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Homeland Security and the Benefits of College Education: An Exploratory Study of the New York City Police Department's Cadet Corps John A. Eterno	1
Working Within the Walls: The Effect of Care From Coworkers on Correctional Employees Kelly Cheeseman Dial and W. Wesley Johnson	17
Using Discriminant Analysis in Policing Research Michael L. Birzer and Delores E. Craig-Moreland	33
Prisoner Reintegration Challenges of Assimilation and Crime Desistance Michael Pittaro	49
Paid Administrative Leave for Officers Involved in Shootings: Exploring the Purpose, Cost, and Efficacy James E. Guffey, Chandrika Kelso, James Larson, and Dennis Porter	67
Time and Space Compression Criminology John M. Landry	87

Contents

Highlights of Volume 3, Number 2	v
Homeland Security and the Benefits of College Education: An Exploratory Study of the New York City Police Department's Cadet Corps John Eterno	1
Working Within the Walls: The Effect of Care From Coworkers on Correctional Employees Kelly Cheeseman Dial and W. Wesley Johnson	17
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Time and Space Compression Criminology John M. Landry	87
Index	97

Professional Issues in Criminal Justice

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Highlights of Volume 3, Number 2

In the lead article, "Homeland Security and the Benefits of College Education: An Exploratory Study of the New York City Police Department's Cadet Corps," John Eterno, a retired New York City Police Captain and present chair of Molloy College's Criminal Justice Department, examines the performance of New York City police officers who were members of three distinct groups: officers who entered with cadet background, officers who were college graduates but not cadets, and officers who entered with a high school diploma only. He concludes that both cadets and college graduates outperform those officers who entered the department with only a high school diploma, suggesting that higher education has a positive effect on policing.

Kelly Cheeseman Dial and W. Wesley Johnson's article, "Working Within the Walls: The Effect of Care From Coworkers on Correctional Employees," examines the perceived effect of "care" from coworkers upon the work of correctional officers. Care is defined as the expression of interest by one or others in another's life outside of the scope of work. Correctional officers in a southern prison system were surveyed regarding their perceptions of care from all levels of employees within the correctional system. The results indicate that correctional employee perceptions of care from coworkers is an emerging factor influencing how employees view their work and should be examined in greater detail.

In "Using Discriminant Analysis in Policing Research," Michael Birzer and Delores Craig-Moreland discuss using discriminant analysis in research involving law enforcement. "Discriminant analysis is a multivariate statistical technique that researchers have used successfully in several recent policing studies. The technique allows researchers to divide the sample into meaningful groups that reflect situations that more adequately represent real-life situations and to analyze simultaneously multiple variables that have the potential of explaining group placement." The article describes the general benefits and appropriateness of using discriminant analysis in policing research; provides an overview of navigating the discriminant analysis report; provides a research case example to demonstrate how discriminant analysis was a tenable procedure when examining police learning strategies; and compares the value of using regression/logistic regression analysis and discriminant analysis in policing research.

Michael Pittaro, a former prison administrator, advocates for therapeutic programming that starts in the prison and continues without interruption into the community in his article "Prisoner Reintegration Challenges of Assimilation and Crime Desistance." The article examines the issues involved in reintegration of prisoners and the challenges associated with assimilation and crime desistance from a symbolic interactionist's perspective.

According to Pittaro, the social, medical, emotional, and legal challenges that ex-prisoners routinely confront upon reentry into society have largely stifled their willingness and ability to prepare adequately for reentry and refrain from recidivistic behaviors. Pittaro states that for nearly three decades, American society has embraced the social concept of mass incarceration and other stringent crime-control measures in an ill-fated effort to reduce rising recidivism rates. Pittaro contends that incarceration is ineffective unless accompanied by outcomes-based therapeutic programming during and following incarceration.

The article by James Guffey, Chandrika Kelso, James Larson, and Dennis Porter, "Paid Administrative Leave for Officers Involved in Shootings: Exploring the Purpose, Cost, and Efficacy," discusses the issues involved with paid administrative leave for employees who are under investigation by their employers for policy, rule, or regulation violations and even criminal acts. "Private companies and public agencies have found this a convenient action to take when the facts of the incident are not obvious and outright firing of the employee is not yet justified. The employee continues to receive his or her salary while the agency investigates to determine whether there are grounds to fire the employee. Although the process can be expensive from the standpoint that the employee continues to receive his or her salary without reporting for work, it appears to be less expensive in the long-term in the event the employee brings a lawsuit for unlawful termination." The article examines this practice within police agencies.

The concluding article by John Landry explores time and space compression criminology. Landry discusses the effect of globalization on the perception of time and space and the subsequent compression of those entities. He explores facts surrounding crime rate increases and international issues and discusses evolving crime patterns and new types of offenses. In addition, the article examines social compression theory and the compression of time and space and the subsequent effect they have had on twenty-first century crime, including computer crimes (cybercrimes) and traditional crimes that have now been affected by the Internet's ability to link victims with offenders. The article also discusses criminological theories as they relate to contemporary cybercrime and computer-related crime issues.

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Volume 3 Number 2, Summer 2008

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Homeland Security and the Benefits of College Education: An Exploratory Study of the New York City Police Department's Cadet Corps

John A. Eterno

In these turbulent times, law enforcement agencies must employ the most qualified personnel to ensure preservation of both democratic principles and public safety. The exploratory research this paper presents examines the performance of New York City police officers who were members of three distinct groups: officers who entered with cadet background, officers who were college graduates but not cadets, and officers who entered with a high school diploma only. Results indicate that both cadets and college graduates outperform those officers who entered the Department with only a high school diploma, suggesting that higher education has a positive effect on policing. Future research needs to focus on the value of the cadet model to law enforcement.

It was only after the horrific attacks on September 11, 2001, that the possible consequences of terrorist activity (e.g., massive civilian casualties) came to the forefront of American consciousness. Today, preventing future attacks is a priority. It is the duty of law enforcement in free countries to prevent such horrible acts while at the same time to protect basic rights bestowed on every citizen (e.g., free speech, the right to be free from unreasonable search and seizure)—a difficult task indeed. In this new age, police agencies will value college-educated officers highly because of the varied knowledge, skills, and abilities that will be necessary to properly perform law enforcement duties.

Unfortunately, attracting highly motivated and well-educated individuals to a career in law enforcement is a struggle for law enforcement agencies. For example, the New York City Police Department has recently had great difficulty meeting its targets for recruitment (including post 9/11). Additionally, those candidates who were hired in New York City are “failing out of academy classes and being disciplined for violating department rules at twice the rate they were four years ago . . .” (Jones, 2001, p. D1). At least part of the reason for this recruitment difficulty is that many young and spirited college graduates see law enforcement as a career of last resort. Countless explanations for this phenomena include relatively low pay for police work, the danger and stress of the work environment, many alternatives in career choice, and negative press coverage of police behavior (e.g.,

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Rodney King in Los Angeles, Abner Louima in New York City, Amadou Diallo in New York City). One recent study on police hiring conducted by Larry Hoover divides the reasons why it is so difficult for police agencies to recruit into four categories: the economy, occupational prestige, working conditions, and a “cumbersome and tedious application process” (2001, p. 2).

In an attempt to address these issues, many departments are instituting innovative strategies. One strategy is to recruit officer candidates while they are still in college. Departments give these candidates money and other assistance in exchange for a commitment to serve as police officers. This strategy is known as the Police Cadet Corps in New York City.

The New York City Police Department (NYCPD) founded the Police Cadet Corps program in 1986. The Cadet Corps is similar to the Army R.O.T.C. program. Generally, cadets are hired after completing two years of college.¹ They receive money to complete their four-year degrees in exchange for a two-year commitment to become police officers in the NYCPD. Additionally, cadets are hired part-time during the school year and full-time during the summers to assist and train with the NYCPD.

Cadets are originally hired by the Commanding Officer of the Cadet Corps (as opposed to selection based on a civil service list from which all other police officers are hired). The Cadet Corps has its own staff and recruits its candidates separately from the rest of the NYCPD. For cadets to be hired in New York City, they have to go through a screening process that is similar to the typical civil service police officer entry (a psychological screening, physical test, medical evaluation, and background investigation).²

During the two-year period in which cadets are going to college, they receive specialized instruction to enhance their ability and skills for use when they eventually become police officers. Newly hired cadets are given 10 weeks of training during their first summer with the department. The training given to cadets includes rules and procedures governing cadets; a Leadership Reaction Course; modified Police Academy courses (i.e., police science, social science, law, and physical education courses); and tours and hands-on experience with NYCPD units, the courts, and museums.

After graduating college, cadets must pass the typical civil service written examination to become police officers. Most cadets have no problem passing this test. However, upon passing the cadet is not put on a civil service list the way other test takers are; rather, the test for them is considered a promotion examination. Therefore, as long as the cadet passes the civil service examination, he/she is placed in the next available class regardless of the score (again, as long as it is passing). Also, to be placed into the next recruit class, the cadet must, again, pass psychological, physical, and medical screenings as well as undergo an updated background investigation.³ If cadets pass

2 *Professional Issues in Criminal Justice* Vol 3(2), 2008

these qualifications, they are given one day of seniority over the rest of the recruit class (civil service entries). As soon as the cadets become police officers the two-year commitment begins.

Literature Review

Higher education is a key component to the Cadet Corps program. A plethora of studies on education and policing have been completed, but few specifically discuss cadets. To familiarize the reader with some of these studies, I will provide a brief overview.

Generally, the results from these studies are quite mixed. One study conducted by Dantzker (1993) shows the importance of education level. He shows that the more education an officer has, the more satisfied that officer is with the job. However, those officers who have more than five years of service and also have a college education are least likely to be satisfied with their work. College educated officers, then, seem to become disillusioned quickly.

Regarding performance, Kappeler, Sapp, and Carter (1992) find that officers with college degrees get fewer civilian complaints; yet, there is no difference in violations of agency rules and procedures. Interestingly, a study by Hooper (1988) shows that officers' performance varies with their education. This relationship is not one that is typically hypothesized (i.e., those with higher education will generally perform better); rather, Hooper argues that each level of education has strengths. For example, officers with high school education get *better* field evaluations, those with two-year degrees have the *lowest* sick time occurrence and complaints, and those with four-year degrees have the *best* Police Academy records and proficiency ratings on written reports. Sherman and Blumberg (1981) come to mixed results regarding the relationship between the use of force and education. Griffin (1980) states that college education should not be used as a primary selection criterion because there was no relationship between patrol officers' performance and different levels of education; however, this conclusion was based on a study of only 93 officers in one Midwestern city.

Overall, the empirical evidence regarding education and performance is quite conflicting. For example, studies not previously mentioned such as Smith (1978), Cascio (1977), Roberg (1978), and Heffernan and Lovely (1991) show improved performance with education. Yet other studies do not support such a relationship, including those conducted by Weiner (1974), Worden (1990), and Blumberg and Niederhoffer (1985).

Research on the Cadet Corps or similar programs, on the other hand, is extremely sparse. Osterburg and Trubitt (1970) conducted one qualitative study. They list a number of recommendations regarding such programs, most of which New York City seems to have adopted. A more recent study was conducted by the Police Foundation (1992). They

too examined the experience of the New York City Cadet Corps. Their results suggest that the few numbers hired did not really influence the number of college graduates on the department; the program assists minority recruitment; community policing *may* increase with cadets as police officers; and it is not known whether cadets are future leaders.

Proponents of the Cadet Corps often state that cadets make the best police officers. They argue that it is a small price to pay to hire those most suited to be officers. Statements such as "The Cadet Corps . . . selects the most qualified candidates for its elite ranks. . . ." (NYCPD, 1996, p. 11) are commonplace in NYCPD documents. Are such statements rhetoric or fact? Is such a program suitable for other agencies? To answer these questions, this research focuses on the performance of cadets as police officers. The basic research question is, do former cadets (who are now police officers) perform better than other officers?

Methods

To determine to what extent cadets differ from other officers, this research compared three groups: cadets (who became police officers), college graduate officers (who were never cadets), and high school graduate officers (including those with generalized equivalency diplomas [GEDs]). The study identified 86 officers in each group (cadets, college graduates, and high school graduates, including GEDs). The total sample size is 258. The sample includes the total number of officers hired during 1988 and 1989 who matched characteristics.⁴ Officers in each group were matched by the year they entered the Police Academy, their sex, and their education level. Matching these characteristics allows an element of control for any influence these characteristics might have. That is, since each group has the same number of officers with the above characteristics, we can reasonably assume that relationships found are probably not due to the influence of the matched characteristics.

