that address personnel desires such as less stress and a better work environment will also benefit the process. Without learning and addressing these norms of the agency, staff find it difficult to perceive the relative advantage of the innovation for them, thereby hindering diffusion of the innovation.
- *Change is a process, not an event, but needs a victory lane.* When implementing any type of innovation, often there are unrealistic expectations that change will occur because it has been directed to happen. However, if there is no level of commitment, then the innovation will not be sustained. Implementing a process of inclusion and creating an environment of open communication will help decrease resistance and provide support for the innovation. Time must be allowed for staff to learn about the change and come to an acceptance without simply doing what they are told.

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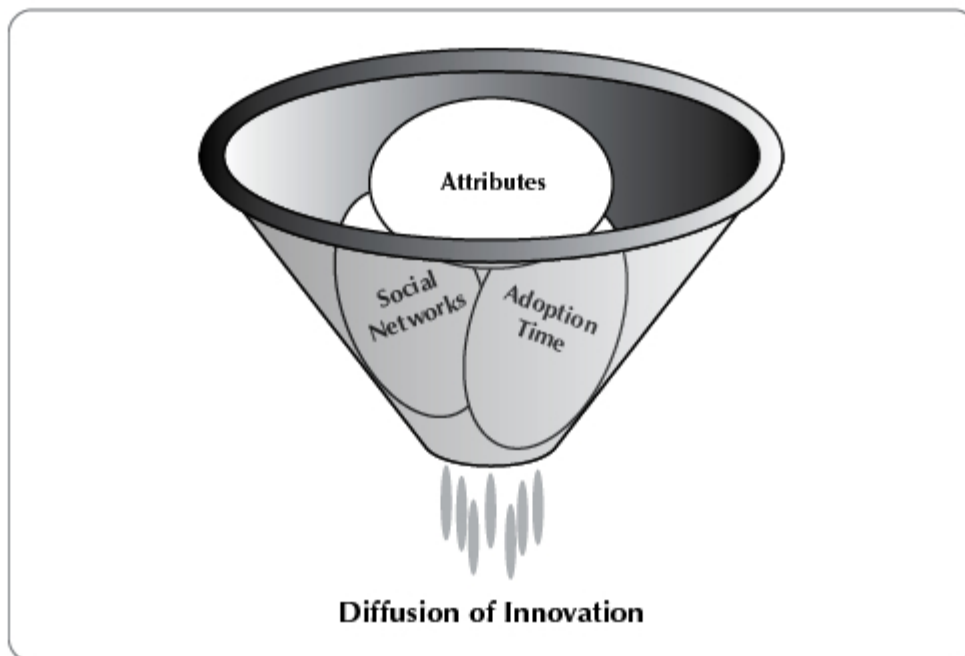
## "Town Hall" Strategies for Organizational Change

### Figures

[Figure 1](#)

### Figure 1.

**FIGURE 1:**  
*Concepts of Diffusion (based on Rogers (2003) model)*



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## Federal Criminal Filings and Postconviction Supervision

*James A. Woods*

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[Data and Methodology](#)

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**THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY'S** request to Congress for resources for postconviction supervision of offenders is based on forecasts generated by the Statistics Division of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts (AO). These forecasts, in turn, are aided by an understanding of the population dynamics of those under postconviction supervision.<sup>1</sup> Because criminal defendants convicted in federal courts constitute the population in postconviction supervision, a straightforward causal model implies that increases or decreases in criminal defendants sentenced to federal prison will produce, with a suitable lag, corresponding changes in the numbers of persons entering the system. In reality, this relationship is more complicated, being affected by factors that, from 1997 to 1999, resulted in a widening convicted-to-received for supervision gap, a separation that has persisted to the present.

This paper examines the relationship between the number of persons sentenced to federal prison and the number received into postconviction supervision. In this study, we hope to explain past deviations from a simple causal model of the defendant-to-supervised-release process and, by gaining a better understanding, improve the AO's annual forecast of individuals under supervised release.

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### Data and Methodology

The data for this study come from the U.S. federal district courts and are compiled and maintained by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts (AO). Each of the 94 district courts creates a criminal data file at the end of each month and sends it to the Statistics Division (SD) of the AO. Using this file, the AO updates the national criminal database. This analysis used 12-month fiscal year defendant data sets from 1987-2005.<sup>2</sup>

Data on postconviction supervision used in this study come from the Federal Probation Service Information System (FPSIS), which was maintained by SD.<sup>3</sup> Under this system, supervision data were collected by the probation office in each district. Every month each district probation office created an extract file containing 12 months of probation data. This analysis used 12-month fiscal year data sets from 1987-2005. The population studied consisted of persons convicted and sentenced in U.S. federal district courts,<sup>4</sup> excluding duplicates and transfers,<sup>5</sup> and those receiving a sentence of life, death, or other.<sup>6</sup>

To analyze the movement of these two time series, this paper focuses on offense types associated with relatively large proportions of both convictions and persons received into the postconviction supervision system. These offenses include drug crimes, embezzlement, firearms, forgery and counterfeiting, fraud, immigration, larceny and theft, robbery, and traffic offenses. Each year from 1987-2005, these offenses accounted on average for 61 percent of those sentenced to prison and 83 percent of persons received into the postconviction supervision system.

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## **The Sentencing Reform Act**

The Sentencing Reform Act (SRA) of 1984 was part of the broader Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984.<sup>7</sup> The SRA abolished indeterminate sentencing and replaced it with a system of determinate sentences without the possibility of parole.<sup>8</sup> Through this act, Congress established the United States Sentencing Commission and charged it with setting a narrow sentencing range for each federal crime. If a sentence handed down by a judge fell outside these guidelines, the judge was required to give reasons for that departure in writing. This encouraged more uniform sentences and eliminated wide variations in sentences for similar offenders who committed similar crimes.<sup>9</sup> The law was challenged, but the Supreme Court declared the guidelines constitutional.<sup>10</sup> Only defendants charged with crimes committed on or after November 1, 1987, were subject to this law, and for several years offenders convicted of crimes committed before this date were sentenced under the previous system.<sup>11</sup> By 1994, nearly all defendants convicted in federal court were sentenced under the new system.<sup>12</sup>

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## **Analysis**

[Figure 1](#) presents defendants sentenced to prison and persons received into postconviction supervision from 1987 through 2005. This figure shows that the two series generally track each other. However, an interesting trend evident in [Figure 1](#) is the increasing size of the gap between the two series—that is, the number of criminal defendants sentenced to prison grew at a faster rate over the period than did the number of persons received into postconviction supervision. Three factors discussed below account for this widening gap: 1) the hiring freeze imposed by the Department of Justice in the early 1990s, 2) the federal sentencing guidelines that took effect in 1987, and 3) the increase in persons charged with and sentenced to prison for immigration offenses since 1994, who never enter post-conviction supervision because they were deported when released from prison.

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## **Hiring Freeze**

From 1993 to 1995, the Department of Justice imposed a hiring freeze that affected assistant U.S. Attorney positions (AUSA), as well as other law enforcement positions in the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), Customs, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).<sup>13</sup> This freeze led to fewer prosecutions and,

ultimately, to fewer offenders being sentenced to prison.<sup>14</sup> The decrease occurred in the number of defendants sentenced to prison for all of the offenses examined in this paper except those involving immigration, fraud, and traffic offenses. Overall, defendants sentenced to prison fell by 4,940 offenders (down 9.8 percent).

As depicted in [Figure 1](#), the number of persons received into postconviction supervision generally tracks the series for those sentenced to prison with a delay of about two years. Data for 1996 through 1998 show the only deviation from this pattern.<sup>15</sup> During that period, the number of persons sentenced to prison increased 15 percent, but the number of persons entering postconviction supervision dropped 5 percent. This difference can be accounted for by noting that the median prison sentence for persons sentenced to prison in any year is about three years. Therefore, half of those offenders sentenced to prison will enter postconviction supervision by the third year after sentencing. During the three-year period from 1993 through 1995, the number of offenders sentenced to prison fell because of the hiring freeze for AUSAs and law enforcement personnel,<sup>16</sup> a reduction that corresponds with the decline in the number of persons released from prison into postconviction supervision from 1996 through 1998.<sup>17</sup>

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## Sentencing Guidelines

Under the influence of the guidelines, the yearly averages for sentence length in the early 1990s (69.9 months in 1991, 65.6 in 1992, 63.0 in 1993, 64.1 in 1994, and 66.4 in 1995), were longer, which meant that the dates on which offenders were released into terms of supervised release were pushed farther into the future.<sup>18</sup> Lengthier sentences, particularly for those convicted of offenses involving drugs, firearms, and robbery, delayed the release of these offenders into postconviction supervision, thereby causing the received time series to be flat for several years. During that time, numbers of convicted persons sentenced to prison continued rising. Because one series (offenders sentenced to prison) was growing while the other (received into PSC) remained essentially stable, the distance between the two series increased. When those who had received longer prison sentences in the early 90s completed their respective periods of incarceration, the numbers of persons received for postconviction supervision began to rise again and the gap between the two series stabilized.

Over the entire period, the average growth per year in defendants sentenced is slightly more than twice as great as that for persons received (up 1,748 and 790, respectively). However, after 1998, the numbers for both series are virtually the same (average defendants sentenced = 2,153 per year, average persons received = 2,003 per year). Thus, by 1998, the two-year deviation beginning in 1996 had ended, and both series behaved similarly from 1998 through 2005, albeit with a substantially larger gap between them.

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## Immigration Offenses

The number of persons sentenced to prison for immigration offenses increased over 1,800 percent from 1987 to 2005, rising from 791 to 15,068. Increases in this category occurred in every year during the period except 1992 (down 139 cases) and 2001 (down 1,073 cases). [Figure 2](#) illustrates this trend and shows the acceleration. From 1994 to 1998, defendants convicted of immigration offenses rose 223 percent from 2,215 to 7,148. That trend continued after 1998. In 2005, 15,068 immigration defendants were convicted and sentenced to prison, an increase of 111 percent since 1998 and 580 percent since 1994.

For any other crime, particularly one with a very short prison sentence,<sup>19</sup> such growth would have produced, after a two-year lag, an influx into postconviction supervision. But immigration is unlike any other offense category. During the period under discussion, the number of persons received into postconviction supervision for immigration offenses was flat; with the average

increase only 69 per year from 1987 through 2005, and 170 per year from 1994 through 2005. Examining only the data for persons convicted of illegal entry and re-entry reveals a similar pattern.

The offenders in these categories are mostly illegal aliens who, when they are released from prison, are deported rather than placed under supervision. Therefore, while the number of offenders entering prison for immigration offenses was increasing, and was skyrocketing for the crimes of illegal entry and illegal re-entry, the number of persons received into postconviction supervision for these offenses was very low. This accounts for the steeper increase in the time series for those sentenced to prison as compared to the series for those received for supervision.<sup>20</sup>

The ratio of immigration offenders sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation is 13.8, meaning that on average between 1990 and 2005, almost 14 times more offenders were sentenced to prison than sentenced to probation.<sup>21</sup> The ratio of those sentenced to prison to those received into the probation system is 4.9.

Beginning in the Clinton administration and continuing into the Bush administration, the federal government directed significant resources to the Southwest border districts<sup>22</sup> to attack the problem of illegal immigration. The first of these initiatives were Operation Gatekeeper in San Diego, California, and Operation Hold the Line, in El Paso, Texas, both implemented in 1994. These original initiatives were followed by Operation Rio Grande in McAllen, Texas, and Operation Safeguard in Tucson, Arizona.<sup>23</sup> The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996<sup>24</sup> authorized a staffing increase of 5,000 positions in the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, two-thirds of them in the Border Patrol.

One consequence of these policies was an increase in the number of immigration cases filed in the federal district courts in the Southwest border districts.<sup>25</sup> In 1995, the number of defendants charged with violating immigration laws in the Southwest border districts was 1,292. In 2005, that number was 13,080, a 912 percent increase.<sup>26</sup> Nationally (see Appendix [Table 6](#)), immigration offenders sentenced to prison jumped 375 percent (from 3,169 to 15,068) from 1995 to 2005.

The number of offenders sentenced to prison began to show marked growth around the mid-1990s, just when the increasingly rigorous government initiatives began. The ratio of those sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation began a dramatic increase from 7.17 in 1994 to a high of 30.25 in 2004; i.e., in 1994, there were 7.17 times as many offenders sentenced to prison than sentenced directly to probation, but by 2004, that had increased to 30.25 times as many. During this time, the impact of the policy of deportation rather than postconviction supervision can be seen in the ratio of those sentenced to prison to those received into postconviction supervision. This ratio increased from 3.14 in 1994 to a high of 8.01 in 1998, then fell to 5.84 in 2005.

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## **Other Offenses**

Shorter sentences have a more immediate impact on the postconviction supervision series, as entry occurs only a year or two into the future. An offender who serves a relatively short prison sentence is admitted into the probation system fairly soon after conviction. The crimes with relatively shorter sentences are larceny (see Appendix [Table 1](#)), embezzlement (see Appendix [Table 2](#)), forgery (see Appendix [Table 3](#)), fraud (see Appendix [Table 4](#)), and traffic offenses (see Appendix [Table 5](#)). Each of these offenses has an average sentence length of about two years or less. Each has a lower persons sentenced to prison/persons sentenced to probation ratio than do offenses with longer average sentences. The number of persons sentenced for each of these offenses generally remained fairly stable over the period. Fraud is the single exception, as the number of fraud offenders sentenced to prison more than doubled from 2,376 in 1987 to

5,336 in 2005, an average increase of 164 individuals per year. The number of persons received into the probation system for each of these offenses generally has shown a modest decline, with fraud the exception. The number of individuals received into postconviction supervision for fraud increased from 6,367 in 1987 to 8,123 in 2005, an average increase of 98 per year.

In contrast to the above-mentioned offenses, the following three crimes fall into the longer-sentence group: drug offenses (see Appendix [Table 7](#)), firearms offenses (see Appendix [Table 8](#)), and robbery (see Appendix [Table 9](#)). Each of these crimes had an average length of sentence during the study period of more than six years. These offenses also have the highest ratio of defendants sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation and the highest average ratio of those sentenced to prison to those received into probation.

For drug offenses, the average sentence for the period was 80.6 months. For the last year in the study, 2005, that average was 85.7 months. Convictions for drug offenses thus took nearly seven years on average to affect the time series for entry into postconviction supervision. For drug offenses, the ratio of those sentenced to prison to those entering postconviction supervision was 1.18. The ratio of those sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation was 9.53, indicating that most people found guilty of this offense served time in prison.

Firearms offenses also generally produced longer prison sentences. The average length of a prison term from 1987 through 2005 for firearms offenders was 79 months. Those sentenced to prison for firearms offenses began to increase beginning in 1998 (see Appendix [Table 8](#)). From 1987 to 1998, this number jumped 208 percent. From 1998 to 2005, the number rose 174 percent. The overall increase from 1990 to 2005 was 374 percent, most of which came after 1999. The growth in actual cases from 1987 to 1999 was 2,153 defendants, and from 1999 to 2005 was 4,884 defendants. The time series for those received into the probation system tracks this growth steadily with an increase of 194 percent from 1999 to 2005.

For firearms crimes, the average ratio of persons sentenced to prison to persons sentenced directly to probation with no prison time over the period 1987 through 2005 was 8.6. Thus, nine times as many offenders were sentenced to prison terms as were sentenced to probation only.

The average sentence for robbery from 1987 through 2005 was 103 months, the highest for any offense examined in this paper. The number of persons sentenced to prison for robbery began to decline in 1994. Appendix [Table 9](#) depicts this drop, a subsequent rise, a longerterm leveling off, and a slight downturn in the 2000s. The number of persons sentenced to prison for robbery, on average, increased by 19 persons per year from 1987 through the end of the period. During that period, persons received into postconviction supervision who had been convicted of robbery offenses increased steadily. A spike occurred in 2004 due to the duplicate BOP cases, but over the period the average yearly increase was 49 individuals.

For robbery, the ratio of persons sentenced to prison to persons sentenced directly to probation was 37 from 1987 through 2005, indicating that on average, 37 times as many robbery offenders were sentenced to prison terms as were sentenced directly to probation. Thus, only rarely is someone convicted of robbery sentenced to probation rather than to prison and then to supervised release.

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## **Growth of the Gap**

[Figure 3](#) compares the numbers of short-sentence offenders (excluding those convicted of immigration crimes) sentenced to prison and received into postconviction supervision from 1990 through 2005. Both of these series are well-behaved and move almost as one throughout the entire period.

[Figure 4](#) compares those sentenced to prison and received into postconviction supervision for the three long-sentence offenses of drugs, firearms, and robbery. These two series also generally

follow each other closely.

The impact of the sentencing guidelines was felt on postconviction supervision around 1998, at which time the gap between these two series became considerably wider, but at this point the series were moving together, increasing at almost the same rate per year.

[Figure 5](#) adds the immigration numbers to the long-sentence offenses. This causes data for both series to move upward, but shows that offenders sentenced to prison grew at a faster rate than did those received into probation. The number of immigration crime offenders sentenced to prison clearly accounted for the distance between the two series. Since the initial federal crackdown on immigration through Operations Gatekeeper and Hold the Line in 1994,<sup>27</sup> the number of immigration offenders caught and sentenced to prison steadily increased, but the number of immigration offenders received into probation has not grown at the same rate, reflecting the government's policy of deporting these offenders rather than putting them into post-conviction supervision.

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## Discussion

This paper examines the relationship of the number of persons sentenced to prison and those received into postconviction supervision between 1987 and 2005. The study shows that the two time series move in the same direction, except for a two-year period, 1997 through 1998, yet exhibit an increasing divergence for several years after 1998. Although the gap between the two series stabilized after 2000, it has remained large. The anomalous two-year period which opened the gap reflects the hiring freeze affecting assistant U.S. attorneys and other federal law enforcement positions within the FBI, the DEA, Customs, and the INS from 1993 to 1995.

Two factors are examined here: 1) implementation of the federal sentencing guidelines and determinate sentencing for offenses committed after November 1, 1987, and 2) policies initiated in 1994 to curb the entry of illegal aliens into the United States along its South-western border. Both of these factors played a role in the widening gap between the numbers of persons sentenced to prison and the numbers received into PCS.

For persons convicted of the shorter-sentence offenses involving larceny, embezzlement, and traffic, the number received into postconviction supervision declined over the period studied, whereas the number sentenced to prison remained stable. Fraud offenders showed upward trends for both series beginning well before 1994 and continuing until 2003 for the number sentenced and 2004 for persons received into PCS.

Those received into postconviction supervision after serving terms in prison for immigration offenses declined from 1996 to 1998, going from 988 to 892. However, immigration offenders sentenced to prison increased from 1993 to 1995, going from 1,957 to 3,169. Thus, immigration convictions, which produced an average sentence of slightly over two years, played a part in the divergence of the two series between 1996 and 1998. For non-immigration offenses, persons who went to prison in 1993 (or 1994 or 1995), would on average be received into the probation system in 1996 (or 1997 or 1998). However, most immigration offenses are committed by illegal aliens who never enter the probation system, but are deported after they serve prison sentences.<sup>28</sup> Their effect on the probation series was downward—that is, the series did not experience the influx of approximately 1,200 to 2,000 new individuals who had been imprisoned.

The ratio of those sentenced to prison to those sentenced to probation for immigration is similar for longer-sentence offenses. Immigration is the only short-sentence offense for which virtually everyone convicted receives a prison sentence rather than probation. The number of immigration offenders sentenced to prison is almost 14 times greater than those sentenced directly to probation.

The longer-sentence offenders convicted in federal courts of crimes involving drugs, firearms, and robbery had average sentences over the period ranging from about 80 months to 100 months and served an average prison term of 8 to 10 years before they were released into PCS. By 1998, when these long-sentence offenders started to be released into postconviction supervision, the numbers begin to assume the same slope as the count of those sentenced to prison. The initial divergence between the two series (sentenced to prison and received for supervision), which began in 1996 as a result of the preceding DOJ hiring freeze, was perpetuated and enlarged by this influx of longer-sentence offenders.

The two offenses responsible for the greatest percentage increase over the period involve immigration and firearms. As the federal offense category with the greatest number of offenders, almost all of whom serve long prison sentences, drug offenses had a profound effect on both the persons sentenced to prison time series and the number received into postconviction supervision time series. The numbers for drug and firearms crimes resumed their long-term growth in 1999. This, coupled with the continued increase in immigration cases, has driven up the number of persons sentenced to prison and the lengths of their sentences, as well as the number received into PCS. As the number of drug and firearms convictions increased, the postconviction supervision series recovered from the slight drop it showed from 1996 through 1998. As the number of immigration offenders sentenced to prison and then deported increased, the gap between the two series grew.<sup>29</sup>

Congress passes laws that affect the numbers of persons arrested for different offenses and the lengths of prison sentences. Executive branch agencies develop programs to implement these laws. Some of these policies affect prison populations, but may not impact post-conviction supervision. Decisions regarding the level of assistant U.S. attorney staffing, as well as personnel levels for the border patrol, customs, FBI, DEA, and other police-type entities, affect the numbers of persons eventually prosecuted and sent to prison, and, later, the number entering postconviction supervision or deported. National priorities, such as initiatives to close the Southwest border to illegal entry, also affect the relationship between the number sentenced to prison and the number received for supervision. All these factors must be taken into account when projecting the numbers of those brought under the supervision of the federal probation system. One defendant found guilty at trial reveals little of when—or if—he will enter postconviction supervision.

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## [Endnotes](#)

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## Federal Criminal Filings and Postconviction Supervision

### Figures

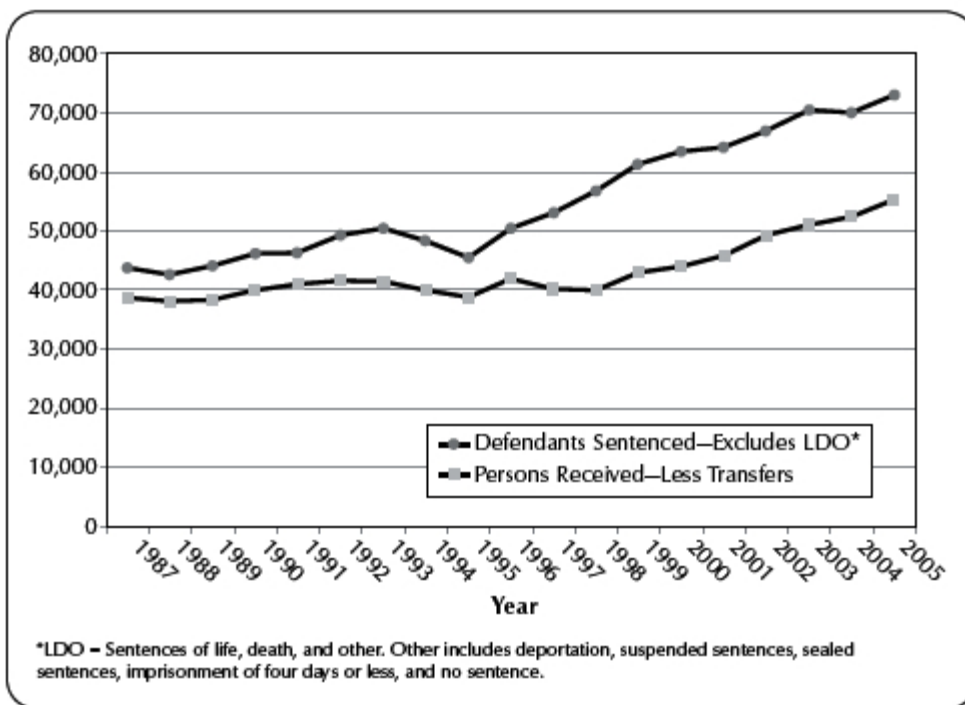
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[Figure 5](#)

### Figure 1.

**FIGURE 1.**  
*Trends in Criminal Defendants Sentenced and Persons Received into Postconviction Supervision, All Offenses, 1987-2005*

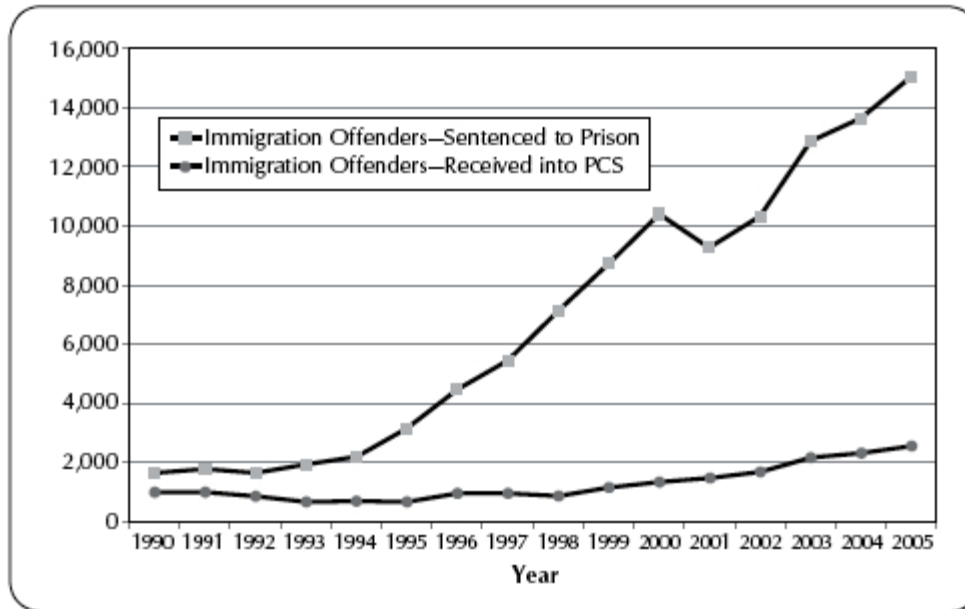




## Figure 2.

**FIGURE 2.**

*Immigration Offenders Sentenced to Prison and Received into the PCS System, 1990-2005*

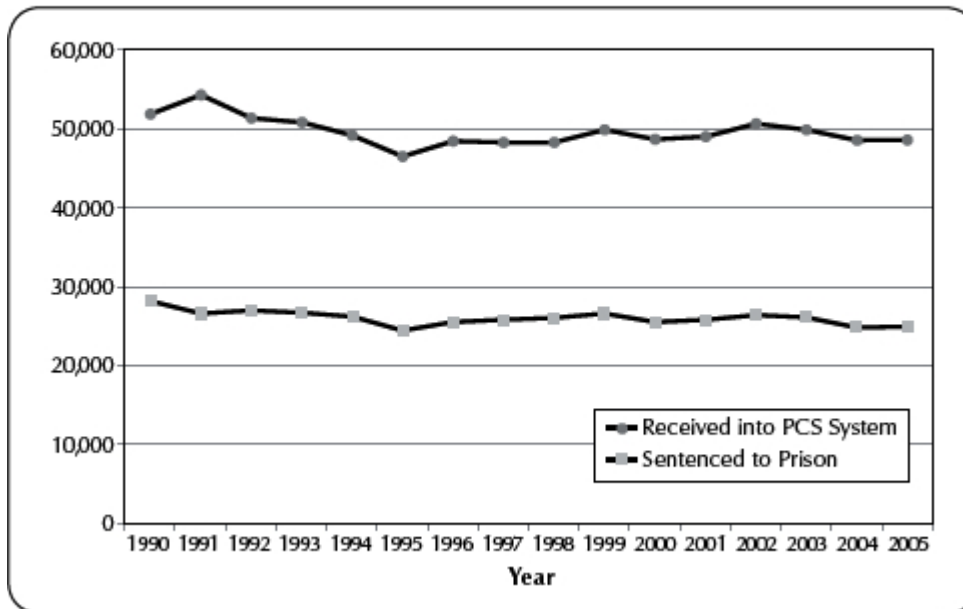


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## Figure 3.

**FIGURE 3.**

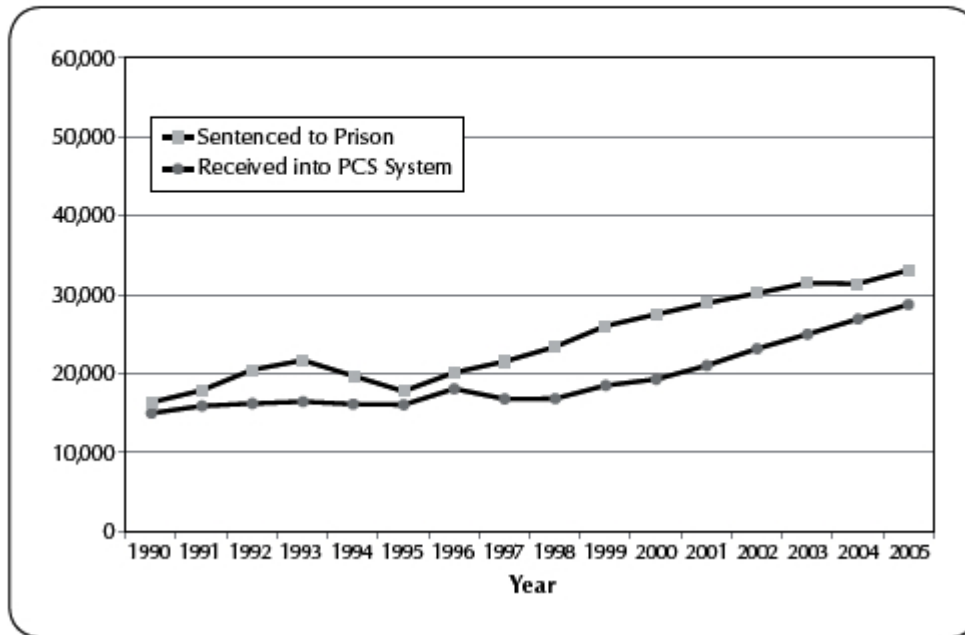
*Persons Sentenced to Prison and Received into the PCS System, Except for Immigration, Drug, Firearms, and Robbery Offenses, 1990-2005*



## Figure 4.

**FIGURE 4.**

*Drug, Firearms, and Robbery Offenders Sentenced to Prison and Received into PCS System, 1990-2005*

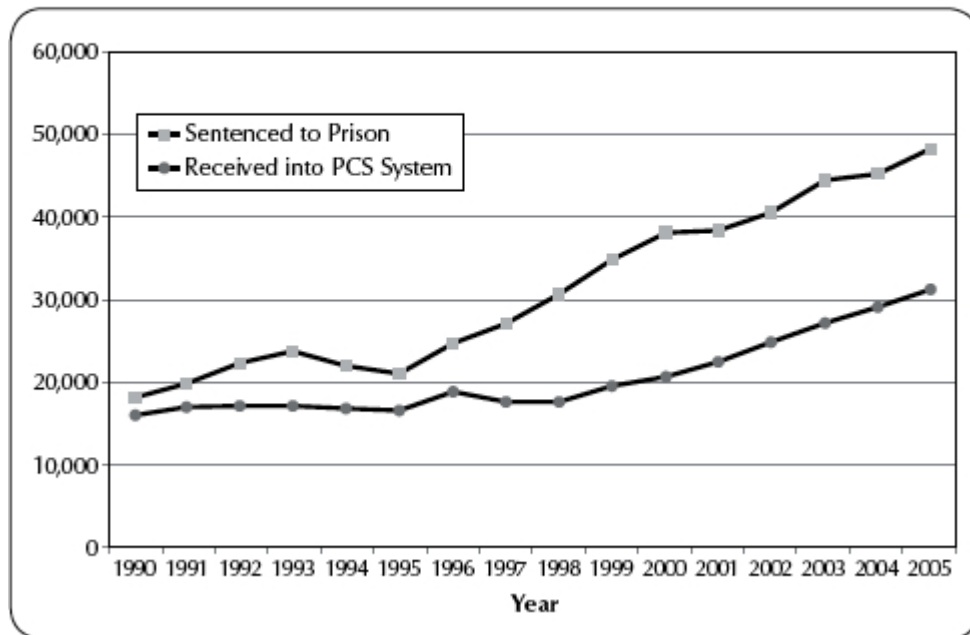



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## Figure 5.