The subjects of the study were all hired as police officers in 1988 or 1989. These years were chosen because officers had accumulated enough activity as police officers for the researcher to assess their performance. In other words, those cadets hired in later years did not have enough time working as police officers to develop patterns of activity for comparison. The former cadets used in this study were the first to graduate from the program to police officers.

This exploratory study has limitations. The cadet program informed these officers (when they were cadets and afterward) that they would be scrutinized greatly by the NYCPD. Clearly cadets were treated with special attention compared with other officers. For example, supervisors conducted interviews with all former cadets, informing them of possible career options as well as letting them know they were being watched. Officers

4 *Professional Issues in Criminal Justice* Vol 3(2), 2008

hired through the civil service system did not receive such treatment. This could adversely influence the research, especially through the Hawthorne effect (i.e., subjects improve their performance simply because they know they are being closely studied [see Babbie, 1989, pp. 212–216]). Consequently, the performance of the cadets may have been weaker had this special attention not been given.

The sample is approximately 21% female (see Table 1). This figure is slightly higher than the current percentage of females working for the NYCPD, which is about 16% (NYCPD, 1995). Additionally, the majority of officers are from the 1989 class.

The researcher gathered as much information on the three groups as possible. The information includes promotions, arrest activity, number of department vehicle accidents, number and type of civilian complaints, the number of Central Personnel Index (CPI) points, and sick records. I will briefly explain these measures.

Table 1. *Sex by Police Recruit Class*

Sex	1988 Class	1989 Class	Row Total
Female	15	39	54 20.9%
Male	69	135	204 79.1%
Total	84 32.6%	174 67.4%	258 100.0%

CPI points are a measure of discipline or poor performance. Officers that have more points have been disciplined for poor behavior. Categories known as Chronic A and Chronic B divide sick records. Chronic A is four times sick within one year. Chronic B indicates an officer who has claimed sickness six times or more within one year or four times sick plus more than 40 workdays lost. Thus, an officer on Chronic B is considered more of a problem (i.e., possibly abusing sick privileges) compared with an officer listed as Chronic A.

Civilian complaints occur when a civilian officially complains to the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB) about an officer who uses unnecessary force, abuses his/her authority, is discourteous, and/or uses offensive language. Thus, the greater the count of civilian complaints for a particular officer, the more likely that officer is a poor performer (although this is not necessarily the case as it may simply indicate an officer's willingness to do his/her job, the area the officer is assigned to, or other such factors).

The dependent variables for the study are the various department measures for each officer (current rank, sick category, CPI points, arrests [total, felony, misdemeanor, violation,

Eterno

and resisting]], department vehicle accidents, and civilian complaints. The independent variable is the category of the officers' education: cadet (college graduate), non-cadet college graduate, or high school graduate only (no college education). Additionally, the study controls for the various characteristics of the officers (i.e., gender, year hired). Because many undergraduates and others with minimal statistical expertise will read this work, the study uses basic statistics (univariate and bivariate analysis).

Results

Rank

One indicator of advancement in the NYCPD, or in any police department, is rank. Police officer is the lowest rank for a uniformed member of the NYCPD. Detective is considered a promotion; however, detectives still have the civil service rank of police officer and cannot give an order to a police officer to perform a duty. Detectives are appointed at the discretion of the Police Commissioner (the highest ranking member of the NYCPD). The rank of sergeant, on the other hand, is a civil service promotion. Those who attain the rank of sergeant must pass a civil service test (usually a written multiple choice type test). Sergeants may give orders to detectives or police officers. Thus, the rank of detective is discretionary, while the rank of sergeant is based on examination.

As stated, cadets have received special attention from the NYCPD. This, of course, influences promotions (especially discretionary ones). Therefore, we expect cadets, due to their special status in the NYCPD, to be over-represented in the rank of detective. Additionally, since cadets have more college education than high school graduates, we expect them to perform better on the civil service promotional examination to sergeant.

The first comparison of groups, therefore, is accomplished for rank (see Table 2). Cadets have a greater number of detectives and sergeants than the other two groups. Those officers with only a high school education have the fewest promoted.

Looking at each rank we see that cadets are promoted to higher ranks more often compared with the other two groups. However, because promotion to the rank of detective is most likely due to the favored status of cadets, it is not a good criterion for estimating success on the job. Cadets also do better on the civil service examinations (promotion to sergeant) compared with both other groups. While we clearly expect cadets to perform better than high school graduates, it was somewhat of a surprise to see them outperform other college graduates on the written test for sergeant.⁵ This finding certainly indicates superior performance by cadets and may be due to familiarity with the job and the civil service system. Furthermore, the measure of association shows that the relationship between rank and group designation is modest (Cramer's $V = .20$) and that the probability

of a result of this size occurring by chance is small ($p < .01$). Thus, this result is statistically significant.

Table 2. Rank by Group Designation

Rank	Group Designation			Row Total
	Cadet	College	HS/GED	
Detective	8 9.3%	2 2.3%	1 1.2%	11 4.3%
Police Officer Female	17 19.8%	17 19.8%	17 19.8%	51 19.8%
Police Officer Male	44 51.2%	57 66.3%	65 75.6%	166 64.3%
Sergeant	17 19.8%	10 11.6%	3 3.5%	30 11.6%
Total	86	86	86	258 100%

Note. Figures in all tables may not add to 100% due to rounding.

$V = .20$ $p < .01$

Sick Category

Another comparison was accomplished for chronic sick category (see Table 3). The college category had the fewest number of chronic sick officers (2—1 in Chronic A and 1 in Chronic B). Next, were the cadets, who had six officers listed as either Chronic A or B. Lastly, the high school category had twice the number of officers as the cadets who were listed as being chronic (12). Because the "chronic" designation is an indication of poor performance, it appears (although the numbers are small) that cadets, while outperforming the high school group, do not perform as well as the college only group. As with rank, this finding too may be due to familiarity with the NYCPD; however, in this instance the familiarity with the department seems to lead to poor performance. That is, since former cadets are more familiar with sick policies, they may be better able to gauge what they can get away with. Therefore, cadets are more likely to abuse sick time than the typical college graduate. The measure of association indicates a very modest association (Cramer's $V = .14$) and the probability of this result occurring by chance is slight ($p < .05$).

CPI Points

The first comparison is for total confidential performance index (CPI) points. Again, the more CPI points an officer has, the worse the performance. College graduates had the fewest points (mean = 4.35); cadets were a close second (mean = 4.80), and high school

Eterno

graduates had almost two times as many points (mean = 8.12). Analysis of variance indicates that we can reject the null hypothesis that the population means are equal ($p < .01$).⁶ It appears, then, that college graduates and cadets act in a very similar manner with respect to CPI points. Further, they outperform the high school only category by being disciplined only about one half the time as the members of the high school group.

Table 3. *Chronic Sick Category by Group Designation*

Chronic Category	Group Designation			Row Total
	Cadet	College	High School	
A	5	1	7	13 5.0%
B	1	1	5	7 2.7%
Not Chronic	80	84	74	238 92.2%
Total	86 33.3%	86 33.3%	86 33.3%	258 100%

$V = .14$ $p < .05$

Arrests

Another indicator of performance the study compared was arrest activity. For total arrests college graduates have the greatest number (mean = 70.03) with cadets close behind (mean = 69.90). High school graduates averaged the fewest arrests of the three groups (mean = 59.34). Other arrest indicators showed that cadets had the most felony arrests, college graduates had the most misdemeanor arrests, and high school graduates had the most violation arrests. Again, college graduates and cadets tend to outperform high school only graduates; however, neither the difference of about 10 arrests for the total category nor the difference in other arrest categories (misdemeanors and violations) was overwhelming. Analysis of variance for all arrest variables indicates that no group differs significantly from another: total arrests, $p = .44$; felony arrests, $p = .38$; misdemeanor arrests, $p = .44$; violation arrests, $p = .14$; resisting arrests, $p = .55$. Thus, the differences observed between groups could be due to chance.

Interestingly, college graduates had the most resisting arrests (6.36); however, the difference between the groups is also very small (cadets = 6.17 and high school = 5.26). Indeed, they are so close that we can say (for the purposes of this work) that there is essentially no difference between them. As analysis of variance for all arrest variables

indicates that no group differs significantly from another, the differences observed between groups could be due to chance. Regardless of the small differences, there is some difficulty in interpreting the meaning of the counts for this category. Resisting arrest can indicate both poor performance (too many resisting arrests may mean the officer is doing his/her job improperly) and good performance (it can also mean that the officer is willing to get involved and do even the most arduous tasks). Further, because college graduates have more total arrests (as we know from the previous analysis), it may simply be due to chance that college graduates have more resisting arrests. Hence, interpretation of the resisting arrests counts is ambiguous.

Department Vehicle Accidents

Regarding department vehicle accidents, high school graduates averaged the most (.93). Cadets had the second highest average number of accidents (.90). College graduates had the fewest mean number of accidents (.81). Again, however, the difference between these numbers is so small that these groups are essentially not different from each other. Thus, with respect to vehicle accidents all three groups have similar records, although college graduates do have the fewest accidents. Analysis of variance indicates that no group differs significantly from another ($p = .75$) when comparing department vehicle accidents.

Civilian Complaints

The fewest average number of civilian complaints made to the CCRB was also achieved by the college graduates (1.33), with cadets the middle group averaging 1.40 complaints. The high school graduates had the highest average number of complaints (1.50). These data are interesting because college graduates made the most arrests; therefore, one might expect more civilian complaints for them. This finding of the most arrests and the fewest civilian complaints is a strong indication of successful performance by the college only category.

Regarding force complaints, cadets had the fewest average number of force complaints (.91) followed by college graduates (.95) and then the high school only category (1.03). As high school graduates made the fewest arrests, we would expect less force complaints for them. This finding too is a strong indicator that cadets and college graduates are doing something different, which influences their performance in a favorable manner. A word of caution regarding the counts on civilian complaints is necessary. Both general counts and the force counts for each group are fairly close. In fact, we can say that all three groups did act quite similarly because the differences were

so small. Analysis of variance indicates that the difference in means is not statistically significant for either total number of complaints ($p = .87$) or force complaints ($p = .88$).

In sum, cadets performed better when it comes to promotion. College graduates, who were never cadets, were the least likely to have a problem with respect to sickness. College graduates and cadets performed similarly in having few indicators of poor performance and behavior problems (CPI points). Other indicators generally show that college graduates and cadets outperform the high school graduates; however, the differences between those indicators are, for the most part, small. Table 4 presents the average (mean) group performance for all categories.

Table 4. *Average (Mean) Group Performance*

NYPD Indicator	Group Designation		
	Cadet	College	High School
Total CPI Points*	4.80	4.35	8.12
Total Arrests	69.90	70.03	59.34
Total Felony Arrests	39.93	36.77	31.48
Total Misdemeanor Arrests	28.16	31.80	25.48
Total Violation Arrests	.94	.70	1.53
Total Resisting Arrests	6.17	6.36	5.26
Total Dept. Vehicle Accidents	.90	.81	.93
Total CCRB Complaints	1.40	1.33	1.50
Total Force Complaints	.91	.95	1.03

* Statistically significant difference ($p < .05$)

Discussion

Overall, these simple relationships suggest that officers who are college graduates, including cadets, perform better than their high school graduate counterparts. The two groups, college graduates and cadets, performed better in nearly every category examined. This trend is clear and obvious throughout the data. Thus, the superior performance of these two groups does suggest that raising education requirements may prove fruitful.⁷

Nearly every dependent variable had some indication, albeit weak in many instances, that college educated officers (which includes cadets and the college category) perform at a higher level. As stated, previous research on the topic of education and policing has been mixed; however, this work suggests that college education is helpful to police agencies—at least in large, urban areas.

This research does suggest that former cadets now perform in a superior manner compared with high school graduate police officers; however, it is equally clear that cadets perform at a similar level compared with other college graduates with no Cadet Corps experience. Recall that the cadet study the Police Foundation conducted suggests cadets should be an “elite” corps of officers. These data do not support this characterization. Indeed, cadets definitely do *not* perform better than other college graduates except in certain areas such as rank that are offset by other areas such as sickness. Also, because extra seniority can affect rank, it may simply be that seniority (and not cadet performance) is responsible for earlier promotion. This work does recommend further study on this issue, especially with other cadet programs around the nation. Replication of this study will also help generalize these findings.

While further study is needed, some tentative policy recommendations can be made. The Cadet Corps program may help some poor and disadvantaged students achieve a higher education. Also, the Cadet Corps may be a good alternative to civil service to hire those who possess special skills to combat crime and/or terrorism (e.g., language skills such as Arabic). However, while the data show that cadet field performance is good, it is just about the same as other college (non-cadet) graduates.

This work suggests that the Cadet Corps’ goal of educating future officers on the systems, processes, and culture of the police department is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, after cadets become officers their familiarity with the department seems to improve performance in areas such as promotions. On the other hand, their familiarity with the department may lead to abuses such as taking more sick time.

At a minimum, the training and experiences cadets receive should be targeted toward learning appropriate behavior and the dangers of the police culture. It may be that untargeted exposure to cynical officers and other negative influences lead to unwanted behavior, actually hurting the organization.

By comparison civil service recruits are exposed to the culture in a controlled fashion. Indeed, training for new officers does not stop when they leave the Academy in New York City. In fact, hand-picked training officers introduce neophyte officers to the field environment. Because cadets were already exposed to the work environment by being assigned to the field before becoming police officers, it is probable that such non-controlled (or at least much less controlled) exposure has an adverse affect. That is, exposure to the police work environment without prior and rigorous Police Academy training and preparation as well as other controls after Academy graduation, such as hand-picked training officers who guide the neophyte properly, means that the cadet program may actually be less effective (if not actually causing harm) compared with civil service entry.

Some restructuring of these cadet programs is advisable. It may be that the familiarity that the Cadet Corps offers hurts as much as helps. It is suggested that cadet training focus on overcoming many of the negative aspects of the police culture (e.g., cynicism [see, for example, Drummond, 1976]), rather than introducing the cadets to the work environment without rigid controls in place. The Cadet Corps should try more rigorous training at the Academy before exposure, having a select group of experienced officers guide cadets in the field, developing a mentoring program where new cadets are shown the job by those already in the program (senior cadets should be selected to participate based on their ability to be a positive role model) as well as develop tests to determine when exposure seems to be negative (this can be informal through conversation with the cadets and/or formal through the use of a survey instrument so the program can be altered on a regular basis as is done for civil service recruits).

As a cautionary note (and a limitation of this study), any number of other factors this exploratory research did not examine might actually influence officers' performance. For example, since this study focused on one very large department, it would seem obvious to suggest that the size of the department could play an important role in explaining these results. Larger departments may need officers who can accomplish tasks for which higher education is critical to performance. Enormous workloads, which are more typical in larger departments, may make education more critical.⁸

Although this is an exploratory study, it clearly fills a gap in the research on cadet programs. Other than funded research by the Police Foundation, scant scientific study (exploratory or otherwise) is available. Future study should compare groups by using an experimental model (i.e., use of control groups with a strict sampling design). Additionally, future research might replicate the findings in this study and, more important, should address other important performance measures this study does not examine such as the officers' ability to interact with the community. Future research should also examine whether cadet programs meet the needs of agencies, for example, by enabling them to hire officers with special language skills (e.g., Spanish, Arabic, etc.)

It would seem that similar quality officers can be obtained merely by raising entrance requirements or by working conjointly with colleges that have criminal justice (or similar) programs. Is the expense of a Cadet Corps worth it? The NYCPD Cadet Corps graduated approximately 723 persons who went on to become police officers (NYCPD, 1996, p. 10). The total cost per year for each cadet is \$10,558 (NYCPD, 1996, p. 7). Thus, the cost to the city of New York for this program has been at least \$7.5 million.

While this is an exploratory study with limitations as suggested though the work, clearly, this research demonstrates that college education is a critical component for officers in a post 9/11 environment. College educated officers tend to outperform those

without such education. Early exposure to the work environment, however, needs to be done very carefully so as to maximize advantages that a college education offers. To protect our citizens properly, college educated police officers seem an appropriate place to start.

Notes

1. The NYCPD uses several programs to hire cadets. Each of these programs has different criteria for selection (e.g., one program hired cadets with fewer than two years of college).

2. The New York City Department of Citywide Administrative Services gives a multiple choice test and then creates a hiring list from that test. The NYCPD (which is a separate and distinct city agency) then puts every recruit through its screening process. This is how a typical officer is hired.

3. However, pre-employment physical testing for the NYCPD was nonexistent from 1986 through 1994. Also, if the cadet took a medical screening examination within one year of appointment, he/she would not have to undergo that screening again.

4. Many more officers were hired during this period, but they are not included because their characteristics did not match. Also, to determine whom to include of the non-cadets, the researcher chose officers in descending order by tax number (an NYCPD number used to identify its officers) of those with the same characteristics.

5. Cadets have not been on the NYCPD long enough to attain any higher ranks.

6. Additionally, the Tukey-B test indicates that statistically significant differences occur between those who graduated college with the high school group and cadets and the high school group. Thus, college graduates and cadets are homogeneous subsets when comparing CPI points among the groups. That is, both the college graduates and cadets differ significantly from the high school group but do not differ significantly from each other.

7. However, these results were statistically significant for only three variables, namely, rank, CPI points, and sick occurrences. This indicates that many of these results could be due to mere chance. Additionally, the measures of association were modest, at best. This shows that the differences were not very strong. Thus, caution should be used in interpreting these results.

8. Alternatively, education may be masking other, possibly even more critical, factors that explain officers' performance. That is, it may not be education per se that is the explanation for these results but, perhaps, discipline (those individuals who graduate college may be more disciplined) or even maturity levels (those that graduate college may be more mature). Thus, it could be that the education variable in this study is actually

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measuring other criteria such as discipline or maturity levels. These factors and countless others could be part of the explanation for these results.

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Working Within the Walls: The Effect of Care From Coworkers on Correctional Employees

Kelly Cheeseman Dial and W. Wesley Johnson

Most of the existing literature on correctional officer job satisfaction examines factors such as leadership, job environment, stress, and the enduring struggle between the keepers and the kept. This study examined the perceived effect of “care” from coworkers on the work of correctional officers. Care is defined as the expression of interest by one or others in another’s life outside of the scope of work. Correctional officers in a southern prison system were surveyed regarding their perceptions of care from all levels of employees within the correctional system. The results indicate that correctional employee perceptions of care from coworkers is an emerging factor influencing how employees view their work and should be examined in greater detail.

Stress is a part of everyday life. All humans experience stressors, although the causes, intensity, and duration of these stressors vary widely. Reactions to stress and stressors can include weight loss or gain, family and relationship tension, depression, anxiety, sexual dysfunction, and a litany of other physical symptoms (Weiten & Lloyd, 2005). As Slate and Vogel (1997) note, job stress can be quite costly to an organization in terms of decreased productivity, employee turnover, health care and disability payments, sick leave, and absenteeism. Employers and organizations seek to reduce their employees’ stress in the hopes of increasing productivity and job satisfaction (Herzberg, 1968). What happens when the very job itself is stressful? Can agencies successfully reduce job-related stress when duty positions must be manned twenty-four hours a day and days off are scarce? This is the everyday reality for many men and women who have careers with criminal justice agencies. Much of the focus on stress in the correctional environment has been on role problems/role ambiguity, job dangerousness, and the nature of the work itself (Lambert, Hogan, & Barton, 2002). Research has also pointed to the role that supervisors and administration play in stress among line personnel. Research on social factors, particularly the effect that care from coworkers has on the feelings of correctional

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staff, is far less common. The authors define care as the expression of interest by one or others in another's life outside of the scope of work.

Over the last two decades research has increased dramatically in regards to correctional officers' perceptions and attitudes about their jobs, the inmates they oversee, and their interactions with correctional administration. Correctional agencies are concerned about employee job satisfaction and its effect on job turnover and burnout (Slate, Vogel, & Johnson, 2002). Stress and job dissatisfaction have been linked to a variety of negative consequences, including poor job performance, mental and physical illness, and strain in personal relationships, as well as premature aging and death (Cornelius, 1994). Conversely, job satisfaction has been linked with positive results, which include greater job participation and decreased feelings of role conflict (Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980; Grossi & Berg, 1991; Hogan, Lambert, Jenkins, & Wambold, 2006).

Many elements within the correctional environment contribute to job satisfaction. Lambert, Hogan, and Barton's review of the literature notes that "supervision and administration are important dimensions of the work environment accounting for correctional job satisfaction" (2002, p. 129). Many studies place emphasis on the role that social support such as coworker support in professional matters and supervisory support play in correctional officer perceptions of their workplace (Cullen & Link, 1985; Lambert et al., 2002).

Few studies, however, have looked at the role that "care" from coworkers—interest coworkers demonstrate in an officer's life outside of work—plays in employee feelings of their workplace. This interest might take the form of asking questions about family and activities outside of work and conveying general concern for overall employee well-being. In essence, what effect does emotional support from coworkers play in an individual's perceptions of stress and job satisfaction? One could argue that there is a difference between supporting an employee in work-related endeavors and actually caring or showing concern for them as individuals. The difference in employee perceptions of professional and personal support may provide correctional agencies with insight into how to increase job satisfaction and alleviate work stress. This paper examines the effect that care, or lack of care, from coworkers has on correctional employee perceptions of their workplace.

Literature Review

Correctional officers are enmeshed in a unique work environment. Employment within a correctional institution involves working with hostile "clients," inherent job danger, and shift work, as well as mandatory or optional overtime (Glenn, 2001). Shift work can be especially challenging for people who have families or for single mothers with small children. Rotating shifts often affect entire families. In areas that have a high concentration of prisons, entire

communities can be affected. Work schedules may be in a state of flux, particularly for officers with little or no seniority, which puts childcare schedules in the same uncertain state. Shift work can have negative effects on the body because of sleep deprivation. Scott lists six symptoms of “shift lag”: impaired performance, irritability, gastrointestinal dysfunction, depression and apathy, sleepiness/sleeping at work, and sleep disruption during daytime sleep (1994, p. 221). Scott concludes that women are particularly susceptible to health problems due to shift work, including cardiovascular morbidity and obstetric problems such as spontaneous abortion, babies with low birth weight, and preterm births. Another compelling work influence is the subculture that exists among correctional officers.

A large body of research exists on the subculture of the police officer and its effect on supervisors, police officers, and the public. Research has also been conducted to indicate whether there is a similar subculture among “keepers.” Kaufman (1988) concludes that correctional officers hold a similar set of beliefs that makes them distinct and unique from treatment staff and prison administrators. Kaufman identifies nine norms that constitute the correctional officer code: (1) Always go to the aid of an officer in distress, (2) Don’t “lug” drugs (bring them into the institution for an inmate to use), (3) Don’t rat on another officer, (4) Never make a fellow officer look bad in front of the inmates, (5) Always support an officer in a dispute with an inmate, (6) Always support officer sanctions against inmates, (7) Don’t be a “white hat” or a “goody-two-shoes,” (8) Maintain officer solidarity versus all outside groups, and (9) Show positive concern for fellow officers (1988, p. 86).

Correctional officer subcultures influence the socialization of correctional trainees. The recruits observe and imitate senior officers. Marquart and Crouch (1990) assert that the subculture influences a new officer in the following areas:

1. Perception of inmates—Traditionally, inmates are viewed as the “enemy” or as “non-human.” The correctional officer’s main job is to ensure security and enforce rules and regulations. While officers have different styles of dealing with offenders, most officers strongly dislike inmates as a whole and may often look for opportunities to “screw over” an inmate. Most new officers learn these attitudes from other correctional officers. Inmates, regardless of their actions, are not to be trusted.
2. Anticipation of trouble—Trouble can come from any inmate at any time, but, more often than not, there are signs that problems are developing. Officers might notice a change in noise in the cellblock area, whether it be extremely quiet when normally loud or very loud when usually quiet. Refusal or apprehension of an offender when asked to be searched could also be a sign of trouble. The senior

officer is important in conveying this type of information to new officers as they understand the workings of the institution and know what is usual or unusual for that specific prison. Failure to obtain this skill would potentially exclude an officer from inclusion in the subculture.

3. Management of inmates—As noted above, officers handle inmates differently. Women may use more psychological pressure or techniques to gain compliance where as men might use physical force. The Field Training Officer (FTO) may offer strategies for dealing with offenders. Offenders are not carbon copies, and senior officers often help new officers understand how to deal with mental health inmates as well as inmates of other races. The subculture as a whole would encourage as little interaction as possible.

The correctional officer subculture has both positive and negative effects. The subculture can help other correctional officers find support in a job and environment that is full of stress and pressure. Few people understand the world of the correctional officer like other correctional officers do, which has led some correctional agencies to develop correctional officer-led trauma support teams to assist officers in need. Most of the literature on peer support programs in criminal justice agencies focuses on programs designed to help police officers cope with the stress of the job. Most of this research, however, involves peer assistance after traumatic stress or critical incidents (Stephens & Long, 2000). Correctional agencies use peer support teams for the same purposes (Cheeseman, 2006). While these teams or peer support programs are important, there may also be a need for officers to feel concern from other officers even when situations appear ordinary or mundane. Unfortunately, the literature on correctional officers notes that the correctional officer subculture also promotes negative behavior. This subculture may encourage officers to act in ways that violate their personal beliefs, which may cause inner conflict and strife (Kaufmann, 1988). Coworkers have a distinct effect on one's perception of the workplace and may affect perceptions of stress at work or at home.