**FIGURE 5.**

*Drug, Firearms, Robbery, and Immigration Offenders Sentenced to Prison and Received into PCS System, 1990-2005*





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**Table 1.**

*Larceny, 1987–2005*

FY	Prison <sup>1</sup>	Average <sup>2</sup>	Probation <sup>3</sup>	Received <sup>4</sup>	Prison/Probation <sup>5</sup>	Prison/Received <sup>6</sup>
1987	965	44.5	1,604	3,225	0.60	0.30
1988	804	42.2	1,701	3,008	0.47	0.27
1989	889	28.7	1,812	3,079	0.49	0.29
1990	961	24.1	1,571	3,104	0.61	0.31
1991	1,111	24.8	1,578	3,102	0.70	0.36
1992	1,037	22.8	1,834	3,356	0.57	0.31
1993	1,117	25.0	1,669	3,148	0.67	0.35
1994	1,065	25.3	1,694	3,040	0.63	0.35
1995	976	24.5	1,535	2,825	0.64	0.35
1996	1,058	24.4	1,608	2,795	0.66	0.38
1997	1,089	25.4	1,560	2,594	0.70	0.42
1998	1,063	28.1	1,573	2,626	0.68	0.40
1999	1,015	25.1	1,570	2,599	0.65	0.39
2000	1,050	25.8	1,485	2,516	0.71	0.42
2001	1,072	26.3	1,313	2,396	0.82	0.45
2002	945	27.4	1,380	2,395	0.68	0.39
2003	976	29.8	1,233	2,329	0.79	0.42
2004	906	27.2	1,236	2,370	0.73	0.38
2005	639	22.1	1,038	2,154	0.62	0.30

<sup>1</sup> Defendants sentenced to prison (excludes sentences of life, death, & other)

<sup>2</sup> Average sentence, in months

<sup>3</sup> Defendants sentenced directly to probation

<sup>4</sup> Persons received into probation system

<sup>5</sup> Ratio of those sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation

<sup>6</sup> Ratio of persons sentenced to prison to those received into probation system

**Table 2.*****Embezzlement, 1987–2005***

FY	Prison <sup>1</sup>	Average <sup>2</sup>	Probation <sup>3</sup>	Received <sup>4</sup>	Prison/Probation <sup>5</sup>	Prison/Received <sup>6</sup>
1987	274	35.2	1,413	2,398	0.19	0.11
1988	266	35.7	1,341	2,147	0.20	0.12
1989	306	26.7	1,276	2,082	0.24	0.15
1990	381	19.2	1,256	2,085	0.30	0.18
1991	567	20.0	1,227	2,052	0.46	0.28
1992	704	15.6	998	1,973	0.71	0.36
1993	659	16.1	846	1,853	0.78	0.36
1994	576	17.3	776	1,739	0.74	0.33
1995	535	15.3	575	1,544	0.93	0.35
1996	514	16.3	527	1,379	0.98	0.37
1997	517	14.4	469	1,283	1.10	0.40
1998	513	16.1	503	1,284	1.02	0.40
1999	489	14.2	563	1,353	0.87	0.36
2000	520	14.7	492	1,256	1.06	0.41
2001	468	15.3	434	1,131	1.08	0.41
2002	392	13.1	420	1,185	0.93	0.33
2003	395	16.9	441	1,048	0.90	0.38
2004	306	15.5	393	982	0.78	0.31
2005	271	16.7	331	766	0.82	0.35

<sup>1</sup> Defendants sentenced to prison (excludes sentences of life, death, & other)

<sup>2</sup> Average sentence, in months

<sup>3</sup> Defendants sentenced directly to probation

<sup>4</sup> Persons received into probation system

<sup>5</sup> Ratio of those sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation

<sup>6</sup> Ratio of persons sentenced to prison to those received into probation system

**Table 3.***Forgery, 1987–2005*

FY	Prison <sup>1</sup>	Average <sup>2</sup>	Probation <sup>3</sup>	Received <sup>4</sup>	Prison/Probation <sup>5</sup>	Prison/Received <sup>6</sup>
1987	795	40.7	1,058	2,322	0.75	0.34
1988	631	40.3	910	1,921	0.69	0.33
1989	639	26.8	728	1,681	0.88	0.38
1990	709	18.1	729	1,762	0.97	0.40
1991	681	23.2	591	1,521	1.15	0.45
1992	642	18.2	613	1,435	1.05	0.45
1993	585	24.4	553	1,260	1.06	0.46
1994	624	17.6	565	1,166	1.10	0.54
1995	540	19.3	471	1,089	1.15	0.50
1996	626	17.2	443	1,055	1.41	0.59
1997	666	19.4	500	967	1.33	0.69
1998	807	20.0	562	1,198	1.44	0.67
1999	807	18.8	549	1,325	1.47	0.61
2000	730	20.2	509	1,264	1.43	0.58
2001	740	20.3	474	1,224	1.56	0.60
2002	819	20.8	522	1,360	1.57	0.60
2003	716	22.3	370	1,291	1.94	0.55
2004	660	24.4	361	1,399	1.83	0.47
2005	606	25.3	317	1,143	1.91	0.53

<sup>1</sup> Defendants sentenced to prison (excludes sentences of life, death, & other)

<sup>2</sup> Average sentence, in months

<sup>3</sup> Defendants sentenced directly to probation

<sup>4</sup> Persons received into probation system

<sup>5</sup> Ratio of those sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation

<sup>6</sup> Ratio of persons sentenced to prison to those received into probation system

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**Table 4.*****Fraud, 1987–2005***

FY	Prison <sup>1</sup>	Average <sup>2</sup>	Probation <sup>3</sup>	Received <sup>4</sup>	Prison/Probation <sup>5</sup>	Prison/Received <sup>6</sup>
1987	2,376	42.8	3,717	6,367	0.64	0.37
1988	2,359	38.8	3,993	6,245	0.59	0.38
1989	2,544	38.6	3,805	6,159	0.67	0.41
1990	2,976	29.5	3,857	6,431	0.77	0.46
1991	3,494	28.3	3,759	6,589	0.93	0.53
1992	3,852	20.5	3,611	6,802	1.07	0.57
1993	4,141	21.1	3,794	7,423	1.09	0.56
1994	4,163	19.9	3,659	7,267	1.14	0.57
1995	4,347	27.5	3,568	7,104	1.22	0.61
1996	4,770	20.9	3,667	7,660	1.30	0.62
1997	5,242	20.8	4,010	7,375	1.31	0.71
1998	5,121	21.3	3,642	7,044	1.41	0.73
1999	5,289	22.4	3,625	7,617	1.46	0.69
2000	5,447	22.5	3,347	7,577	1.63	0.72
2001	5,778	23.2	3,054	7,555	1.89	0.76
2002	5,772	23.5	3,345	8,053	1.73	0.72
2003	5,927	25.2	3,289	7,953	1.80	0.75
2004	5,634	26.0	3,106	8,494	1.81	0.66
2005	5,336	25.9	2,937	8,123	1.82	0.66

<sup>1</sup> Defendants sentenced to prison (excludes sentences of life, death, & other)

<sup>2</sup> Average sentence, in months

<sup>3</sup> Defendants sentenced directly to probation

<sup>4</sup> Persons received into probation system

<sup>5</sup> Ratio of those sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation

<sup>6</sup> Ratio of persons sentenced to prison to those received into probation system

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**Table 5.***Traffic, 1987–2005*

FY	Prison <sup>1</sup>	Average <sup>2</sup>	Probation <sup>3</sup>	Received <sup>4</sup>	Prison/Probation <sup>5</sup>	Prison/Received <sup>6</sup>
1987	125	5.2	1,924	2,807	0.06	0.04
1988	127	8.6	1,774	2,709	0.07	0.05
1989	110	5.1	1,780	2,876	0.06	0.04
1990	115	4.7	1,657	3,414	0.07	0.03
1991	242	5.5	1,662	3,326	0.15	0.07
1992	246	31.8	1,331	3,361	0.18	0.07
1993	172	6.5	1,172	3,092	0.15	0.06
1994	189	6.4	1,069	2,818	0.18	0.07
1995	253	14.4	948	2,599	0.27	0.10
1996	263	9.1	917	2,849	0.29	0.09
1997	223	10.1	947	2,654	0.24	0.08
1998	199	8.1	1,000	2,588	0.20	0.08
1999	202	11.5	1,068	2,389	0.19	0.08
2000	163	10.1	1,008	2,268	0.16	0.07
2001	185	10.6	1,015	2,196	0.18	0.08
2002	171	9.1	1,052	2,192	0.16	0.08
2003	153	10.0	1,075	2,131	0.14	0.07
2004	140	7.3	1,038	2,405	0.13	0.06
2005	138	7.5	866	2,143	0.16	0.06

<sup>1</sup> Defendants sentenced to prison (excludes sentences of life, death, & other)

<sup>2</sup> Average sentence, in months

<sup>3</sup> Defendants sentenced directly to probation

<sup>4</sup> Persons received into probation system

<sup>5</sup> Ratio of those sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation

<sup>6</sup> Ratio of persons sentenced to prison to those received into probation system

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**Table 6.***Immigration, 1987–2005*

FY	Prison <sup>1</sup>	Average <sup>2</sup>	Probation <sup>3</sup>	Received <sup>4</sup>	Prison/Probation <sup>5</sup>	Prison/Received <sup>6</sup>
1987	791	20.2	756	1,418	1.05	0.56
1988	936	15.7	637	1,037	1.47	0.90
1989	1,289	11.1	551	1,054	2.34	1.22
1990	1,663	9.3	609	1,013	2.73	1.64
1991	1,813	20.2	511	1,026	3.55	1.77
1992	1,674	16.1	459	883	3.65	1.90
1993	1,957	17.6	349	693	5.61	2.82
1994	2,215	21.5	309	705	7.17	3.14
1995	3,169	21.6	305	697	10.39	4.55
1996	4,477	22.1	572	988	7.83	4.53
1997	5,472	22.4	398	972	13.75	5.63
1998	7,148	25.6	401	892	17.83	8.01
1999	8,750	29.8	548	1,177	15.97	7.43
2000	10,419	28.9	555	1,365	18.77	7.63
2001	9,346	28.7	539	1,501	17.34	6.23
2002	10,346	27.1	429	1,709	24.12	6.05
2003	12,891	26.1	566	2,189	22.78	5.89
2004	13,673	26.4	452	2,338	30.25	5.85
2005	15,068	25.7	789	2,579	19.10	5.84

<sup>1</sup> Defendants sentenced to prison (excludes sentences of life, death, & other)

<sup>2</sup> Average sentence, in months

<sup>3</sup> Defendants sentenced directly to probation

<sup>4</sup> Persons received into probation system

<sup>5</sup> Ratio of those sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation

<sup>6</sup> Ratio of persons sentenced to prison to those received into probation system

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**Table 7.***Drugs, 1987–2005*

FY	Prison <sup>1</sup>	Average <sup>2</sup>	Probation <sup>3</sup>	Received <sup>4</sup>	Prison/Probation <sup>5</sup>	Prison/Received <sup>6</sup>
1987	8,188	73.0	2,680	10,522	3.06	0.78
1988	8,560	78.0	3,042	11,488	2.81	0.75
1989	10,838	73.8	2,358	11,678	4.60	0.93
1990	13,462	79.3	2,135	12,100	6.31	1.11
1991	14,286	95.7	1,904	12,507	7.50	1.14
1992	15,775	87.8	2,016	12,534	7.82	1.26
1993	16,639	83.2	1,954	12,811	8.52	1.30
1994	15,130	84.3	1,917	12,675	7.89	1.19
1995	13,734	88.7	1,635	12,564	8.40	1.09
1996	16,115	82.5	1,577	14,201	10.22	1.13
1997	17,456	79.3	1,559	13,209	11.20	1.32
1998	19,062	78.0	1,675	13,189	11.38	1.45
1999	21,513	74.6	1,760	14,661	12.22	1.47
2000	22,207	75.7	1,629	15,061	13.63	1.47
2001	23,127	73.8	1,749	16,485	13.22	1.40
2002	23,838	75.9	2,001	18,070	11.91	1.32
2003	23,937	80.2	1,844	18,844	12.98	1.27
2004	22,984	82.5	1,707	23,384	13.46	0.98
2005	23,831	85.7	1,709	20,833	13.94	1.14

<sup>1</sup> Defendants sentenced to prison (excludes sentences of life, death, & other)

<sup>2</sup> Average sentence, in months

<sup>3</sup> Defendants sentenced directly to probation

<sup>4</sup> Persons received into probation system

<sup>5</sup> Ratio of those sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation

<sup>6</sup> Ratio of persons sentenced to prison to those received into probation system

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**Table 8.*****Firearms, 1987–2005***

FY	Prison <sup>1</sup>	Average <sup>2</sup>	Probation <sup>3</sup>	Received <sup>4</sup>	Prison/Probation <sup>5</sup>	Prison/Received <sup>6</sup>
1987	8,188	73.0	2,680	10,522	3.06	0.78
1988	8,560	78.0	3,042	11,488	2.81	0.75
1989	10,838	73.8	2,358	11,678	4.60	0.93
1990	13,462	79.3	2,135	12,100	6.31	1.11
1991	14,286	95.7	1,904	12,507	7.50	1.14
1992	15,775	87.8	2,016	12,534	7.82	1.26
1993	16,639	83.2	1,954	12,811	8.52	1.30
1994	15,130	84.3	1,917	12,675	7.89	1.19
1995	13,734	88.7	1,635	12,564	8.40	1.09
1996	16,115	82.5	1,577	14,201	10.22	1.13
1997	17,456	79.3	1,559	13,209	11.20	1.32
1998	19,062	78.0	1,675	13,189	11.38	1.45
1999	21,513	74.6	1,760	14,661	12.22	1.47
2000	22,207	75.7	1,629	15,061	13.63	1.47
2001	23,127	73.8	1,749	16,485	13.22	1.40
2002	23,838	75.9	2,001	18,070	11.91	1.32
2003	23,937	80.2	1,844	18,844	12.98	1.27
2004	22,984	82.5	1,707	23,384	13.46	0.98
2005	23,831	85.7	1,709	20,833	13.94	1.14

<sup>1</sup> Defendants sentenced to prison (excludes sentences of life, death, & other)

<sup>2</sup> Average sentence, in months

<sup>3</sup> Defendants sentenced directly to probation

<sup>4</sup> Persons received into probation system

<sup>5</sup> Ratio of those sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation

<sup>6</sup> Ratio of persons sentenced to prison to those received into probation system

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**Table 9.*****Robbery, 1987–2005***

FY	Prison <sup>1</sup>	Average <sup>2</sup>	Probation <sup>3</sup>	Received <sup>4</sup>	Prison/Probation <sup>5</sup>	Prison/Received <sup>6</sup>
1987	944	157.8	56	1,360	16.86	0.69
1988	844	150.3	72	1,395	11.72	0.61
1989	970	110.7	39	1,402	24.87	0.69
1990	1,157	99.3	21	1,464	55.10	0.79
1991	1,313	117.6	17	1,658	77.24	0.79
1992	1,564	99.9	33	1,587	47.39	0.99
1993	1,716	95.9	36	1,640	47.67	1.05
1994	1,684	100.6	45	1,585	37.42	1.06
1995	1,194	94.7	77	1,638	15.51	0.73
1996	1,280	89.6	51	1,841	25.10	0.70
1997	1,459	82.3	37	1,786	39.43	0.82
1998	1,512	82.6	61	1,812	24.79	0.83
1999	1,434	86.3	44	1,933	32.59	0.74
2000	1,418	93.9	38	1,963	37.32	0.72
2001	1,451	99.7	50	1,983	29.02	0.73
2002	1,403	93.3	32	1,978	43.84	0.71
2003	1,368	106.0	40	2,182	34.20	0.63
2004	1,194	102.2	21	2,620	56.86	0.46
2005	1,282	97.3	24	2,249	53.42	0.57

<sup>1</sup> Defendants sentenced to prison (excludes sentences of life, death, & other)

<sup>2</sup> Average sentence, in months


<sup>3</sup> Defendants sentenced directly to probation

<sup>4</sup> Persons received into probation system

<sup>5</sup> Ratio of those sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation

<sup>6</sup> Ratio of persons sentenced to prison to those received into probation system

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## How Principles of High Reliability Organizations Relate to Corrections

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**HIGH RELIABILITY ORGANIZATIONS** are about the science of safety. Systems that are complex, with tightly coupled processes (such as air traffic control, nuclear reactors, wildfires, railroad freight, prison logistics) predict vulnerability for major system accidents.<sup>1</sup> Complexity is a function of the number of interactions in a given system as well as how veiled and difficult they are to understand. Tightness in the coupling is reflected in how fast cause and effect transpires through a system—systems with loose coupling have slack in one or more dimensions (time, space, distance). In the past couple of decades researchers<sup>2-6</sup> have found that agencies that operate according to certain principles, henceforth referred to as High Reliability Organizations (HROs), both prevent accidents and perform distinctly better during system accidents than other organizations.

What makes reviewing these HRO principles relevant to corrections is that they appear to apply across increasingly diverse settings<sup>7</sup> and most corrections systems arguably qualify as complex and tightly coupled settings. In addition, given the immediate intersection of trends in the field (e.g., downsizing<sup>8-12</sup>; EBP<sup>13-16</sup>; and widespread greater adaptation of business models<sup>17-19</sup>), any science or craft that presents methods for achieving greater reliability in corrections should hold some promise.

This brief review of HRO methodology will summarize some of the literature and provide an overview of the primary principles found to be guiding HROs today. It will then serve as a framework for looking at some of the particular current challenges corrections is facing, determining what, where, and how HRO strategies might be of some benefit or service to the field. Beyond the prominent issue of safety (whether in the courtroom, secure settings, or out in the community), there are also significant and growing concerns about the field's capacity to manage implementation,<sup>20-22</sup> complex processes,<sup>23-26</sup> and crisis<sup>27</sup> (not directly related to safety but to organizational and system integrity, i.e., downsizing, loss of mission, etc.).

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**HRO Research Summary**

In the 1980s, HRO studies began to emerge in organizational research. Since its infancy, HRO has drawn inspiration from Charles Perrow's groundbreaking work in 1984 on Normal Accident Theory (NAT),<sup>1</sup> which described complexity and tightly coupled technological systems as characterizing hazardous and risky enterprises. In Perrow's NAT framework, systems such as chemical plants, marine traffic, and nuclear power plants are all quite vulnerable to trivial events cascading through the system in unpredictable ways that can ultimately cause very severe consequences. Though Perrow remains skeptical about the degree to which complete remedies exist for complex and tightly coupled systems,<sup>28</sup> HRO investigators<sup>29</sup> have enthusiastically committed themselves to illuminating what the common mechanisms are for producing reliability and reducing risk across hazardous and risky systems.

In 1987, Karl Weick<sup>5</sup> pointed out how trial and error approaches, commonplace in less risky and demanding systems, are not viable in hazardous ones. Consequently other alternative strategies are employed to address what he termed the *problem of requisite variety*: when "the variety that exists in the system to be managed exceeds the variety in the people who must regulate it."<sup>5</sup> (p112). Simply stated, in order to operate adequately, a complex system must be matched with a requisite and comparable level of variety of information, communication, and responsiveness within the organization managing the system. How non-technical or human systems have stepped into the breach to address this need for requisite variety is fascinating.

Researchers at Berkeley<sup>30, 31</sup> and University of Michigan<sup>32, 33</sup> determined that HROs such as nuclear power plants, aircraft carriers, and forest fire-fighting units have evolved structures that enable them to achieve well-coordinated centralization and decentralization<sup>30, 34, 35</sup> effective decision-making. This balance in structure serves to enhance and optimize an agency's options (variety) when neither rules nor standardization are well-suited for addressing emergencies that have no clear precedent.<sup>36</sup> A variety of strategies have evolved that enable this unique flexible shifting from centralized to decentralized control. These have come under the attention of HRO investigators.

A couple of examples of these morphing structures are incident command systems (ICS) employed by fire departments and crew resource management (CRM) used by airlines. ICS are now widely used by police and firefighters of all types to quickly and efficiently erect a management structure<sup>32</sup> in any emergency situation of sufficient size to ultimately draw upon multiple and diverse agency staff. The ICS originally was created as a state, local, and federal cooperative effort to reconcile management conflicts occurring in huge inter-jurisdictional fires occurring in the 70s in California. However, ICS were soon extended into an all-risk system for almost any kind of emergency.<sup>37</sup> Investigators have determined that ICS depend largely on three factors: 1) structuring mechanisms, 2) cognition management methods, and 3) constrained improvisation.

*Structuring mechanisms* allow staff to elaborate better solutions, seamlessly switch roles, migrate decision authority when appropriate, and reset the system thinking. Frequent role switching similar to what air traffic controllers routinely do with co-workers and their supervisors facilitates greater teamwork and broadens the perspective. Enabling decision-making to flexibly migrate to where the current informal expertise exists versus where the formal authority resides corrals more tacit knowledge and immediate, granular information into decision-making. Decentralizing decision-making, under non-routine decision-making conditions, assures "that individuals closest to the problem stimuli can react and make better decisions."<sup>30, 31</sup> Finally, when relevant assumptions are suddenly overturned in the face of new evidence, mechanisms for immediately and collectively resetting or "refreshing" the basic strategic vision prove to be very helpful.

*Cognition management methods* promote developing operational representations necessary for team clarity and coherence. These same methods also promote shifting and nesting key staff responsible for directing and coordinating diverse staff, very similar to what air traffic controller systems must do to manage peak flows.<sup>38</sup> In HROs, it is critical to integrate information about

complex, highly interactive operations and performance into a single picture that is perpetually maintained— referred to in diverse HRO settings (such as aircraft carriers, nuclear plant control rooms, etc.) as “having the bubble.”<sup>36</sup> For example, someone ultimately must assume all responsibility for monitoring the flight deck of an aircraft carrier or the instrument panel in the control room of a nuclear plant and they therefore would “have the bubble.”

The final factor associated with ICS, *constrained improvisation*, calls for recognition and readiness to improvise, given the many unique and extreme possible emergency situations, but with limited tolerance for too much “freelancing.” In emergency situations tools may need to be improvised at the operations level. At a higher management level tactics and rules sometimes also need to be improvised in emergencies. By imposing prescribed limits for improvisation within a three-layer control system—Bronze = operational; Silver = Tactical; Gold = strategic—ICUs compartmentalize decision-making in a manner that accommodates some on-the-ground improvisation, but within prescribed limits.

Technically, ICUs are not HROs. ICUs and other similar adaptations (such as Crew Resource Management/CRMs) represent structural responses to potential or real disasters that have informed some of the organizational development of HROs. The latter go beyond these structural adaptations by inculcating principles that permeate an agency and culture in a manner that supersedes organizational structure.<sup>36</sup>

The principles associated with high reliability were found in a variety of different types of organizations dealing with hazardous work. Roberts<sup>3</sup> determined that built-in redundancy (e.g., buddy-systems, multiple means of communication) and conditioned sensitivity to possible failure in nuclear-powered aircraft carriers enhanced reliability. Babb and Ammons<sup>39</sup> similarly reported that training transport officers to anticipate the unexpected was related to high reliability in transporting prisoners. Research in chemical processing plants<sup>40</sup> demonstrated a relationship between coherent incident reviews and cyclic crises. In working with three major airlines, Gittel<sup>41</sup> found measures of relational coordination significantly correlated to multiple measures of organizational performance. After reviewing the accident research on three distinctly different hazardous systems (air traffic control, nuclear power, and nuclear aircraft carriers) Reason, et al.<sup>42</sup> learned that flexible authority structures (routine, high-temp and emergency) were common in all organizations and greatly facilitated communication switching from largely vertical to horizontal when necessary. In a systematic review of catastrophic accidents like Exxon Valdez, Challenger, 1999 Mar orbiters, Roberts and Robert<sup>43</sup> indicated that managerial causes such as lack of deference to expertise and oversimplification of processes contributed more system failure than design flaws. Heedful team interactions that reinforced a preoccupation with failure (e.g., well-timed extra briefings, staff access to multiple and redundant communication systems, etc.) and sensitivity to operations were attributed to minimal error on flight decks by Weick and Roberts.<sup>32</sup> In investigating forest-fighting crew performance, Weick<sup>32, 44, 45</sup> found resiliency based on learning and norms of respectful interaction to facilitate the avoidance of catastrophe.

Perhaps less hazardous but nevertheless complex and tightly coupled, the medical care industry has determined<sup>6, 46</sup> that many errors in patient care relating to flawed patient information exchange can be effectively addressed through applications of HRO concepts. Subsequently the National Patient Foundation of the AMA has adopted and nationally piloted an extension of HRO findings in health care settings.<sup>47, 48</sup> The NASA Office of Safety and Mission Assurance has instigated a routine survey (Performance Evaluation Profile) similar to the Navy’s Command Safety Assessment Survey predicated on five elements of HROs<sup>49</sup> that structure organizations for greater reliability<sup>47</sup> Libuser lists them as:<sup>50</sup>

1. **Process auditing:** An established system for ongoing checks and balances designed to spot expected as well as unexpected safety problems. Safety drills and equipment testing are included. Followups on problems revealed in previous audits are critical.
2. **Appropriate Reward Systems:** The payoff an individual or organization realizes for



behaving one way or another. Rewards have powerful influences on individual, organizational, and inter-organizational behavior.

3. **Avoiding Quality Degradation:** Comparing the quality of the system to a referent generally regarded as the standard for quality in the industry and insuring similar quality.
4. **Risk Perception:** Includes two elements: a) whether there is knowledge that risk exists, and b) if there is knowledge that risk exists, acknowledging it, and taking appropriate steps to mitigate or minimize it.
5. **Command and Control:** Includes five processes: a) decision migration to the person with the most expertise to make the decision, b) redundancy in people and /or hardware, c) senior managers who see “the big picture,” d) formal rules and procedures, and e) training-training-training.

More recently HRO mechanisms have found their way into data processing<sup>51</sup> and human resource system design.<sup>52</sup> There is a growing trend showing the ascendancy of HRO principles across a progressively wider array of business contexts, many of which no longer share an association with hazardous work. However, according to a Fast Company article,<sup>53</sup> there is nevertheless a financial or social payoff for these latter sectors through the additional reliability and adaptability HRO principles promote.

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## HRO Principles

In their book *Managing the Unexpected: Assuring High Performance in an Age of Complexity*, Karl E. Weick and Kathleen M. Sutcliffe<sup>36</sup> articulate five principles that they find in all HROs to varying degrees. These principles have formed a touchstone for some of the above subsequent research, system reengineering and newfound HRO applications. The five guiding principles are:

- **Preoccupation with Failure**
- **Reluctance to Simplify**
- **Sensitivity to Operations**
- **Commitment to Resilience**
- **Deference to Expertise**

The above principles tend to interpenetrate, inform, and influence one another. Similar to electrical currents in a power grid, specifying how these HRO principles are related to each other is difficult, yet they each “work” and together produce a crucial resource (in the case of HROs, mindfulness<sup>34, 54</sup>). A brief description of each principle along with some examples of specific corrections operations that might fall under the influence of a respective principle follow.

*Preoccupation with failure* is central to HRO operations for several reasons. First, adopting the mindset that anything can go wrong at any time engenders in personnel a heedful orientation to their work, their co-workers, and themselves; it enables them to maintain the necessary edge of readiness. Second, when potential failure becomes part of the routine focus, errors are more readily detected early on, within their tightly coupled and fast interacting processes. When errors are identified earlier, their ultimate resolution is made easier and more certain. Third, clearly identified errors and failures provide grist for deeper shared learning in subsequent debriefing. Finally, cultivating a positive regard for failure detection promotes unique norms of practice that positively reinforce recognition and communication errors and even suspected errors. In an

HRO, the people detecting an error or problem own that problem, until they can find someone with greater expertise for remedying it.

Given the different motives for obsessing about failure, *preoccupation with failure in corrections* can take many possible forms. In institutions this principle recommends heedful shift changes and related briefings, the utmost care in staff hiring, training, and inmate intake processes, along with evervigilant inmate transport, classification, and sanctioning procedures. A fixation on failure in community or field supervision, on the other hand, shows up as fewer errorprone assessments, case plans, and poorly aligned case management efforts. It also includes less treatment expenditures that fail to successfully target criminogenic case priorities.

*Reluctance to simplify* is marked by an active appreciation for maintaining a full, albeit never complete, operational awareness. Holding a more accurate and nuanced picture of current operations is given a premium at all levels within an HRO. To this end, “boundary spanners” (persons with diverse experience, skepticism about party-line knowledge and abilities to incorporate updated and more diverse views) are valued, as well as truly deep (inter-functional) diversity in the work-force. Simplification translates to a loss of information, detail, and more diverse representations of what is going on. Loss in complexity reduces adaptability. The ability of staff to attend to more things, shift and maintain more interpretations of a given situation, and communicate more diverse ideas fosters adaptability. “To misread local innovations and workarounds as signs of inefficiency rather than effective adaptations (can) make the difference between profit and loss.”<sup>36</sup> (p12)

At the present, the benefits to be obtained from a *reluctance to simplify in corrections* are enormous. The research in the field of corrections is coalescing as never before. A knowledge base for Evidence-Based Practice (EBP)<sup>55</sup> now exists, with guiding principles<sup>13, 56, 57</sup> unique to corrections. Agencies struggling to reconcile their existing practices with EBP are encountering many current correctional practices in which convenience or expediency have eviscerated any potential logical bearing on public safety (e.g., shipping inmates far from their families and homes, basing the focus of supervision on terms and conditions set by either judge or board, ignorant of the individual offender’s criminogenic needs). Furthermore, while the new EB practices and principles are based on sound scientific inquiry and evidence, they are not immune to poor translation and implementation themselves. A new science is emerging concerning the business of implementation<sup>21, 58</sup> in general. Leading investigators in this research are quick to point out how most government implementation results in only “paper” nominal levels of implementation,<sup>20</sup> largely due to inadequate and oversimplified implementation strategies (e.g., train and pray). In an era of fastpaced information transfer, coupled with progressive and prolonged budgetary constraints, the evolution of corrections will be contingent on smart research translation, smart innovation, and smart implementation.

A *sensitivity to operations* is exemplified by a widespread concern for, if not awareness of, the granular details of routine operations. This is an ongoing and active concern for the unexpected, “latent failures”<sup>59</sup>—the system loopholes where inconsistencies in staff supervision, performance reporting, key procedures, and briefings exist. “The big picture in HROs is less strategic and more situational than is true of most other organizations”<sup>36</sup> (p13). Moreover, HROs are aware of how inextricable the linkage is between sensitivity to operations and sensitivity to relationships—that most reasons for withholding information are relational (e.g., fear, indifference, ignorance).<sup>36</sup> Consequently, HRO managers place a great deal of emphasis on respectful communication that makes more, not fewer pertinent things discussable.

A *sensitivity to operations in corrections* includes a willingness to more frequently examine not only practices within our correctional systems but also our assumptions about these practices as well. Just as in any other field, corrections managers who have ongoing, granular familiarity with their respective operations will be more successful. In addition, corrections managers willing and able to question the received logic or assumptions within the operational processes they are responsible for may find new reason and opportunities for innovation and reengineering

these same systems. On one hand, collegial norms that are out of date and inconsistent with EBP will need to be diagnosed and brought to the “surface” for repair. In turn, staff will need to give birth to new norms, centering around transparency<sup>60, 61</sup> and ongoing learning in order to sufficiently support EBPs throughout each system’s myriad of existing communities of practice.<sup>62, 63</sup> All of these adaptations are virtually impossible without significant sensitivity to operations in corrections.

*Deference to expertise* enables higher-level decision-making at the line level. In HROs the lines of authority shift dramatically and effectively according to the tempo of operations. In normal activity, with reasonable slack in the system processes, decisions flow from the top. When operations shift into a high-paced tempo, decisions migrate to where the expertise is on the line level, closest to people who can capture the fullest picture of the enterprise. If activities escalate to an emergency state, pre-established emergency structures (e.g., ICUs) shift into practice to provide additional stability and efficiency. This essential flexibility with authority inherent in HROs provides a template for reconciling central versus local control issues and the ability to fluidly migrate authority to where the people with the most expertise exist.

*Deference to expertise in corrections* is a principle that provides a remedy for some of the negative aspects of command and control organizations, without eliminating the benefits. This principle provides a key for when the chain of command in corrections can and should fluctuate so that deeper expertise can be drawn into operational decisions related to implementation (high-tempo activity) and crisis (emergency tempo). In institutional and residential settings, often it is the line staff who have the deeper feel for the current climate and culture of the setting. Therefore, mechanisms that deliberately and flexibly migrate authority for decisions to line staff with the expertise can help assure that the best understanding of a particular operation’s granular reality is involved in certain kinds of critical decisions. Escape proceedings, riot control, and mass transfers of inmates are a few examples where line personnel potentially may have considerable expertise that can be effectively tapped through pre-arranged ad hoc management supervision structures that kick into place only under emergencies. Implementation of unique and new protocols such as offender screening (DNA, custodial levels or risk levels), search techniques, custody level adjustments, and inmate transfers reflect potentially high-tempo institutional activities, where closer reliance on line expertise may benefit the agency. Client staffings, drug or specialty court hearings, PSI formulations, and revocation hearings all represent opportunities where field supervision staff might also be more empowered to make or contribute in key case (or policy) decisions. Additional opportunities may exist for tapping line PO expertise when norms of greater transparency for casework are in place, and open recognition of expertise and skills in EBPs such as Motivational Interviewing, cognitive-behavioral coaching, social network enhancement, etc. are attained.

*Commitment to resilience* builds “informed gumption” on the part of staff. Staff that keep errors small, frequently learn from their errors, and know how to improvise when necessary tend to keep systems functioning well: Robert Pirsig ended up most simply defining quality in his treatise on that topic, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*<sup>64</sup> as processes that involve gumption. There is this aspect of taking enough pride in what we are doing so that one improvises when necessary or learns to take responsibility for evident errors until someone comes along who is better qualified. Errors are not ignored. Moreover, when errors or out-of-the-ordinary circumstances are encountered, as stress levels go up, staff learn the importance of resisting the temptation to narrow their focus to tunnel vision and instead, go the extra distance to take in more cues and information for subsequent problem-solving.

Both organizations and individuals can be described as resilient.<sup>54</sup> Resilient individuals have transformed themselves and cultivated a basis for judgment of their own decisions and for transformation of the organizations that they belong to.<sup>65</sup> HROs learn to rely upon this kind of innovative or adaptive expertise. A resilient organization is open to error and whatever it can learn from its various manifestations.

A *commitment to resilience* in corrections manifests in a willingness to become more transparent

and to engage in career-long learning. A certain expertise is required on the part of correctional officers in order to sort out patterns within various “incidents” in a correctional setting and determine when a subsequent “disturbance” or riot might be due to occur. In a similar fashion, parole and probation officers sensitive to small failures and backsliding on the part of individuals on their caseloads are in a stronger position to predict and intervene prior to full relapses. Correctional staff are surrounded by life-long learning opportunities; how resilient they are is a function of whether they see and engage these opportunities.

The five above principles associated with HROs are interdependent. A heedful agency that shares and maintains a steady concern for failure is likely also to be prone to avoiding oversimplification. Organizations that more flexibly tap their existing expertise would generally be apt to learn quickly from mistakes and therefore be more resilient. And, it would follow that the opposite would be true as well (that is, agencies that can only tap their expertise very rigidly would be less inclined to learn from their mistakes). Consequently, which principle an organization explores and builds upon first may not be all that crucial. What is important is determining if the benefits from adopting HRO principles outweigh the costs.

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## Conclusion

Inmate disturbances escalate into uprisings and riots in at least a few prisons in the U.S. each year. Management of inmates is a tightly coupled process, within a complex interpersonal environment. Every 10 years or so there is a major catastrophic riot: Attica, NY (1971); Santa Fe, NM (1980); Lucasville, OH (1993). In addition, every year a very limited number of individuals on probation or parole supervision in the community commit heinous, terrible high-profile crimes. The above syndromes, not to mention escapes, disease epidemics, and a few others should qualify corrections as a high-hazard industry. Isn't it time therefore to systematically consider and integrate some of these HRO principles more deeply into the correctional enterprise? If the latter associated financial, credibility, and liability costs for maintaining non-reliable systems aren't sufficient incentive, consider the opportunity costs.

The U.S. is moving into an era of unprecedented budgetary constraints. A process of downsizing for the country's corrections systems is likely and in fact already a reality for some states for a variety of reasons.<sup>66</sup> At the very same time that these changes are taking place, there is a movement underway within the field towards EBP and new abilities to more effectively correct risk factors in the populations under supervision. After almost 20 years, this movement is beginning to gain some momentum and quite possibly a critical mass in understanding and implementation capacity.<sup>19, 67, 68</sup> What are the odds that adopting HRO principles can assist corrections in navigating these difficult transitions? There should be little doubt that managing smaller but more homogeneously high-risk populations successfully, with reliable implementation of interventions that effectively reduce subsequent recidivism would be a real value-added proposition to society and its future.

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## Endnotes

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## Turnover Intention Among Probation Officers and Direct Care Staff: A Statewide Study

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**UP UNTIL NOW** there has been no readily available, cost-effective mechanism to fully and empirically analyze actual, voluntary turnover among Texas probation personnel. The Texas State Auditor's Office (2007) reported a 10.8 percent statewide voluntary turnover rate (excluding involuntary separations and retirements) among all state agencies, except institutions of higher education, during fiscal year 2007. However, that report did not provide any information about the voluntary turnover rate of Texas adult probation personnel. Despite no systematically documented statewide turnover rate for Texas probation, there is much evidence that high levels of employee turnover, and its attendant causes, are critical issues faced by probation executives.

Florida probation agencies, for example, reported a turnover rate of approximately 30 percent in 1995 (Simmons, Cochran, & Blount, 1997). In a 2000 report, the Texas Juvenile Probation Commission reported a 19.7 percent turnover rate among the State's juvenile probation officers in 1999. The Commission also reported a 31.4 percent turnover rate for juvenile detention and corrections officers (Texas Juvenile Probation Commission, 2000). In addition, despite the absence of extensive national reports addressing probation officer turnover, members of the National Institute of Corrections agreed that the loss of qualified officers was a major concern (National Institute of Corrections, 1994).

Voluntary turnover can be attenuated by identifying and addressing its underlying causes. Failure to identify and address the underlying causes of voluntary turnover could impede the promotion of public safety, which is the primary mission of the Texas probation system. To that end, this study, funded by the Texas Probation Advisory Committee (PAC) was commissioned to conduct a web-based, a state-wide survey targeting all line probation officers and all direct-care staff.<sup>1</sup> It comprehensively investigated: 1) any determinant factors that shape turnover

intention; and 2) pay satisfaction's influence on organizational outcomes, such as overall job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and turnover intention.

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## Literature Review

Both institutional and community corrections agencies have been concerned with, and paid significant attention to, voluntary turnover, which, in a probation setting, may result in increased caseloads for the remaining staff. This may lead to a deterioration in supervision, low morale, increases in unnoticed violations, absconders, recidivism, and increased expenditures related to the recruitment and training of replacements (Simmons et al., 1997).

As an underlying cause of voluntary turnover, organizational commitment as the emotional link between employees and their organization refers to the strength of their identification with, and involvement in, the organization (Meyer & Allen, 1997); an employee who is committed to his or her organization is more likely to both work towards the organization's goals and stay with the organization (Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 1982). Organizational commitment has been found to be associated with both turnover intention and actual turnover (Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000). Most recently, Moynihan and Landuyt (2008), in their analysis of turnover intention among 34,668 employees of 53 different state agencies in Texas, found increased organizational commitment reduced turnover intention.

Three different dimensions of organizational commitment—*affective, continuance, and normative commitment*—were developed by Allen and Meyer (1990). All of the three dimensions of organizational commitment are considered to contribute to reducing turnover intention and actual turnover. Each is useful in predicting what may cause an employee to remain committed to an organization and also predicting what will cause an employee to leave.

*Affective commitment* is defined as an employee's emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in an organization. Employees commit to the organization because they *want to*. In contrast, continuance commitment is defined as the extent to which an employee perceives high costs, such as socio-economic costs, as a consequence of leaving the organization. Here, employees remain with the organization because they *need to*. The *continuance commitment* construct has two sub-dimensional constructs: *high personal sacrifice* and *lack of alternatives* (Meyer and Allen, 1997; Powell & Meyer, 2004). *High personal sacrifice* refers to the commitment related to personal accumulated investments: it develops when an employee realizes that he or she would lose accumulated investments by leaving the organization, and therefore the employee needs to stay with the organization. On the other hand, the *lack of alternatives* denotes the commitment related to an employee's lack of employment alternatives, which increase the costs associated with leaving the organization.

Finally, *normative commitment* represents an employee's feeling obligated to continue employment: employees stay with the organization because they *ought to*. For example, an employee remains committed to an organization mainly out of moral obligation to its mission or developed by the organization's investment resources, such as training. Among the three dimensions of organizational commitment, existing literature has empirically supported the contention that affective commitment, compared to normative and continuance commitments, has the strongest correlations with turnover intention and actual turnover (Meyer, Stanley, Herscovitch, & Topolnytsky, 2002). In other words, employees with strong affective commitment to the organization are more valuable employees for any organization.

Compared to organizational commitment, job satisfaction is a link between an employee and his or her job, resulting from the appraisal of the job and job experience. An employee's affective reactions to his or her job based upon the level of congruence between an employee's job expectations and the actual situational attributes present is generally defined as job satisfaction, which differs from organizational commitment (Cranny, Smith, & Stone, 1992). A substantial body of literature has reported that job satisfaction is negatively related to turnover intention and

has its negative effect on turnover intention (Tett and Meyer, 1993). However, a growing body of recent theoretical and empirical research supports the notion that organizational commitment, especially affective commitment, is a better predictor of turnover intention than job satisfaction (Griffeth et al., 2000).

Job stress has been found positively correlated with turnover intention (Begley & Czajka, 1993). Among its various definitions, job satisfaction can be succinctly defined as the lack of incongruity between individuals and their physical or social environment (Chesney & Rosenman, 1980; Whitehead, 1987). In conjunction with the person-environment fit perspective of job stress, job stressors have been concisely defined as “circumstances which place unreasonable or distinctive demands on an individual, and are usually capable of producing emotional and psychological discomfort” (Grossi & Berg, 1991, p. 76). The definition reflects that the conditions of situations or events are stressors, and consequently produce job-related stress. Existing literature suggests that role structure—role overload, role conflict, and role ambiguity—is an important source of job stress (Cherniss, 1980; Whitehead, 1987). Furthermore, dangerousness of the job in the probation setting was found to be an additional stressor to the role structure problem (Sheeley, 2008).

Organizational justice is related to fairness perception (Cropanzano & Greenberg, 1997). Basically, if organizational injustice is perceived, one feels relative deprivation, or a feeling of discontent, which in turn may lead to a range of attitudinal and behavioral effects, including higher turnover intention or actual turnover (Hendrix, Robbins, Miller, & Summers, 1998). Organizational justice conceptually includes two aspects of justice: *distributive justice* and *procedural justice*. Distributive justice is the degree of fairness in distributing rewards (Price & Mueller, 1986), while procedural justice is the degree of fairness in the procedures used for distribution (Folger & Greenberg, 1985). Both distributive justice and procedural justice are based upon employee judgments regarding the fairness of outcomes and the fairness of procedures. Empirical research has supported the important theoretical link between organizational justice and its organizational outcomes: turnover intention is an aspect of motivation that was found to be influenced by an employee’s perception of organizational fairness (Acquino, Griffeth, Allen, & Hom, 1997; Hendrix et al., 1998).

As a provision of instrumental and emotional assistance, social support can be drawn from both supervisors and fellow officers. It can function as a successful coping factor to alleviate job stress, preventing job dissatisfaction, enhancing high levels of organizational commitment, and reducing turnover intention. According to Cullen and his associates (1985), successful social support at work depends on the quality of interpersonal support from superiors and fellow line officers. There is substantial, empirical evidence indicating that support from supervisors is essential for line officers to achieve positive, job-related attitudinal and behavioral out-comes (Jurik & Halemba, 1984).

Participatory management seeks to balance the involvement of superiors and subordinates in information-sharing, decision-making, and problem-solving related to production and quality control (Wagner, 1994). “Reinventing Government,” borne out of the National Performance Review (NPR), criticized malfunctions of hierarchical, centralized bureaucracies, since bureaucratization reduces workers’ control over the means of production and alienates line workers from the decision-making process (Vernon & Byrd, 1996). Hence, a participatory climate allowing for employees’ participation in decision-making is more beneficial than a rigid, autocratic structure for enhancing employee job satisfaction, in turn leading to less turn-over intention (Slate, Vogel, & Johnson, 2001).

Participatory climate is related to empowerment; it is a non-traditional organizational culture with an emphasis on facilitating, coaching, and consulting employees to facilitate a sense of control and self-efficacy (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 1998). Low empowerment leading to loss of a sense of control and self-efficacy contributes not only to poor quality job performance, but also to a low level of desire to remain (Hammer, Landau, & Stern, 1981; Mowday et al., 1982). Empirically, Koberg, Boss, Senjem, & Goodman (1999) found a negative relationship between empowerment and turnover intention. Recently, Moynihan and Landuyt (2008) also

found that a sense of empowerment reduces turnover intention.

Regarding pay satisfaction, there are two theoretical grounds: equity theory (Adams, 1963) and discrepancy theory (Lawler, 1971). Although Lawler's discrepancy theory expanded Adams' equity theory by incorporating the concept of valence (how much one values the reward), both theories are essentially based on predicting pay satisfaction and explaining its organizational outcomes. Basically, if the employee's ratio of input (e.g. effort) to output (e.g. pay level and benefits) is significantly different from a referent other's ratio, he or she tends to feel underrewarded, and judges that he or she is not being treated fairly, potentially leading to a range of negative attitudinal and behavioral effects (Cropanzano & Greenberg, 1997; Vandenberghe & Tremblay, 2008). In other words, pay satisfaction is a matter of matching actual pay level with the pay level one expects to receive in comparison with those of a referent other. Empirical research has strongly established an important theoretical link between pay satisfaction and turnover (Heneman & Judge, 2000), and has found pay satisfaction a significant predictor of turnover intention and actual turnover (Miceli, Jung, Near, & Greenberger, 1991).

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## **Pilot Study**

Lee and Beto (2008), with the assistance of Christie Davison, Executive Director of the National Association of Probation Executives, conducted a pilot study that explored voluntary turnover rates among Texas line probation officers from 2004 to 2006. They sampled four adult probation departments in Texas. Based on responses from the four departments, line officers' average turnover rate in each fiscal year was estimated to be 17 to 24 percent. Interestingly, voluntary turnover rates increased steadily during the study period: 17 percent for FY 2004, 20 percent for FY 2005, and 24 percent for FY 2006. Their findings suggest that probation agencies have not only experienced high turnover, but have failed to resolve the underlying problems associated with voluntary turnover.

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## **Statewide Turnover Intention Study**

### *Data Collection, Recruitment Procedures, and Data Confidentiality*

The current study was conducted utilizing Angelo State University's web-based survey targeting all line probation officers and all directcare probation staff in all 122 probation departments across Texas. However, since two departments were found to have only one employee, responsible for both line-officer and director duties, they were removed from the total 122 departments being targeted, and the total number of departments surveyed was reduced to 120. The survey period began March 31 and ended April 18, 2008. Guided by the previous theoretical and empirical literature, the survey used 24 organization-related items, including turnover intention. In addition, 8 individual demographic and work experience items were asked. Substantial efforts were made by the PAC and department directors to elicit voluntary subject cooperation, encourage a high response rate, and thus enhance the validity and reliability of the survey. Standard survey methodology, pre-announcements of the upcoming study, and an encouraging cover letter were combined with the consent form. Participation was voluntary and respondents were promised confidentiality.

During the three-week survey period, a total of 108 departments responded.<sup>2</sup> The individual directors from the remaining 12 departments were contacted. The non-response of 12 departments' employees was determined to be due to a lack of Internet capacity to access the survey web site. For the 12 departments without Internet access, the same questionnaire used for the web-based survey was mailed to each department on April 18, 2008. Mailings included a consent form, and a cover letter emphasizing that survey participation was voluntary and that responses were collected anonymously. Each respondent was provided with a pre-addressed, stamped envelope in order to return the survey directly to the researcher.



Of the usable sample of 3,234 responses from 120 adult probation departments,<sup>3</sup> 2,653 responses were obtained from line officers and 581 from direct-care staff. Unfortunately, there is no available official information on the baseline population of both groups to calculate each group's response rate. However, using the total number of all probation officers, including supervisors and managers (N = 3,520), the response rate for the 2,653 line officer group should be well over 75.4 percent. [Table 1](#) provides the demographic breakdown of the respondents.

### *Measurement of Variables & Descriptive Analyses*

Along with 8 individual demographic and work experience variables used, 24 organizational variables were measured based on a respondent's experience over the six-month period preceding the beginning date of the survey. Turnover Intention is the main dependent variable; the remaining 23 organizational variables are independent. A review of the literature indicates that these independent variables have been theoretically and empirically proven to be important correlates with turnover intention and actual turnover. All scale items were measured using the five-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 2 = *disagree*; 3 = *neither*; 4 = *agree*; 5 = *strongly agree*). Cronbach's Alpha for each additive scale ranged from 0.71 to 0.94, above the minimal level of acceptability ( $\alpha = 0.70$ ), indicating all 24 scales are valid and reliable.

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## **Findings**

### *Turnover Intention*

Understandably, there might be a reasonable suspicion that turnover intention might not necessarily manifest in actual turnover. However, turnover intention has been found to be the best predictor and the most immediate precursor of the actual turnover. For example, Steel and Ovalle (1984), in their meta-analysis, found that turnover intention was better than job satisfaction and organizational commitment in predicting actual turnover. Furthermore, Hom and Griffeth (1995) found that among 35 variables presumably related to actual voluntary turnover, turnover intention had the strongest association with actual voluntary turnover. As the main dependent variable in this study, a respondent's intention to leave was measured using the four items developed by Shore and Martin (1989).

The respondents' turnover intention is mixed, with an overall average mean of 2.55 on a 1-5 point Likert scale. However, many respondents indicated a strong inclination to leave their department in all questions. The second item in [Table 2](#), for example, demonstrated that 41.3 percent reported their turnover intention: 30.3 percent were having serious thoughts about leaving in the near future and another 11 percent were actively seeking employment elsewhere. The findings from [Table 2](#) indicate that large portions of the line probation officers and direct-care staffs have high levels of inclination to leave in the near future.

### *Organizational Commitment*

The three dimensions developed by Allen and Meyer (1990) that characterize an employee's commitment to the organization include affective, continuance, and normative commitment. However, there has been recurring criticism of poor discriminant validity between normative commitment and affective commitment (Jaros, Jermier, Koehler, & Sincich, 1993; Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001). Mainly due to its strong association with affective commitment, normative commitment is not considered a unique predictor of turnover intention and actual turnover. This study, therefore, only adopted affective and continuance commitment constructs.

As for affective commitment, the respondents displayed an overall average mean of 3.17 on the 5 items.<sup>4</sup> This mixed result therefore does not support any one particular view. However, many respondents reported lower levels of emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in their department. For example, 26.6 percent of the respondents did not want to spend the rest of their career in their current department, and 29.5 percent did not feel a strong

sense of belonging to their department. Continuance commitment includes three items eliciting reports of high personal sacrifice and three items testing for lack of alternatives.<sup>5</sup> Existing literature (Meyer & Allen, 1997; Meyer et al., 2002) has empirically supported the contention that affective commitment, compared to normative and continuance commitments, correlates most strongly with turnover intention and actual turnover: Employees with strong affective commitment to the organization are more valuable employees for any organization.

Compared to the average mean of high personal sacrifice (3.21) and lack of alternative (Mean = 3.26), the average mean of affective commitment (3.17) was slightly lower. Unfortunately, this finding appears to indicate that the main reason why respondents are committed to their departments is awareness of the costs associated with leaving: high personal sacrifice (their personal accumulated investments) and lack of alternative (limited employment opportunities), rather than affective commitment (their strong emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the department). For example, 49.7 percent of the respondents would stay with their department because their lives would be too greatly disrupted if they left, and 46.2 percent would stay due to the scarcity of available alternatives.

### *Job Satisfaction*

There are two measures of job satisfaction: overall job satisfaction and satisfaction with specific aspects of the job such as pay, supervision, promotion, co-workers, and the job itself. Overall job satisfaction was included in the study because Griffeth et al. (2000), in their meta-analysis, suggested that overall job satisfaction is a better indicator than job-facet satisfaction in predicting turnover, although both are related to turnover. However, the facet approach is useful to define which parts of the job produce satisfaction or dissatisfaction, as a useful tool to help an organization identify areas of dissatisfaction that it can improve (Spector, 1997).

Overall job satisfaction was assessed using the five items developed by Brayfield and Roth (1951). Based on the additive scale produced by the five items used, respondents reported a moderately high level of job satisfaction (Mean = 3.52). Specifically, more than half agreed that: "I am seldom bored with my job" (55.6 percent); "I like my job better than the average worker does" (56.6 percent); "I find real enjoyment in my job" (59.6 percent); "Most days I am enthusiastic about my job" (58.6 percent); and "I feel fairly well satisfied with my job" (60.1 percent).

The Job Satisfaction Survey (JSS) by Spector (1997) measured the respondents' nine facets of job satisfaction. The nine facets comprise pay, promotion, supervision, fringe benefits, contingent rewards (satisfaction with rewards, not necessarily monetary, given for good performance), operating procedures (satisfaction with rules and procedures), co-workers, nature of work (satisfaction with the type of work done), and communication. This study originally employed both the four items of pay satisfaction in the JSS and the five items of pay satisfaction from the Index of Organizational Reactions developed by Dunham and Smith (1979). Dunham and Smith's (1979) pay satisfaction scale reflects a better understanding of the nature and domain of multi-dimensional pay satisfaction than Spector's unidimensional pay satisfaction scale (Williams, Malos & Palmer, 2002). Hence, the study adopted only Dunham and Smith's pay satisfaction scale for statistical analysis.

Among the nine specific job satisfaction items, pay and promotion were identified as unsatisfied job aspects (Mean = 2.44 and 2.33, respectively). Regarding pay satisfaction, only 10.3 percent reported their pay level was good; only 13.5 percent indicated their pay level was either adequate or more than adequate given the cost of living in their area, and only 15.4 percent reported that their pay level had a favorable influence on their overall attitude toward their job. Similarly, regarding promotion satisfaction, only 14.1 percent perceived much chance for promotion in their department; 25.2 percent felt those who performed well on the job had a fair chance of being promoted, and 16.2 percent reported high levels of satisfaction with their chances for promotion. Taken together, while the respondents had moderately high levels of overall job satisfaction, pay and promotion are the parts of the job that substantially contribute to dissatisfaction.

### *Job Stress*

Job stress was assessed using the five items developed by Crank, Regoli, Hewitt and Wolfe (1989). Job stressors included three role structures (role overload, role conflict, and role ambiguity) and dangerousness of the job. *Role overload* refers to having too much to do in the amount of time or the lack of available resources for completing workload demands, and was measured using five items developed by Peterson and his associates (1986). The other two role characteristics are *role conflict* (conflicting requests from different people) and *role ambiguity* (unclear expectations in fulfilling a role); both role characteristics were measured using the nine items adopted from Lambert, Hogan, Paoline and Clarke (2005). Finally, *dangerousness of the job* was assessed using five items adopted from Cullen, Link, Cullen and Wolfe (1989).

Respondents displayed an average mean of 3.12 for their job stress level and therefore did not support any one particular view. However, 46.8 percent of the respondents reported that they were usually under a lot of pressure at work, whereas 29.9 percent reported that they were not under pressure. Among the job stressors, role overload (Mean = 3.09) was found to be the strongest stressor, closely followed by dangerousness of the job (Mean = 2.88) and role ambiguity (Mean = 2.77). The level of role ambiguity (Mean = 2.17) suggests that uncertainty about what actions are expected was not found to be particularly stressful. Overall, these findings suggest that role overload, such as excessive paperwork and expectations to complete job duties in too little time, substantially contribute to stress-induced role characteristics. In addition, like a prison setting, the dangerousness of the work needs to be recognized as a substantial stressor in adult probation.

### *Organizational Justice*

Developed by Price and Mueller (1986), five items were utilized to measure the respondents' perception of fairness of outcome, which is *distributive justice* (perceived fairness of outcome). *Procedural justice* (fairness of the procedures in distributing outcomes) was assessed through the use of six items adopted from Lambert, Hogan and Griffin (2007). Respondents reported an average mean of 2.55 for their perception level of distributive justice, suggesting relatively negative judgments regarding the fairness of distributing rewards, such as pay and promotion. In addition, their perception of procedural justice (Mean = 2.86) is considered mixed and therefore does not support any one particular view. However, 49.9 percent of respondents perceived that promotions are given based on who you know rather than what you know. Overall, these findings indicate a perceived lack of fairness in distributing rewards such as pay and promotion, as well as a lack of fairness in promotional procedures.

### *Participatory Management*

The study included both *participatory climate* and *empowerment*, which have been recognized as important elements of participatory management. Developed by Slate et al. (2001), seven items were employed to measure the respondents' perception of how welcome participation in decision-making is in their probation department. Despite no indication of one particular view (Mean = 2.89), individual item analysis demonstrated substantial evidence that the respondents' opinions were not sought and respected by management. For example, nearly 50 percent of the respondents felt they had no opportunity to have a say in the running of their agency on matters that concern them, 41.4 percent indicated unsatisfactory response or feedback to their input, and 53.2 percent did not feel involvement in the writing of policies. This evidence indicates that about half of respondents perceive that they work in a non-participatory management environment.

Empowerment was assessed through the use of the Index of Empowerment developed by Spreitzer (1995), which comprises 12 items. The Index of Empowerment measures four dimensions of empowerment (*meaning, competence, self-determination* and *impact*). These four dimensions, reflecting an employee's orientation to his or her work role, were combined into an overall measure of empowerment. Respondents reported an average mean of 3.64 for their level

of empowerment, suggesting that they believe they have a moderately high level of empowerment in their department.

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## Analytical Scheme

In addition to the descriptive analysis, two analytical methods were employed in this study: hierarchical multiple regression and structural equation modeling analysis. First, hierarchical multiple regression was employed to identify which predicting variable(s) were significant determinants of turnover intention. However, structural equation modeling analysis using *Amos* was employed to examine indirect, direct, and total effects of the predicting variables, especially pay satisfaction, on turnover intention in the hypothetical model.

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## Hierarchical Multiple Regression Model Analysis

[Table 3](#) presents the results of two multiple regression analyses for line probation officers. Equation 1 examined only the impact of individual variables on turnover intention. Among the eight individual variables, six variables were found to have statistically significant effects on a respondent's turnover intention. However, despite the good model fit statistics, only 9 percent of the variance in turnover intention was accounted for by Model. Turnover intention in Equation 2 was regressed on both individual and organizational variables. Fourteen variables based upon each statistically significant high partial correlation were included in Equation 2: four individual status variables and ten organizational variables. In comparison with Equation 1, gender and the number of children at home were excluded from the final best-fit equation after organizational variables were included in Equation 2.

Of particular interest in these separate equations was determining whether organizational variables better predicted turnover intention of line probation officers than individual variables. The proportion of variance explained by Equation 2 is almost 6.8 times higher than that explained by Equation 1. This finding implies that organizational variables, rather than individual status variables, play greater roles in predicting an officer's turnover intention. Not tabulated here, two multiple regression analyses for direct-care staff show the consistent finding ( $R^2 = 0.074$  in Equation 1 and  $R^2 = 0.564$  in Equation 2).

Two additional findings were important. First, affective commitment has the strongest direct effect on turnover intention, followed by high sacrifice, commitment, overall job satisfaction, and pay satisfaction. Second, among the individual status variables, only the standardized coefficient for age in the multiple regression for line officer exceeded the cut-off point of  $\pm 0.1$ , whereas only tenure for direct-care staff group was found to exceed the cut-off point. That is, unlike other individual variables, age and tenure substantially contribute to predicting turnover intention of both groups, respectively; younger respondents<sup>6</sup> and those with less tenure<sup>7</sup> were more likely to express greater turnover intention.

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## Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) Analysis

To both practitioners and researchers, pay satisfaction has long been a topic of interest. Along with affective commitment, overall job satisfaction, has long been a topic of interest. Along with affective commitment, overall job satisfaction, and high sacrifice commitment, pay satisfaction was found to have a direct effect on turnover intention of both groups. However, the hierarchical multiple regression analyses used are limited in measuring only the direct effects of the predicting variables on turnover intention (Hair, Black, Babin, Anderson & Tatham, 2006) and they cannot provide any results for indirect effect and total effect (direct and indirect), for each of the significant four organizational predictors of turnover intention. Hence, based upon a

hypothetical, causal link from pay satisfaction to turnover intention, comparing indirect, direct, and total effects of pay satisfaction, overall satisfaction, high sacrifice commitment, and affective commitment on turnover intention could be helpful in identifying underlying reasons and developing important managerial strategies for preventing and curbing turnover-related problems.

#### *Theoretical and Empirical Ground for Hypothetical SEM*

Before specifying theoretical grounds and a hypothetical causal model, we should note that any individual status variables were not included as control variables in the causal model. There are two reasons behind the exclusion. First, age, gender, education level, and tenure have been found to correlate with turnover (*e.g.*, Cotton & Tuttle, 1986, Griffeth et al., 2000). However, the results from multivariate regression analyses were considered inconsistent across the two groups and do not support the previous empirical literature. Second, individual status variables, in comparison with organizational variables, had a substantially weak or negligible contribution to associating and predicting turnover intention. Hence, the exclusion could lead to the simplest of explanations of complex turnover intention processes.

Due to the lack of literature on pay satisfaction and its organizational outcomes, it is difficult to identify a causal model of voluntary turnover processes from pay satisfaction, and to explain causal relationships among a subset of the variables. Therefore, considerable research based upon the theoretical ground and empirical findings was required to identify the causal relationships of pay satisfaction, overall satisfaction, high sacrifice commitment, affective commitment, and turnover intention.

#### *Compensation Satisfaction and Organizational Justice*

Previous literature has indicated that pay satisfaction not only has a direct effect (Miceli et al., 1991) but also an indirect effect on turnover intention, through overall job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Lum, Kervin, Colark, Reid, & Sirola, 1998). More specifically, Vandenberghe and Tremblay (2008), in their study of the effects of pay satisfaction and organizational commitment on turnover intention, found that both affective and high-sacrifice commitments had intervening effects that account for the association between pay satisfaction and turnover intention. These empirical findings indicate that pay satisfaction has both a direct and indirect effect on turnover intention, through overall job satisfaction, high-sacrifice commitment, and affective commitment.

However, pay satisfaction cannot be explained by pay level itself. It includes four correlated but distinct dimensions: pay level, benefits, pay raises, and pay structure/administration (Heneman & Schwab, 1985). Therefore, incorporating benefits satisfaction into pay satisfaction may provide a better understanding of the nature and domain of pay satisfaction.<sup>8</sup> This insight should enable the incorporated model to better predict pay satisfaction's influence on its organizational outcomes.

Organizational justice was included in this hypothetical causal model to probe causal relationships of pay satisfaction, overall satisfaction, high-sacrifice commitment, affective commitment, and turnover intention. Consistent with the theoretical link between pay satisfaction and its organizational outcomes, empirical research has supported the important theoretical link between organizational justice and its organizational outcomes. Specifically, overall job satisfaction (Hendrix et al., 1999), organizational commitment (Martin & Bennett, 1996), and turnover intention (Acquino et al., 1997; Hendrix et al., 1999) are aspects of motivation influenced by employee judgments regarding the fairness of outcomes and the fairness of the procedures.

Furthermore, these findings suggest that incorporating organizational justice into compensation satisfaction provides a better understanding of the nature and realm of compensation satisfaction, and enables the incorporated model to better explain compensation satisfaction's influence on its organizational outcomes. Like compensation satisfaction, organizational justice was

hypothesized to have a direct and indirect effect on turnover intention, through overall job satisfaction, high-sacrifice commitment, and affective commitment.

Guided by the previous theoretical and empirical literature, we hypothesized that the latent construct of compensation satisfaction combined pay satisfaction and benefits satisfaction, which was found by the previous theoretical and empirical findings to be correlated. We hypothesized that the second latent construct—organizational justice—bound distributive justice and procedural justice. An exploratory factor analysis examined whether all items in pay satisfaction, benefits satisfaction, distributive justice, and procedural justice can be explained by the two latent constructs—compensation satisfaction and organizational justice. Results demonstrate that the four-factor model (pay satisfaction, benefits satisfaction, distributive justice, and procedural justice) would be better than the hypothesized two-factor model (compensation satisfaction and organizational justice).

However, as noted by Hair et al. (2006), “exploratory factor analysis can be conducted without knowing how many factors really exist or which variable belongs with which constructs” (p. 773). For this reason, therefore, the result from the exploratory factor analysis should be tested by confirmatory factor analysis, to examine whether the four-factor model may be proven empirically. The results of our confirmatory factor analysis do not support the four-factor model developed by exploratory factor analysis.<sup>9</sup> Instead they confirm the hypothesis that there were two distinct constructs—compensation satisfaction and organizational justice—in which pay satisfaction and fringe-benefits satisfaction measured compensation satisfaction, while distributive and procedural justice measured organizational justice. Therefore, the results from the confirmatory factor analysis support the good discriminant validity of the two constructs (compensation satisfaction and organizational justice).

#### *Overall Job Satisfaction, Organizational Commitment, and Turnover Intention*

In a causal link between job satisfaction and organizational commitment, the dominant theoretical view has assumed that an employee’s emotional state and attitude toward a specific job necessarily precedes his or her psychological state and attitude towards the organization (Mowday et al., 1982). This assumption implies that overall job satisfaction causally precedes organizational commitment. Some research (such as Vandenberg & Lance, 1992) has found an opposite causal sequence and supported the causal ordering from organizational commitment to overall job satisfaction. Nonetheless, many empirical studies (such as Mueller, Boyer, Price, & Iverson, 1994) indicate that organizational commitment may be a more immediate influence on turnover intention than job satisfaction.

In a causal ordering from organizational commitment and turnover intention, Meyer and Allen (1997) have reported that organizational commitment is negatively related to turnover intention, and is also an antecedent to turnover intention. In a causal link between higher sacrifice commitment and affective commitment, McGee and Ford (1987) and Meyer, Allen, and Gellatly (1990) provided a theoretical explanation suggesting that an employee’s awareness of the costs associated with leaving the organization leads to a higher desire to continue to work, which in turn may lead to a greater degree of emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the organization. Despite a lack of empirical research to test the causal link, intuitively it appears to manifest through examination of the causal precedence of high sacrifice commitment over affective commitment.

Given the accumulated theoretical explanation and empirical findings, we developed a hypothetical model to examine the causal relationship of both compensation satisfaction and organizational justice with overall satisfaction, high sacrifice commitment, affective commitment, and turnover intention. Extending the previous literature, the following four specific hypotheses were developed:

H<sub>1</sub>: Compensation satisfaction and organizational justice each have a direct effect on overall job satisfaction, high sacrifice commitment, affective commitment and turnover intention.