The literature on correctional officer stress has examined "social support" and its effect on job satisfaction (Lambert et al., 2002). Three main aspects of social support seem to be particularly pertinent to the correctional officer. This first source of social support comes from the supervisory and management staff.

Grossi, Keil, and Vito (1996) found that those systems operating within the work environment have a significant effect on correctional officer stress. Whitehead and Lindquist (1986) found that administrators had a great effect on job stress and burnout among correctional officers, and their lack of support only perpetuated these problems. Some researchers conclude that the organization is vital in assisting with alleviating stressors:

The most useful point of intervention is the job and work setting . . . Obviously, the problem cannot be completely eliminated until individuals and the society in which they live are changed, but much can be done before this occurs simply by changing the structure of roles, power, and norms in human service organizations (Cherniss, 1980, p. 158).

Brodsky (1982, p. 81) includes a list of conditions that gave rise to long-term correctional employee stress, including three organizational factors:

1. pressure designed to force them to resign or transfer,
2. no backing when attacked or goaded by inmates,
3. no support in dealing with public problems with visitors, protestors, press.

Triplett, Mullings, and Scarborough (1996) found that a majority of the stressors correctional officers identify are those over which the correctional officer has little or no control. Organizational responses to these stressors might benefit officers' health, efficiency, and job satisfaction. Cheek and Miller (1983) found officers ranked the administrative items in their survey as most stressful. Cornelius (1994, p. 61) points out three basic steps supervisors can take to assist in correctional officers' stress reduction.

1. controlling their own stress,
2. recognizing and helping stressed-out workers cope with their stress, and
3. improving physical conditions as well as the mental outlook of workers.

The next type of social support Shamir and Drory (1982) identify is that of family and community support. Researchers conclude that the community offers very little support to correctional officers, which is an additional source of stress for the officer (Cullen & Link, 1985; Shamir & Drory, 1982; Long, Shouksmith, Voges, & Roche, 1986). The evidence in relationship to family support has not shown conclusively that it reduces stress (Shamir & Drory, 1982; Grossi & Berg, 1991; Triplett et al., 1996).

The literature does suggest, however, that correctional officers experience family-related problems due to stress. Cheek and Miller (1983) note that although correctional officers did not report that they were experiencing problems at home or divorce, the rate of divorce for correctional personnel was two times that of other blue-collar workers. Cheek and Miller (1983) also found that correctional officers frequently reported letting out tensions in the wrong places (i.e. at home), tightening of discipline at home, and the desire to spend less time at home on their days off (Cheek & Miller, 1983). Black (1982) found that correctional officers experiencing stress damage their family relationships by displacing their frustration onto their spouses and children. Finn (1998) also suggests that shift work, long hours, and overtime make it difficult for officers to attend important family functions, further weakening their ties to a family support system.

The last type of social support Shamir and Drory (1982) identify is peer support, or support from fellow officers. Peer support is an important variable in occupational stress and tends to be even more important in jobs where there is danger (Shamir & Drory, 1982). Some research indicates that favorable relations with fellow officers diminish feelings of alienation and cynicism (Poole & Regoli, 1981).

Much of the literature on coworker support is ambiguous or shows a negative effect on job satisfaction. Jurik and Halemba (1984) found that those officers who reported positive attitudes toward their coworkers had negative levels of job satisfaction. Lombardo notes in his research of New York officers an inclination for "officers not to derive satisfaction from associations with members of their work group" (1981, p. 148). Lombardo also found that oftentimes correctional officers worked against one another instead of offering assistance. Finn (1998) found that 20% of officers surveyed viewed "other staff" as their highest cause of stress. Grossi and Berg (1991) point out that in obtaining peer support, officers may compromise their personal integrity, values, or sense of right and wrong. To enhance their acceptance, females and ethnic minority officers may remain silent but discontent. This could explain why high levels of job dissatisfaction are often paired with high levels of peer support (Grossi & Berg, 1991).

Clearly, social support systems play a part in how correctional officers perceive their work environments. Support from coworkers influences how one views his or her job and life circumstances. This paper examines the concept of care or support that involves factors outside of work-related support and concerns and specifically examines the role that coworker care has on correctional officer job satisfaction, work stress, and life stress.

Methods

The researchers gathered data for the present paper through surveys they administered to correctional staff attending regional inservice training for a southern prison system. This region has 13 correctional institutions that oversee offenders from all custody designations. These prison units include the facility that houses death row offenders as well as a high-security (Supermax) facility. Researchers administered the survey seven times to various inservice training groups over three months. After that time, researchers coded and analyzed the surveys.

This study used a purposive sample. The main drawback to this sample is that it excluded individuals who had fewer than eight months of service as these individuals were not required to attend inservice training. The only qualification in the sample selection was that the employee has direct contact with inmates. No consideration was made to stratify for race or gender or any other demographic characteristic.

Table 1. *Demographic Characteristics of the Sample*

	Number	Percent	Mean	Standard Deviation
Age Range (18–80)			40.1	16.67
Race/Ethnicity				
Black	104	20.8		
Hispanic	30	6.0		
White	335	66.9		
Other	25	5.0		
No response	7	1.4		
Gender				
Male	330	65.9		
Female	168	33.5		
No response	3	0.6		
Current Shift				
First	224	47.7		
Second	151	30.1		
Third	48	9.6		
8–5	2	0.4		
Other	76	15.2		
Marital Status				
Married	250	49.9		
Divorced	77	15.4		
Separated	14	2.8		
Single	150	29.9		
Widowed	5	0.8		
No response	5	1.2		
Education Level				
GED	157	31.3		
High School	51	10.2		
Some College	227	45.3		
College Degree	50	10.0		
Grad School	8	1.6		
No response	8	1.6		
Years of Service (Range 0.08–31.4)			7.74	8.87

N = 501

The sample comprised 501 correctional employees. A total of 630 surveys were distributed, with a response rate of 79.4%. Table 1 presents the sample demographic characteristics. The sample is representative of the larger population of correctional officers the correctional agency employs. The racial breakdown for the agency employees is 51.9% Caucasian, 28.2% African-American, 18.8% Hispanic, and 1.1% Other (Texas Department of Criminal Justice, 2006). The gender breakdown of “security” employees within the agency

is 63.5% male and 36.5% female. The average age of security employees is 39.0 years. Average years of service for security employees is 7.0 years (TDCJ, 2005).

Researchers measured perceptions of concern from various levels within the agency by means of a variable that was created from a question that asked respondents to circle all those they felt cared about them as individuals, which were agency, current prison administration, immediate supervisors, and coworkers. Of the 501 respondents, 150 noted that they felt that no one cared about them as an individual. A dichotomous variable was then created in which those who believed coworkers did not care about them were coded "0" and respondents who noted that their coworkers cared about them were coded as "1."

Results

The researchers used bivariate correlations to examine relationships between the control variables and care from coworkers. They found significant relationships when they correlated the "care" variable with other demographic variables and scales. Tables 2a and 2b provide an overview of the Pearson Correlation Coefficients.

Examination of the Pearson correlations between perceptions of care from coworkers and control variables indicate significant relationships exist among three variables: life stress, job satisfaction, and race (White). Correctional employees who reported they perceived their coworkers cared about them had decreased levels of life stress. Life stress was measured by means of the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CESD), which has been previously used in stress research (Cullen & Link, 1985). Those who reported coworker care also reported having higher levels of job satisfaction. White correctional employees were significantly more likely to report that they perceived care from coworkers than were minority correctional employees.

To assess the relative effect of care from coworkers, the researchers used multiple linear regression models to predict what effect the independent variable "care from coworkers" had on three dependent variables: life stress, work stress, and job satisfaction in comparison with other independent variables. They selected these variables due to their importance in much of the literature on correctional officers. The results of the multiple regression models appear in Table 3.

Four variables are significant predictors of job satisfaction: role conflict, age, work stress, and job danger. The less likely one was to have feelings of job danger the more likely they were to be satisfied at work ($p = .05$). Work stress and age were the most significant predictors of job satisfaction ($p = .000$). As work stress increases, job satisfaction decreases. As the correctional employee's age increases, his or her job satisfaction also increases. The final significant predictor of job satisfaction is role conflict. Employees who reported having more role conflict were significantly more likely to have

decreased feelings of job satisfaction. Perception of care from coworkers had no significance in predicting overall job satisfaction.

Table 2a. *Pearson Correlations of Coworker Care and Control Variables of Coworker Care, Life Stress, Work Stress, Role Conflict, and Job Danger*

	Coworker Care	Life Stress	Work Stress	Role Conflict	Job Danger
Coworker Care	1.00				
Life Stress	-.139**	1.00			
Work Stress	-.060	.188**	1.00		
Role Conflict	-.058	.129**	.346**	1.00	
Job Danger	.001	-.023	.300**	.110*	1.00
Job Satisfaction	.123**	-.116**	-.456**	-.295**	-.216**
Marital Status	.067	-.104*	-.036	-.009	.031
Gender	-.087	.173**	.119**	-.101*	-.011
Race	.146**	-.075	.034	.112	.001
Education	-.022	-.036	-.034	.024	-.001

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 2b. *Pearson Correlations of Coworker Care and Control Variables of Job Satisfaction, Marital Status, Gender, Race, and Education*

	Job Satisfaction	Marital Status	Gender	Race	Education
Coworker Care					
Life Stress					
Work Stress					
Role Conflict					
Job Danger					
Job Satisfaction	1.00				
Marital Status	.060	1.00			
Gender	-.010	-.207	1.00		
Race	.077	.075	-.127	1.00	
Education	.043	-.006	-.054	-.034	1.00

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Six variables were of significance when predicting work stress: life stress, job satisfaction, job dangerousness, role conflict, gender, and education level. Care from coworkers had no significant predictive ability in relation to work stress. The final multiple

linear regression equation was conducted to find a best fit model for predicting life stress. Five variables were significant: role conflict, work stress, gender (female), marital status (not married), and coworker care. Increased role conflict caused increased life stress ($p = .048$). Work stress had significant predictive power ($p = .005$) and gender—being female—was also a significant predictor of life stress. Correctional officers who reported being unmarried also had higher feelings of life stress ($p = .021$). Care from coworkers was also significant as people who reported having care from coworkers were less likely to report feelings of life stress ($p = .007$). The final section of this paper discusses the implications of these findings as well as policy suggestions.

Table 3. Standardized Beta Coefficients for Multiple Linear Regression Equations

Independent Variables	Model 1 Job Satisfaction	Model 2 Work Stress	Model 3 Life Stress
Role Conflict	-.135**	.203**	.140**
Job Dangerousness	-.091*	.230**	-.118*
Work Stress	-.361**	XXX	.336**
Life Stress	-.078	.237**	XXX
Job Satisfaction	XXX	-.296**	-.099
Age	.212**	.017	-.059
Education	.059	.087*	-.036
Race	.068	.078	-.067
Gender	.041	.094*	.162**
Marital Status	-.012	.016	-.104
Care from Coworkers	.071	.032	-.119**
R ²	.289	.392	.240
Adjusted R ²	.282	.383	.229
F value for equation	40.651	42.807	20.944

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Discussion and Conclusions

The results of this analysis point to the importance of care from coworkers to correctional employees. Employees who reported that their coworkers cared about them were also significantly more likely to have decreased feelings of life stress and higher levels of job satisfaction. Care from coworkers was not a significant predictor of work stress, although decreased job satisfaction was statistically significant in predicting work stress. One could

argue that officers see other factors such as role conflict and job danger as more pressing causes of stress at work as opposed to whether a coworker asks them how they are doing. These variables were both significant predictors of work stress. Interestingly, correctional employees who reported higher feelings of coworker care also reported having less life stress. This could in fact be due to officers “sharing” problems with those around them. Officers and supervisors who exchange information about family members and personal situations may feel concern or empathy for one another, which could lead to decreased feelings of life stress. Life stress was a significant predictor of work stress. If care from coworkers reduced life stress, it might also indirectly reduce work stress.