H<sub>2</sub>: Compensation satisfaction and organizational justice each have an indirect effect on turnover intention through overall job satisfaction, high sacrifice commitment, and affective commitment.

H<sub>3</sub>: Overall job satisfaction has a direct effect on high sacrifice commitment, affective commitment and turnover intention, and also has an indirect effect on turnover intention through high sacrifice commitment and affective commitment.

H<sub>4</sub>: High sacrifice commitment has a direct effect on affective commitment and turnover intention, and also has an indirect effect on turnover intention through affective commitment.

The final model in [Figure 1](#) provided a better fit than the hypothesized model. In the hypothetical model, however, organizational justice was not a significant predictor of overall job satisfaction ( $p = 0.80$ ), high sacrifice commitment ( $p = 0.17$ ) and turnover intention ( $p = 0.48$ ). Hence, the three paths (organizational justice → overall job satisfaction; organizational justice → high sacrifice commitment; and, organizational justice → turnover intention) were eliminated and the original model was reanalyzed in the final version. The results indicate that the hypothesized model fits the data very well, but the final model, after leaving out the three insignificant paths, best fits the data.<sup>10</sup> [Figure 1](#) presents the significant paths of the final structural model.

The effects of compensation satisfaction and organizational justice are positively correlated at 0.73. As predicted, compensation satisfaction had its significant direct effect on overall job satisfaction (0.36), high sacrifice commitment (0.32), affective commitment (0.08), and turnover intention (-0.30). However, organizational justice had its significant direct influence on only affective commitment and had an insignificant direct impact on overall job satisfaction, high sacrifice commitment, and turnover intention. This finding suggests that when an employee believes that he or she is fairly treated by the organization, he or she is more likely to have a greater degree of emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the department. However, the perceived fairness cannot directly lead to higher levels of overall job satisfaction and high sacrifice commitment, and lower levels of turnover intention. Hence, the hypothesis (H<sub>1</sub>) is only partially supported.

As hypothesized (H<sub>2</sub>), compensation satisfaction had its indirect effect on turnover intention through overall job satisfaction, high sacrifice commitment, and affective commitment. Specifically, compensation satisfaction had an indirect or mediated influence on high-sacrifice commitment through overall job satisfaction (0.03); on affective commitment through overall job satisfaction and high sacrifice commitment (0.15); and on turnover intention through overall job satisfaction, high sacrifice commitment, and affective commitment (-0.23). However, organizational justice had its indirect or mediated effect on turnover intention only through affective commitment. Therefore, the hypothesis (H<sub>2</sub>) is only partially supported.

As predicted, overall job satisfaction had a direct effect on high sacrifice commitment, affective commitment, and turnover intention. Also, it had an indirect effect on turnover intention through high sacrifice commitment and affective commitment. Likewise, high sacrifice commitment had a direct effect on affective commitment and turnover intention and had its indirect effect on turnover intention through affective commitment. These findings suggest that the hypotheses (H<sub>3</sub> and H<sub>4</sub>) are fully supported.

[Table 4](#) summarizes structural equation modeling estimations of indirect, direct, and total effects of each independent variable on overall job satisfaction, high sacrifice commitment, affective commitment, and turnover intention.

Affective commitment had the strongest direct effect on turnover intention. In comparing the direct effects of compensation satisfaction, organizational justice, overall job satisfaction, and high sacrifice commitment on affective commitment, overall job satisfaction was found to have the largest direct and indirect effect, followed by organizational justice. However, compensation

satisfaction and high sacrifice commitment had negligible direct effects on affective commitment. These findings suggest that overall job satisfaction is a key influence on affective commitment, followed by organizational justice and compensation satisfaction.

Of particular interest was to compare the total effects of compensation satisfaction, organizational justice, overall job satisfaction, high sacrifice commitment, and affective commitment on turnover intention. Although affective commitment had the strongest direct effect on turnover intention, compensation satisfaction had the largest total effect (indirect and direct) on turnover intention. Affective commitment had the second largest total effect (only direct) on turnover intention, closely followed by overall job satisfaction. The total effect of high sacrifice commitment on turnover intention is less important than that of the other variable.

Taken together, compensation satisfaction, especially pay satisfaction,<sup>11</sup> is a pivotal organizational influence on turnover intention and is much more important than affective commitment, overall job satisfaction, and high sacrifice commitment in reducing high levels of turnover intention.

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## **Discussion and Conclusion**

A review of the literature suggests that present probation systems fail to resolve high levels of employee turnover rates. Since voluntary turnover can be prevented by identifying its underlying reasons and addressing identified causes, reducing high levels of staff turnover should be a top priority for probation administrators. Unfortunately, no readily available, cost-effective mechanism has been implemented in Texas probation to fully and empirically analyze actual, voluntary turn-over. In response, the study investigated: 1) any determinant factors that shape turnover intention; and 2) pay satisfaction's influence on turnover intention.

Results from the descriptive analyses indicate that large portions of the line probation officers and direct-care staff have high levels of inclination to leave. Among all organizational factors used, pay and promotion are the most negatively perceived work-related areas. Moreover, the average mean of organizational commitment was lower than that of overall job satisfaction, suggesting that employees have a stronger psy-chological/emotional attachment to their job and job experience than to their department.

Findings from the hierarchical multiple regression analyses indicate that organizational factors, rather than individual status factors, contribute more to predicting the employees' turnover intention, suggesting that the organization is the underlying cause for employee turnover intention. For both line probation officers and direct-care staff, affective commitment, high sacrifice commitment, overall job satisfaction, and pay are the main predictors of turnover intention. Among the four main predictors, affective commitment has the strongest direct effect on turnover intention. In addition, among all individual factors, those in the young age group and short tenure group are more likely to feel inclined to leave their job. Specifically, being in the 20-34 age group of line officers is the strongest predictor of turnover intention, whereas tenure, particularly the 0-3 years of tenure group of direct-care staff, is the strongest predictor of inclination to quit.

Finally, SEM analysis compared total effects of compensation satisfaction (pay and benefits), overall job satisfaction, lack of alternatives, high sacrifice, and affective commitment on turnover intention. Results from the structural equation modeling indicate that the total effect of compensation satisfaction on turnover intention is much greater than the total effect of affective commitment. Overall, these findings suggest that while affective commitment has the strongest direct effect on turnover intention, the total influence of compensation satisfaction, especially pay satisfaction, is much more important than that of affective commitment in reducing high levels of turnover intention and subsequent voluntary turnover. Therefore, it can be concluded that pay satisfaction is the strongest underlying cause of high turnover intention in Texas probation, followed by affective commitment.



Based on these accumulated findings, policy recommendations are provided. Most important, probation administrators should be made aware of the transition from individual to organization factors, especially the significance of pay satisfaction, as the most influential underlying causes leading to high voluntary turnover rate. Only small numbers of the line probation officers and directcare staff sampled were satisfied with the pay they received. Hence, probation administrators should recognize chronic negative organizational outcomes caused by inadequate salary and should present a united front to increase compensation for probation employees. Moreover, probation administrators should make a concerted effort to convince their legislatures to significantly increase probation funding.<sup>12</sup> Inherent traps in the vicious cycle of low pay satisfaction, high turnover intention, and high voluntary turnover may possibly diminish promotion of public safety, compromising the mission of the probation system.

Second, increasing compensation is important, but on its own does not necessarily guarantee an employee's long-term commitment to probation's mission. As noted, affective commitment in both line officers and direct care staff was the strongest predictor of turnover intention, suggesting that affective commitment is the most immediate precursor of turnover intention. From the perspective of probation managers, employees with strong affective commitment to the organization are more valuable employees. However, 3,234 respondents reported that the main reason for commitment to their department is an awareness of the costs associated with leaving—their personal accumulated investments and limited employment opportunities—rather than strong emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in their department.

In recognizing existing low levels of affective commitment, probation administrators should identify the underlying causes and develop strategies to increase employees' emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in their department. An employee who doesn't have an emotional connection to the organization's mission may start thinking about leaving. Therefore, every department should have a clearly articulated mission, vision, and values that are supported and reinforced by management.

Third, younger personnel and those with fewer years of service are more likely to feel inclined to leave their probation jobs than older employees and those with more tenure. High turnover intention was most prevalent among line probation officers whose age ranged from 20 to 34 years. Surprisingly, this age range group accounts for 42.8 percent of the line probation officers sampled. Likewise, high turnover intention was most prevalent among directcare staff whose tenure range was somewhere between 0-3 years (45.6 percent of the direct-care staff sampled). Given the highest turnover intention among younger age and tenure groups, we highly recommend that probation administrators recognize the unique characteristics of the younger employee and devote considerable attention and resources to this new generation, which has a much lower affective commitment and much higher turn-over intention than other groups.

Inevitably, the role of probation managers is extremely important in providing organizational stimulus for this new generation of employees to encourage their feelings of belonging and to establish their emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in their department. Specifically, management needs to focus on developing mentoring relationships with new employees. Also, management should change supervisory and managerial roles and styles from a traditional, autocratic organizational climate to one of facilitating, coaching, and consulting with the new generation. To facilitate this shift in managerial roles, probation departments should devote considerable attention and resources to the selection, development, and training of managers.

Finally, in the not too distant past, probation administrators did not experience the need to actively recruit staff. It was not uncommon to have a number of highly qualified applicants for each available position. This is no longer the case, and probation departments find themselves competing with other social service and law enforcement agencies for prospective employees from a dwindling labor pool. Probation administrators should become less passive and more active in recruiting new employees by attending job fairs at colleges and universities, developing close relationships with faculty members of criminal justice programs, and mentoring senior-level students in area high schools with the hope of having them return to the community after

college to seek employment as probation officers.

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## Federal Criminal Filings and Postconviction Supervision Tables

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**Table 1.**  
**Respondent Demographics**

Variable	N(%)	Mean	Min	Max	N
Employee classification					3,234
Community Supervision Officer	2,653 (82)				
Direct-Care Staff	581 (18)				
Gender					3,230
Male	1,264 (39.1)				
Female	1,966 (60.9)				
Age		40.27 yrs	20	75	3,203
Ethnicity					3,213
Caucasian	1,520 (47.3)				
Hispanic	1,003 (31.2)				
African American	605 (18.8)				
Other	85 (2.6)				
Marital status					3,212
Currently married	1,892 (58.9)				
Currently single	1,320 (41.1)				
No. of children at home		0.94	0 (none)	3*	3,215
Education level					3,219
High school diploma or GED	402 (12.5)				
Associate degree	154 (4.8)				
Bachelor's degree	2,231 (69.3)				
Master's degree	413 (12.8)				
Doctorate degree	19 (0.6)				
Tenure in current department		7.31 yrs	0.08	34	3,196
Prior employment in CJ system	If "yes"				3,214
Probation	727 (32.6)				
Law enforcement	348 (10.8)				
Corrections	525 (16.3)				
Parole	201 (6.3)				
* 3 or more children at home					

**Table 2.****Itemized Turnover Intention Analysis**

Item	N(%)	Mean	SD	Total N
1. Which of the following most clearly reflects your feelings about your future with this department in the next year ?		2.74	1.18	3,233
I definitely will not leave.	562 (17.4)			
I probably will not leave.	816 (25.2)			
I am uncertain.	1,012 (31.3)			
I probably will leave.	573 (17.7)			
I definitely will leave.	270 (8.4)			
2. How do you feel about leaving this department?		3.03	1.17	3,233
It is very unlikely that I would ever consider leaving this department.	207 (6.4)			
As far as I can see ahead, I intend to stay with this department.	1,190 (36.8)			
I have no feeling about one way or the other.	500 (15.5)			
I am seriously considering leaving in the near future.	980 (30.3)			
I am presently looking and planning to leave.	356 (11.0)			
3. If you were completely free to choose, would you prefer or not prefer to continue working with this department?		2.38	1.15	3,231
I prefer very much to continue working for this department.	747 (23.1)			
I prefer to work here.	1,395 (43.2)			
I don't care either way.	363 (11.2)			
I prefer not to work here.	577 (17.9)			3,219
I prefer very much not to continue working for this department.	149 (4.6)			
4. How important is it to you personally that you spend your career in this department rather than some other organization?		2.71	1.32	3,230
It is very important for me to spend my career in this department.	748 (23.2)			
It is fairly important.	856 (26.5)			
It is of some importance.	556 (17.2)			
I have mixed feelings about its importance.	738 (22.8)			
It is of no importance at all.	332 (10.3)			
Average		2.71	0.96	3,227

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**Table 3.**

## The Determinant of Turnover Intention among Line Officers (N = 2,637)

Included Variables	Equation 1		Equation 2		Equation 3	
	Beta <sup>b</sup>	VIF <sup>c</sup>	Beta <sup>b</sup>	VIF <sup>c</sup>	Beta <sup>b</sup>	VIF <sup>c</sup>
Individual Status Variables						
Gender (male = 1)	0.066 ***	1.041				
Age	-0.189 ***	1.061			-0.104 ***	1.109
Ethnicity (Caucasian = 1)	-0.132 ***	1.043			-0.046 ***	1.081
Marital status <sup>a</sup>	-0.071 **	1.213			-0.038 **	1.052
No. of children at home	-0.041 *	1.163				
Education level	0.138 ***	1.007			0.043 **	1.060
Organizational Variables						
Affective commitment			-0.373 ***	1.837	-0.356 ***	1.855
High sacrifice			-0.262 ***	1.134	-0.241 ***	1.167
Overall job satisfaction			-0.190 ***	2.143	-0.170 ***	2.169
Pay			-0.161 ***	1.508	-0.144 ***	1.558
Promotion			-0.048 **	1.520	-0.054 ***	1.519
Co-workers			-0.034 *	1.457	-0.041 **	1.294
Nature of work			-0.072 ***	2.150	-0.082 ***	2.176
Communication			-0.050 **	1.731	-0.045 **	1.654
Job stress			0.057 ***	1.528	0.050 **	1.513
Distributive justice			-0.073 ***	1.823	-0.069 ***	1.823
Social support			-0.040 *	1.925		
R-square =	0.090		0.595		0.612	
F =	23.809		351.198		295.353	
Significance =	0.000		0.000		0.000	

<sup>a</sup> 1 = currently married; <sup>b</sup> Standardized Coefficients; <sup>c</sup> Variance Inflation Factor

\* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01; \*\*\* p < 0.001

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**Table 4.****Indirect, Direct, and Total Effects of the Variables of Interests (N = 3,126)**

DEPENDENT VARIABLE												
	Overall Job Satisfaction			High Sacrifice Commitment			Affective Commitment			Turnover Intention		
Independent Variables	IE*	DE**	TE***	IE*	DE**	TE***	IE*	DE**	TE***	IE*	DE**	TE***
Compensation satisfaction	—	0.36	0.36	0.03	0.32	0.35	0.15	0.07	0.23	-0.23	-0.30	-0.53
Organizational justice				—	—	—	—	0.28	0.28	-0.10	—	-0.10
Overall job satisfaction				—	0.08	0.08	0.01	0.35	0.36	-0.14	-0.20	-0.34
High sacrifice commitment							—	0.08	0.08	-0.03	-0.23	-0.26
Affective commitment										—	-0.35	-0.35

\* Indirect Effect; \*\* Direct Effect; \*\*\* Total Effect.

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## Turnover Intention Among Probation Officers and Direct Care Staff: A Statewide Study

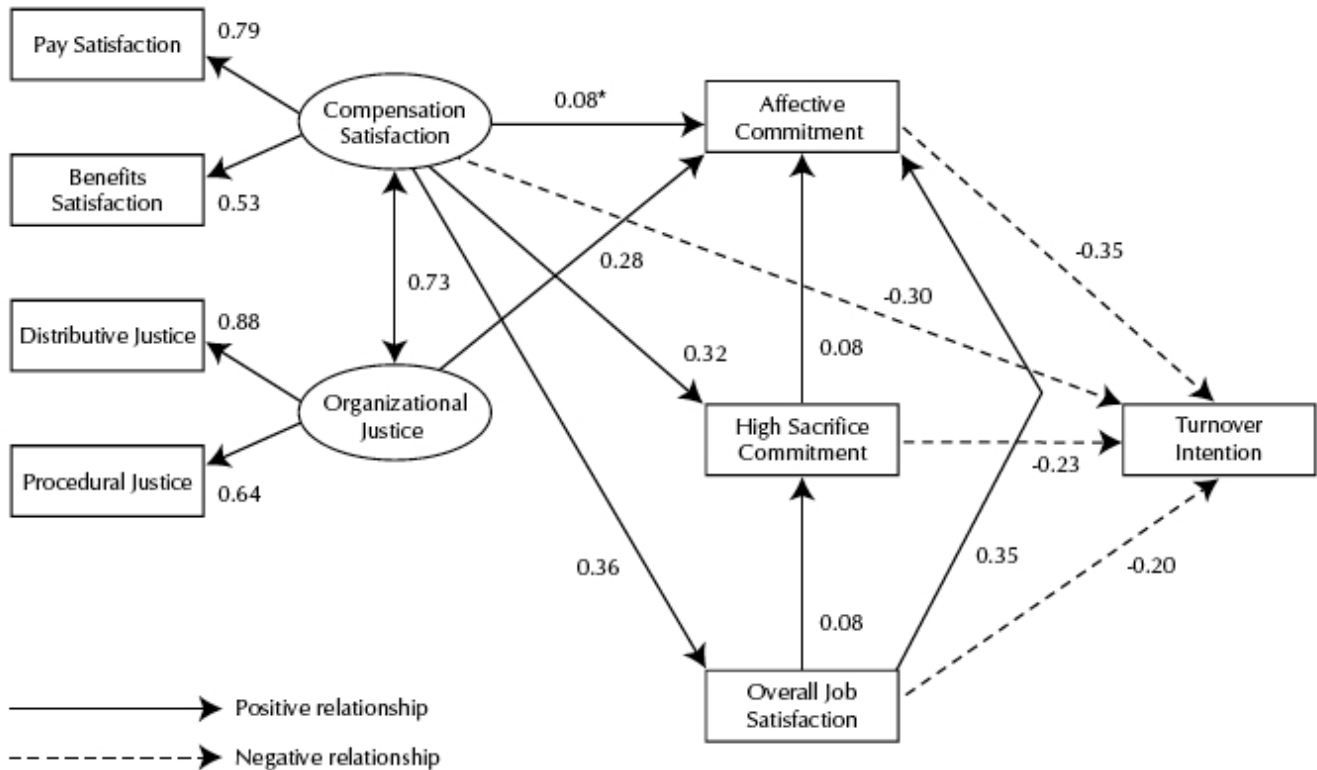
### Figures

[Figure 1](#)

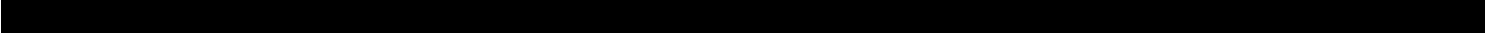
### Figure 1.

**FIGURE 1.**

*The Results of Structural Equation Modeling (N = 3,126)*



Note: All coefficients depicted by arrows are significant at 0.001 except when noted with\*, which is significant at 0.05.



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## Good Job or Dirty Work? Public Perceptions of Correctional Employment <sup>1</sup>

Jody L. Sundt  
Portland State University

[Public Attitudes About Prison Work](#)  
[Methods](#)  
[Results](#)  
[Discussion](#)

*Prison guards (correctional officers) are truly imprisoned: They are not only physically confined but are locked into movie caricatures, into pejorative prophecies (sometimes self-fulfilling), into anachronistic supervision patterns, into unfair civil service definitions, into undeserved hostilities and prejudgments of their actions. Officers are imprisoned by our ignorance of who they are and what they do, which is the price they pay for working behind walls. —Hans Toch (1981)*

**PHILIBER (1987) NOTES** that historically correctional work was viewed as a job of last resort, usually taken after previous job failures or failure in the military. Studies of correctional employment also create the impression that prison work is “dirty work” that is characterized by high levels of stress, role problems, dissatisfaction, and burnout. Furthermore, as the quote above by Hans Toch (1981) makes clear, this view is reinforced, if distorted, by unfavorable stereotypes of “guards.”

Although it seems clear that prison work is held in low esteem, very little research exists on public attitudes toward correctional employment. This is a notable oversight. The corrections system has become a major employer and the correctional industry a significant part of the economy. In 2006, for example, there were 765,466 correctional employees<sup>2</sup> in the United States with a monthly payroll of \$2.8 billion. Nationally, approximately 24 out of every 10,000 residents were employed in corrections (Perry, 2008). The U.S. Department of Labor (2009) reports that 417,810 individuals were employed as “corrections officers and jailers” in 2006 and another 37,400 were employed as “first-line supervisors/managers of correctional officers.”

Where it was once common for citizens to cry “Not in my backyard!” when faced with the prospect of locating a prison in their community, prison jobs are now aggressively pursued by local governments. This is especially true in rural areas. Beale (1996) reports, for example, that between 1992 and 1994, 83 state, federal and private prisons were opened in non-metro areas. This represents 60 percent of the new prison construction for this time period. According to Beale, prisons constructed in non-metro areas in this three-year period housed close to 65,000 inmates and provided 23,000 jobs in direct employment. Moreover, Beale reports that new

prisons are more likely to be sited in rural areas now than they were in the past.

Despite the willingness of communities to invest in and compete for prison jobs, little systematic knowledge exists about public support for the prison industry as a source of economic growth or perceptions about prison work. This is a surprising oversight given the massive investment of public money in prison expansion. Indeed, the willingness to compete for prison jobs stands in contrast to stereotypes about the quality and desirability of correctional employment. In one respect, prison work is seen as a much-needed, stable addition to the economy and, in another, as “dirty work” that is undesirable. This research explores public attitudes about the expansion of the prison industry and the quality of jobs found in prisons to illuminate this apparent contradiction in views. In addition, this work attempts to provide additional insight into a more general concern—understanding the quality of prison employment.

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## **Public Attitudes About Prison Work**

One of the few studies to examine attitudes about correctional officers was conducted by the Florida Department of Corrections (Tully & Morris, 1998). When asked to list those words that best describe correctional officers, Florida residents referred to correctional officers as “tough,” “brave,” “underpaid,” “dedicated,” and “strong.” Moreover, when representatives of the media were asked the same question, they responded similarly with descriptions such as “tough,” “brave,” “dedicated,” “stressed,” and “underpaid.” Respondents in this survey also said that they thought correctional officers should receive the same pay as police officers.

Although limited in scope and vulnerable to social desirability response bias, this research raises questions about longheld assumptions about public perceptions of correctional officers. The findings suggest that the public holds mostly positive views of correctional officers but views prison work as stressful and dangerous (officers are brave, tough, and strong). The findings also indicate that the public recognizes that COs are underappreciated (that is, dedicated but underpaid).

Studies of occupational prestige provide some additional insight into how the public views the quality of correctional employment. The 1989 wave of the General Social Survey included occupational prestige ratings for hundreds of occupations, including correctional officers. The average prestige score for all occupations was 43.4. Physicians received the highest prestige score, an 86. Other highly rated occupations included lawyers (75) and professors (74). The mean prestige score given to correctional officers was 40, placing this occupation below other “protective” services such as police officers (with prestige scores of 60) and firefighters (53), and below the group mean for protective services (49). Correctional officers were ranked above other “blue collar” and service jobs, however, such as carpenter (39), receptionist (39), truck driver (30), and cashier (29) (see Hauser & Warren, 1996; Nako & Treas, 1994). Although the public may view COs in positive terms, national rankings of occupational prestige provide a more qualified view of this job.

The very limited research to date suggests that prison jobs are slightly below average in quality, but the public holds favorable views of the individuals who perform this work. However, does the public consider prison work attractive—a job worth taking and investing in? These issues are addressed next. Specifically, this research examines three questions: 1) To what extent does the public support prison expansion for the purpose of economic growth? 2) Are members of the public willing to take a job as a correctional officer and what do they see as the most and least attractive features of this work? And finally, 3) What factors influence perceptions of job quality and support for prison expansion? Before answers are offered to these questions, the methods used in this research are described.

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## **Methods**

### *Sample and Data Collection*

A telephone survey of Carbondale, Illinois, residents was conducted in February of 2002 to assess public attitudes about correctional employment. Carbondale, Illinois, is a small community of 26,000 citizens and is the economic and educational center of the southern Illinois region. The southern Illinois region is geographically isolated from the rest of the state and experienced significant economic hardship following the widespread closure of coal mines after the passage of the Clean Air Acts of 1970 and 1990. Like many other states, Illinois utilized the prison industry to support this stagnant rural economy. Since 1993, for example, the Illinois Department of Corrections opened a number of correctional facilities in southern Illinois, including Tamms Correctional Center, Pinckneyville Correctional Center, Murphysboro Youth Center, Big Muddy River Correctional Center, and Southwestern Illinois Correctional Center. Furthermore, southern Illinois communities vie for new prisons by offering generous incentives to the department of corrections, such as free property and utilities, in the hopes of attracting more correctional facilities and the jobs that they bring.

In these respects, Carbondale is similar to other rural communities that have looked to prisons for economic opportunities. As such, the sample used here should provide a fair representation of attitudes held by those most likely to be asked to support a new prison and most likely to seek correctional employment. The sample is probably less representative of public attitudes about prison siting and correctional officers generally, since the residents of Carbondale are likely to have more direct experience and knowledge of prisons and prison work than the public at large. Given the lack of research in this area, however, it is unclear whether the sample is likely to overor underrepresent support for prison construction and correctional employment. It may be that familiarity breeds contempt; it might also make a practice or a profession acceptable.

The survey was administered to a random sample of 305 adults residing in Carbondale. No answer was obtained for 119 of the numbers selected, reducing the sample size to 186. Among those contacted, 101 respondents agreed to participate in the survey, for a response rate of 54.3 percent. Dillman's "Total Design Method" (1978) for telephone surveys was followed and the survey took approximately 10 minutes to complete.

Slightly more than half of the respondents were females, more than three-fourths were Caucasian or White, and close to 60 percent had completed a college degree (associates or higher). Most of the respondents were employed and/or enrolled in school at the time of the survey (only 1 percent of the sample was unemployed), although close to half of those surveyed reported an income of less than \$20,000 per year. The average age of the sample was 39 years and, on average, the sample reported holding moderate political views. Based on U.S. Census data for Jackson County, Illinois, the county where Carbondale is located, the sample slightly under-represents males and African Americans and over-represents those with a bachelor's degree or higher level of education. The unemployment rate in Jackson County, at the time the survey was administered was 5.2 percent (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009).

### *Measures*

**Dependent Variables.** This research examined two sets of attitudes: support for expanding prisons and perceptions about the quality of jobs found in prisons. Two measures of support for expanding prisons were developed. A global measure of support for prison expansion was included to assess general support for prison construction. Respondents were asked whether they supported "building a new prison in your community." Response options included "strongly support building a new prison," "slightly support a new prison," "slightly oppose a new prison," and "strongly oppose a new prison." In addition, respondents were asked to rate how important it was for local governments to invest in and attract the following types of industry to the region: tourism, fisheries, agriculture, wineries, manufacturing, retail, medical industries, prisons, education, mining, and gambling. All of these industries had been mentioned in the media or in political campaigns as potential sources of economic growth in southern Illinois. For each item, respondents were asked whether they thought that it was "very important," "important,"

“somewhat important,” or “not important” to attract this type of industry to the region. This item allowed us to examine the relative support given to expanding prisons compared to other industries.

Attitudes about correctional employment were also assessed using multiple items. First, respondents were asked how they would rate “the overall quality of jobs found in prisons.” The response options were “very high quality,” “high quality,” “average quality,” “low quality,” and “very low quality.” Next, participants were asked how likely it was that they would take a job as a CO if they were currently looking for a job. Response options ranged from very likely to very unlikely.

Two openended questions were also posed. First, respondents were asked to report in their own words what they thought would be the “most appealing or attractive quality” about working as a correctional officer. Next, participants were asked what they thought would be the “least appealing or attractive quality” about this type of work.

Finally, a domain-specific measure of perceived job quality was developed drawing on items contained in the General Social Survey. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement on a four-point Likert scale with a number of statements about correctional officers’ jobs (see [Table 1](#)). The statements measured perceptions of job security, income, opportunity for advancement, recognition and respect, leisure time, interesting work, independence, work environment, responsibility, contact with others, helping others, safety, equal opportunity for advancement, and job meaningfulness.

**Independent Variables.** Among the independent variables examined were age, gender (1 = female, 0 = male), race (1 = non-White, 0 = White), level of education (measured on an ordinal scale from 1 to 7), income (measured on an ordinal scale from 1 to 10), political orientation (measured on a 9 point scale with 9 equal to “very conservative,” 5 equal to “moderate,” and 1 equal to “very liberal”), employment status (1 = employed full-time, 0 = other employment status), job security (an ordinal measure ranging from 1), and job satisfaction (measured with the Quinn and Staines (1979) global job satisfaction scale; alpha = .79). These variables were included in the analysis to explore whether support for prison expansion and attitudes about correctional officers were associated with respondents’ socio-demographic characteristics and job experiences.

Historically, correctional officers have been ideologically conservative white males from rural areas with little or no post-secondary education (see Philiber 1987; Lombardo, 1981). Measures of gender, race, education, and political orientation were included to examine whether those traditionally drawn to prison work are also more likely to support prison construction, view correctional work positively, and consider becoming a correctional officer themselves. Economic and occupational variables were similarly examined to assess whether support for prisons and prison work was associated with income, job security, and job satisfaction. It seemed likely, for example, that respondents with higher levels of income, stable jobs, and jobs that are satisfying would be less likely to support correctional work because they had less need or desire for a new job. Finally, age was included as a control variable, with the expectation that older respondents are generally less willing to change jobs.

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## **Results**

### *Support for Expanding the Prison Industry*

The majority of the study participants indicated that they were opposed to building of a new prison in their community. Thirty-two percent indicated that they were “strongly opposed” and 30 percent said that they were “slightly opposed” to a new prison. Among the remaining respondents, 23 percent indicated that they would “slightly support” the building of a new prison and, 15 percent indicated that they would “strongly support” such a plan.

To further investigate preferences for expanding industries of all types, respondents were asked to rate the importance of attracting various industries to the area, including prisons. These results appear in [Figure 1](#), which rank-orders each type of industry by the magnitude of the item means. Respondents felt strongly that education was the most important industry to develop or expand. Ninety-eight percent reported that it was either important or very important to develop and expand education. Agriculture, mining, and medical industries all had mean ratings equal to or greater than three, which is associated with the response option “important.” At least 78 percent of the respondents indicated that agricultural, mining, and medical industries were important or very important to expand. Sixty-eight percent rated retail as important or very important; and over 55 percent of the respondents indicated that tourism, fisheries, wineries, and mining were important or very important. In contrast, 31.9 percent, 27.7 percent and 14.9 percent of the respondents said that the development or expansion of prisons in southern Illinois was somewhat important, important, and very important, respectively. The development or expansion of gambling received the least support, with 75 percent indicating that expansion of this industry was not important.

Although respondents felt strongly that it was important for the region to develop employment opportunities, little support existed for expanding prison jobs. This was true whether respondents were asked if they supported building a new prison or when asked about the relative importance of attracting more prisons to the area. It is unclear whether respondents felt that the region already had enough prison jobs or that this type of work was undesirable. The second possibility is considered below.

### *Perceptions of Job Quality*

Previous research finds that correctional work is viewed as somewhat more prestigious than other types of “blue collar” and service occupations. A similar result was obtained here. The majority of respondents (57 percent) surveyed felt that the overall quality of jobs found in prisons was “average.” The remaining responses were normally distributed around this middle point, with 23 percent reporting that prison jobs were of high or very high quality and 20 percent indicating that such jobs were of low or very low quality.

Participants were also questioned about their own willingness to become a correctional officer. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents indicated that they would be very unlikely to take a job as a CO. Just 11 percent and 3 percent, respectively, indicated that they would be somewhat likely and very likely to take a job as a CO if one was offered.

To provide additional insights into the public’s perceptions about the desirable and undesirable aspects of prison work, respondents were asked what they thought would be the most and least “appealing or attractive quality of working as a correctional officer.” In response to this openended question, “the salary” or “money” was the most frequently mentioned appealing quality, cited 32 times by respondents. “Good benefits” were also noted 18 times and helping inmates and participating in rehabilitation efforts were cited 15 times. Job security was another frequently reported response, which was mentioned nine times. Other qualities mentioned included social status or respect, providing a public service, performing interesting work, gaining knowledge of the criminal justice system, structured work, having the uniform provided, and “running a tight ship.” A substantial number of respondents (17 percent), however, said that they found “nothing” appealing or attractive about this type of work and another 9 did not respond to this question.

Among the least desirable job qualities cited were danger and risk, which were noted 36 times. Working with inmates was also seen as an unappealing feature of prison work (mentioned 25 times) as was the prison environment (reported 19 times). Other unappealing qualities of prison work included the hours, the co-workers, the unpredictability of the work, boredom, stress, and the prison administration. A number of respondents also referred to a more generalized quality of hopelessness, negativity, moral and ethical ambiguity associated with prison work, or as one respondent put it “bad vibes.” Finally, three respondents felt that “everything” about the job was unappealing.

Responses to these open-ended questions were largely confirmed when respondents were asked, later in the survey, to indicate their level of agreement on a four-point Likert scale with 15 statements that tapped specific domains of job quality (see [Table 1](#)). On average, participants agreed more strongly with the idea that CO jobs require lots of responsibility, are meaningful, useful to society, and provide the opportunity to help others. Substantial agreement was also expressed for the view that COs have a lot of contact with others while on the job, that this is an interesting job, and that CO jobs are characterized by a high amount of job security. Respondents also tended to agree that “COs are in an occupation that is recognized and respected,” “All people who are qualified have an equal opportunity to become a correctional officer,” “COs have opportunity for advancement,” and “COs receive high incomes for the work that they do.” The community respondents tended to disagree with the view that COs have opportunities to work independently, have lots of leisure time, work in safe and healthy environments, and work in pleasant work environments.

These results indicate that members of the public consider prison work meaningful and useful—clearly positive attributes. The public also felt that this work involved high levels of responsibility, although whether this is seen as desirable or not is unclear. The work environment and the perceived risk associated with prison work were viewed as the least desirable aspects of the job.

### *Sources of Variation in Attitudes*

Communities often vie for new prisons in order to provide additional employment opportunities for their residents. This position assumes that residents will support such a policy, at least in part, because the jobs are desirable. This study explored the relationship between perceptions of job quality, the willingness to become a CO, and support for building additional prisons. In addition, the study considered the extent to which attitudes are shaped by respondents’ sociodemographic characteristics and their own employment experiences. These results are presented in [Table 2](#).

The model predicting perceptions of job quality explained approximately 20 percent of the variation in this variable, a statistically significant result. Politically conservative respondents held more favorable attitudes about the quality of prison jobs than liberals, whereas respondents with higher levels of education and those with higher levels of job security were less likely to view these jobs as high quality.

Only level of education was significantly related to the likelihood of taking a job as a CO, although the overall model was not statistically significant. The more educated the respondent, the less likely he or she was to consider becoming a correctional officer. Perceptions of job quality, job security, job satisfaction, age, gender, income, race, and political ideology were unrelated to a willingness to become a CO.

Support for building a new prison, in contrast, was predicted by gender, perceptions of job quality, and willingness to take a job as a CO. Women were more likely to support building a new prison. In addition, those who held favorable attitudes about the quality of jobs found in prisons and those who were more willing to become a CO were more supportive of prison construction. The overall model was statistically significant and explained close to 24 percent of the variation in the dependent variable.

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## **Discussion**

### *Is This a Good Job?*

Although popular portrayals of correctional officers are often highly negative, members of the public appear to take a more sanguine view of prison work. Most respondents felt that the jobs found in prison are not particularly good or bad, but of average quality. Perceptions did not

differ substantially by gender, race, age, or income, although those with higher levels of education held less favorable views of prison work than others.

These findings have implications for understanding what type of employee may be attracted to correctional work, and in turn help us better understand correctional officers. Importantly, age, race, and gender were unrelated to respondent's views of job quality and their willingness to become a correctional officer. This finding indicates that efforts to diversify prison work will not be met with resistance by potential employees. Still, the results provide evidence that efforts to "professionalize" the correctional workforce by attracting employees with higher levels of education may be challenging. Respondents with more education were significantly less likely to view correctional work positively or consider taking a job as a CO.

The most attractive quality of prison work appears to be its economic benefits: pay, health insurance, a pension, and job security. Little support was expressed for the more intrinsic qualities of prison work, although a number of respondents indicated that helping rehabilitate inmates appealed to them. Moreover, the job was viewed as meaningful and socially beneficial. Respondents tended to hold stronger views about what they saw as the occupation's downside. Namely, the risk associated with prison and the work environment were seen as significant drawbacks to correctional employment. Efforts to attract new recruits to corrections should take account of these factors. In addition, these results suggest that COs are likely drawn to prison work for practical, economic reasons.

### *Prison Expansion and Prison Work*

As noted above, prison expansion—particularly in rural areas—has been supported in part because it is thought to promote prosperity, or at least economic stability (but see Hooks, Mosher, Rotolo & Lobao, 2004; King, Mauer & Huling, 2003). Among other things, this assumes that prison jobs are desirable to potential employees. This study indicated that members of the public who are willing to take a job as a CO and those who hold favorable views about the quality of jobs found in prison are more willing to support building a new prison in their community. Moreover, this was true even after controls were introduced for a number of socio-demographic and work-related variables.

It is reasonable to expect, then, that support for prison expansion will be highest in those places where prison work is viewed as desirable. Low levels of job security and political conservatism are indirectly related to support for prison expansion, through their relationship to perceived job quality. The analysis was not particularly successful, however, in identifying the factors that influence the willingness to become a CO. This result may be due to a combination of a small sample size and lack of variation on this variable.

Although the desirability of correctional work was related to support for prison expansion, it should be recalled that respondents expressed little support for expanding prisons and few respondents said that they themselves were willing to become a CO if they needed a job. Despite broad agreement about the need to develop employment opportunities in southern Illinois, respondents placed little importance on the need to develop additional prison jobs; only gambling received less support. Instead, respondents favored attracting educational, medical, and manufacturing industries to the region. Thus, although prison work was not necessarily viewed as a job of last resort, given a choice, most respondents indicated that they would prefer that their community develop other job opportunities.

### *Remaining Questions*

Several questions regarding citizens' attitudes about correctional employment and prison expansion remain. These questions may be classified into two broad categories: those dealing with the quality of prison work and those dealing with the use of prisons as a source of economic growth. In the interest of improving prisons and correctional work, researchers might ask: How do public attitudes affect support for correctional officers and their own feelings about work? How do beliefs about prison work affect recruitment efforts, job training, and work

performance? Do attitudes about correctional work, particularly those held by family and friends, affect job retention, work stress, or other work-related outcomes? How do public attitudes about correctional officers differ from those about other protective service occupations?

The desire to improve the quality of correctional work should not prevent us from looking critically at the “prison industrial complex” (or vice versa). Some of the questions in this regard are difficult and controversial. We may ask, for example, whether it is appropriate for a democracy to pursue correctional policies in part to employ some segments of society at the expense of others. On a less philosophical note, researchers should ask whether these are the types of jobs that communities want and whether prisons in fact contribute to the economic well-being of a community. How do prison closures affect local economies? Similarly, what effect do the local economy and the availability of jobs have on people’s willingness to take prison jobs and support prison expansion? Are residents of rural areas more likely to support (or tolerate) prison construction and oppose prison closures? What role do trade unions play in promoting various views of prison work and the need for additional prisons?

In short, remarkably little is known about the public’s views of correctional officers, prison expansion or retraction, and the quality of jobs found in prisons. As governments grapple with the ramifications of cutting budgets in the context of a global economic downturn, there is a pressing need to prioritize public spending. For the first time in decades, states are taking concerted efforts to reduce the use of incarceration and close prisons in an effort to fill budget shortfalls. There is a real need for research to help inform these decisions to ensure the economic well-being of communities and provide meaningful, rewarding occupational opportunities to their citizens.

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## Good Job or Dirty Work? Public Perceptions of Correctional Employment

### Tables

[Table 1](#)

[Table 2](#)

Table 1.				
Domain-Specific Perceptions of CO Job Quality				
Job Characteristic	Response Options			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
COs Have Very Little Responsibility*	41.4	54.5	2.0	2.0
CO Work is Meaningless*	38.0	59.0	2.0	1.0
Job Not Very Useful to Society*	28.7	56.4	5.9	8.9
COs Can Help Others	2.0	12.1	67.7	18.2
A Lot of Contact With Other People at Work	1.0	12.5	72.9	13.5
Uninteresting Jobs*	12.4	66.0	19.6	2.1
High Level of Job Security	3.4	30.3	56.2	10.1
Recognized & Respected Occupation	6.1	36.4	52.5	5.1
Equal Opportunity to be a CO	11.2	27.0	56.2	5.6
High Income	5.9	43.5	45.9	4.7
Little Opportunity for Advancement*	8.6	37.0	49.4	4.9
Opportunity to Work Independently	12.0	61.4	20.5	6.0
A Lot of Leisure Time	6.3	70.0	23.8	0.0
Workin Safe and Healthy Environment	23.2	53.7	23.2	0.0
Pleasant Work Environment	40.8	52.0	7.1	0.0

\* Item is reverse scored; all means are based on the reverse scored variable such that higher scores represent more favorable attitudes toward CO jobs.

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**Table 2.****Determinates of Perceptions of Job Quality, Willingness to Take Job as CO, and Support for Prison Expansion**

Variable	Quality of Prison Jobs		Take CO Job		Build New Prison	
	b		b		b	
Age	-.002	-.037	-.002	-.037	.003	.056
ConservativePoliticalOrientation	.104*	.295	-.060	-.126	.028	.055
Female	-.201	-.140	-.142	-.073	.395	.188*
Income	-.026	-.093	.073	.193	-.037	-.091
LevelofEducation	-.103*	-.246	-.162*	-.289	.070	.115
Non-White	.005	.071	-.008	-.075	-.007	-.069
JobSecurity	-.254*	-.203	-.164	-.098	.190	.104
JobSatisfaction	-.034	-.048	-.015	-.016	.031	.031
QualityofPrisonJobs	—	—	.265	.197	.386	.265*
TakeCOJob	—	—	—	—	.366	.338*
Model Statistics	R <sup>2</sup>		R <sup>2</sup>		R <sup>2</sup>	
	.209*		.127		.235*	
*p .05						

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## Good Job or Dirty Work? Public Perceptions of Correctional Employment

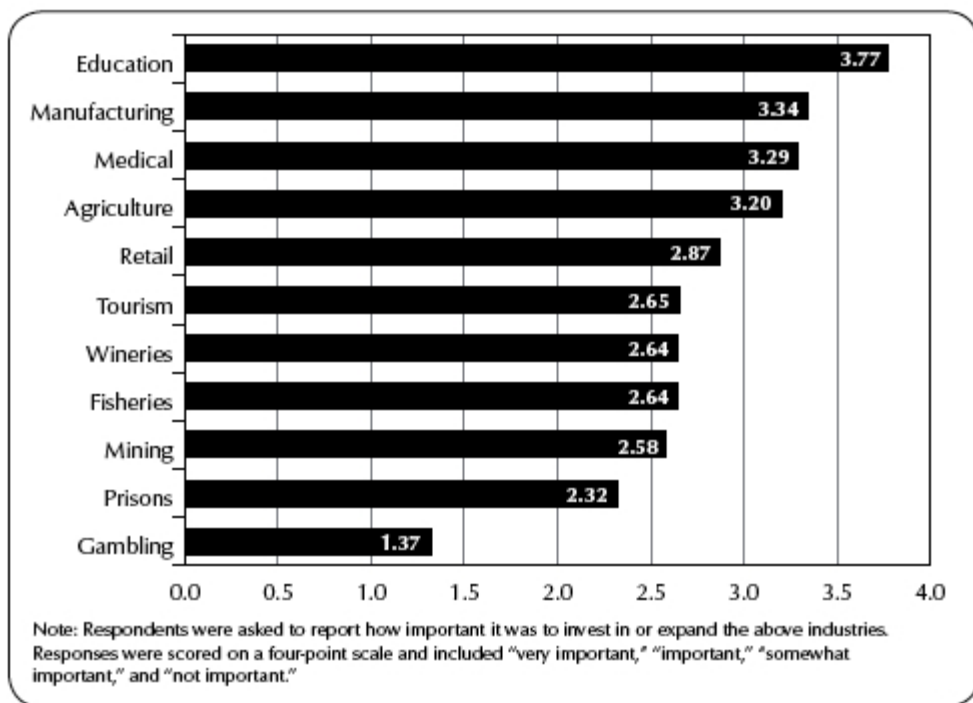
### Figures

[Figure 1](#)


Figure 1.

**FIGURE 1.**

*Mean Level of Importance Given to Expanding Specific Industries*



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## Predicting Juvenile Recidivism using the San Diego Regional Resiliency Check-up

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[Methods](#)

[Results](#)

[Discussion](#)

**ALTHOUGH COMMITMENT TO** the use of evidence-based practices in probation is widespread, debate continues about the design, use, and benefits of assessing risks and needs using an actuarial tool (Baird, 2009; Bogue, Campbell, & Clawson, 2004). The use of an assessment tool is the undeniable basis of evidence-based practice and the ability of actuarial risk assessment tools to improve prediction over clinical judgment of probation officers has been documented in a thorough review of relevant literature (Gottfredson & Moriarty, 2006). Even with these strong foundations, probation departments remain far from the goal of universal adoption of risk/ needs assessments. This may in part involve a lack of trust, by probation officers and justice partners, in the ability of the tools to accurately predict the probability of recidivism.

The key to a more widespread use of risk/ needs assessment tools is improved trust that actuarial tools are reliably able to place offenders that pose different risks to the community in categories that accurately reflect those risks. In other words, the risk assessment tool must be statistically valid. The use of meta analysis is the gold standard in considering a practice to be evidence based. In the assessment tool validation literature, for example, the adult assessment tool, the Level of Service Inventory (LSI), has been subjected to at least 47 studies of its predictive validity (Vose, Cullen, & Smith, 2008). The current article seeks to add to the published documentation supporting the validity of the San Diego Risk and Resiliency Checkup.

The goal of evidence-based practice is to reduce recidivism among probationers. The first step to this goal is understanding the offender's risks and needs. The results of the assessment must provide accurate information as to the risk that the probationer poses to the community and the criminogenic needs that must be addressed in order to reduce recidivism. Adherence to the risk principle means that offenders must be supervised according to the risk that they pose to the community (Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2004). Research shows that resources are used most effectively when they are focused on high-risk offenders. In addition, the risk/need responsivity model asserts that the provision of community-based services must be based on the criminogenic needs of the individual offender in order to reduce rates of recidivism (Bonta & Andrews,

2007).

As the assessment of risk and need is fundamental to later decisions about the youth's level of supervision as well as what services he or she will receive while under supervision, it is especially important that risk assessment tools be grounded in empirical research. A tool that combines a validated risk assessment with an intuitive needs component allows community corrections officers to effectively balance accountability and rehabilitation. The question remains: how well does the San Diego Regional Resiliency Check-up (SDRRC) function?

The SDRRC is a 60-item measure of risk and protective factors related to a juvenile's functioning. Risk factors are designed to measure the level of dysfunction in a youth's life, while protective factors measure the extent to which a minor has "protection" or positive factors in his/her life. The risk and protective items measured on the SDRRC are divided into six domains: individual factors, delinquency factors, family factors, educational factors, substance use factors, and peer factors. The SDRRC is designed to be administered at the time of the initial investigation and then again every six months during the period of community supervision.

When the SDRRC was created by Brad Bogue of the Justice System Assessment and Training in Boulder, Colorado, he and his team established the content validity by conducting a thorough review of the literature to ascertain which protective and risk factors were most highly predictive of recidivism (Bogue, personal communication 4/28/2007). Later research established the predictive validity of the SDRRC (Little, n.d.; Susan Turner & Fain, 2006; S. Turner, Fain, & Sehgal, 2005). The next two paragraphs describe the predictive validity research.

In 2002, Little, in an unpublished study, examined data on approximately 2700 adolescents. Little examined the Total Resiliency, Total Protective, and Total Risk scores obtained from the SDRRC and their relationship to criminal activity. She found that the Total Resiliency, Total Protective, and Total Risk scales correlated with both prior and recidivistic activity, and the Total Resiliency score correlated at the highest level (past criminal behavior  $r = -.25$ , future criminal behavior  $r = -.15$ ). The Total Resiliency score (overall SDRRC score) provided predictive validity over and above other known risk factors, such as past behavior and demographic variables. (Little, n.d.).

In 2006, Turner and Fain examined the predictive validity of the SDRRC with the Total Resiliency score and recidivism, categorized into "low," "medium," and "high" categories ( $N = 1200$ ), with a follow-up period of 12 months. Results indicated that the Total Resiliency score was significantly related to juvenile recidivism. They also correlated other SDRRC subscale scores with recidivism. Excluding the Total Resiliency score, the strongest correlation with recidivism was the Total Protective subscale score ( $r = -.25$ ). The risk and protective subscale correlations ranged from  $r = -.12$  to  $r = -.21$ ,  $p < .05$ .

These two studies suggest that the SDRRC merits consideration as an evidence-based assessment tool. The current research aims to strengthen the evidence showing the SDRRC has predictive validity by replicating Turner and Fain's published research. Our replication project measures the relationship between SDRRC risk scores and criminal recidivism in order to determine which score is the best predictor of recidivism. Additionally, based on the empirical evidence, we suggest revised cutoff scores for the tool that creates categories of youth under probation supervision that allow for reasonable groupings of youth who can be expected to recidivate at different levels.

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## **Methods**

### *Predictive Validity Study*

**Sample.** Information for all 6766 juveniles referred to the San Diego County Probation Department in 2004 who had an SDRRC completed was collected. For youth with multiple SDRRC administrations in 2004, the first SDRRC administered in 2004 was used for the current study. Youth under 11 and over 15, those with missing or inaccurate data, youth who had their records sealed by the court, those who were not wards of the court under welfare and institutions code 601 or 602, and those who lived outside San Diego County at the time they were assessed were removed from the sample. The final sample consisted of 2076 juveniles.

**Procedure.** Independent and dependent variables were collected through probation department electronic databases and through San Diego County District Attorney automated files. In order to ensure that youth in the sample remained in San Diego County during the follow-up period, electronic contact records were reviewed to look for mention of moving out of state or otherwise not being available to recidivate. [Table 1](#) shows all of the variables used in the study.

**Dependent Variable.** The dependent variable for this project was recidivism. Recidivism is defined as the filing of a juvenile petition or the adult parallel, the filing of an adult complaint, after the first administration of the SDRRC in 2004. The instant offense was defined as the petition filed immediately prior to the 2004 SDRRC administration. Any petitions filed prior to the instant offense were considered prior criminal activity.

#### *Independent Variables*

**San Diego Regional Resiliency Check-up.** The SDRRC produces three scores: the Total Resiliency Score (range -60 to 60), the Total Protective Score (range 0 to 60), and the Total Risk Score (range -60 to 0). The six domains measured in the SDRRC are delinquency, education, family, peer, substance use, and individual. Each domain includes 10 items; five protective items are scored in a positive direction and five risk items are scored in a negative direction. All of the domain scores range from -10 to 10. Each scale is scored in such a manner that the higher a score is, the more resilient the youth is. This means that a high resiliency score should be correlated with a low recidivism rate.

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## **Results**

**Description of Sample.** The average age of the 2076 youth in the sample at the time of the SDRRC assessment in 2004 was 14.3 years and ranged from 11 to 15 years. The sample was 72 percent male and 28 percent female. Nearly half of the sample was Hispanic (49 percent), 20 percent were African-American, an additional 20 percent were Caucasian, with the remaining youth categorized as other (11 percent).

Ethnic groups scored differently on the SDRRC Total Resiliency Score. Hispanics had the lowest total resiliency score at 9.5 (lower scores indicate higher risk of recidivism). African-Americans had the second lowest score, 11.0, and Caucasians scored at the highest average score, 14.2. Statistically significant differences were observed between the Caucasian score and the Hispanic group.

SDRRC scores did not differ significantly across gender. Gender did, however, play a role in differences in recidivism. Males were significantly more likely to recidivate than females. Rates of recidivism also differed across ethnic groups. Post-hoc testing revealed that while African Americans and Mexican/Hispanics do not recidivate at significantly different levels, Caucasians differ from both other groups at a statistically significant level ( $p < .01$ ). Please see [tables 2](#) and [3](#) for information on recidivism rates across gender and ethnicity.

#### *Characteristics of the SDRRC*

Past research on the SDRRC suggests that the SDRRC subscales and scales are highly inter-correlated (Little, n.d.; Turner & Fain, 2006). In order to determine whether or not this was true within the current sample, the correlations between all total scale scores and domain scale scores

were computed and can be seen in [Table 4](#). The current sample has high correlations between each of the domain scales and the total scales; therefore we examined whether using any individual domain score would improve prediction of recidivism over the power of any of the summary scores.

Probation officers introduce bias into their scoring of the SDRRC. The amount of variance accounted for by probation officer was calculated using intraclass correlation coefficients (ICCs) (see [Table 5](#)). ICCs provide information about the degree of lack of independence in scores. An ICC greater than .05 indicates that nesting should be used in analyses. Given that all total scores and domain scale scores on the SDRRC have ICCs greater than .05, all analyses in this project were conducted controlling for probation officer bias through multilevel modeling.

*Predictive validity.* In order to determine which unique total scale or domain subscale serves as the best predictor for later delinquent behavior, correlations were run examining the relationship between recidivism and the various SDRRC scores (see [Table 6](#)). The Delinquency domain subscale score was one of the two best predictors of recidivism ( $r = -.38, p < .01$ ). The Total Risk score was the second. The Delinquency domain score provides the most consistent predictive ability across ethnic and gender groups.

### *Logistic Regression*

Once the bivariate correlations were complete, analyses were conducted to determine whether, in combination with the Delinquency domain score, the juvenile delinquent's ethnicity, gender, or age were associated with later delinquent behavior. [Table 7](#) provides the results of the logistic regression analysis. The results show that age at first offense was the most significant variable related to later delinquent behavior. This finding is in line with almost all research examining predictors of recidivism. The results also show that the Delinquency domain score is significantly related to recidivism.

The multi-variate findings lend support to the use of the Delinquency domain scale as a predictor of risk of recidivism. A youth's ethnicity (African-American and Hispanic) was also significantly related to recidivism. This is consistent with the current study's bivariate analyses, which revealed that African-American and Hispanic youth had significantly higher rates of recidivism. Being male was also found to be significantly related to recidivism, which again is consistent with previous findings that males have significantly higher base rates of recidivism, as compared to females. Interactions between the delinquency domain score and ethnicity were non-significant, indicating that ethnicity does not change the relationship between delinquency and recidivism.

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## **Discussion**

Based on the combined strength of the previous and the current research, we conclude that the SDRRC is a validated risk/need assessment tool grounded in empirical research. The Delinquency domain scale score shows predictive validity over and above other common factors related to recidivistic behavior, such as age at first offense. While all of the total scales and domain scales are predictive of recidivistic behavior, the Delinquency domain scale had the strongest and most consistent relationship.

Use of the Delinquency subscale rather than the Total Resiliency score eliminates some of the previously noted problems of highly correlated domain scores and provides a static risk score that is useful for probation departments that want to place youth into supervision levels based on the risk that they pose to the community. The next step that is required in order for probation officers to make appropriate decisions about placement of youth in supervision is the creation of empirically based cutoff scores.

Useful cutoff scores are associated with recidivism rates. To establish cutoff scores, the



recidivism rates associated with each delinquency score (i.e. -10, -9, -8, etc.) were examined. Cutoffs were created by using the overall sample Delinquency domain score mean and one standard deviation above and below the mean. These new groupings can be seen, along with their recidivism rates, in [Table 8](#).

Use of the Delinquency domain score and the new delinquency cutoffs allows for better utilization of the SDRRC. This revision allows the SDRRC to separate the risk and needs assessment in order to more precisely address both.

***Limitations and Future Directions of Research.*** Whenever a measurement of criminal behavior is chosen, there are inherent limitations in that choice. In this case, using criminal petitions means that those offenses that result in official intervention are used. Using officially documented criminal behavior may underestimate the amount of actual criminal behavior exhibited. A useful addition to this body of research would be a replication study using self-reported criminal behavior.

The truncation of the sample to younger adolescents was a useful starting point, but research could be more valuable if the sample were expanded to older adolescents.

While the severity groupings created for this project were done using recidivism data, it is important that these be replicated in future work. This replication would allow for a more confident use of the groupings as tools to determine the most appropriate level of supervision using an evidence-based approach.

Finally, the use of only one of the domain scale scores leaves open the question of what to do with the remainder of the SDRRC. The San Diego County Probation Department research unit is currently designing a research project that will use discriminate analysis to determine how the 50 remaining items on the SDRRC can best be configured to provide officers and youth information that can be used to create customized and useful case plans.

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## [References](#)

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## Predicting Juvenile Recidivism using the San Diego Regional Resiliency Check-up

### Tables

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**Table 1.**  
**Study Variables**

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable
SDRRC Total Resiliency Score	Recidivism (dichotomized as present or absent) misdemeanor or felony occurring after the SDRRC administration date.
SDRRC Total Protective Score	
SDRRC Total Risk Score	
SDRRC Individual Domain Score	
SDRRC Family Domain Score	
SDRRC Peer Domain Score	
SDRRC Education Domain Score	
SDRRC Substance Use Domain Score	
SDRRC Delinquency Domain Score	
Ethnicity	
Gender	
The interaction between African American Ethnicity and Delinquency Domain Score	
The interaction between Mexican Hispanic Ethnicity and Delinquency Domain Score	
Age at first offense (dichotomized-14 and earlier or 15 and later)	
Status (601 or 602)	

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**Table 2.****Recidivism by Gender**

Gender	Recidivism Base Rate
Female (n = 591)	37%
Male (n = 1485)	48%

[back to top](#)**Table 3.****Recidivism by ethnic group**

Ethnic group	Recidivism Base Rate
African American (n = 421)	51%
Mexican/Hispanic (n = 1017)	47%
Caucasian (n = 419)	38%

[back to top](#)**Table 4.****Correlations Between SDRRC Total and Domain Scales**

Protective	Scale Risk Scale	Delinquency	Scale	Education	Scale Family	Scale Peer Scale	Substance Use Scale	Individual Scale
Resiliency Total	.95	-.95	.84	.82	.81	.88	.83	.88
Protective Total		-.81	.81	.80	.78	.85	.75	.85
Risk Total			-.79	-.76	-.77	-.82	-.84	-.83
Delinquency				.62	.62	.72	.64	.70
Education					.60	.65	.57	.67
Family						.66	.63	.62
Peer							.66	.79
Substance Use								.69

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**Table 5.****Total and Domain Scale Intraclass Correlation Coefficients**

Scale	Intraclass correlation coefficient
Total Resiliency Score	.337
Total Protective Score	.318
Total Risk Score	.353
Total Delinquency Domain	.334
Total Education Domain	.212
Total Family Domain	.238
Total Peer Domain	.335
Total Substance Use Domain	.319
Total Individual Domain	.312

[back to top](#)**Table 6.****Predictive Validity Overall and Across Gender and Ethnicity**

Scale	Overall	Male	Female	AfricanAmerican	Mexican/Hispanic	White
Resiliency	-.37**	-.39**	-.32**	-.46**	-.39**	-.18*
Protective	-.33**	-.35**	-.27**	-.37**	-.36**	-.15
Risk	.38**	.40**	.35**	.49**	.39**	.20*
Delinquency	-.38**	-.41**	-.31**	-.44**	-.39**	-.29**
Education	-.28**	-.28**	-.25**	-.38**	-.28**	-.09
Family	-.32**	-.35**	-.31**	-.42**	-.33**	-.14
Peer	-.35**	-.36**	-.29**	-.43**	-.35**	-.13
Substance Use	-.30**	-.33**	-.25**	-.38**	-.33**	-.16*
Individual	-.29**	-.29**	-.26*	-.29**	-.33**	-.12

Note: \* denotes  $p < .05$ ; \*\* denotes  $p < .01$ [back to top](#)

**Table 7.****Logistic Regression Results for Petitions during Follow-up**

Variables	Estimate	Standard error
Delinquency domain score	-.110 (.025)**	.896
African American	.650 (.166) **	1.915
Mexican Hispanic	.340 (.129) **	1.405
Male	.447 (.124) **	1.612
Age at first offense	.665 (.133) **	1.945
Interaction: delinquency and African American	.650 (.166)	.931
Interaction: delinquency and Mexican/Hispanic	.001 (.032)	1.001

\* denotes  $p < .05$ ; \*\* denotes  $p < .01$

Note: Caucasian ethnic group not included in analysis as it is used as reference group for African-Americans and Mexican Hispanics.

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**Table 8.****Delinquency Severity Groupings**

Level	Delinquency Sub Score range	Recidivism Likelihood (based on sample)
Intensive	-4 to -10	67%
High	-3 to 1	43%
Medium	2 to 6	28%
Low	7 to 10	10%

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## New Directions in Juvenile Sex Offender Management: Designing a Collaborative Approach

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### [The Comprehensive Juvenile Sex Offender Management Initiative Summary](#)

**JUVENILE SEX OFFENDING** continues to be a serious problem, comprising 20.61 percent of sexual offense arrests and 16.7 percent of all arrests for forcible rape (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2002). Additionally, it is estimated that 30 to 50 percent of all child molestations are perpetrated by adolescent males (Sickmund, Snyder, & Poe-Yamagata, 1997). Despite an increasingly enhanced understanding of factors related to juvenile sex offending, this category of offenses continues to account for a significant portion of juvenile delinquency. In fact, over the past decade, while these percentages have remained largely consistent (Barbaree & Marshall, 2006), there has been considerable growth in the literature in specific aspects of juvenile sex offending, such as assessment (Calley, 2007; Grisso & Underwood, 2004; O'Reilly & Carr, 2006; Prentky, Harris, Frizzell, & Righthand, 2000; Worling & Curwen, 2001) and treatment (Prentky, Harris, Frizzell, & Righthand, 2000; Witt, Boslye, Hiscox, 2002; Worling & Curwen, 2001), and to a lesser degree, research has been dedicated to issues such as modus operandi (Bijleveld, Weerman, Looije, & Hendriks, 2007; Burton, 2003; Veneziano, Veneziano, & LeGrand, 2003), issues related to legislative changes (Petrosino & Petrosino, 1999; Vasquez, Maddan, & Walker, 2008), and specific legal challenges (Hiller, 1998; Trivits & Reppucci, 2002; Turoff, 2001). In addition, community organizations and juvenile justice systems have implemented various efforts to effectively manage sex offenders, often working independently and often not producing adequate results (CSOM, 2002; D'Amora & Burns-Smith, 1999; English, Pullen, & Jones, 1996).

Whereas traditionally much of the research has dealt with specific aspects of juvenile sex offending or the efforts of one independent organization (e.g., juvenile justice facility, community agency), few efforts have viewed juvenile sex offending comprehensively, as an issue with multiple interacting facets. Further, despite more recent calls for collaborative efforts in juvenile sex offender management as a means by which to achieve more efficient and effective systems of management (ATSA, 2001; Berlin, 2000; CSOM, 2002; D'Amora & Burns-Smith, 1999; English, Pullen, & Jones, 1996, 2003; McGrath, Cumming, & Burchard, 2003; NAPN, 1993), there continues to be a paucity of research addressing such efforts.

In order to move these objectives forward in practice, the *Comprehensive Approaches to Sex Offender Management* model was conceived by the Center for Sex Offender Management (CSOM). CSOM is a collaborative effort of the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice

Programs, the National Institute of Corrections, the State Justice Institute, and the American Probation and Parole Association and is administered by the Center for Effective Policy. The model acknowledges the complex nature of sex offending and the subsequent necessity of key system components to address offender accountability, rehabilitation, and community safety throughout all phases of the criminal and juvenile justice system (CSOM, 2008). More specifically, the CSOM model adopts a comprehensive view of sexual offending and promotes collaborative efforts towards system improvement that address each of the major areas that together comprise significant components of the system of sex offender management. These areas include: Investigation, Prosecution, and Disposition, Assessment, Treatment, Reentry, Supervision, and Sex Offender Registration.

The model builds upon previous work in the sex offender management field over the past two decades (CSOM, 2008) and serves as a teaching guide to assist regions in their own unique system improvement efforts. As such, the model provides a framework for regions to use to identify and promote strategic and collaborative responses to improving their systems of juvenile sex offender management. More specifically, CSOM developed the *Comprehensive Assessment Protocol* (CAP, 2004) for regions to use to guide the initial data collection process that forms the initial step of the system improvement process. Briefly, the CAP is organized in accordance with the CSOM model, including each major category comprising the sex offender management system (e.g., assessment, supervision) and provides an extensive set of exploratory questions to guide the investigator in data collection and assessment activities.

Bringing together both concrete guidance and financial support, the Bureau of Justice Programs has provided funding to regions to support system-wide improvement efforts targeting sex offender management (both adult and juvenile populations). The CAP and other materials developed by CSOM were made available to recipients of this funding to guide system improvement efforts aimed at sex offender management.

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## **The Comprehensive Juvenile Sex Offender Management Initiative**

Driven by the desire to identify and resolve primary system needs and improve the regional juvenile sex offender management system, a large, highly populated region in the Midwest received funding from the Bureau of Justice Programs to engage in a system improvement initiative. As a recipient of this funding, this author was able to use the CAP and other CSOM materials to guide the system improvement process.

Prior to receiving funding support, the author had received the commitment of multiple factions within the regional juvenile justice system to participate in the system improvement initiative. As a result, a team of stakeholders, including treatment providers, case management providers, regional juvenile justice system, the prosecutor's office, jurists, and local and state law enforcement, was formed to serve as the project's Collaborative Team, working directly with the project coordinator. The project consisted of three broad areas: 1) assessment of the existing juvenile sex offender management system, 2) analysis of the existing system with best practice literature, and 3) development and implementation of strategies to address identified gaps. This article will outline each of the three stages of the project that culminated in the development and implementation of a set of strategies designed to significantly improve the region's juvenile sex offender management system.