Work encompasses a large portion of life. In the field of corrections, officers often face long hours. In some instances, the officers who work together may see one another more often than their own families. Not surprisingly, officers may view their coworkers as a pseudo-family. These “family” members may function like any other family, with dysfunction and occasional discord. While not all “family” members get along, in many instances there is still a sense of togetherness and teamwork. Unity is often found in the small occurrences that make people believe others care for them such as shift “spreads”—when correctional employees bring food to the unit and spend their breaks eating together and enjoying outside food versus food cooked by the offenders. These times are good for team building and camaraderie (Cheeseman, 2006). They create the pseudo-family atmosphere that makes supervisors and fellow employees seem less like coworkers and more like friends. Realistically, not all officers will become “friends,” but activities that foster a sense of being part of a team would be rewarding to both line employees and correctional administrators.

It could be perceived as a challenge to make other officers “care.” Employees cannot be made to care or feel pressured to care as doing so could potentially cause stress for these officers. Administrators can, however, create an environment where workers are encouraged and invited to show concern for one another. This attitude, if instilled among officers and supervisors, could increase job satisfaction and decrease work stress.

When officers indicate that they believe their coworkers do not care about them, they may experience feelings of bitterness and burnout as demonstrated by the comment of one survey respondent: “TDCJ is a very none [sic] caring agency. It is all about the offenders. Morale is terrible, that’s why people don’t want to come to work.” One officer indicated feeling fear at the hands of coworkers as indicated by the following comment: “I spent my first 19 months as a CO and when in gray was more afraid of my coworkers than the inmates.” Another employee noted, “In all of my life I have never met such deceitful, evil people including officers as well as the inmates!” Conversely, one correctional employee expressed how working with officers who cared about one another

affected that employee's life positively: "I love my unit and shift. Our 2 Lt.'s and 3 Sgt.'s are helpful clear-minded and 4 [sic] their CO's. [We're] a true family." Interestingly, correctional employees seemed more likely to describe lack of concern from their coworkers than share experiences of positive concern. The above observations demonstrate the importance of care or lack of care from coworkers.

Clearly, there is a need for more concern at every level in correctional agencies. The literature points to the conflict between management and line staff (Kaufman, 1988). Administrators who show more concern for employees' lives might serve as models for other officers to emulate. Training for new officers, whether male or female, might need to better address workplace stress as younger officers report higher levels of work stress than those with more years of service. While programs such as the FTO/Mentoring program are in place, they are only as good as the mentors selected. Careful selection and placement of mentors with newer or younger officers could greatly benefit the new officer who could easily get swallowed up by the pitfalls of prison employment. This mentor relationship might also help to foster "care" among employees. Agencies might benefit from examining the effectiveness of mentoring.

This study is exploratory in nature, and further research on the elements involved in "care" for employees would benefit not only correctional agencies but other criminal justice agencies. Future studies should also assess the differences between how males and females interact in the correctional environment. Path modeling might also be a way that can better unravel how stressors affect correctional officers. This research was conducted in a southern prison system, and a study that incorporates other regions of the United States is important. Additionally, the use of a purposive sample left out correctional officers with fewer than eight months of service as these individuals were not required to attend inservice training. New employees may provide information that could be critical in retaining employees. Although the study has limitations, the empirical findings have potential policy implications.

Corrections is a people business that often requires intense and frequent interactions with offenders. The synergistic effects of stressors associated with working in corrections are exhibited in a variety of physical and mental symptoms. Correctional executives and immediate supervisors who ignore these effects inevitably face lower levels of employee morale and higher levels of employee absenteeism, poor health, and turnover. But one could also argue that the "new" super sensitive and litigious workplace has actually taken away from a supervisor's or officer's ability to show care or concern for another coworker. Work environments have become constricted, and fear of lawsuits places limitations on interpersonal communication that indicates concern. Employees may attempt to avoid accusations of sexual harassment and misuse of authority. A statement such as "You look

nice today” could be viewed or considered to be sexual harassment in an age when correctional agencies have a zero-tolerance policy on sexual harassment.

From a management perspective, work environments that nurture and facilitate effective interpersonal communication among employees and managers are more effective (Swanson, Territo, & Taylor, 2005). Preservice and inservice training could facilitate how and what types of conversations are professional but are still able to convey messages of concern. Management should not overlook the effects of demonstrations of care from other employees. Correctional officers are the backbone of our correctional institutions. Helping these officers succeed will generate success for supervisors as well as correctional agencies.

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Using Discriminate Analysis in Policing Research

Michael L. Birzer and Delores E. Craig-Moreland

Discriminant analysis is a multivariate statistical technique that researchers have used successfully in several recent policing studies. This technique allows researchers to divide the sample into meaningful groups that more adequately represent real-life situations and to analyze simultaneously multiple variables that have the potential of explaining group placement. This paper accomplishes four objectives: (1) it describes the general benefits and appropriateness of using discriminant analysis in policing research; (2) it provides an overview of navigating the printed discriminant analysis report; (3) it provides a research case example to demonstrate how discriminant analysis was a tenable procedure when examining police learning strategies, and (4) it compares the value of regression/logistic regression analysis and discriminant analysis in policing research.

The policing profession is a human enterprise; consequently, it is complicated and has many variables. From the earliest research in policing, researchers have largely accepted the assumptions of positivism that a single, objective reality exists, which consists of inter-related variables, and the goal of science is to better understand this reality. Thus, in policing research, much like other social science research, rationalistic designs have attempted to identify, isolate, and measure variables to assist in uncovering these laws and explain reality.

Questions such as description, reliability, causal explanation, prediction, and control are important to the positivist paradigm of research (Carr & Kemmis, 1986). A number of statistical techniques have simplified this rather complex process. Statistical techniques such as analysis of variance (ANOVA) usually examine only one or two variables at a time. Increased access to computers and statistical software has allowed researchers to include more variables in the analysis, and the use of techniques such as regression and factor analysis has increased (Conti, 1993). The criminal justice abstract database has created an index of criminal justice studies conducted between 1990 and 2000 according to their use of these statistical techniques: ANOVA, 15; factor analysis, 48; regression analysis, 73; and logistic regression, 86. While the numbers for policing research conducted between 1990 and 2000 are relatively smaller, they show a similar pattern in use of statistical techniques: ANOVA, 13; factor analysis, 26; regression analysis, 19; logistic regression, 16.

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Despite the prevalence of these statistical techniques in the criminal justice and policing research literature, some concern exists that these procedures may not adequately address the research needs for the field (Miller & Tewksbury, 2001). This concern centers on the argument that traditional statistical techniques do very little to offer a complete explanation of the phenomenon under study or, as DiCristina asserts, “quantitative research may have an explanation, but this is not the same as being justified” (1997, p. 191). Traditionally, policing researchers have tended to isolate variables, run statistical analyses, and generalize the results to the population under study. Approaches such as these may be problematic for researchers attempting to understand such a complex area as policing.

One response to the need to better understand complex phenomena found within the policing field has been the growth of naturalistic designs that rely heavily on qualitative data (Pogrebin, 2003). Many naturalistic designs combine both qualitative and quantitative data-gathering strategies. Furthermore, triangulation designs that allow researchers to use multiple methods to measure the phenomenon under study are increasingly receiving attention in the literature (Berg, 2001; Creswell, 1998). The use of triangulation designs, when appropriate, is also an effective method for assessing validity (Bayens & Roberson, 2000). What has prompted researchers to move toward the inclusion of more qualitative data in research designs? A major factor in this shift may be that social scientists investigate a situation because they already know something about it and have a desire to understand it better.

Traditional statistical procedures rely on computer software to make crucial data decisions. In policing research this may not be the most appropriate method when the study objective is to understand or explain a phenomenon. However, one statistical procedure, discriminant analysis, allows researchers to retain this decision-making authority. Discriminant analysis allows researchers to make meaningful decisions about the data and to impose sense upon data. Moreover, as a multivariate procedure, it enables simultaneous consideration of several interacting variables that make up the complicated exploratory set.

Although discriminant analysis can bridge the gap between traditional research design and the needs qualitative data address, it does not have a long history of use in criminal justice research. From 1990 through 2000, 18 studies in the criminal justice abstracts (Silver-Platter) database used discriminant analysis; 11 studies used discriminant analysis during this same timeframe in policing research.

Discriminant Analysis

Discriminant analysis is “a powerful multivariate statistical procedure which allows the investigation of the differences between two or more groups in relationship to several

variables simultaneously" (Klecka, 1980, p. 7.) With discriminant analysis, as with other multivariate techniques, the emphasis is on analyzing the variables together rather than singly. In this way, researchers can consider the interaction of multiple variables. Discriminant analysis is useful when known and distinct groups exist (Greenberg, 1979; Marriott, 1974). To use discriminant analysis at least two groups must exist, which differ in several variables. Furthermore, the variables must be measurable at the ratio or interval levels. Discriminant analysis enables researchers to identify such relationships between qualitative criterion variables and quantitative predictor variables (Kachigan, 1986).

In the social sciences, the use of discriminant analysis allows researchers to identify underlying dimensions that help understand differentiation of selected groups. Because policing often entails groups of people and comprises many variables that may distinguish groups, discriminant analysis is an ideal research technique for police researchers. Discriminant analysis classifies existing groups and allows researchers to investigate differences between these groups based on a set of variables. An important feature of discriminant analysis pertains to the individual case that is the basic unit of analysis (Huberty & Barton, 1988). Thus, discriminant analysis is a technique researchers can use to focus on the grouping of people and to analyze the interrelationships of multiple variables to explain a person's placement in a specific group. This process contrasts with univariate analyses in which researchers examine individual variables separately, dissociating them from the total person who is a synergistic composition of these variables.

Researchers can use the results of discriminant analysis for several purposes, including the prediction of group membership and description of the ways groups differ (Dattalo, 1994). For researchers to accomplish these two purposes requires that the discriminant analysis produce three pieces of crucial information. The first is the discriminant function, a formula that contains the variables and their discriminant coefficients, which can be used to place people in groups. The second is the structure matrix, which names the discriminant function so qualitative terms exist to explain any interaction among variables when distinguishing among groups. The third is the classification table, which indicates the accuracy of the discriminant function in correctly placing people in a given group (Klecka, 1980).

When researchers know that distinct groups exist, discriminant analysis is very useful. The number and type of groups can differ widely and depend largely on the study conducted. For example, the criminal justice studies that have been conducted by using discriminant analysis have been varied: factors that discriminate psychopathology and competence to stand trial (Rosenfeld & Wall, 1998); factors that discriminate a person who feels safe walking at night from the person who does not (Ganjavi, LeBrasseur, & Whissel, 2000); factors that discriminate between gang or non-gang homicide (Bailey &

Unnithan, 1994); factors that discriminate between good performance and bad performance among special event security officers (Leeds & Rains, 1995); factors that discriminate dispositions of felony court cases (Eisenstein & Jacob, 1977); understanding how offenders identify and discriminate between the concepts of free will and determinism in terms of their own self-concepts (Holbert & Unnithan, 1990). Policing studies that have used discriminant analysis include factors that discriminate learning strategies police use (Birzer & Nolan, 2002), factors that discriminate job similarities and differences among university police departments (Mullins, 1986), and factors that discriminate various police and prosecutorial responses to sexual assaults against women (Kerstetter, 1990).

Group Designation

One important step in designing the research that will use discriminant analysis is the delineation of groups. This important step allows the researcher to impose sense on the data and to maintain control of the research. In real life, most police practitioners know that certain groups exist; often the most relevant research question relates to what factors can account for a person's placement in that group.

The attributes researchers use to distinguish among the groups are called discriminating variables, or predictors. In general, there is no limit on the number of discriminating variables as long as the total number of cases exceeds the number of variables by more than two (Klecka, 1980). These variables must be measured at the interval or ratio level of measurement to calculate the means and variances. However, some researchers believe there are some exceptions to this general rule. Huberty (1994) points out that in cases where the predictor, or discriminating variable, is categorical in nature this may not necessarily affect the analysis adversely. For example, Bailey and Unnithan (1994) conducted research on gang homicides in California and used discriminant analysis. Their study measured many of the predictor variables categorically rather than continuously, and they reported rather robust results. Similarly, Holbert and Unnithan (1990) investigated the criminal self-perception of adult offenders by using the free will/determinism dichotomy. Their study measured the independent variable of self-concept as a dichotomous variable, but this violation did not adversely affect the analysis in light of the fact that the study examined only a few of the many possible variables in defining an offender's self-perception of criminality.

Likewise, there is no limit on the number of groups one can include in an analysis, and the chances for the correct classification of cases in the proper group increase with large groups (Spearing & Woehlke, 1989). The number of groups most likely depends on the research problem or the theoretical specification. A further consideration is the number

of groups that actually exist and what groups the research seeks to discriminate among. Most of the research in policing and criminal justice conducted with discriminant analysis reveals that the most common grouping pattern is a dichotomous division. For example, Toseland (1982) divided respondents into two groups: those fearful of crime and those that were not; Bailey and Unnithan (1994) divided homicides into gang related and non-gang related; and Kerstetter (1990) divided prosecutorial decisions into two groups—(1) to file felony charges and (2) not to file felony charges.

Criteria for Selection

Traditionally, researchers test null hypotheses, which state no significant relationship between independent and dependent variables: the groups do not differ. Hypotheses in studies that use discriminant analysis may not follow the traditional pattern. Instead these studies use the format of stating that it is possible to discriminate between the groups by using the discriminating variables. This formula simply substitutes the specific variables and groups from the study for the general terms (Hill, 1992). However, specific research questions are answered by specific statistical and post hoc tests, and discriminate analysis has its own. It is also possible to use research questions instead of hypotheses in studies that use discriminant analysis. Here the question merely asks whether it is possible to discriminate among the groups by using the discriminating variables.

Regardless of whether a study uses research questions or hypotheses, it must state the criteria for accepting the outcome of the analysis. Two criteria are appropriate for judging the acceptance of the discriminant analysis as useful. One criterion is that the discriminant function the analysis produces is describable by using the structure coefficients of the analysis; researchers often use a coefficient value of .3 or greater as the criterion for determining whether the analysis will use variables from the structure matrix. The other criterion is that the discriminant functions correctly classify a certain percentage of the cases in a sample. If a discriminant function can be described in a meaningful way, and it correctly classifies cases into the proper group, then it is judged useful.

Navigating the Printed Report

The SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) output that reports discriminant analysis resembles that of a regression analysis. At first glance a discriminant analysis report looks very confusing; however, focusing on certain parts makes it very understandable. These parts include the within-groups correlation matrix, the canonical discriminant functions, the structure matrix, the unstandardized canonical discriminant function coefficients, and the classification results.

Pooled Within-Groups Matrix

Because discriminant analysis is a multivariate technique, it examines many variables simultaneously. The effects of a variable may not be discernable if it shares variance with other variables. The printed report reveals the pooled within-groups matrix, which helps identify variables that share covariance. This matrix shows the strength of the relationship between corresponding pairs of variables for the cases within each of the groups identified for the analysis. The researcher should look for those variables with a high-shared variance, and, if present, remove one of the sets of variables from the analysis. In short, shared variance between variables is not meaningful for purposes of discriminant analysis and should be discarded.

Canonical Discriminant Function

The canonical discriminant function portion of the report contains several pieces of information. Eigenvalues appear in this table. Large eigenvalues are associated with useful functions within the discriminant analysis (Norusis, 1988). Chi-square information indicates the likelihood that the groups of the means are the same (Conti, 1993). What is most important is the canonical correlation, which tells how useful the discriminant function is in explaining group differences. Squaring the canonical correlation provides the proportion of variation in the discriminant function explained by the groups (Klecka, 1980). Thus, if the groups do not differ in the variables analyzed, then all correlation will be low, because we cannot create correlation when none already exists.

The Structure Matrix

The structure matrix is one of the most important parts of the report because it depicts correlation coefficients that indicate how closely a variable and the discriminant function are related. High coefficients are of interest to the researcher. A high coefficient indicates that the information in the function is very similar to the variable. This is useful because the researcher will use high coefficients and other variables with high coefficients to name the discriminant function (Klecka, 1980). Likewise, low coefficients would not be useful as they indicate that the overall function and the variable have very little in common.

Unstandardized Canonical Discriminant Function

The unstandardized canonical function coefficients section of the report contains the information for composing the discriminant function. It indicates the variables and coefficients that should be included in each function. It is important to point out that each discriminant analysis produces one less function than the total number of groups. For example, if a study investigates stress levels of police officers, and the instrument the

study uses places officers into one of three stress indicator groups, the canonical discriminant function reports only two functions.

The listed variables with their coefficients and signs are put together in a mathematical statement to express each function. Discriminant scores are then computed by taking the original value for a case and multiplying it by the coefficient for that variable; the products are then added along with the constant term. "The constant term is an adjustment for the means, so that the mean discriminant score will be zero over all the cases" (Klecka, 1980, p. 24). This discriminant score appears like a mathematical formula and is used for classification of each case into a group.

Classification Table

The classification table indicates the accuracy of the discriminant function in correctly grouping the cases used in calculating the discriminant analysis (Conti, 1993; Conti & Kolody, 1998). "Classification is the process by which a decision is made that a specific case belongs to or most closely resembles one particular group" (Klecka, 1980, p. 42). 1998). The classification table displays the predicted group membership based on the discriminant score for each group and shows the accuracy of placing the group members in their original groups.

As a direct measure of the predictive accuracy, this percentage is the most intuitive measure of discrimination. One should, however, judge the magnitude of this percentage in relation to the expected percentage of correct classifications if assignments were made randomly (Klecka, 1980, p. 50).

That is, if the analysis involved two groups, there is a 50% likelihood that random assignment could classify the cases correctly. Thus, the researcher must interpret the accuracy of the classification results in relationship to what one can expect from random assignment.

The measure of predictive accuracy is the most intuitive measure of discrimination. The researcher should judge the magnitude of this percentage in relation to the expected percentage correctly classified as if assignments were made randomly (Klecka, 1980). For example, if the analysis involved three groups, the likelihood that the cases could be correctly classified by random assignment is 33.3%. The researcher must interpret the classification results while remaining cognizant of what a random assignment would be.

Police Learning Strategy Research

One of the authors recently used discriminant analysis in research that investigated learning strategies police officers use. We discuss this research here to exemplify how

discriminant analysis was a successful multivariate technique when a study identifies multiple groups.

Learning strategies are techniques an individual uses to approach specific learning situations (Conti & Kolody, 1995) and accomplish a learning task (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). Learning is a continuous and complex process for police officers and may take place in many situations. Police officers are typically involved in tasks such as identifying problems and potential solutions, assessing community needs, evaluating options, and implementing the most appropriate option. Many of these tasks they learn informally and in the field when they must make daily and sometimes immediate decisions tailored to specific situations.

The author administered the Assessing the Learning Strategies of Adults (ATLAS) instrument, which is based on the research of Conti and Kolody (1998), to a sample of police officers who were employed by a large Midwestern urban police department. These police officers were assigned to either community oriented policing duties or traditional beat patrol assignments. The ATLAS places participants into one of three learning strategies groups: Problem Solvers, Engagers, or Navigators.

The set of discriminant variables the researcher used to explain placement in these groups consisted of age, gender, prior education, job assignment, and years of experience. The study used the following discriminant function to classify the cases and serve as guide for describing future placement of respondents into these groups:

$$D = 1.375 (\text{gender}) + 0.204 (\text{age}) - 0.179 (\text{years of experience}) - 1.099 (\text{job assignment/community policing or traditional patrol}) - 0.170 (\text{educational level of participant}) - 5.171 (\text{constant}).$$

Three variables had sufficient coefficients (cutoff point at .03) to include in the interpretation of the meaning of the discriminant function: gender (.31), job assignment (-.40), and age (.36). Since the coefficients for all three variables were similar in value, they carried equal weight in naming the discriminant function. Two of the five variables (experience and education) had low coefficients; therefore, they were not used in the interpretation of the meaning of the discriminant function. Based on the strength of the variables (gender, job assignment, and age), the researcher named a discriminant function. Examining these variables simultaneously allowed the researcher to glean a better understanding of the officers in the three learning strategy preference groups.

The research also reinforced the argument for multivariate designs. The researcher determined from other analyses (i.e., chi-square and analysis of variance) that individual variables by themselves were not significant in describing learning strategy group placement. The study needed a multivariate procedure that could add meaning and help

describe but not necessarily predict the learning strategies police officers used. In this sense, a multivariate procedure such as discriminant analysis proved useful in further understanding this complex phenomenon.

The discriminant function allowed the researcher to describe more fully what takes place among people within the learning strategy groups. The discriminant analysis revealed that the variables of age, gender, and job assignment were significant in describing the process. Moreover, discriminant analysis allowed the researcher to examine multiple variables simultaneously to see whether they could describe learning strategy group placement. It is important to note that in the discriminant function, it is not any one variable independently that explains group placement, but it is a constellation of variables.

Discriminant Analysis & Multiple Regression Analysis

Some researchers who rely heavily on multiple regression analysis may ask the question, why not use regression? This valid question deserves consideration. Recall that discriminant analysis has several tools for the interpretation of data (Klecka, 1975). The most powerful of these is the structure matrix, which allows the researcher to name the discriminant function. Thus, while regression analysis allows for the identification of variables and the strength of these variables in contributing to the prediction or description of the criterion variable, discriminant analysis provides the researcher with the tools to describe the differences between the groups (Klecka, 1975).

While multiple regression analysis allows the researcher to say that variables X and Z, for example, contribute to recidivism, discriminant analysis allows the researcher to distinguish between those inmates with a high risk for recidivism and those inmates with a low risk (assuming that the sample comprised these two groups). Thus, the regression formula would allow the researcher to predict recidivism while discriminant analysis would allow the researcher to distinguish characteristics of group members. Note how regression analysis focuses on the criterion variable while discriminant analysis focuses on the people in the groups.

Regression analysis and discriminant analysis do have some features in common because they are part of a general class of multivariate statistics. Indeed, when one calculates multiple regression analysis with a dichotomous criterion variable, the two types of analysis are very similar (Greenberg, 1979). The purpose of discriminant analysis is to provide "a powerful technique for examining differences between two or more groups of objects with respect to several variables simultaneously" (Klecka, 1975, p. 435). On the other hand, multiple regression analysis focuses primarily on predicting the criterion variable. These are quite different purposes. Moreover, discriminant analysis then includes the tools to make meaning of these differences.

Logistic Regression

Some researchers have begun to use logistic regression analysis, a relatively new technique that examines the relationship among variables. Researchers can use both discriminant analysis and logistic regression for prediction or explanation (description). In logistic regression, similar to bivariate or multiple regression, there is only one dependent variable; however, the dependent variable is dichotomous in nature (Huck, 2000; Walsh & Ollenburger, 2001). This condition is equivalent to having just two groups in discriminant analysis, which, in some research studies, may indeed be a limitation. In discriminant analysis you can have more than two groups.

Klecka (1980) points out that discriminant analysis does not describe the groups and discriminating variables as independent and dependent; in other words, the analysis does not suggest a cause and effect relationship. Logistic regression does designate groups in this manner. Thus, logistic regression suggests causation while discriminant analysis shows the nature of differentiation. For example, in the police learning strategies study discussed previously, the researcher grouped participants by use of learning strategies and used demographic variables to see whether it was possible to discriminate among the learning strategy groups. If the study had used logistic regression analysis, the conclusion may have been that these demographic variables caused the learning strategy preference. Of course, this assumption would be spurious; however, it would be reasonable to conclude that a relationship exists between these factors and learning strategy group preference.

As previously pointed out, discriminant analysis produces the structure matrix, which allows the researcher to name the discriminant function and, thus, explain or describe the process that separates the groups. In the social sciences this explanation may be in large part what we are interested in. In essence, we want to explain human behavior. Logistic regression produces an *odds ratio*, which allows the researcher either to predict or to describe the likelihood that a person is one group or the other. While this outcome is desirable in some studies, it may be, in some studies, more desirable to be able to describe the process that separates the groups and, therefore, causes the person to be in one group. For example, it may be more interesting to discern factors that describe how a community policing officer learns than merely to predict the officer's learning strategy preference.

With the use of discriminant analysis, the researcher tries to interpret and give meaning to the differences that are present inherently in the data. Discriminant analysis helps organize and make these differences clear. With logistic regression, a main objective in research seems to be creating models. Thus, the interest lies in trying to find a good set of independent variables that can help predict group membership on the dependent variable. For this modeling process to be successful, the researcher must possess a thorough

understanding of his or her discipline to decide which of a vast array of variables to measure (Huck, 2000).

In logistic regression modeling, the researcher may very well run different models with different variables and then select the final one. Hence, a different combination of variables may give different results. This result may in one sense limit the objectivity of the study when the final model selected is merely a function of the a priori. The situation is quite different when using discriminate analysis. With discriminant analysis, any subjectivity that goes into naming the discriminate function comes after the process is run. That is, two people may look at the structure matrix and name it differently because of the way they look at the same combination of variables, or different researchers may use a different cutoff point for the coefficients in the matrix (for example, .4 instead of .3) to use in the naming process. However, these decisions do not affect the statistical outcome of the process. When choosing between logistic regression and discriminant analysis, police researchers should consider (1) the purpose of the analysis (classification or description); (2) the characteristics of the sample; and (3) the tenability of assumptions.