### *Assessment of the Existing Juvenile Sex Offender Management System*

As the initial step in the process, an extensive assessment of the existing regional system of juvenile sex offender management was warranted. The CAP was used to guide this process. In addition, several tools were developed by the author and members of the Collaborative Team (Team) to aid in data collection. These included: *The Practice, Policy and Resource Inventory*, *the Juvenile Sex Offender Continuum of Care form*, and *Guiding Questions for Internal and External Data Collection forms*.

To complete the data collection process, members of the Team formed sub-committees around each of the major assessment areas (e.g., Re-Entry). Each sub-committee was then charged with leading the data collection process for their respective area and completed this process through individual and/or group interviews with relevant stakeholders (e.g., law enforcement, victim advocacy organization), the development and use of surveys, analysis of statistical data, and review of exist-ing documentation (e.g., policy, law). Efforts were made to engage all relevant stakeholders throughout every aspect of the assessment process, and as a result, findings reflected multiple sources of input. The assessment process was conducted over a six-month period.

A preliminary step in the assessment process was a need to frame the problem of juvenile sex offending in the region to provide basic knowledge about the issue to the members of the Team. To accomplish this, several data sets were analyzed and reviewed by the Team. Some of these data sets included:

- Number of the state’s juveniles charged with a sex crime during the previous 4 years;
- Case outcomes of those juveniles charged with sex crimes during the period;
- Number of the region’s juveniles arrested for a juvenile sex crime in the preceding year;
- Number of the region’s juveniles found guilty of a juvenile sex crime during the previous 5 years;
- Number of the region’s juveniles in residential placement as a result of a sex crime charge and;
- The development of a profile (e.g., types of offenses, age, gender, race) of juvenile sex offenders in residential placement.

In addition to gathering these broad data sets, an in-depth analysis was conducted on all of the region’s cases involving juveniles arrested for sex offense charges during the previous year. The following aspects of these cases were analyzed: 1) demographic characteristics of victims and offenders, initial charge, 2) legal manner in which the case was resolved (e.g., dismissal, plea), 3) dispositional charge, and 4) case outcome (e.g., probation, residential treatment) (Calley, 2008). Whereas each of the data sets contributed to the development of an accurate illustration of the region’s issues related to juvenile sex offending, this last data analysis provided considerable information to the Team regarding the manner in which juvenile sex offense cases proceeded through the Court system, and produced several significant findings.

Some of the most striking findings had to do with the most common types of offenses committed by the region’s juveniles and the manner in which the Court dealt with these offenses. Broadly, the majority of the initial charges were comprised of the most serious sexual offenses with Criminal Sexual Conduct I (most serious of the sex offenses in the state typically involving force and penetration; felony charge requiring sex offender registration); Criminal Sexual Conduct II (second most serious sex offense in state) comprised the second most common initial charge among the population. Whereas this data reflected a region challenged with the most serious types of juvenile sexual offenses, the manner in which the court dealt with these cases may have unintentionally resulted in withholding treatment to the population, possibly motivated by attempts to avoid the sex offender registration law. Specifically, 79 percent of the cases initially charged with CSC I were pled down to Gross Indecency charges (misdemeanor not requiring sex offender registration) (Calley, 2008). As the youth progressed through the Court, only 30 percent of the cases initially charged with CSC I entered the region’s juvenile justice system and were thereby eligible for regionally-funded juvenile sex offender treatment (also noteworthy, only 36 percent of all youth charged with juvenile sex offenses were referred to the region’s juvenile justice system.) Whereas the issues leading to these Court-related outcomes may very well constitute unintended consequences related to sex offender legislation and its application to juvenile offenders, a significant portion of youth in need of



treatment may not have been able to receive such treatment as a result of dispositional decision-making.

Another method of detailed analysis that was employed by the Team to increase understanding of the existing system was the development of a System Map. The System Map identified each of the steps in the process as a youth proceeded through the juvenile justice system as a result of a sex crime charge. The System Map provided a tremendous amount of detail and clarification as to the existing process that impacted juveniles within the system and throughout their interaction with the system. In conjunction with the various data analyses, the System Map provided a solid picture of the region's existing system.

In addition to the various data already discussed, the assessment of each area of the system (e.g., Treatment, Supervision) included a thorough identification of both existing strengths and needs. However, for the sake of space considerations, a limited sample of the major needs is included here (see [Table 1](#)).

As evidenced by the findings, the assessment yielded a tremendous amount of information about the existing juvenile sex offender management system and as such, was a highly educational process for both Team members and participating stakeholders. Additionally, because assessment activities are typically dynamic and interactive in nature, the process provided numerous opportunities for learning, questioning, and reflecting about the various aspects of the system, at times resulting in immediate changes. Finally, and consistent with ethics related to assessment processes, the complete results of the assessment were made available to all participants and all of the region's stakeholders to ensure that everyone would be able to benefit equally from the work.

#### *Analysis of the Existing System with Best Practice Literature*

Having completed an extensive assessment of the existing system of juvenile sex offender management and as such, having gained significant information related to the region's needs in this area, a comprehensive examination of the scholarly literature was warranted. Such a literature review was needed to identify and prioritize gaps between the region's system and current research. To this end, a comprehensive literature review was conducted by the author.

A four-step approach was used to accomplish this that included: 1) an electronic search of major scholarship databases (e.g., EBSCO, LexusNexus) to identify all relevant journal articles, books, and other literature dealing with juvenile sex offending and related areas (e.g., juvenile justice, legislation) published during the past 25 years, 2) collection and review of all relevant scholarship, 3) review of all best practice literature from related professional associations, accrediting bodies, and other formalized workgroups and, 4) an analysis of the major findings in the literature with the existing system needs.

In order to organize the vast literature related to juvenile sex offending and to aid in determining specific additional areas of analysis, the author compiled a bibliography spanning the previous 25 years. In addition, a second bibliography of research conducted during the past ten years was also developed in order to provide a more focused view of the most current literature. This extensive review of the literature provided essential information to the Team, providing concrete knowledge on a variety of issues related to juvenile sex offending, and assisting in prioritizing the needs of the region based upon research. As such, the literature review and analysis provided the Team with evidence-based guidance for use in identifying the region's most significant needs. Moreover, the review provided the Team with the foundation for developing strategies to address these needs. The collection of strategies that were then developed by the Team is referred to as the *Implementation Plan*.

#### *Implementation Plan*

Using the data gathered in the comprehensive assessment process and the analysis of existing practices in the region with current research, Team members continued to work in

subcommittees to prioritize each of the needs in their related areas. The prioritized needs identified by each sub-committee were then shared with the full Team for final decision-making. This resulted in the identification and consolidation of the most significant needs of the region's system of juvenile sex offender management. For each identified need, the best practice literature was again used to develop specific broad-based strategies to address such needs, resulting in the development of a comprehensive set of improvement strategies to be implemented within the region.

As evidenced in the findings of the assessment process, a major identified theme was the lack of comprehensive knowledge and understanding among stakeholders regarding juvenile sex offenders and the various issues related to the population. In addition, there was a lack of collective knowledge about the existing juvenile sex offender management system. To address this issue, a significant portion of the improvement strategies focused on increasing the region's collective knowledge regarding juvenile sex offending and juvenile sex offender management through education, training, and the implementation of a variety of evidence-based protocols. In short, the set of improvement strategies emphasized three primary domains: the adoption of best practice standards, training, and education among key stakeholders. More specifically, the strategies were categorized into seven major activities: 1) the development of Exploratory Committees to continue to tackle specific issues requiring additional work, 2) resource development to support the work of various factions of professionals (e.g., police, prosecutor, treatment providers, 3) the implementation of formalized information-sharing forums, 4) the development of a comprehensive data collection plan and annual data review forums, 5) best-practice policy development across all necessary areas, 6) the development and delivery of a comprehensive training curriculum, and 7) the development and implementation of a comprehensive website.

Thirty-six specific action-oriented strategies were developed, each reflecting one of these major activities and together designed to improve the region's system of juvenile sex offender management through the adoption of best practices, education, and training. To illustrate this, the strategies are categorized by the major areas examined in the initial assessment process to indicate the relationship between identified needs and the new strategy development (see [Table 2](#)).

As you can see, each of the strategies was designed to directly address the most significant needs of the region's juvenile sex offender management system with a strong emphasis on increasing the collective knowledge of the region and providing essential tools and resources to promote evidence-based practices throughout the system. Moreover, because sustaining an initiative such as this typically presents the most pressing challenge to systems, strategies that were adopted were those that were thought to continuously improve the system rather than to produce temporary change.

For instance, the development and adoption of best practice policies ensured that all existing and new stakeholders received the same level of guidance in their work and quarterly juvenile sex offender treatment forums were intended to promote continuous dialogue and information-sharing among multiple factions working in the system. Likewise, regularly scheduled systematic review of data promoted an ongoing focus on various issues related to the system and immediacy in responding to system needs. The educational/training curriculum was designed to initially be provided face-to-face during a six-month period, and then be converted to online instruction with open access to all stakeholders; this promoted ongoing educational opportunities for existing professionals in the system and new professionals as they join the system. By making the training available to all existing and future stakeholders, the Team hoped to reduce the knowledge gaps between professionals in the region. Finally, the development of a comprehensive website was viewed as an essential sustainability tool; it was intended to serve as a repository for all best practice documents, guidance tools, and other resources, serve as a communication tool within the system, and provide the online educational curriculum. Regularly scheduled updates to the training curriculum and website were also established to ensure the ongoing relevance of the information made available through the site.

To ensure successful implementation of the comprehensive strategies, timeframes for completion were established and specific individuals were identified as responsible for carrying out the various strategies. Further, the Team planned that each of the strategies would be implemented immediately to further reinforce the effectiveness of the improvement process itself, particularly by efficiently demonstrating the purpose of assessment and providing feedback to all stakeholders. An open forum was held soon after the Implementation Plan was finalized to present the findings and to introduce the Plan to all stakeholders. This forum provided an opportunity for various members of the system to again come together in this shared work, while also promoting new momentum to move the Implementation Plan forward.

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## Summary

*The Comprehensive Juvenile Sex Offender Management Initiative* (the formal title of the region's system improvement project) was originally pursued because a team of professionals in the region were concerned about the existing status of the juvenile sex offender system. These concerns allowed for not only shared responsibility but more importantly, developing a shared vision and engaging in a highly collaborative effort. As a result of the collaborative work of multiple factions within the region's juvenile justice system, a critical analysis of the existing system was completed, resulting in the development of a comprehensive improvement plan.

Although the intent of this article is to highlight the process that the region used to engage in broad-based improvement efforts, it will be important to report later on the outcomes of the implementation of the strategies. With the evaluation of the implementation plan currently underway, the results of the implementation should be available in the near future.

As the issue of sex offending continues to gain significance in the criminal justice system, it will be essential that systems have specific protocols and processes in place by which to address the complex needs of the population. Moreover, whereas sex offenders comprise just one subgroup of the criminal population, other offenders with specialized needs (e.g., co-occurring mental health disorders, developmentally disabled individuals, young adults/older teens) may benefit equally from such comprehensive and collaborative approaches to system improvement that are specifically designed to address their unique needs. It is likely in this manner that the benefits of an initiative such as this have greatest value: that is, the ability of such efforts to be used as a template for multiple types of system improvement.

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## References

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# New Directions in Juvenile Sex Offender Management: Designing a Collaborative Approach

## Tables

[Table 1](#)

[Table 2](#)

**Table 1.**

### *Major Needs of the System: A Sample of Assessment Findings*

#### Investigation, Prosecution, and Disposition

- Consistent and comprehensive assessment for use in prosecutorial and jurist decision-making
- Comprehensive training related to juvenile sex offenders and investigative work with alleged offenders (modus operandi, victim issues, dynamics involved in juvenile sex offenders, physical evidence)
- Comprehensive guidance to prosecutors, jurists, assessment personnel, and other stakeholders in decision-making regarding juvenile sex offender treatment needs Regular and systematic review of juvenile sex offender data by all stakeholders
- Comprehensive understanding of broad-based impact and review of outcomes related to prosecutorial and judicial decision-making

#### Assessment

- Consistent and comprehensive juvenile sex offender-specific assessment for use across system (including ethical issues, legal issues, instruments) Comprehensive data sharing and communication among the various stakeholders

#### Treatment

- Case management, community-based, and residential providers' access to comprehensive resources and knowledge regarding available resources
- Increased understanding and knowledge related to treatment needs by all stakeholders
- Ability of juvenile sex offenders and families/caregivers to efficiently access treatment
- Treatment for specialized juvenile sex offender populations (i.e., younger than 13 years, developmentally disabled, older than 18 years, mentally ill)
- Policy/standard mandating adherence to current empirically-based best practices in juvenile sex offender treatment
- Specialized educational and experiential requirements for juvenile sex offender treatment staff
- Adjunctive services to minimally include family therapy, parent education, mental health treatment, educational and vocational services, and substance abuse services, as needed

### Re-Entry & Supervision

- Involvement of multiple stakeholders in comprehensive re-entry/release planning, including: victim advocate, educational personnel, others
- Comprehensive release planning that takes into account the various needs related to community re-entry
- Referrals to community-based providers of adjunctive services (i.e., mental health, substance abuse, family therapy, education, employment, vocation) prior to release
- Collaboration among all relevant stakeholders to promote positive re-entry, ensure that rights of juvenile sex offenders are not violated through discriminatory practices, and promote community safety
- Presence and use of community support networks to support re-entry and guidance for the development and utilization of community support networks
- Identification of assets and resources to support the re-entry process

### Legislation

- Legislation mandating treatment of juvenile sex offenders

### Other

- Comprehensive understanding of available continuum of care for juvenile sex offenders among all stakeholders
- Established guidelines for information-sharing among all relevant stakeholders (e.g., children's protective services, law enforcement, prosecutors, medical facilities, victim advocacy, victim treatment, offender treatment)
- Comprehensive juvenile sex offender training for all stakeholders (e.g., CPS, law enforcement, prosecutor's office, jurists, detention providers, treatment providers, victim advocates, victim treatment providers) to increase collective understanding of juvenile sex offending behaviors, patterns, treatment needs, current research, etc.
- Complete information contained in client files, including extensive background, past assessments and scores, registration documentation, sex offender specific evaluation, previous agency and Court

reports, and documentation

- Comprehensive data collection and maintenance practices throughout all aspects of the system

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**Table 2.**

## *Comprehensive Strategies to Address Major System Needs*

### Investigation

1. Develop or use existing protocol (*i.e.*, *Child Abuse & Neglect Protocol*) to train law enforcement, schools, child welfare providers, residential providers, and Children’s Protective Services for use in response to complaints of juvenile sex offenses and communication and collaboration with other stakeholders.

2. Develop multiple methods for distribution of protocol (e.g., training, self-training modules, facilitated discussions, flyers).

3 . Develop a protocol to guide comprehensive law enforcement data collection for delivery through multiple methods (e.g., training, self-training modules, facilitated discussions, flyers).

### Prosecution, and Disposition

4. Develop a *Comprehensive Pre-Disposition Investigation Protocol (CPDIP)* (e.g., modus operandi, victim impact, offense history, sexual history, family functioning) for use by the prosecutor and jurists and a plan for completion of the CPDIP.

5. Develop a plan for instituting the CPDIP that includes live training and a self-instruction module.

6. Develop a *Prosecutorial Decision-Making Guide* to provide additional (in addition to the CPDIP) information and guidance in juvenile sex offense cases.

7. Develop a *Jurist Decision-Making Guide* to provide additional information and guidance in juvenile sex offense cases.

8. Explore the possibility of adding a part-time investigator or additional prosecutor to handle assessment and data collection for juvenile sex offense cases.

9. Develop data collection plan for comprehensive data collection (e.g., data elements, entities involved, data extraction plan) across relevant entities (e.g., Court, Juvenile Assessment Center).

10. Conduct annual systematic reviews of juvenile sex offender data for examination and discussion among all stakeholders.

1. Coordinate a bi-annual (twice per year) breakfast meeting for prosecutor’s office, jurists, case management organizations, providers, Court probation and Clinic, County officials, and other stakeholders to discuss issues related to juvenile sex offenders (including annual review of data).

### Assessment

12. Develop a *Comprehensive Assessment Practices with Juvenile Sex Offenders Protocol* that minimally includes the significance of comprehensive assessment, use and types of a variety of assessment tools, use and type of assessment to promote community safety, use and types of assessment tools across the

continuum of care to guide treatment planning (i.e., initial assessment, residential assessment, re-entry, and supervision), ethical and legal use of assessment tools, types of juvenile sex offender-specific assessment tools, strengths and limitations of assessment instruments, and use of assessment tools as outcome measures.

13. Develop a plan for instituting the *Comprehensive Assessment Practices with Juvenile Sex Offenders Protocol* that includes live training and a selfinstruction module.

14. Develop informational sheets regarding juvenile sex offender assessment practices and specific tools for quick references.

15. Develop a Task Force to explore the pros and cons of the use of the polygraph for juvenile sex offenders, including legal issues, appropriate use, purpose, etc. and incorporate findings into the *Comprehensive Assessment Practices with Juvenile Sex Offenders Protocol*.

16. Institute a Task Force to develop an *Information-Sharing Protocol to Guide Work with Juvenile Sex Offenders* to address the types of information to be shared, with whom and when, legal and ethical issues related to information-sharing.

#### Treatment

17. Revise and expand the existing region-wide policy to identify minimal program standards for all sex offender treatment programs (i.e., residential, community-based).

18. Develop a *Sex Offender Treatment (SOT) Committee* as a regular forum for SOT treatment providers to discuss issues pertinent to treatment (e.g., group composition, caregiver support and family involvement in treatment, staff training, substance abuse treatment).

19. Develop a Sub-Committee to make recommendations regarding an expanded continuum of care for the treatment of juvenile sex offenders to address current gaps in the system including various options in community-based treatment and treatment for JSO youth with special needs (i.e., developmental disabilities, 18-20 year olds).

20. Develop a comprehensive *Best Practices Guide for Residential Treatment of Juvenile Sex Offenders* minimally identifying such issues as informed consent, evidence-based practices, resource coordination and other adjunctive service coordination (e.g., mental health, vocational), assessment, family treatment, caregiver capacity for supervision, community safety and monitoring, staff credentialing, intake and termination practices, participation in community-based treatment following residential discharge and transition planning for re-entry.

21. Develop training to educate stakeholders about Best Practices in Residential Treatment.

22. Develop a comprehensive *Best Practices Guide for Community-Based Treatment of Juvenile Sex Offenders* minimally identifying such issues as working collaboratively with other professionals, informed consent, evidence-based practices, resource coordination and other adjunctive service coordination (e.g., education, employment, mental health), assessment, family treatment, caregiver capacity for supervision, community safety and monitoring, staff credentialing, intake and termination practices.

23. Develop training to educate stakeholders about Best Practices in Community-Based Treatment.

#### Re-Entry & Supervision

24. Develop a *Best Practices Guide for the Supervision of Juvenile Sex Offenders* minimally identifying such issues as treatment plan development, assessment, information sharing, use of a multidisciplinary team in case planning and oversight, community safety, specialized training, caseload size, staff credentialing, utilization of victim impact statements in case planning, assessment of caregiver capacity and community safety.

25. Develop training to educate stakeholders about Best Practices in Supervision of Juvenile Sex Offenders.

26. Develop a *Strategies & Resource Guide for Addressing & Reducing Secondary Trauma and Burn-Out*

among professionals working with juvenile offenders to be made available to all stakeholders.

27. Develop a Guide to the Formation and Use of Community Support Networks in the Supervision of Juvenile Sex Offenders.

28. Institute a Task Force to explore legal issues related to re-entry of juvenile sex offenders, such as school re-entry, information sharing among community members.

29. Develop a *Brief Resource Directory for Supporting Work with Juvenile Sex Offenders* for distribution to all stakeholders.

#### Sex Offender Registration

30. Form an Exploratory Committee to examine the process and feasibility for pursuing legislative changes to the Michigan Sex Offender Registration law that allow for greater differentiation between juvenile sex offenders and adult sex offenders.

#### Other

31. Develop a specialized training curriculum for all stakeholders (i.e., juvenile justice workers and administrators, policy makers, Court officials) to increase knowledge of issues related to working with juvenile sex offenders, minimally including the following topics: decision-making, evidencebased practice, clinical assessment, community safety, information-sharing, legal and ethical issues, and supporting professionals working with juvenile sex offenders (*topics are in addition to specific trainings identified previously*).

32. Discuss the formation of an Exploratory Committee with the Department of Human Services for possible exploration of the development of a multidisciplinary team for juvenile sex offender victims.

33. Form an Exploratory Committee to explore funding for victim services and victim treatment options.

34. Develop a comprehensive website to promote continuous access to project resources (e.g., protocols, self-training modules, informational sheets) and other information that is part of the Implementation Plan as well as to continue to keep juvenile sex offender management a key topic in the region and state.

35. Develop a broad-based public awareness campaign to raise awareness about juvenile sex offenses and legal implications, specifically targeting young persons, parents, teachers, and other community members.

36. Develop and deliver briefings to multiple groups of stakeholders regarding the work of the Collaborative Team, summarizing the assessment findings and implementation plan to garner support and promote momentum for the implementation plan.

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## Sexual Victimization and Requests for Assistance in Inmates' Letters to the National Prison Rape Elimination Commission <sup>1</sup>

*Richard Tewksbury, University of Louisville*  
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**THOSE NOT EDUCATED** in the criminal justice system often believe that it works without flaws: someone breaks the law, is caught, and is issued a sentence proportional to the crime. The time in jail or prison is served quietly, while the offender is rehabilitated and taught skills that will aid in positively contributing to society upon release. While the offender is serving the sentence, tax dollars allow him or her to be maintained in a safe, secure, and humane environment. As criminal justice academics and practitioners, we know that this sunny look at incarceration is rarely the actual experience of an offender. Although their frequency may be sensationalized by the media, the numerous hardships of prison and jail life (e.g., rape, gangs, drugs, abuse) do exist.

Numerous studies have shown that sexual violence occurs within the confines of correctional institutions; both inmates and correctional staff can be perpetrators, and there are patterns of characteristics among victims of correctional sexual violence. In 2003, the United States Congress passed the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) in order to address the issues of sexual violence in correctional settings. As a part of PREA, the National Prison Rape Elimination Commission (NPREC) was established by Congress to conduct a comprehensive study of federal, state and local government policies and practices related to the prevention, detection, and punishment of prison sexual assaults (NPREC 2007).

Sexual violence in correctional institutions is well documented (Beck & Harrison, 2006, 2007; Davis, 1968; Wolff, Shi, Blitz, & Siegel, 2007a), but the dynamics of such and how inmates experience it remain less well understood. Because of the sensitivity of the topic, inmates are not inclined to speak out about their experiences; however, several options for reporting victimization and seeking advice, guidance, and assistance are available. For some individuals, the method of choice is to contact, in writing, the National Prison Rape Elimination Commission (NPREC). This study focuses on the correspondence from inmates to NPREC with a goal of identifying the goals, contexts, and requests included in inmates' correspondence.

## Literature Review

In 2007, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) completed the first national inmate self-report survey of inmate sexual victimization (Beck & Harrison, 2007). This study is unique in that it collects data directly from inmate surveys and it uses definitions defined by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. BJS includes two forms of incidents in the definition of sexual victimization: non-consensual sexual acts (any type of penetration) and sexually abusive contact (touching, groping, etc.). They found that a total of 60,500 inmates (4.5 percent of the United States' inmates) self-reported at least one incident of sexual victimization during the preceding year. Of these 60,500 inmates, 27,500 (45.5 percent) reported inmate-on-inmate victimization and 38,600 (63.8 percent) reported instances of staff sexual misconduct (Beck & Harrison, 2007). Others have relied on smaller samples and varying definitions of victimization to estimate as many as 20 percent of adult American inmates are victims of "prison rape" (see Gaes & Goldberg, 2004).

Not every instance of sexual violence or assault within correctional institutions is brought to the attention of correctional staff. Rather, a "code of silence" among both inmates and staff is known to impede the reporting of sexual victimization (Smith & Yarussi, 2007). Some reasons for staff's reticence to report known sexual violence incidents might be explained by examining staff (Eigenberg, 2002, 2000, 1989; NIC & Moss Group, 2006; Smith & Yarussi, 2007) and wardens' attitudes (Hensley & Tewksbury, 2005) towards prison sexual violence. Inmates' reluctance to report victimization centers on concern for retaliation and changes in their circumstances if they report victimization to correctional authorities (Fleisher & Krienert, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Parsell, 2007; Smith & Batuik, 1989).

Some inmates, however, do decide to report their victimization. Fleisher & Krienert (2006) cite four reasons that inmates decide to speak out against prison sexual violence: to gain attention from inmates or staff; to falsely blame an inmate or staff member; because the inmate owes debts to the canteen; and because of a failed sexual advancement with a woman. However, almost without exception, scholars, advocates, and inmates believe prison rape is grossly underreported.

As inmates have been provided more easily accessed avenues of reporting and as corrections officials have demonstrated commitments to responding to such reports, the numbers of allegations have steadily increased. In 2006 the Bureau of Justice Statistics (Beck & Harrison, 2006) completed a national administrative review of inmates' officially reported incidents of sexual victimization from 2005. This study uses the same BJS definitions of non-consensual sexual acts and abusive sexual contact, as well as including staff sexual harassment and staff sexual misconduct; however, all data are from incidents officially reported by inmates to correctional officials. In this review, BJS concluded that "there were 2.83 allegations of sexual violence per 1000 inmates in 2005, up from 2.46 in 2004" (Beck & Harrison, 2006), showing an increase in reporting of sexual violence since the passage of PREA.

As noted from the above BJS statistics, not every inmate who is incarcerated becomes a victim of sexual assault. Those inmates who become victims or targets of sexual assault are often viewed as weak and vulnerable by the perpetrators (Chonco, 1989; Dumond, 2003; Fagan, Wennerstrom, & Miller, 1996; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Kunselman, Tewksbury, Dumond & Dumond, 2002; Smith & Batuik, 1989). These vulnerable populations are often sexual and gender minorities: homosexual, transsexual, and transgendered inmates (Austin, Fabelo, Gunter, & McGinnis, 2006; Bassichis & Spade, 2007; Dumond, 2003; Edney, 2004; Hensley, Koscheski, & Tewksbury, 2005; Nacci & Kane, 1984; SPR, 2007a; Tewksbury & Potter, 2005; Wooden & Parker, 1982) and inmates with mental illness (Austin et al., 2006; Dumond, 2003; Jenness et al., 2007).

Sexual and gender minority inmates [GLBTQ (gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and questioning)] are often targeted for sexual victimization. Inmates who identify as GLBTQ are sexually assaulted by other inmates at rates up to 15 times higher than the general population of

inmates (Hensley, et al., 2005; Jenness, et al., 2007; Wooden & Parker, 1982;). Of the almost 900 survivors who have contacted Stop Prisoner Rape (SPR) since 2002, approximately 20 percent have identified themselves as gay, bisexual, or transgender (SPR, 2007b). As sexual minorities, such inmates (especially males) are typically perceived as weak and vulnerable.

Inmates who have a mental illness are also frequent targets for sexual predators. Sexual violence in prison is more frequently reported by inmates who have a mental illness than by those who do not (Wolff, et al., 2007a; Wolff, Blitz, & Shi, 2007b). The rate of sexual assault among male inmates identified with a mental disorder was nearly two times higher than the rate for those inmates without a mental disorder (Wolff, et al., 2007b). Austin et al. (2006) found that 12 percent of the sexual assault allegations involved a mentally ill or intellectually impaired inmate. These numbers compare with approximately 56 percent of state prison inmates having a “mental health problem” (James and Glaze, 2006).

Although the literature is extant on the existence and frequency of prison sexual violence, we know very little about how inmates actually experience sexual violence and what they themselves perceive as their significant needs related to prevention, intervention, and services. Consequently, one way to begin assessment is to examine the issues that inmates speak out about when given the opportunity to report prison sexual violence. The purpose of this paper is to identify these issues as identified in one reporting avenue.

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## **Methods**

The data used for this study was written correspondence received at NPREC between June 2004 and February 2008.<sup>2</sup> Media available and analyzed included personal letters from inmates and family members of inmates, and email from inmates’ family members.<sup>3</sup>

The correspondence received by NPREC concerned 33 individual cases. Of these 33 inmates, 3 were female, 26 were male, and 4 inmates identified themselves as transgender (all of these last were male to female: MtF). The inmates were incarcerated in institutions in 10 states across the nation. More than one-half of the inmates (17) were from California. Additional demographic characteristics could not be deduced from the correspondence. Of the 33 compiled inmates’ correspondence cases, 30 included personal letters from currently incarcerated individuals, 2 were letters from family members, and one letter was written by a former inmate.

Multiple readings of the correspondence allowed us to identify the major patterns within the letters and classify the issues raised into two main categories: 1) the issues relating specifically and exclusively to the victimization experienced by the inmate and 2) the events that occurred as a result or that influenced the victimization. The data were analyzed by following analytic induction processes, focusing on identifying commonalities and patterns within the content of the letters.

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## **Findings**

A majority of the correspondence included reporting of sexual victimization. Fully 78.8 percent of the responders were inmates self-reporting their victimization, 12.1 percent were reporting knowledge of another inmate’s victimization, 6.1 percent were both self-reporting and reporting knowledge of others’ victimization, and only 3.0 percent did not report any victimization. Of the 33 cases, nearly one out of three (30.3 percent) stated that they had reported their personal or others’ victimization to correctional authorities. This was determined through personal statements or included grievance reports. The letters were assessed for two main types of issues: those that deal directly with the victimization and those that were not related specifically to the victimization.

### *Issues directly associated with the victimization*

The first set of issues examined is the identification of issues that deal specifically with the event of the victimization. The range of victimizations reportedly experienced by inmates included sexual assault, physical assault, verbal harassment, and combinations of these types of victimization. Sexual assault was noted when there was a mention of any type of sexual activity, including oral, anal, or vaginal penetration, touching of the inmate's butt, thighs, penis, breasts, or vagina in a sexual way and other sexual acts. This included both non-consensual sexual acts and abusive sexual contacts (Beck & Harrison, 2007), as well as both willing and unwilling sexual activity with staff (which by legal definition is sexual victimization, and illegal; however, willing/consensual sexual activities are typically not included in definitions used in prison rape research).

Physical assault was noted when the report included an inmate being hit or beaten with an object or fists, kicked, or spit on. An inmate was considered to have been verbally harassed when words were used in the form of cursing, derogatory remarks, insults, and threats (sexual and nonsexual). If an inmate was sexually or physically assaulted more than once, this was noted as well.

Victimization of an inmate by a staff member was operationalized as sexual, physical and/or verbal victimization of the inmate by correctional officers or other staff members. Of the correspondence 42.4 percent included reports of inmates victimized by staff; 18.2 percent of correspondence reported victimization by another inmate. These measures do not include the 12.1 percent of inmates who were reporting knowledge of another inmate's victimization. A total of 15.2 percent of inmates were reporting some form of victimization by both a staff member and another inmate. The remaining 24.2 percent of inmates did not specify the perpetrator of their victimization.

Inmates who reported being victimized by both staff members and other offenders (15.2 percent) were most commonly victimized verbally (50 percent) by correctional staff, followed by physically (33.3 percent) and then sexually (1.7 percent). Inmates who were also victimized by other inmates were all victimized sexually, and 33.3 percent were also victimized physically. One inmate stated that he has been "gang raped and physically hurt when I'm asleep by prison staff and predator offenders." Another disclosed that he had been "gang raped and physically hurt...by prison staff and predator offenders."

As stated above, 12.1 percent of the inmates who contacted NPREC were reporting only others' victimization. When combined with the inmates who were both self-reporting and reporting knowledge of others' victimization, the total rate for reporting knowledge of another's victimization totaled 18.2 percent. The most common perpetrator in these reports was correctional staff (83.3 percent). The most common form of victimization inflicted on inmates by officers that other inmates reported being aware of or witnessing was sexual (83.3 percent), followed by verbal (66.7 percent) and physical (1.7 percent) abuse.

The most common pattern among the correspondence was that 66.7 percent of the inmates reported some element of being sexually assaulted/victimized by a staff member or another offender. Of these cases, 9.1 percent were also verbally harassed, 3.0 percent were physically and sexually assaulted, and 15.2 percent were physically, verbally, and sexually victimized. To illustrate, one inmate in a California prison reported that he was called an "asshole and gay," "was attacked and nearly beaten to death" and was "sexually assaulted and raped in the hands of the California Department of Corrections." A second inmate incarcerated in New York reported, "I have been physically assaulted twice by inmates whom were encouraged by corrections officers," "doctors allowed officers to verbally abuse and harass me," and "the inmates target me both sexually and physically."

The specific type of victimization—sexual, physical or verbal—experienced by inmates varied in frequency. Of the 33 inmates, 39.4 percent report only being sexually assaulted/ victimized, 6.1 percent were only physically assaulted and 15.2 percent of the inmates experienced verbal

harassment as the only form of victimization experienced.

The data was also analyzed to determine the most likely form of victimization when the perpetrator was either a member of the correctional staff or an inmate. Data for this included all 33 inmates, those who were self reporting, reporting knowledge of others' victimization, and those contacting NPREC to do both. When the perpetrator was a correctional staff member, 42.4 percent reported the victimization being verbal, 39.4 percent reported sexual assault, and 18.2 percent reported physical assault. When the perpetrator was another inmate, the most common form of victimization reported was sexual, 30.3 percent. Additionally, 9.1 percent reported physical assault and 6.1 percent reported verbal assault.

The inmates who self-reported victimization were more likely to report being sexually assaulted more than once (21.2 percent) than physically assaulted more than once (9.1 percent). One letter reported sexual victimization "twice in one month...as a form of punishment for standing up against staff" that continued to harass her because she is a transsexual. An inmate from a New York prison who reported being physically assaulted twice writes, "Because of your indifference (Warden) I have been assaulted physically two times by inmates whom were encouraged by correctional officers at your facility." (For the results of the first category of issues that relate directly to the victimization that was reported, see [Table 1](#)).

#### *Issues not directly associated with the victimization*

The second assessment of the data focused on issues not directly related to the victimization. The issues that were raised are either results of the reported victimization or a complaint or issue related to incarceration (for a listing of these see [Table 2](#)). Letters written by both inmates and family members were included. Within this assessment 11 general issues were identified: two that were consequences of victimization and 9 that were general complaints or issues related to incarceration.

The issues that were consequences of victimization were a fear of retaliation for speaking out and instances of actual retaliation from speaking out. Fear of retaliation included inmates expressing worry or fear about backlash from the institution and/or correctional staff for exposing victimization of self or others. Actual retaliation included retaliation against the inmates by correctional staff, including verbal threats, physical altercations, unnecessary housing, confiscation of personal property (including mail), and allowing inmates to assault other inmates. As an example, one inmate wrote, "I was transferred to another facility...where they then placed me into cells with accused rapists and murderers as an act of retaliation against me/cause I spoke out about it."

Nearly one in five (18.2 percent) inmates expressed a fear of retaliation from a correctional officer, but one in three (33.3 percent) of all inmates in the sample reported experiencing actual retaliation. One inmate who reported sexual victimization by a correctional officer wrote, "as a result, I was thrown into solitary confinement and then transferred to another prison facility." A second inmate alleged that because he exposed another inmate's sexual victimization by correctional personnel, the warden and chief deputy "attempted to silence me by transferring me to a prison with safety and enemy concerns."

There were 9 other issues that did not deal directly with victimization of an offender but focused on issues correlated to victimization. These identified issues include inmates who either requested legal assistance or had a nonspecific request for assistance. Requests for legal assistance included an inmate or family member expressing a desire to file criminal charges or a complaint, a request to protect an inmate's civil rights, or references to PREA and how it could benefit the inmates. Nonspecific requests for assistance included cries for help, guidance, assistance, inquiries of forwarding complaint to a third party (not a lawyer), contact information of NPREC staff, and requests of media coverage of their alleged victimization.

The most common issue among corollaries to victimization was a form of request for assistance, legal or nonspecific. Legal assistance was requested by 33.3 percent of the inmates. One inmate

openly admits that he “does not have a lawyer, but would like advice.” Another asks the Commission to “forward my complaint to a local authority.”

Besides legal assistance, 39.4 percent of inmates had nonspecific requests for assistance. Several inmates’ requests fell into this category, when they outwardly exclaimed “help me!” or expressed an equivalent statement in their letters. Inmates also asked for expert witnesses from the Commission to accompany them to prime-time television to expose the victimization they had experienced. Examples of nonspecific requests for assistance include one inmate stating “I need information on how you can help me.” Another wrote, “I would greatly appreciate it if you could provide me with some sort of guidance,” and a third stated that “this is my story and truth as I know it, can you please help me!”

Beyond requests for either general or legal assistance, inmates and family members also contacted NPREC to complain about the medical and mental health treatment and available housing for victims. Complaints of medical treatment included claims of not receiving requested medical treatment or complaints about the treatment or medication that was provided. Nearly one in five (18.2 percent) inmates had a complaint about medical treatment, including one inmate who complained that the doctors would not treat him and that he needed to “get tested and examined by a reputable sleep specialist.”

Complaints reporting mental health treatment included not receiving requested mental health treatment or complaints about the type or quality of service and/or medication that was provided. Almost one in six (15.2 percent) inmates had a complaint of mental health treatment, including one inmate who wrote, “I have ask for mental health to assist me, medical and filed a grievance to no avail!”

Complaints about housing for the victims were noted in 18.2 percent of the correspondence. These included complaints about a lack of available or refused high-security housing, double-bunking homosexual male inmates, and unfulfilled requests for different housing. One such housing complaint is illustrated by the inmate who stated that “the counselor... kept forcing me to be in double man cell with other men.”

The final four issues that were included under the general category of other complaints included: the mention of a mental health consequence (15.2 percent), such as depression, post-traumatic stress disorder (not as a result of victimization), identity disorder, or sleep disorder; an inmate grievance was filed with the institution (15.2 percent); sensitive needs issues such as transgender, transsexual, bisexual, homosexual, and other gender and sexual minorities; and inappropriate requests (e.g., a subscription to an NPREC journal, placed on the NPREC mailing list). Nearly one quarter (24.2 percent) of the inmates mentioned a sensitive needs issue in their letters or supplementary documents. For this study, sensitive needs were operationalized as those inmates who identified as homosexual, transsexual, or transgender. Two inmates who were sexually assaulted at different institutions acknowledged that they were pre-operative transsexuals; another inmate disclosed that he was bisexual. (For the results of all the issues in the second category raised in the NPREC correspondence, see [Table 2.](#))

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## **Conclusion/Discussion**

Sexual assault has received more attention than consensual sex because it is viewed as an institutional and social problem—an institutional problem that must be addressed while accounting for both inmate and public safety (Tewksbury & West, 2000). Because of this, it is important that correctional authorities and criminal justice policymakers pay special attention to prison sexual violence. The purpose of this study was to identify the major issues raised by inmates who send correspondence to NPREC about their victimization while incarcerated. The qualitative data of this study reveal that the most common pattern of reported victimization was being sexually assaulted by a correctional staff member. This finding supports the current literature that has reported that staff sexual misconduct and harassment is more often reported

than inmate-on-inmate sexual contacts (Beck & Harrison, 2006, 2007).

Reports of victimization of inmates by correctional staff can raise awareness of a sensitive issue among the public, correctional practitioners, and policy makers. For the offenders who will be re-entering society upon release, it is critical that they receive the proper help and treatment after their abuse. This treatment should not only be made available within the prison, but should also include access to continued treatment in the community.

Knowledge of the other issues raised in the correspondence can also prove beneficial. Knowing the victims and their needs can lead to implementation of appropriate programming. For example, knowledge of retaliation or fear of retaliation on inmates may prompt a facility to implement training for their correctional staff. Secondly, knowledge of poor medical or mental health treatment may lead a facility to take steps to improve treatment.

This data and analysis suffer from several limitations. In some instances the inmates did not know what they were requesting or they reported a form of victimization without fully understanding the definition. Also, some offenders reported that they were retaliated against but did not disclose how the retaliation occurred, so we were not certain if any actual retaliation against the inmate took place. Several inmates also disclosed that they knew about other inmates' victimization, but did not always specify the number of inmates or the type of victimization. A final limit of this study was that some inmates stated that they had been victimized, but would not disclose whether the perpetrator of the victimization was another inmate or a correctional staff member.

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The articles and reviews that appear in *Federal Probation* express the points of view of the persons who wrote them and not necessarily the points of view of the agencies and organizations with which these persons are affiliated. Moreover, *Federal Probation's* publication of the articles and reviews is not to be taken as an endorsement of the material by the editors, the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, or the Federal Probation and Pretrial Services System. Published by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts [www.uscourts.gov](http://www.uscourts.gov)  
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## Sexual Victimization and Requests for Assistance in Inmates' Letters to the National Prison Rape Elimination Commission

### Tables

[Table 1](#)

[Table 2](#)

<b>Table 1.</b>	
Issues directly associated with the victimization	Percentage
Report victimization of an inmate by staff member	57.6%
Report victimization of an inmate by another offender	33.3%
Reporting knowledge of others victimized	18.2 %
Others witnessed the victimization	18.2 %
Only sexually assaulted	39.4 %
Only physically assaulted	6.1 %
Only verbally harassed	15.2 %
Verbally harassed and sexually assaulted	9.1 %
Physically assaulted and sexually assaulted	3.0 %
Physically assaulted and verbally harassed	3.0 %
Physically, sexually, and verbally victimized	15.2 %
Sexually assaulted more than once	21.2 %
Physically assaulted more than once	9.1 %

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**Table 2.**

Issues not directly associated	Percentage
Express fear of retaliation from speaking out	18.2 %
Actual retaliation from speaking out	33.3 %
Request for legal assistance	33.3 %
Nonspecific request for assistance	39.4 %
Complaints of medical treatment	18.2 %
Complaints of mental health treatment	3.0 %
Complaints about housing for victims	18.2 %
Mention of mental illness	15.2 %
A grievance was filed	15.2 %
Special needs issues	24.2 %
Inappropriate requests	6.1 %

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## JUVENILE FOCUS

*By Alvin W. Cohn, D.Crim.  
President, Administration of Justice Services, Inc.*

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### **Trends in Adolescent Inhalant Use: 2002 to 2007**

- The percentage of adolescents (i.e., youths aged 12 to 17) who used inhalants in the past year was lower in 2007 (3.9 percent) than in 2003, 2004, and 2005 (4.5, 4.6, and 4.5 percent, respectively)
- Among adolescents who used inhalants for the first time in the past year (i.e., past year initiates), the rate of use of nitrous oxide or “whippits” declined between 2002 and 2007 among both genders (males: 40.2 to 20.2 percent; females: 22.3 to 12.2 percent)
- In 2007, 17.2 percent of adolescents who initiated illicit drug use during the past year indicated that inhalants were the first drug that they used; this rate remained relatively stable between 2002 and 2007.
- Past-year dependence on or abuse of inhalants remained relatively stable between 2002 and 2007, with 0.4 percent of adolescents (around 99,000 persons) meeting the criteria for dependence or abuse in 2007.

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### **Older Dads**

According to *PlosS Medicine*, in a study of 33,437 children born to parents of varying ages found that children ages eight months, four years, and seven years, the older the mother, the higher the child’s scores on various developmental and intelligence tests. The older the father, however, the lower the child’s scores, except on one test of physical coordination. Offspring of 20-year-old fathers scored, on average, 106.8 on an IQ test and 109.2 on a reading test, whereas children of 50-year-old fathers scored posted average scores of 100.7 and 102.6 on the same tests.

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### **Prescription Pain Killers are on the Rise**

Treatment admissions for prescription pain killer misuse have risen dramatically over the past decade—from constituting 1 percent of all admissions in 1997 to now representing 5 percent, according to a report by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). The Treatment Episode Data Set (TEDS) 2007 Highlights report also indicates that although alcohol-related admissions still account for the largest share (40 percent) of the 1.8 million treatment admissions occurring throughout the country during 2007; this reflects a reduction from 50 percent in 1997.

The TEDS 2007 Highlights report is the latest in a series of yearly reports, developed by SAMHSA, providing demographic and other information on substance abuse treatment admissions from state licensed treatment facilities (most of them publicly-funded) across the country. Although it does not include information on all treatment admissions, it is the largest, most comprehensive study of its kind and provides a vast array of specialized data on the characteristics of substance abuse treatment in the United States. Among the findings:

- The percentage of treatment admissions for primary heroin abuse is at about the same level it was a decade ago (14 percent).

- The percentage of treatment admissions primarily due to methamphetamine/ amphetamine abuse is relatively small. Admissions accounted for 4 percent in 1997, rose to 9 percent in 2005, then decreased to 8 percent in 2006 and remained at 8 percent in 2007.
- Even though the proportion of admissions for primary marijuana abuse increased from 12 percent in 1997 to 16 percent in 2003, admissions have remained steady at 16 percent each year after.

The report is available online at <http://oas.samhsa.gov/TEDS2k7highlights/TOC.cfm> Copies may be obtained free of charge by calling SAMHSA's Health Information Network at 1-877-SAMHSA-7 (1-877-726-4727) or by visiting <http://ncadistore.samhsa.gov/catalog/productDetails.aspx?ProductID=17972>. For related publications and information, visit <http://www.samhsa.gov/>.

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## **Juvenile Justice Reform**

The Annie E. Casey Foundation has released a series of issue briefs as part of a framework for improving federal policy in areas where the Foundation has the deepest experience and the best evidence of successful strategies. One of the Issue briefs, *Reform the Nation's Juvenile Justice System*, outlines three federal policy recommendations designed to strengthen and improve our juvenile justice system.

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## **Probation and Parole Growth**

Explosive growth in the number of people on probation or parole has propelled the population of the American corrections system to more than 7.3 million, or 1 in every 31 U.S. adults, according to a report released by the Pew Center on the States.

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## **Adolescent Substance Use**

A new national report issued during National Alcohol Awareness Month provides both discouraging and encouraging news about the state of efforts to inform young people about the risks of underage drinking and illicit substances. The report, based on a series of national surveys, finds that a smaller percentage of adolescents (age 12-17) were exposed to substance use prevention messages in 2007 (77.9 percent) than in 2002 (83.2 percent). Similarly, a smaller percentage of adolescents are participating in out of school substance use prevention programs (from 12.7 percent in 2002 to 11.3 percent in 2007), according to the report by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA).

However, the report shows a significant rise during this same period in the level of adolescents who engaged in substance abuse-related conversations with at least one parent (from 58.1 percent in 2002 to 59.6 percent in 2007). The report shows that these conversations are associated with lower rates of current substance use by an adolescent. Adolescents who had conversations with their parents about the dangers of substance abuse were significantly less likely to be current users of the following substances than those who did not have such conversations with their parents:

- Alcohol (16.2 percent versus 18.3 percent)
- Cigarettes (10.6 percent versus 12.5 percent)
- Illicit Drugs (9.5 percent versus 11.7 percent)

Exposure to prevention messages provided in school settings was associated with lower rates of current substance abuse. The level of exposure to these messages, however, did not differ significantly between 2002 (71.4 percent) and 2007 (70.2 percent). The report found mixed results regarding the association between media substance use prevention messages. As seen below, the prevalence of current cigarette and illicit drug use was lower among adolescents who received prevention messages through media sources than among those who had not. However, the opposite was true in terms of current alcohol use:

- Cigarettes (10.8 percent vs. 13.4 percent)
- Illicit Drugs (10.1 percent vs. 11.9 percent)
- Alcohol (17.2 percent vs. 16.4 percent)

Exposure to Substance Use Prevention Messages and Substance Use among Adolescents: 2002 to 2007, is drawn from SAMHSA's 2002 through 2007 National Surveys on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH), which collected data from a sample of approximately 135,000 youths representative of the United States civilian, non-institutionalized population aged 12 to 17. The full report is available on the Web at <http://oas.samhsa.gov/2k9/prevention/prevention.cfm>. Copies may be obtained free of charge by calling SAMHSA's Health Information Network at 1-877-SAMHSA-7 (1-877-726-4727) or go to <http://ncadistore.samhsa.gov/catalog/productDetails.aspx?ProductID=18032>. For related publications and information, visit <http://www.samhsa.gov/>.

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## **Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2008**

This report presents data on crime and safety at school from the perspectives of students, teachers, principals, and the general population. A joint effort by the Bureau of Justice Statistics and the National Center for Education Statistics, this annual report examines crime occurring in school as well as on the way to and from school. It also provides the most current detailed statistical information on the nature of crime in schools, school environments, and responses to violence and crime at school. Data are drawn from several federally funded collections, including the National Crime Victimization Survey, Youth Risk Behavior Survey, School Survey on Crime and Safety, and School and Staffing Survey.

Highlights include the following:

- In 2006, among students ages 12–18, there were about 1.7 million victims of nonfatal crimes at school, including 909,500 thefts and 767,000 violent crimes (simple assault and serious violent crime).
- In 2007, 8 percent of students in grades 9–12 reported being threatened or injured with a weapon in the previous 12 months, and 22 percent reported that illegal drugs were made available to them on school property.
- During the 2005–06 school year, 86 percent of public schools reported that at least one violent crime, theft, or other crime occurred at their school.

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## **Juvenile Arrest Data for 2007**

OJJDP has published "Juvenile Arrests 2007." The 12-page bulletin draws on data from the FBI's "Crime in the United States 2007" to analyze trends in juvenile arrests. In 2007, U.S. law enforcement agencies made an estimated 2.18 million arrests of persons under age 18. There were 2 percent fewer juvenile arrests in 2007 than in 2006, and juvenile violent crime arrests declined 3 percent, reversing the modest upward trend over the previous two years. See "Juvenile Arrests 2007" (NCJ 225344) is available at

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## Effects of Harm

Even though spasms of intense violence erupt on campuses occasionally and linger in the social consciousness, violence at schools across America has been decreasing for a number of years. That doesn't necessarily mean schools are safe havens. Consider:

- Eighty-six percent of public schools in 2005-06 reported that one or more violent incidents, thefts of items valued at \$10 or greater, or other crimes, had occurred—a rate 46 crimes per 1,000 enrolled students.
- Almost a third of students ages 12 to 18 reported being bullied inside school.
- Nearly a quarter of teenagers reported the presence of gangs at their schools.

For the 2009 report of *Indicators of School Crime and Safety*, much of the data came from the 2006-07 school year, when an estimated 55.5 million students were enrolled from pre-kindergarten through grade 12. Other data include:

- Nationwide, there were 27 homicides of victims ages five to 18 at school, or at a school-sponsored event in the 2006-07 school year. There were 34 in 1992-93.
- About 4.3 percent of students in 2007 reported criminal victimization at school, including theft, violent crime, and serious violent crime, during the previous six months. In 1995, the figure was 9.5 percent.
- In each year from 1992-93 to 2005-06, there were generally at least 50 times as many homicides of youths away from school as at school and generally at least 140 times as many suicides of youths away from school as at school.
- In 2003-04, about 3.7 percent of public school teachers (or roughly 120,000) reported that they were physically attacked by a student from school during the previous 12 months.
- Twenty-three percent of students ages 12-18 reported in 2007 that there were gangs at their schools.
- Thirty-two percent of students in 2007 reported having been bullied at school during the school year.
- Forty-five percent of students in grades 9-12 reported having had at least one drink of alcohol in the 30 days before the survey in 2007.
- In 1995, the percentage of high school students who reported drinking alcohol was 52 percent.
- Twenty percent of students in grades 9-12 reported having used marijuana in the previous 30 days in 2007.

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## Substance Abusing Parents

Almost 12 percent of children under the age of 18 years of age live with at least one parent who was dependent on or abused alcohol or an illicit drug during the past year, according to a report by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). The report is based on national data from 2002 to 2007.

“The research increasingly shows that children growing up in homes with alcohol and drug-abusing parents suffer—often greatly,” said SAMHSA Acting Administrator Eric Broderick, D.D.S., M.P.H. “The chronic emotional stress in such an environment can damage their social and emotional development and permanently impede healthy brain development, often resulting in mental and physical health problems across the lifespan. This underlines the importance of preventive interventions at the earliest possible age.”

Among the findings:

- Almost 7.3 million children lived with a parent who was dependent on or abused alcohol
- About 2.1 million children lived with a parent who was dependent on or abused illicit drugs
- 5.4 million children lived with a father who met the criteria for past year substance dependence or abuse, and 3.4 million lived with a mother who met this criteria.

Findings for Children Living with Substance-Dependent or Substance-Abusing Parents: 2002 to 2007 are drawn from the National Survey on Drug Use and Health, an annual nationwide survey of persons aged 12 and older. This report focused on questions asked of 87,656 parents aged 18 and older about their substance dependence and abuse.

The full report is available on the web at <http://oas.samhsa.gov/2k9/SAParents/SAParents.cfm>. Copies may be obtained free of charge by calling SAMHSA’s Health Information Network at 1-877-SAMHSA-7 (1-877-726-4727) or going to <http://ncadistore.samhsa.gov/catalog/productDetails.aspx?ProductID=17245>

For related publications and information, visit <http://www.samhsa.gov/>.

In addition, SAMHSA has a Children’s Program Kit for use by substance abuse treatment programs to provide educational support programs for the children of their clients in substance abuse treatment. It teaches children a variety of skills to fostering a sense of purpose and hope. The toolkit has activities for children from elementary school through high school. It also contains information for therapists to distribute to their clients to help parents understand the needs of their children, as well as training materials (including posters and DVDs) for substance abuse treatment staff who organize support groups for children.

This kit can be obtained at: <http://ncadistore.samhsa.gov/catalog/productDetails.aspx?ProductID=17245>.

A special version of this kit designed to be of particular help to Native American-oriented treatment organizations is available at: <http://ncadistore.samhsa.gov/catalog/productDetails.aspx?ProductID=17286>.

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## **Nation’s Report Card**

Math and reading scores for nine and 13-year-olds have risen since the 2002 enactment of the No Child Left Behind act. Performance on the National Assessment of Educational Progress reveals that nine-year-olds posted the highest scores ever in reading and math in 2008. Black and Hispanic students of that age also reached record reading scores, though they continued to trail behind white students. The assessment, known as the “nation’s report card,” is given to a sampling of 9-, 13-, and 17-year-olds. About 26,000 students were tested in 2009 in each subject. In reading, average scores for all three age groups are on the rise: to 220 points for nine-year-olds on a 500-point scale, up from 216 in 2004; to 260 for 13-year-olds, up from 257; and to 286 for 17-year-olds, up from 283. Nine and 13-year-olds have made reading gains since 1971, but scores for 17-year-olds were virtually unchanged. The same trends held in a

comparison of math scores from 1973 to 2008.

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## **Online Training**

As a result of the clear recognition of the value and need for improved performance and as a consequence of the successful Professional Juvenile Justice Administrator (PJJA) certification educational program, the National Juvenile Court Services Association has created the Professional Juvenile Justice Manager (PJJM) training effort. PJJM, created through funding by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), is a series of state-of-the-art, computer-based, online training courses, all written by experts in the justice administration field. These training courses have been developed in consultation with executives in criminal and juvenile justice administration and reflect the needs of the field with regard to enhanced service delivery systems.

Each online course is designed to be completed within two weeks and includes basic lecture material, specialized readings, and self-assessment questions. All students will receive continuing-education-unit (CEU) training credits as approved by each state. The program also is designed to provide professional certification for supervisors in the field. The American Probation and Parole Association (APPA) will be certifying courses. Full details about the PJJM program, course syllabi and authors, and the process for course registration can be found at [www.njcsacertification.org](http://www.njcsacertification.org). Or, contact **Ken Gibson**, NJCSA Program Manager, at 1-888-367-7552.

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## **Abused Children Web Sites**

- National Center for Missing and Exploited Children: [missingkids.com](http://missingkids.com)
- Center's Parenting Site: [take25.org](http://take25.org)
- Center's Online Safety Site: [netsmartz.org](http://netsmartz.org)
- National Sex Offender Registry: [nsopw.org](http://nsopw.org)

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## **Child Safety Statistics**

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention:

- Each year 9.2 million children visit emergency rooms and 12,175 die as a result of unintended injuries.
- Boys die of such injuries at twice the rate of girls.
- Drowning is the leading killer for those ages 1 to 4.
- Motor vehicle crashes are the leading killer for those ages 5 to 19.

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## **Napping Four-Year-Olds**

Children between ages 4 and 5 who did not nap were more hyperactive and anxious than children who napped, report researchers at Pennsylvania State University. The study found that children who did not take daytime naps had higher levels of hyperactivity, anxiety, and depression than children the same age who napped. The researchers suggest napping may have a



significant influence on young children's daytime functioning and should be encouraged.

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## **Boys' Learning issues**

Both boys and girls have learning issues, but those affecting boys in school are more serious and have been neglected, researchers at the University of Alaska in Fairbanks report. The study reviewed gender differences in literacy levels, college entrance tests, school grades, engagement in school, and dropout rates, as well as mental health, depression, and conduct disorders. The study found that compared with girls, U.S. boys have lower rates of literacy, lower grades and engagement in school, and higher dropout rates. The boys also had dramatically higher rates of suicide, premature death, injuries, and arrests, and were also placed more often in special education. Girls are more likely to have different problems, including depression, suicidal thoughts, and eating disorders.

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## ***Statistical Briefing Book***

OJJDP's Statistical Briefing Book (SBB), an online tool featuring current statistics about juvenile crime and victimization, provides a wealth of information for practitioners, policymakers, the media, and the public. The site recently underwent several changes, including a redesigned look and a more informative home page.

SBB includes a Frequently Asked Questions section, data analysis tools, and access to related publications. SBB is a primary source of information about the juvenile justice field in the United States and throughout the world. During fiscal year 2008, there were nearly 700,000 visits to SBB and more than 2.1 million page views on the site. The site is especially reliable because statistical data are continually updated, ensuring that users receive timely information.

SBB has recently been enhanced for easier, faster access to information. Direct links to several popular data analysis tools have been added. A new Did You Know? section offers new facts and information every time users visit the home page. The What's New section is now featured at the top of the page to facilitate user access to the most up-to-date information. Finally, the site has a new design and color scheme that coordinate with other components of OJJDP's Web resources.

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## ***Highlights of the 2007 National Youth Gang Survey (Fact Sheet)***

Annually since 1995, OJJDP's National Youth Gang Center has conducted a systematic survey of law enforcement agencies across the United States regarding the presence and characteristics of local gang problems. This Fact Sheet summarizes the findings from the 2007 National Youth Gang Survey. Among other findings, the Fact Sheet reports that more than one-third of the jurisdictions in the survey population experienced gang problems—the highest annual estimate since before 2000. *Highlights of the 2007 National Youth Gang Survey* may be ordered from the NCJRS Web site.

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## ***Juvenile Arrests 2007 (Bulletin)***

This Bulletin summarizes the juvenile data cited in the FBI report *Crime in the United States 2007*. In 2007, law enforcement agencies in the United States made an estimated 2.18 million arrests of individuals younger than age 18. Overall, there were 2 percent fewer juvenile arrests in 2007 than in 2006, and juvenile violent crime arrests declined 3 percent, reversing a recent upward trend. The latest data show increases in some offense categories but declines in most,

with most changes being less than 10 percent in either direction. *Juvenile Arrests 2007* can be ordered from the NCJRS Web site. OJJDP will soon release four new Fact Sheets based on the report *Juvenile Court Statistics 2005*.

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## **Domestic Violence**

The Bureau of Justice Statistics in a study dealing with Intimate Partner Violence in the U.S. reports:

- Between 1993-94, 43 percent of intimate violence incidents involving female victims also indicated there were children living in the household.
- Females ages 20-34 were at the greatest risk of nonfatal intimate violence.
- Females who were separated reported higher rates of nonfatal intimate violence than females of other marital statuses.

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## ***Delinquency Cases in Juvenile Court, 2005 (Fact Sheet)***

This Fact Sheet presents statistics on delinquency cases processed between 1985 and 2005 by U.S. courts with juvenile jurisdiction. The estimates are based on data from more than 2,100 courts with jurisdiction over 80 percent of the nation's juvenile population (youth aged 10 through the upper age of original juvenile court jurisdiction in each state).

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## ***Delinquency Cases Waived to Criminal Court, 2005 (Fact Sheet)***

This Fact Sheet presents estimates of the number of cases transferred from juvenile court to criminal court through the judicial waiver mechanism between 1985 and 2005. The number of delinquency cases judicially waived peaked in 1994 at 13,000 cases. This represented an 80 percent increase over the number of cases waived in 1985 (7,200). Since 1994, however, the number of cases judicially waived declined 47 percent (6,900 cases in 2005).

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## ***Person Offense Cases in Juvenile Court, 2005 (Fact Sheet)***

This Fact Sheet presents statistics on person offenses (assault, robbery, rape, and homicide) handled by juvenile courts between 1985 and 2005. In 2005, U.S. juvenile courts handled an estimated 429,500 delinquency cases in which the most serious charge was an offense against a person. The 2005 person offense caseload was 133 percent greater than in 1985. In 2005, person offenses accounted for 25 percent of the delinquency caseload, compared with 16 percent in 1985.

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## ***Juvenile Delinquency Probation Caseload, 2005 (Fact Sheet)***

This Fact Sheet presents statistics on delinquency cases resulting in probation between 1985 and 2005. In 2005, courts with juvenile jurisdiction handled 1.7 million delinquency cases. Probation supervision was the most severe disposition in 33 percent of all delinquency cases. Between 1985 and 2005, the overall delinquency caseload increased 46 percent. The national estimates were generated using information contributed to the National Juvenile Court Data Archive. The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) has released four fact sheets

providing data derived from the report “Juvenile Court Statistics 2005.”

In 2005, U.S. courts with juvenile jurisdiction handled 1.7 million delinquency cases. One third of these cases received probation as the most serious disposition, and 25 percent of these cases involved personal offenses. For every 1,000 petitioned juvenile cases, 8 were waived to criminal court.

- “Delinquency Cases in Juvenile Court, 2005” is available online at <http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.gov/publications/PubAbstract.asp?pubi=246504>.
- “Delinquency Cases Waived to Criminal Court, 2005” is available online at <http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.gov/publications/PubAbstract.asp?pubi=246505>.
- “Juvenile Delinquency Probation Caseload, 2005” is available online at <http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.gov/publications/PubAbstract.asp?pubi=246502>.
- “Person Offense Cases in Juvenile Court, 2005” is available online at <http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.gov/publications/PubAbstract.asp?pubi=246503>.

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### ***Delinquency Cases Waived to Criminal Court, 2005***

(NCJ 224539) June 2009 Fact Sheet presents statistics on petitioned delinquency cases waived to criminal court between 1985 and 2005. The number of delinquency cases judicially waived peaked in 1994 at 13,000 cases, which represented an 80 percent increase over the number of cases waived in 1985 (7,200). Since 1994, the number of cases judicially waived declined 47 percent (6,900 cases in 2005). This Fact Sheet is based on the report Juvenile Court Statistics 2005. <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/224539.pdf>

The National Juvenile Defender Center has released the publication “Role of Juvenile Defense Counsel in Delinquency Court.” The report describes the unique and crucial role played by defense attorneys in juvenile court proceedings in providing comprehensive legal representation to children charged with offenses. See [http://www.njdc.info/pdf/role\\_of\\_juvenile\\_defense\\_counsel.pdf](http://www.njdc.info/pdf/role_of_juvenile_defense_counsel.pdf).

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### **School Grants**

More than \$32.8 million in grants have been awarded to 18 states and the District of Columbia as part of a joint effort by the U.S. Departments of Education, Health and Human Services, and Justice to support schools in creating safer and healthier learning environments. The highly competitive Safe Schools/ Healthy Students Initiative attracted 422 grant applications nationally. Under the initiative, school districts, in partnership with local public mental health agencies, law enforcement and juvenile justice entities, must implement a comprehensive, community-wide plan that focuses on the following elements:

- safe school environments and violence prevention activities
- alcohol, tobacco and other drug prevention activities
- student behavioral, social and emotional supports
- mental-health services
- early childhood social and emotional learning programs.

The Safe Schools/Healthy Students Initiative draws on the best practices of education, juvenile justice, law enforcement and mental-health systems to provide integrated resources for

prevention and early intervention services for children and youth. Since 1999, the Education, Justice and Health and Human Services Departments have administered the Safe Schools/Healthy Students Initiative, which has provided more than \$2.1 billion to local educational, mental health, law enforcement and juvenile justice partnerships. For a list of the Safe Schools/Healthy Students Initiative grantees, see the complete press release at <http://www.ed.gov/news/pressreleases/2009/07/07102009.html>. For further information about the Initiative, visit <http://www.ed.gov/programs/dvpsafeschools/index.html>.

The U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) has published "Bullying in Schools." Part of COPS' Problem-Specific Guide Series, the guide provides police with information about the causes and extent of bullying in schools and includes recommendations for developing practices and policies that promote student safety. "Bullying in Schools" is available at [www.cops.usdoj.gov/RIC/Resource Detail.aspx?RID=18](http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/RIC/Resource%20Detail.aspx?RID=18).

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## **Teen Fatal Crashes**

The number of U.S. teenagers involved in fatal drunken-driving accidents has declined as a result of laws that raised the legal drinking age to 21, according to the journal *Accident Analysis & Prevention*. Researchers found that two primary drinking-age laws passed in all 50 states in the 1980s were responsible for an 11 percent decrease in the number of drunken teenage drivers involved in fatal crashes. The two laws made it illegal for anyone younger than 21 to buy or possess alcohol.

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## **Disability Software**

The Simon Technology Center Library offers an inexpensive way to preview software and assistive technology (AT) devices for children and young adults with disabilities. Containing more than 2,500 items, the library has some of the newest software and devices on the market. Anyone can visit and view the materials. See Tara Bakken at (952) 838-9000 or visit [PACER.org/stc/library](http://PACER.org/stc/library).