The work of Crawford and Burns (2002) illustrates the opportunities available and tradeoffs in use of discriminant analysis compared with logistic regression. Their study of resisting arrest and use of force against police featured analysis of data by means of a series of three logistic regressions employing 15 independent variables.

The research involved three categories of arrest conditions: compliance, resisted by passive means, and resisted by violent means. The first logistic regression compared those who complied with arrest and the group formed by combining the passive resisters with the violent resisters. Male officers were less likely to encounter resistance, suspects most likely to resist arrest were angry and aggressive and impaired by drugs, and the situation most likely to produce resistance was domestic violence. The strongest predictor of resisting arrest was an angry/aggressive suspect. This variable is a problem because the information for the variable was taken from police reports about a suspect's initial response to arrest. Virtually every arrest where the suspect responded with violence was reported as angry/aggressive. In other words, this independent variable is essentially identical to the dependent variable category of violent resisting arrest.

The second logistic regression involved a comparison of those who offered passive resistance to arrest with all other arrestees. The results showed that significant predictors included suspect features of being angry/aggressive and impaired by drugs. No officer or situational variables were significant.

The third logistic regression compared violent resisting arrest with all others. The significant predictors included officers with more years on the police force, suspects

reported as angry/aggressive and impaired by drugs, and witnesses present at the arrest doubling the likelihood of violent resisting of arrest.

The biggest bonus in use of discriminant analysis for this research would be that it allows a comparison of compliant arrests, passive resistance arrests, and violent resistance arrests. This research does not help us to understand what distinguishes these two very different degrees of resistance. Discriminant analysis permits more than two groups in the dependent variable.

At the same time that discriminant analysis offers this simultaneous consideration of the three arrest responses, it would limit use of many of the variables in this study or require a different level of measurement of the variable. The three police officer variables included one continuous variable of length of time on the force and two dichotomous variables of gender and whether the officer was white. No means of converting the two dichotomous variables is possible. The eight suspect variables were all dichotomous, but three of the variables would readily convert to continuous variables with probable improvement in precision in the research. One could convert "Suspect young" to "Suspect age"; "Suspect impaired by alcohol" to "Blood alcohol level"; "Suspect impaired by drugs" to parts per million of the drug onboard in the drug test results, "PPM of drugs onboard." The situation variables were four dichotomous measures that included two readily convertible to continuous measures. "Arrest at night" converts readily to "Time of arrest," and "Witnesses present" converts to "Number of witnesses/onlookers."

Summary and Conclusion

Discriminant analysis is a multivariate procedure that has much potential in police research. Unlike univariate techniques, it can allow the simultaneous analysis of many variables in the complex phenomenon of policing; in allowing this complexity, it more closely reflects real life than the univariate process of isolating variables for analysis. In allowing the researcher to impose sense on the data by forming groups that are known to exist and that are meaningful, it borrows from the qualitative approach. These two strengths make discriminant analysis an ideal technique to use when analyzing social science data.

To be recognized as legitimate, theoretical claims must be in the language of members of the intellectual community who are the direct audience for the work—readers, students, colleagues (Alford, 1998). Discriminant analysis not only employs the academic rigors and language of research but also provides a means to understand what the data actually mean when applied in real-life situations. The strength of discriminant analysis is the structure matrix, which allows the researcher to name and, therefore, better under-

stand the process that distinguishes the groups. This outcome, in many policing studies, is the heart of what we are trying to do.

Both discriminant analysis and regression analysis allow the researcher to explore the interaction of several variables together. The researcher must choose which one makes the most sense to him or her. More important, the researcher should choose the technique that most appropriately gleans the answers to the research questions that he or she has framed. Univariate procedures cannot address the complicated human interactions policing involves. A true understanding of the interactions occurring requires a multivariate approach so researchers can see how their variables interact. Although discriminant analysis has had limited use in policing research, the results of recent studies that used the technique offer much promise. Discriminant analysis has the potential to be a viable procedure for both descriptive and predictive purposes.

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Prisoner Reintegration Challenges of Assimilation and Crime Desistance

Michael Pittaro

This paper illuminates and offers recommendations from a symbolic interactionist's perspective to the challenges associated with assimilation and crime desistance. Symbolic interactionists perceive offenders to be pragmatic actors who continuously adjust their behaviors and actions to the response and reaction of others. Change cannot occur unless the offender chooses to adapt to society's norms, values, and laws through the adoption of socially responsible behaviors. Thus, genuine rehabilitation must begin with the prisoners' willingness and motivation to undergo a process of self-transformation. However, the social, medical, emotional, and legal challenges ex-prisoners face stifle their willingness and ability to prepare adequately for reentry and to refrain from recidivistic behaviors. This writer advocates for outcomes-based therapeutic programming during and following incarceration to increase success of prisoner assimilation and reduce recidivism rates.

Confronted with uncertainty, animosity, and a multitude of personal, social, and legal barriers, most prisoners reenter what they perceive to be an antagonistic society with a defeatist attitude. If not addressed, this attitude will likely lead to reintegration failure. The process of "going straight," which criminologists refer to as desistance from crime, is multifaceted yet attainable if the offender willingly transforms his or her self-image and lifestyle to one that receives mainstream society's approval. The onus is, therefore, on the offender to embrace change and self-transformation.

Annually more than 630,000 state and federal prisoners make the routine journey from prison to the community compared with the roughly 150,000 prisoners that made the same trek 30 years ago (Travis, 2005). That figure equates to the release of approximately 1,700 state and federal prisoners on any given day (Travis, 2005). This is in addition to the nearly 12 million individuals who annually report to and are eventually released from jail each year (Lyman & LoBuglio, 2006). According to Lyman and LoBuglio (2006), the average daily population of jail inmates is approximately 750,000 and mounting with each passing year.

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According to Travis (2005), 93% of individuals sentenced to state and federal prisons will eventually return to the community at some point in the future, whether it is tomorrow or 30 years from tomorrow. Only a mere 7% of all prisoners are serving death sentences or life without the possibility of parole, and an even smaller portion of prisoners, roughly 3,000, die in prison annually (Petersilia, 2005). To compound matters, approximately one fifth of the 630,000 prisoners discharged to the community each year are released unconditionally (Travis, 2005). These individuals are under no legal duty or responsibility whatsoever to adhere to or abide by any special conditions characteristically linked to parole, simply because they have been released from state and federal correctional institutions that have adopted determinate sentencing systems in place of indeterminate sentencing systems (Travis, 2005).

With little to no preparation for reentry or community supervision once released from prison, the overwhelming majority of those who enter prison eventually leave prison with the same underlying personal and social problems that most likely contributed to, whether directly or indirectly, the prisoners' initial troubles. With determinate sentencing (a fixed term), prisons and prisoners have little incentive to participate in programs to help prisoners better themselves. Concerns about costs have diminished public support for prison-based programs, and the subsequent reduction in these programs has resulted in more tax increases to fund prison construction and operation costs and has amplified public safety concerns (Travis, 2005).

Consequently, the ex-prisoners' social, medical, and legal problems will have likely worsened due to the present state of incarceration and parole in America. Therefore, the impending plight of hundreds of thousands of prisoners rests in the hands of social science researchers, corrections' officials, policymakers, and members of the community at large to remedy a social problem with a merciless ripple effect. If not addressed, the challenges associated with prisoner reintegration will only worsen over time. In short, the current practice of prisoner reintegration stimulates and perpetuates existing social problems among ex-prisoners and within certain communities, thereby generating considerable social, medical, economic, and legal difficulties society is largely unprepared to handle and remedy (Urban Institute Justice Policy Center, 2006). Simply stated, this writer's primary focus is the prisoner's need for self-transformation to reduce rising recidivism rates and stop what many perceive to be an endless cycle of criminality.

For successful reintegration, the individual offender must adapt and transform, which requires that the offender adopt socially responsible attitudes, values, and beliefs. The offender must, therefore, change his or her thinking and behaving and "unlearn" the criminal ways that led to the offender's troubles in favor of learning socially responsible behaviors and actions. The offender can accomplish this goal only if he or she willingly

engages in an ongoing self-transformation process, which should theoretically start from the time he or she first enters prison.

Writer's Position on Reducing Recidivism

The criminal justice system's lack of attention and failure to support or teach this process, in this writer's opinion, is the primary crux of the recidivism problem. Therefore, this writer's position is that therapeutic programming within and outside of the prison can be effective only if the offender embraces change. The onus is, therefore, on the offender to focus on the immediate problem, deal with it, and then move on to the next challenge. This requires that the offender constantly re-think and re-examine every action (Rollo, 2002b). Ex-offenders' reintegration will be more successful if they fully expect daily life after prison to be challenging and at times downright demanding (Rollo, 2002b).

To prepare effectively for community reentry, offenders must embrace the internal and external changes necessary for successful assimilation. Success, according to Rollo (2002b), demands ability to adapt and adjust quickly and effectively to new ways of thinking and acting. One must not fear change but rather embrace change. Rollo (2002b) recommends that offenders use every single day, both during and following captivity, for positive, consistent preparation and growth, altering the way they think, act, and behave to conform to society's norms, laws, and values. Criminologists refer to this practice as the "desistance process," which entails changing and replacing one's criminal ways in favor of socially responsible behaviors and actions. The desistance process of "going straight" is attainable as long as the offender's self-perception no longer mirrors how the offender believes others perceive him or her, particularly in regard to labeling and other forms of social stigma. Then and only then will the offender's core criminal self be replaced with a socially responsible self whose behaviors and actions reflect the values, beliefs, and norms of the larger dominant culture.

Self-Change Is the Key to Successful Reintegration

Rollo offers inmates facing release the following secrets of success (2002b, 1-3) :

- Do not fear change, do not live in the past, but rather live in the present and embrace change;
- Prepare to adapt to a world outside of prison that may be cruel, unwelcoming, unforgiving, and unwilling to forget past misdeeds;
- Discard old ways of thinking and doing by accepting that self-honesty and courage are absolutely essential character traits;
- Refuse to surrender by maintaining control over emotions;

- Be prepared for the triggers that often lead to relapse, particularly because dependency is one of the strongest predictors of re-incarceration;
- Constantly think, re-think, examine, and re-examine every situation before acting;
- Always strive for self-improvement because it is an endless process;
- Focus on positive relationship building, and accept that trust and respect will not occur immediately but over time;
- Be prepared to handle fear, anxiety, uncertainty, stress, and other hardships by remaining confident and determined;
- Redefine yourself and accept that society does not owe you, but rather that you owe society;
- Establish short-range and long-range goals, but ensure that both are realistic and attainable;
- Your criminal past is forever a part of yourself—accept it and move forward not backward;
- Maintain faith and recognize that everything in life must be earned;
- Accept that success is possible and within your grasp, but change must come from within.

Counterarguments for Treatment

Granted, a program that promotes offenders' willingness and motivation to transform their criminal ways into a social scripture that welcomes and embraces obedience and adherence to the law is not without its critics. After all, treatment policies and practices have largely failed to deliver the promise of reducing recidivism among ex-convicts. Even this writer is somewhat skeptical because criminal offenders, as a group, are notorious for being deceptive and manipulative. Case in point: a prisoner's participation in prison programming is a sure way to get positive attention from an empathetic parole board that yearns to see encouraging outcome-based results. But are the programs effective, or are the programs' participants simply "playing the game" to gain the support and confidence of the parole board? Most critics would agree that motivation and change are truly difficult to measure empirically. Moreover, it is even more difficult to determine whether change actually occurred after completing said therapeutic programs.

For that reason, this writer is not surprised by the nearly three-decades-old shift in correctional thinking and practice from treatment to punishment. Violent crime, fueled mainly by the 1980's illicit drug wars, had continued to mount with record-number murders taking place throughout the nation. Americans looked to politicians for answers. Legislators responded by drafting punitive legislation that called for mandatory minimum sentences, truth-in-sentencing laws, and the controversial "three strikes and you're out"

legislation (Travis, 2005). In theory, the aforementioned crime-control measures are well-intentioned legal concepts; however, collectively, all three have caused considerable, unanticipated problems for ex-prisoners, communities, and the nation as a whole.

This writer suggests that prison and community-based treatment programs model the best practices the U. S. Department of Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) outlines. SAMHSA has produced a series of evidence-based guides as part of their *Treatment Improvement Protocol (TIP) Series*. TIP 35, for example, is titled "Enhancing motivation for change in substance abuse treatment (SAMHSA, 1999)." This writer, as the executive director of a licensed nonprofit drug and alcohol outpatient facility in Pennsylvania, strongly disagrees with those who claim that treatment does not work. The SAMHSA research supports this writer's position that treatment is effective in influencing change but acknowledges that increasing the offender's commitment to change must start with enhancing the offender's decision-making capabilities (SAMHSA, 1999).