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## **Community Colleges**

Though many community college students say their coursework is challenging, the Community College Survey of Student Engagement reports on findings from a survey of more than 343,000 students on 585 community college campuses in 48 states. Of this year's respondents, 59 percent of the students said their primary goal is to earn an associate degree, and 52 percent planned to transfer to a four-year college. Nationally, about 36 percent of community college students earn a certificate or a degree within six years.

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## **College Access**

Other countries are outpacing the U.S. in providing access to college, eroding an educational advantage the nation has enjoyed for decades, according to the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education. The study gives a failing grade for college affordability to every state but California, which received a C because of the relatively low cost of its community colleges. Researchers report the percentage of an average family's annual income needed to pay for four-year college has risen from 20 percent to nearly 25 percent. Since the early 1980s, college tuition and fees have jumped nearly 440 percent, far more than health care, food, housing, and transportation costs. At nearly 40 percent, the U.S. is second only to Canada in the percentage of

adults ages 35 to 64 with an associate's degree or higher. But the U.S. is 10th in the world in the percentage of adults ages 25 to 34 who have such degrees.

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## **Teen Dating Abuse**

- One in three teens said they were text messaged 10, 20, or 30 times an hour about what they are doing and who they are with
- One in four teens in a relationship reported being called names, harassed, or put down by their partner through cell phones and texting
- Fifty-one percent of teen girls say pressure from a guy is why they send sexy messages or images (compared to 18 percent of boys) See [http://www.loveisnotabuse.com/survey\\_results\\_2007mstr.htm](http://www.loveisnotabuse.com/survey_results_2007mstr.htm)

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## **'Sunny' Young Adults**

An MTV poll of 1,100 young people reported that 79 percent of 18-to-24 year-olds were generally happy with life, compared with 66 percent in 2007, even though more of them think they will have a harder time finding work, buying a house, and raising a family than their parents did. Many of the respondents indicated they were not happy with the amount of money they had and that it will be harder to find a job than it was for their parents. Of respondents ages 13 to 17, 75 percent said they were happy, up from 65 percent two years ago and 72 percent of those polled from ages 18 to 24 said they were happy, up from 66 percent in 2007. Seventy-four percent of college students said they were happy, up from 64 percent in 2008 despite an increase in the number of students who reported being stressed out by finances and job prospects after graduation.

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## **Teen Childbearing**

According to the National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy, teen childbearing nationwide cost taxpayers \$9.1 billion in 2004. Teens 17 and under account for \$8.6 billion of that total, or an average of \$4,080 per teen mother annually

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## **Abduction Risks**

According to the Uniform Child Abduction and Prevention Act, the following are risk factors for potential abduction:

- Previously abducted or has threatened to abduct a child
- Engaged in activities that indicate a planned abduction, such as quit job, closed bank account, applied for visa or obtained travel documents for self and/ or child
- Lacks strong familial, financial, emotional, or cultural ties to a state or the U.S.
- Has strong ties to another state or country
- History of domestic violence, stalking, or child abuse/neglect
- Has refused to follow a custody determination

- Is likely to take a child to a country that does not provide for extradition to the U.S.
- Has had an adverse decision with regard to immigration status in the U.S.

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## **Family Violence**

The National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges has recently published *Family Violence Legislative Update* that summarizes state legislation, identifies trends, and provides contacts for state domestic violence coalitions and legislative offices. It highlights family violence laws enacted during 2008, including

- Expanding domestic violence protections to dating relationships
- Protecting victims of stalking by expanding definitions, enhancing criminal penalties, and ensuring full faith and credit is accorded to stalking orders
- Electronic monitoring of domestic violence perpetrators
- Employment protections for abuse victims who must leave work to obtain legal services or attend court proceedings. See [www.ncjfcj.org](http://www.ncjfcj.org).

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## **Concussions**

The International Conference on Concussion in Sports says children and teens require different treatment for concussions than adults. The guidelines say children and teens must be strictly monitored and activities restricted—no return to the playing field, no return to school, and no cognitive activity—until fully healed.

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## **Unvaccinated Children**

A U.S. study has found that children who are not vaccinated against whooping cough have 23 times as high a chance of getting the illness. Researchers tracked children in Colorado between 1996 and 2007. They compared two groups: 156 who had confirmed pertussis, or whooping cough, and 595 who did not have it.

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## **Baseball Injuries**

The number of children and adolescents treated for baseball-related injuries in hospitals decreased 25 percent from 1994 to 2006, according to the Center for Injury Research and Policy. The number of youth baseball injured dropped from an estimated 147,000 injuries in 1994 to about 111,000 in 2006. The study found 46 percent of the injuries were caused by being hit by a baseball and 25 percent were injured from being hit by a bat.

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## **Foreign Students**

The number of foreign students enrolled in U.S. colleges surged seven percent last year to 623,805, an all-time high and the largest one-year increase on record. Enrollments of foreign undergraduate and graduate students just starting to pursue their degrees are rising even faster—10.1 percent last year, according to the Institute of International Education for the U.S. State

Department. The total number for the 2007-08 academic year is six percent above the previous high, set in 2002-03. Of 432 schools that said international enrollments were up this past fall, 19 percent said the weak dollar made tuition costs more attractive. In addition to the cultural and educational assets such students bring to U.S. campuses, they contribute about \$15.5 billion to the economy.

A record 241,791 U.S. students went abroad for academic credit in 2006-07, up eight percent from the previous year and nearly 150 percent more than a decade earlier, according to the Institute of International Education. Europe continues to host the largest share of students, 57 percent, but that is down from the previous year. Some of the fastest growth is in Asia and Africa, where the number of students increased by 20 percent and 19 percent respectively. The top three fields of study are the social sciences (21.4 percent), business and management (19.1 percent), and humanities (13.2 percent). More than 55 percent of students study abroad for periods of eight weeks or less, up from 53 percent last year. The number of students spending an academic year abroad has dropped from 5.5 percent to 4.4 percent.

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## **“Safety IQ”**

Ninety percent of parents say they feel responsible for supplying their children with safety information, according to the Underwriters Laboratory. A survey also found 90 percent of children in grades kindergarten through fifth relies on their parents for information to keep them safe. U.S. children suffer an estimated 14 million potentially disabling unintentional injuries annually, according to the study. When asked what their reactions would be in the event of a fire, 47 percent of children reported they knew to get out of the building immediately, but nearly half would put themselves in danger by trying to call 911 (26 percent) first or trying to find a parent or teacher (22 percent).

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## YOUR BOOKSHELF ON REVIEW

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### Revisiting *The Society of Captives*

Reviewed by Robert Herner

Review of *The Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum Security Prison*, by Gresham M. Sykes. Princeton University Press, 2007 (originally published 1958).

*The Society of Captives* was originally published in 1958. Gresham Sykes had recently received his doctorate from Northwestern University and was teaching at Princeton University. There he had the opportunity to make friends with Lloyd McKorkle, the warden at the New Jersey State Penitentiary, who was leading discussion sections for a criminology course at Princeton. Sykes broached the idea of doing research at the prison and McKorkle welcomed it, giving Sykes access to prisoners, staff, and prison records. Early in his observations, Sykes noted that the official prison rules and those that the prisoners followed were two entirely different sets of rules. Employing a structural functionalist approach, which was prominent in sociology at the time, Sykes explained the evolution, nature, and purpose of the rules which guide the society of captives. His analysis of the prison culture has become a standard in the literature of penology.

Almost every chapter in this little volume spawned new strains of research in penology for decades to come. In the chapter on the “defects of total power” Sykes answers the question probably on the minds of many in the lay public, “why are there so often disturbances in the prison when the prison staff should have nearly total control over the prisoners?” Sykes explains that, in practice, it is not possible to enforce all of the detailed rules imposed on prisoners and that, given the potential for violent outbreaks, guards must depend on the cooperation of the prisoners and, thus, allow their authority to be compromised; “...for it is a paradox,” he writes, “that they can insure their dominance only by allowing it to be corrupted” (p. 58).

In the chapter on the “pains of imprisonment,” Sykes discusses the all-out assault that incarceration imposes on the prisoner’s selfhood. Incarceration itself and the deprivation of liberty represent society’s rejection of that individual as someone who is unworthy of living among us. The deprivation of heterosexual relationships represents another attack on the self in that so much of our self identity is tied to our sexuality. The deprivation of autonomy is another threat to the self in that the prisoner is reverted to a childlike state, dependent on the staff for the granting of privileges, much as we were dependent on our parents for such. It is only when we become independent from these authority figures that we come to identify our “selves” as adults. These are just some of the pains of imprisonment. Sykes argues that the structure of



incarceration is potentially devastating to the prisoner's self-esteem and that the often-violent prison subculture emerges as a means for at least some prisoners to feel good about themselves by dominating other prisoners. The attack on the prisoner's sense of self and the violent subculture that emerges in response may both go a long way toward explaining our high recidivism rates.

These are but a few of the influential arguments in the book. Another chapter concerns argot roles that emerge in the maximum security prison. These roles—such as “gorillas,” “rats,” “merchants,” and “punks”—have detailed effects on the ways that prisoners relate to one another, how the prisoners bide their time, and how the prison culture functions. And one of the last chapters in the book presents Sykes' theory of prison riots. The prison culture, he says, cycles between equilibrium and crisis, with the prison staff ceding authority to the prisoners, the prisoners taking advantage of that authority, the staff cracking down to reestablish their authority, and the prisoners revolting against the crackdown.

Written a half century ago, *The Society of Captives* remains one of a handful of works in criminology that has maintained a significant audience for so long a time. (Another such notable classic is the article “Techniques of Neutralization,” which Sykes coauthored with David Matza, and which is still reprinted in many, if not most, anthologies in criminology today.) It is difficult to measure its importance throughout the years, but indicators of its influence abound. In an article published in *The Prison Journal* in 2001 (more than 40 years after the original publication of this book), author Michael Reisig surveyed a number of well-published scholars in criminology to determine the most influential books written in prison studies. *The Society of Captives* was ranked number one. “It will surprise few readers,” writes Reisig, “that the panel selected Gresham Sykes's *The Society of Captives* as a book of great importance. . . . And, according to the panel, his work continues to influence the way contemporary researchers conceptualize the world behind the prison walls.” Reisig further notes that the *Social Sciences Citation Index* in 2001 cited Sykes “nearly 500 times in social science journals since 1977” (Reisig, 2001: 390, 395). In another article published in the *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* in 2002 entitled “The Pains of Imprisonment: Exploring a Classic Text with Contemporary Authors,” author John Riley devotes the entire article to a demonstration of how concepts developed more than 40 years earlier in *The Society of Captives* are exemplified in contemporary prison literature (Riley, 2002). Another indicator of the current influence of this work is to be found in the fact that the new millennium saw new grant-funded research at Cambridge University entitled “The New Society of Captives,” which examined the application of concepts developed by Sykes and his contemporaries in the modern prison culture in England.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of *The Society of Captives* is that such a short book can be so densely packed with theoretical insight and that such a treatise can be as readable as it is. Each of Sykes's arguments concerning the pains of imprisonment, the corruption of authority, argot roles, and prison riots is well-known by criminologists throughout the United States and Europe and each is classic in its own right. The fact that all of these arguments can be found in one book rightfully establishes *The Society of Captives* as one of the most important books ever written in prison studies and the most important book written in the field during the past half century.

Not only has the book inspired a good deal of scholarship, it has also roused a good deal of scholarly controversy. In particular, *The Society of Captives* has fueled the debate between the adaptation and the importation models of the prison culture. This debate centers over whether the prison culture is as violent and unruly as it is often portrayed because we have imported society's most violent and unruly individuals into the prison (as is often assumed), or because violence and unruliness represent adaptive responses to the conditions of imprisonment. The structural functionalist approach that Sykes employed was inclined to view the prison as a total, self-encapsulated, system and thus was disposed to deemphasize influences that were imported from outside of the prison. Since the publication of the original book, however, prisoners have increasingly divided themselves up into gangs, and very frequently their gang membership inside the prison has depended upon their gang membership before their incarceration. The relevance of imported influences in the prison culture has, therefore, become quite apparent

since the publication of the book. The relevance of the importation model to today's prison culture, however, does not negate the validity of the adaptation model articulated by Sykes. Most criminologists today would agree that the prison culture is best explained by the interplay of the two models. In particular, prisoners are inclined to act on violent subcultural tendencies that may have been present before their incarceration as a means of adapting to the pains of imprisonment, which are better described by Sykes than by anyone else.

Another important change that has taken place since the first publication of this book has been in society's attitudes toward crime and prisoners and prison. In the 1950s and '60s, there was a good deal of hope for prisoners and the possibility of their rehabilitation. Since then, we have become an increasingly punitive society. Sentences today are much longer and U.S. incarceration rates are the highest in the world. In recent decades there has been very little sympathy for offenders and minimal concern for their rehabilitation. *The Society of Captives* pointed out the deleterious effects of prison life on the inmate's psyche and on his or her prospects for rehabilitation. The book was taken to heart by reform-minded practitioners, scholars, and citizens. Today, there seems to be very little concern about the "pains of imprisonment," the prisoner's psyche, or his or her rehabilitation. But there should be more of such concern, because most of the people in prison today will eventually be released. If little attention has been paid to their rehabilitation, then quite likely they will be as dangerous to society (if not more so) than they were before their incarceration.

In the newest edition, the original text is preceded by an introduction by Bruce Western and concludes with a new epilogue by Gresham Sykes. The two entries bracket the book very nicely. Western is a sociologist at Princeton University who has taught classes to prisoners in the nearby New Jersey State Prison. Sykes was at Princeton and based his book on his observations at the New Jersey State Prison. Western, then, is in a unique position to discuss the changing relevance of Sykes' work to what goes on in the prison system today and, specifically, to the prison where Sykes did his work. In the epilogue, Sykes describes the historical context and fortuitous events that led to his writing the book 50 years ago. For those who have been familiar with the book for many years, this is a fascinating insider's guide to an historical moment in the history of sociology and penology.

After the book's initial publication, a review appeared in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* written by James V. Bennett, the Director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. Bennett concludes the review, "Sykes' book must be recognized as an unusually capable and thoughtful discussion of the American prison, and it should be read by the general public, practicing penologists, students, and professors" (Bennett, 1959: 194). Given the book's status as a classic, and given that the nation's incarceration rate is nearly seven times what it was when *The Society of Captives* was first published, Bennett's advice is as timely today as it was then.

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## **Handbook of Restorative Justice: A Global Perspective**

Reviewed by Harry Mika

Review of *Handbook of Restorative Justice: A Global Perspective*. Dennis Sullivan & Larry Tiftt (Eds.). New York, NY: Routledge, 2008 (paper). 574 pp. \$52.

The editors of this book have intended to create a forum and a catalyst for a broad discussion of restorative justice. How well does the *Handbook* accomplish this task and reflect the current state of the field?

On balance, the *Handbook* appears to succeed rather well, in part because it accurately stakes

out the major strengths and deficiencies of restorative justice theory and philosophy, processes and practices, and possibilities. The editors have successfully included significant discussions across the architecture of restorative justice, namely its value orientations, the goals and objectives it seeks to address, its mechanics and processes, its organizational manifestations, and its vision of a “just” community. One might find the diversity of opinion and approach unsettling, and the lack of consensus and seeming babble disconcerting. But these are familiar characteristics of what is still the recently constituted restorative justice “field.” The restorative justice “movement” has come some distance and increasingly enjoys international respectability. But it has far to go, and thankfully, many of these 56 authors are both resolute and attentive to this point.

An asset of this collection is that the community of contributors is diverse, with somewhat more than half from the U.S. and the remainder representing 12 other nations of origin. Disciplinary affiliations of members of the academy include criminology, law, psychology, education, sociology, religion, public policy and administration, and social work. Non-academic authors are community, human rights, and social justice advocates; statutory workers; judges; mediators/facilitators; pastors; attorneys; and staff and administrators in the non-profit, voluntary, and non-governmental sectors. The multidisciplinary presentation helps to achieve a robust overview of the field.

In their introduction, Sullivan and Tifft describe restorative justice as “a form of insurgency and subversive in nature,” partly because it confronts the realities of social arrangements and processes that restrict and deny human potential, growth, and need. In fundamental respects, the editors see the restorative justice project as community development, where harm, responsibility, intervention, and resolve are collective in nature, and where personal empowerment, growth, and well-being become a segue to the collective peace.

In its initial section, the *Handbook* engages a range of competing justice visions and practices. From U.S. and European variants of victim and offender mediation, to family group conferencing for juveniles, with a focus on New Zealand and Australia, to other collaborative programming efforts, through to peacemaking circles, these contributions selectively consider the impact of restorative justice processes and practices on recidivism, the needs of victims, and the very prevalence of crime and harm.

Contributors trace the foundations of restorative justice to historical political economy and cultural arrangements that seek to manage conflict and harm. Such a framework proposes restorative justice as a way of life. A raft of illustration seeks to make this case, from the Navajo peacemaking tradition, to African *ubuntu*, to faith traditions and spiritual processes of transformation, to sanctuary justice.

In the first of three sections devoted to victims and harms, the victim’s rights movement in the United States is used to point out significant remaining deficiencies, such as lack of enforcement, lack of funding, and competing interests of prosecution (that appear to significantly escalate with the seriousness of crime). Restorative justice attempts to play its part in amplifying the victim and survivor voice. After all, its starting point is to acknowledge and respond to victim harms, on the face of it an alternative to the retributive agenda’s relentless focus on law breaking and offender punishment.

Other insights from a restorative orientation are helpful as well. The theory and practice of capital punishment in the U.S. is steeped with the imagery and rationale of punishment in the name of victims and survivors. However, the state’s “final solution” is arguably anathema to survivor needs and may well deepen harms for some with its unqualified rejection of redemptive and reconciliatory possibilities. Similarly, the concept of “harm” itself extends across the gamut of victim/survivor, offender, witnesses, family, advocates, community—all of whom to one degree or another face a certain level of harm or injustice when excluded from processes of truth, accountability, and reconciliation. Lack of responsiveness to the harms created by punishment, as they are distributed to offenders and their families alike, seriously undermines restoration, rehabilitation, and change, with ominous present and future implications for the

wider community.

The third set of essays on victim issues considers needs of survivors in transition settings and circumstances, and reviews case studies of reparations (Canada, Australia, South Africa), truth and reconciliation (Serbia), transitional justice (South Africa), governance of security (Melanesian southwest Pacific countries), and grassroots justice (Rwanda). The complexity of these needs reveals peace-building imperatives and an apt agenda for restorative justice: shared mourning, memory and memorialization, truth recovery, education, rehabilitation, reparation, rejection of impunity, and the like.

A number of critical commentaries suggest limitations on the promise and prospects for restorative justice. More recent attention to crimes of globalization, crimes of state, and victimology reflect somewhat more concern with a broader range of harms, the role of dialogic strategies, and human rights. While restorative justice is often considered to be a major frontal assault on the hegemony of criminological discourse, its excesses are duly noted here, including a lack of concern with consequence (i.e., punishment), exacerbating harms to “shamed” offenders, promoting community power that could undermine state authority, expanding the “net” of formal justice processing, and enshrining inequitable justice (e.g., creating a hierarchy of victims).

A postmodernist critique of restorative justice highlights the limitations of reparative dialogue, as well as rigid procedures and order that frustrate the possibilities of spontaneous, organic, and genuine expression; an overreliance on legal discourse; and an emphasis on reconciliation that overshadows addressing the structural roots of conflict. From the feminist perspective, the role of narrative in restorative justice; the possibilities of enhanced community involvement; and attention to race, class, and cultural overlays of crime and peace hold significant promise but also challenges to realizing a vision of justice.

The book concludes with several deliberations on the relationship between transformative justice (an explicit focus on changing relationships within a context of social change) and restorative justice. In doing so, it implicitly sets a very high bar for the latter. Finally, the editors insist that restorative justice and transformative justice should be interchangeable; when they are not in practice, restorative justice is deficient and itself in need of transformation. Restorative justice should embrace and include the character, values, and goals of societal transformation.

All that said, is the *Handbook* a completely satisfactory exposition of restorative justice? It is not, and perhaps it does not have to be. It certainly offers a very robust agenda for restorative justice, and the best sections of the book present finely textured arguments for stretching a vision and exploring possibilities. There are occasional bursts of territoriality, doctrinal rigidity and the like, offered by the usual suspects. Fortunately, these have little net effect on the constructive “dialogue” throughout the remainder of the text.

As noted earlier, there is ample evidence here of a fledgling field. The paucity of empirical case study, despite the pedigrees of the contributors, is somewhat unsettling. There is scant consideration of measures of performance and outcomes. There is also too much of the fetishism of the “victim and offender” dichotomy. In the main, however, the *Handbook* accomplishes its intended purpose: a forum on restorative justice. While the contributors variably take up the editor’s “restorative justice as insurgency” mantra, their processional through that gauntlet is gratifying.

At the end of the day, the *conditio sine qua non* for restorative justice will be its responsiveness to a nuanced understanding of justice and peace. This will not and cannot flow from either conventional justice agendas or even these fledgling restorative justice ones, fortunately. We deserve better than that, and will need to struggle mightily to create more clarity in our vision and resolve in our practice.

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## Books Received

*Alcatraz: The Gangster Years.* By David Ward with Gene Kassebaum. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2009. 548 pp., \$34.95 hardcover.

*The Prison Library Primer: A Program for the Twenty-First Century.* By Brenda Vogel. Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2009. 272 pp., hardcover.

*A Handbook for Correctional Psychologists: Guidance for the Prison Practitioner, 2nd edition.* By Kevin Correia. Springfield, ILL: Charles C. Thomas Pub., 2009. 202 pp., \$54.95 hardcover, \$34.95 softcover.

*Criminalization of Mental Illness: Crisis and Opportunity for the Justice System.* By Risdon N. Slate and Wesley Johnson. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2008. 375 pp. plus index, \$45 softcover.

*A Comprehensive Study of Female Offenders: Life Before, During, and After Incarceration.* By Martin Guevara Urbina. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Pub., 2009. 268 pp. plus index, \$62.95 harcover.

*Beyond Bars: Rejoining Society After Prison.* By Jeffrey Ian Ross and Stephen C. Richards. Indianapolis, IN: Alpha Books. 2009, 224 pp., \$12.95 softcover.

*Prisons in America.* By Marilyn D. McShane. El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing. 2008, 274 pp., \$39.95 softcover.

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### "Town Hall" Strategies for Organizational Change

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### Federal Criminal Filings and Postconviction Supervision

1. Unlike many state criminal systems, virtually all persons convicted in federal court are sentenced to some form of postconviction supervision, usually after a period of imprisonment.
2. The U.S. Government's fiscal year runs from October 1 through September 30.
3. This is no longer the case. The FPSIS system was retired on September 30, 2005, and is now a legacy system. A new system is now in place, the National PACTS Reporting Database (NPR). Data are still submitted by the district probation offices, but now the database is maintained and administered by the AO's Office of Probation and Pretrial Services.
4. The number of individuals reported as received into the postconviction supervision system in 2004, was 59,437. However, this number includes 7,218 cases in the Bureau of Prisons

(BOP) category that are duplicates of cases that were later opened in the "parole" or "term of supervised release" (TSR) categories. In March 2003, the Judicial Conference approved new supervision policies, which included the policy that probation officers were to become involved in re-entry and supervision planning for prisoners being released to supervision before they were actually released to the community. Districts were first advised in May 2003 (and again in November 2003) as to how they could open these cases in the database. They were to use the BOP case type category pending release of a new version of the software that would provide a field for entering a "prerelease supervision date." This would enable them to open a TSR or parole case prior to its being "received" without the need to open the case first as a BOP case. The new version of the software was released in July 2004, but most districts needed a few months to implement it and even more time to understand how the rules for opening a case prior to release had changed. (E-mail from B. Meierhoefer, 11/07/2006, Office of Probation and Pretrial Services, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts.) Because the number published in *Judicial Business of the United States, 2004*, includes these duplicate cases, it does not match the number used in [Figure 1](#) here. The number used in [Figure 1](#) is 59,437 (published) minus 7,218 (duplicates) = 52,219.

5. Duplicate defendants are defendants charged in more than one case when all of the cases are handled in the same year. These should not be confused with the duplicate cases discussed in footnote 4. Transfers were deleted from the analysis population so that defendants were not counted in both the original districts and the district to which they were transferred. Defendants transferred from one district to another or reassigned from one court or judge to another were considered transfers and omitted from the analysis.
6. The category "other" includes deportation, suspended sentence, sealed sentence, imprisonment of four days or less, and no sentence.
7. P.L. No. 98-4-8-473, 98 Stat. 1987.
8. Hughes, John and Henkel, Karen S. (1997) "The Federal Probation and Pretrial Services System Since 1975: An Era of Growth and Change." 61 *Federal Probation* 103.
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10. *Mistretta v. United States*, 488 US 361 (1989).
11. Criminal defendants were subject to substantially different treatment in the sentencing system in effect prior to the passage of the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984. The Government Accountability Office (GAO) reported in 1979 that, "if convicted of a crime, accused persons may receive different treatment at the time of sentencing. Official discretion frequently determines whether a defendant is incarcerated, the length of sentence imposed, and provisions affecting the time of incarceration before parole will be considered." *Reducing Federal Judicial Sentencing and Prosecuting Disparities: A Systemwide Approach Needed*, General Accounting Office Report GGD-78-112, March 19, 1979, at i. Moreover, the option of supervised release was created by the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984, as a new form of post-imprisonment supervision. Zenga, *supra* note 9, at 499. Supervised release differs from probation in that a term of supervised release occurs after an individual has served a term of imprisonment. Probation is a direct sentence to supervision with no intervening term of imprisonment.

12. Walker, Patrick and O'Connor, Karen (1999) "Federal Probation: Trends in Persons Received, 1994-1998" (unpublished manuscript, on file in Statistics Division, Administrative Office of the United States Courts).
13. Firearms Cases Rise in District Courts, 32 *The Third Branch* 4 (February 2000).
14. Walker and O'Connor, *supra* note 12, at 4.
15. Because the number for this single year is a "spike," and data return the following year to a level more consistent with that obtained previously, the 1996 spike may be due to a data error (e.g., incorrect coding). We spoke with staff in the Office of Probation and Pretrial Services, who agreed that this spike seemed suspicious and suggests a data mistake. However, we could find no evidence to support this theory.
16. Walker and O'Connor, *supra* note 12, at 4.
17. Another possible explanation for the divergence of the two time series is that offenders sentenced under the sentencing guidelines were still working their way through the system during the period in question. The average prison sentence from 1987 to 2005 was 61.4 months, with only two years (1989 and 1990) having average sentences below the period average. However, in the years before 1996, the average prison sentence was 64.3 months; from 1996 through 2005, the average was 58.6 months, nearly six months less. *Judicial Business of the United States*, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts (1990-2005).
18. In this paper, we discuss long and short sentence offenses. The short sentence offenses and their average sentence (in months) from 1987-2005, are: immigration, 21.9; larceny, 27.6; embezzlement, 18.6; forgery 23.0; traffic, 26.2; and fraud, 25.2. Long sentence offenses and their average sentence from 1987 to 2005, are drugs, 80.6; firearms, 78.9; and, robbery, 103.2.
19. Immigration offenses carry low average prison sentences (in 1990, 9.3 months; increasing through 1999 to 29.8 months; and declining to 25.7 months by 2005).
20. Fewer than 5 percent of defendants charged with immigration offenses receive sentences of probation alone. Illegal entry and re-entry constitute less than one-half of these (several hundred).
21. The ratio of offenders sentenced to prison to those sentenced directly to probation for all offenders is 3.6, i.e., 3.6 times as many offenders were sentenced to prison as were sentenced directly to probation. For all offenders except immigration offenders, it is 3.1.
22. The Southwest border districts consist of the District of Arizona, the Southern District of California, the District of New Mexico, the Southern District of Texas, and the Western District of Texas.
23. Bak, Thomas. (2008) "Illegal Immigration and the Southwest Border District Courts" 22 *Georgetown Immigration Law Journal* 570.
24. Pub. L. 104-208
25. Bak, *supra* note 22, at 570, 571.
26. Bak, *supra* note 22, at 571.
27. Bak, *supra* note 18, at 570.
28. This is a logical policy, in that supervised release would be tantamount to giving temporary resident status to illegal aliens.

29. The Supreme Court's decision in *Kimrough v. U.S.*, 128 S. Ct. 558 (2007), which granted federal judges the discretion to give reasonable, shorter prison sentences to crack cocaine offenders and thereby reduce the disparity between sentences for crack cocaine and powder cocaine, along with a ruling by the Federal Judicial Center (FJC) that these sentences can be challenged retroactively, could change both the length of the average sentence for crack cocaine convictions and the number of persons received into PCS. The FJC has estimated that at least 19,000 current prisoners convicted of crack cocaine charges could be eligible for sentence review.

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## How Principles of High Reliability Organizations Relate to Corrections

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## Turnover Intention Among Probation Officers and Direct Care Staff: A Statewide Study

1. Direct-care staff were defined as all Community Supervision and Corrections Departments (CSCD) employees who have direct contact with probationers or other clients as an assigned job duty, such as case workers, counselors, counselor interns, residential monitors, caseload technicians, and technicians assigned to the inter/intrastate caseloads, while excluding other staff, such as secretaries, general clerks, computer technicians, fiscal clerks, couriers, and transportation specialists, not assigned to a caseload or having contact with clientele as part of their regular duties.
2. Respondents were required to select their department from a list, in order for the researcher to elicit a response rate for each department.
3. Survey responses were obtained from a total of 3,241 line probation officers and direct-care staff. However, data provided by 6 line probation officers and 1 direct care staff were deleted due to missing information.
4. A principal components factor analysis indicates that one of the original six items developed by Meyer and Allen (1997) was found to be heterogeneous and was thereby discarded.
5. A principal components factor analysis indicated that all factor loading scores exceeded the 0.50 cut-off, suggesting substantial loads (Comrey & Lee, 1992) and supporting the validity of the two sub-dimensional constructs of continuance commitment.
6. Tukey's HSD Post-Hoc test for the nine age groups indicates that high turnover intention was strongly prevalent among line officers whose age range was somewhere between 20-34 years. This age range group accounts for 42.8 percent (991 out of 2,618) of the total sampled line officers.
7. Tukey's HSD Post-Hoc test for the seven tenure groups indicates that high turnover intention was strongly prevalent among direct-care staff whose tenure range was somewhere between 0-3 years. This tenure group accounts for 45.6 percent (257 out of 564) of the total sampled direct-care staff population.
8. Pay satisfaction developed by Dunham and Smith (1979) was classified by Williams et al. (2002) as multi-dimensional pay satisfaction, rather than uni-dimensional, pay-level satisfaction. However, due to no inclusion of benefits satisfaction, the study utilized and incorporated Spector's (1997) benefits satisfaction scale into Dunham and Smith's (1979) pay satisfaction scale.
9. Two absolute fit (GFI = 0.99, RMEAS = 0.49) indices, well exceeding the recommended cut-off values, indicate that the hypothetical two-factor model, compared to alternative factor models, provided best fit to the data. Also, the two-factor model provided a significant improvement: three incremental fit indices were better for the two-factor model (NFI = 0.99, CFI = 0.99, TLI = 0.98) than for the four-factor model (NFI = 0.94, CFI = 0.94, TLI = 0.83).
10. Two absolute fit indices (GFI = 0.99, RMEAS = 0.01) fully support the absolute best-fit of the final model to the data. The three incremental fit indices were better for the final model (NFI = 0.999, CFI = 0.999, TLI = 0.998) than for the hypothetical model (NFI = 0.996, CFI = 0.996, TLI = 0.991).
11. As demonstrated in Figure 1, the factor-loading score for pay satisfaction (0.79) showed a 1.49 times higher association with compensation satisfaction than the factor-loading score of benefit satisfaction (0.53).
12. Even though a failure due to the current economic status and its subsequent statewide budget cuts, the concerted effort was recently made to vote to move forward with a recommendation of a \$6,000 salary supplement for all probation line officers and direct



care staff (A total amount of \$45million for the biennium) to the Texas Legislature.

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## **Good Job or Dirty Work? Public Perceptions of Correctional Employment**

1. Thanks to Amber Herbeck and Chad Briggs for their help collecting and entering the data used for this project. The data were collected as part of Grant 98-CE-VX-0021 from the National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice. Correspondence may be directed to: Jody Sundt, Criminology and Criminal Justice, PO Box 751, Portland State University, Portland, OR 97207-0751. Email:sundt@pdx.edu.
2. These data include those employed in community corrections, prisons, and jails.

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## **Sexual Victimization and Requests for Assistance in Inmates' Letters to the National Prison Rape Elimination Commission**

1. The views contained and expressed in this document do not represent the position of the National Prison Rape Elimination Commission. All views and interpretations contained herein are those of the authors alone.
2. It should be noted that the correspondence reviewed in this analysis is only a subset of correspondence received at the Commission from inmates. Correspondence received prior to June 2004 and after February 2008 is not included. Additionally correspondence from individuals who are not inmates is not included in the analysis.
3. Additionally, 42.4 percent of correspondence included supplementary materials. These supplementary materials included court documents, legal letters, affidavits, inmate grievance complaints with identifying information, hearing dispositions, news articles, declarations, inmate/parolee appeal forms, and official complaints filed against correctional personnel.

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