The process of eliciting and exploring motivation to succeed includes open-ended questioning and reflective listening that is largely designed to help offenders connect with extrinsic (external) and intrinsic (internal) motivators to enhance decision-making and commitment to change. The emphasis is on personal choice and responsibility. Self-efficacy is, therefore, a critical determinant of behavioral change (SAMHSA, 1999). The incorporation of these motivational approaches and interventions into treatment programs may be a practical and effective response to many of the challenges correctional officials and community-based providers who work closely with ex-offenders face.

Mass Incarceration: A Measure in Crime Reduction?

There is no denying that Americans live in an era of "mass incarceration," a term penologists and criminologists use to describe the unrestrained use of prisons as society's retort to crime (Travis, 2005). This largely punitive reaction to the crime problem in America has resulted in the greatest social experiment in American history, according to Travis (2005); however, this social experiment, originally intended to reduce crime, has failed miserably. Such actions have, conversely, led to the emergence of far more social problems than in previous decades rather than fewer. What most do not know or refuse to accept is that this shift in both ideology and practice from treatment to punishment has caused a number of unintended problems this nation was unprepared for and must now remedy.

America's shortsighted response to crime control has resulted in a literal prison boom that annually costs America in excess of \$40 billion (Travis, 2005). This cost is for correctional expenditures alone and does not account for the costs associated with law

enforcement and the courts. To illustrate this point, approximately 200,000 Americans were incarcerated in 1973; yet by 2003, this figure jumped to 1.4 million. If one were to factor jail inmates into this calculation, the per capita rate of imprisonment raises to 700 per 100,000, making the United States the global leader in incarceration (Travis, 2005).

This prison explosion has had the most significant effect on lower-income African-Americans and other racial and ethnic minority groups. For instance, the lifetime likelihood of an African-American male being sentenced to prison is 1 in 3 compared with Caucasian males who have a 1 in 17 chance of serving time in prison (Petersilia, 2003). The abolishment of parole and the imprudent shift from indeterminate sentencing to determinate sentencing has done little to reduce recidivism rates; however, the nation has done very little to rectify the recidivism problem. It would behoove American society to reinstate and maintain indeterminate sentencing and a parole system that has historically provided support, guidance, and enforcement, which, in this writer's opinion, significantly raises the ex-prisoner's probability of success in the outside world.

Challenges Associated With Prisoner Reentry—A Brief Summary

Proponents of the conservative, "get tough" on crime measures, particularly those who advocate the widespread use of prisons as punishment, have all but forgotten one important factor: they all come home. Only a small fraction of those sentenced to prison remain in prison until death. As mentioned, roughly 93% will reenter and re-assimilate back into the community at some point. It has been well documented that the educational level, work experiences, and social skills of prisoners are deficient and well-below national averages of those in the general population (Lawrence, Mears, Dubin, & Travis, 2002). These deficiencies contribute consistently to a cycle of unemployment that increases the likelihood of future recidivistic criminal behaviors and the intergenerational cycle of criminality for the offenders' children and siblings (Lawrence et al., 2002). When compounded with family troubles, housing issues, substance abuse dependency, and a community that is unreceptive to the ex-prisoner's plight, the probability of recidivism and eventual re-incarceration increases considerably.

Employment

According to the United States Bureau of Justice Statistics, one third of all prisoners were unemployed at the time of arrest (Petersilia, 2005). Moreover, a shockingly low percentage of prisoners have viable, marketable job skills or sufficient literacy to obtain and maintain gainful employment for extended periods (Petersilia, 2003). To complicate matters further, ex-prisoners face the society-wide stigma of being an ex-convict, which severely limits the number of job opportunities available to the nearly 630,000 prisoners

released each year. While obtaining and maintaining lawful employment is essential to the ex-prisoners' rehabilitation, the availability of the Internet and other sophisticated technology has given employers relatively easy access to criminal history records on prospective employees. As a result, many ex-prisoners are denied employment and, regrettably, limited to mostly low-wage employment opportunities that make it incredibly difficult, but not impossible, to support themselves and their family.

In addition to accepting that such stigma exists and that respect is earned and forgiveness for one's past wrongdoing is unlikely, ex-offenders can do much to change the perception of others by abstaining from crime, substance abuse, and other problematic behaviors. The offender can break the cycle of criminality only by willingly changing his or her unlawful ways.

It should also be noted that any attempt to improve the employment outcomes of ex-prisoners must also address the individual's physical, mental, and substance abuse needs, which hamper the ex-prisoner's ability to garner and maintain steady employment (Solomon, Dedel-Johnson, Travis, & McBridel, 2004). Relapsing to drugs and alcohol use has a profound influence on the ex-prisoners' ability to remain in the community. In this writer's experience, many are remanded back to prison for a technical parole violation (i.e., dirty urine), or they engage in a "new" crime while under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

Education

Nationally, fewer than 60% of all prisoners have a high school diploma or GED compared with 85% of the adult general population (Petersilia, 2005). According to Petersilia, 11% of prisoners have a documented learning disability compared with only 3% of the adult general population (2005). To compound matters, only one third of all prisoners participate in any type of educational programming while incarcerated, including those specific classes that focus on GED preparation, adult basic education, and learning English as a second language (Petersilia, 2005).

Physical and Mental Health

More than three quarters of prisoners released annually have an extensive history of substance dependency, 16% have a debilitating mental condition, and the number of prisoners who are HIV positive or have AIDS is five times greater than that of the general population (Petersilia, 2003). In a recent study, 40% of study participants reported having a number of serious physical ailments that have had an adverse affect on an already strained U.S. health care system (Petersilia, 2003). For example, a 1997 Urban Institute study revealed that nearly 26% of the nation's prisoners were infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, nearly 16% were infected with the Hepatitis B virus, roughly 32% were

infected with Hepatitis C, and approximately 38% had contracted tuberculosis (Travis, Solomon, & Waul, 2001). Collectively, these percentages suggest that the infection rates for prisoners and ex-prisoners are five to ten times greater than that of the general population. Reintegration of these individuals into society further burdens the health care system by increasing healthcare costs and potentially jeopardizes the health and well-being of community members with whom they come in direct contact (Travis et al., 2001). The prevalence of mental illness among inhabitants of the nation's correctional system is staggering since the deinstitutionalization movement of the 1960s (Travis, 2005).

Substance Abuse

Although statistics vary, upward of 80% of the nation's prisoners have an extensive history of alcohol and drug abuse, and many are classified as poly-drug abusers who abuse and are dependent on more than one drug. Of those with a documented history of drug abuse, more than one quarter are intravenous drug users (Petersilia, 2005). According to Petersilia (2005), less than one third of those preparing to reenter society received substance abuse treatment while incarcerated. Even when substance abuse programming is available, only about 10% of those with an addiction to drugs or alcohol take advantage of such programming. Virtually every research study to date has shown an exceptionally strong correlation between substance abuse and dependency and recidivism. For example, one study showed that 33% percent of recently released prisoners reported some type of substance use or intoxication during the first three months of release (Visher, Kachinowski, La Vigne, & Travis, 2004).

The research has shown consistently that prisoners who participate in treatment programs for substance abuse are less likely to reoffend on release in comparison with those who did not participate in such programs (Solomon, Dedel-Johnson, Travis, & McBride, 2004). The two treatment modalities that have been found to have the most positive effects are cognitive behavioral interventions and in-prison therapeutic communities (Travis et al., 2001). Collectively, these programs assume that criminal behavior is learned; therefore, prisoners can unlearn such behaviors by focusing on their interpersonal coping skills and ability to adapt to the outside world and by receiving help abstaining from drugs and alcohol. Internal prison therapeutic communities are appreciably more effective when coupled with and followed by community-based aftercare programs (Travis et al., 2001).

Lack of Treatment Programs and Other Social Support Systems

Closing the gap in programming between prison and the community is critical to the offender's successful reintegration, in this writer's opinion, because it provides for and

maintains the continuum of care that ex-offenders desperately need and require to live a crime-free lifestyle. There is an obvious deficiency in effective social service support systems at the state and federal level, but such support is virtually nonexistent at the local level, particularly in those neighborhoods deemed the most disadvantaged, yet home to a large majority of the nation's returning prisoners.

As a former prison administrator, this writer considers treatment programming within much of the nation's prisons to be inadequate. More important, the prison environment is far from therapeutic. Negative attitudes prevail, and anyone who has ever been in a prison as either an inmate or officer knows this to be true. The desire to change is diminished when one is surrounded by such pessimism. Survival within prison depends on adapting to an environment in which trickery, disloyalty, and violence are not only condoned but encouraged. The phrase "survival of the fittest" is appropriate because to survive, one must exhibit virility and refrain from showing any type of physical or emotional weakness. The prison environment is not conducive to treatment, especially when security and safety concerns and costs take precedence over any type of rehabilitative programming.

Moreover, there is widespread resistance and reluctance to provide such services for ex-offenders among the large majority of community members. It is ironic that the American public voices concerns and interest in helping ex-offenders abstain from drugs and alcohol and otherwise live a socially responsible lifestyle, but very few are willing to offer assistance. This alienation and absence of social connectedness community members foster can have a profound effect on the ex-prisoners' likelihood of success in the community. An offender's ability to cope with such alienation by learning self-survival tactics and strategies to combat or deal with an antagonistic community is a measure of his or her success. Rollo (2004) strongly recommends that soon-to-be-released prisoners confront the harsh fact that society expects them to fail, and they must prepare to confront these social and legal barriers by forging ahead. The determination to succeed when all expect you to fail can deter even the most motivated ex-offender.

Housing

Most prisoners return to the same disadvantaged communities they left and are once again confined to low-income public housing that may be submerged in drug and gang activity, which has been linked repeatedly to interpersonal violence and other self-destructive behaviors. Private housing is not an option because ex-prisoners are exclusively barred from the private housing market. Even the public housing market can and has banned ex-prisoners from renting or leasing an apartment, especially if the criminal conviction was drug-related, a sexual offense, or a crime of violence as outlined in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's exclusionary policies (Travis et al., 2001).

Desistance and the Self-Transformation Process

Desistance is essentially the start of the criminal offenders' self-transformation process. Lawrence, Mears, Dubin, and Travis (2002) offer the following principles of effective intervention in the offender's desistance process: help the offender acquire those job skills applicable to the employment market; match prison program offerings to the offender's needs; create programs that target the offender's need to change attitudes, beliefs, and values and engage in pro-social activities; provide programs that are well integrated with other prison programs to avoid unnecessary redundancy; ensure that program participation is timed close to the offender's presumed release date; ensure that the offender participates actively in such programming for several months; ensure that quality community-based programming follows prison programming immediately; rely on effective program design, implementation, and monitoring; and involve sociological researchers in programs as evaluators.

Efficient and Effective Prison Programming: The Blueprint for Change

Reintegration preparation must begin at the intake stage with a risk and needs assessment shortly after the prisoner enters the correctional system (Shaughnessy, 2007). From there, corrections officials must measure the prisoner's motivation and desire to participate in quality treatment programs, an assessment that is based more on the evaluator's experience than science (Shaughnessy, 2007). Quality prison treatment programs have been shown to reduce offender recidivism by 10% to 15% (Shaughnessy, 2007). This percentage does not appear to be statistically significant at first glance, but even these rates can produce considerable cost savings and improve public safety (Shaughnessy, 2007).

Recommendations

Reinvest in Prison Treatment Programs

Society must reinvest in quality prison treatment programs that have proved effective in reducing recidivism. An effective program assists the offender in changing his or her values, attitudes, and beliefs and in coping effectively with society's perceptions. Ridding oneself of the "us" versus "them" mentality is paramount. Offenders must learn to accept and embrace an attitude that, according to Rollo (2003), refuses to surrender to criminality. The prisoner must create and welcome a new, socially responsible identity and employ determination and perseverance to stay clean, sober, and crime-free. The offender must replace maladaptive thinking, which is largely self-destructive, with socially suitable, adaptive thinking, which enables the offender to accept full responsibility and be accountable for his or her behaviors and actions (Rollo, 2003).

To be truly successful in reducing recidivism, society must undergo another shift in thinking and practice. In other words, the pendulum must swing from relying on punishment to reduce crime back to treatment to reduce crime. According to Rollo (2003), less than 5% of every correctional dollar is spent on human development for prisoners. As a result, millions of prisoners have entered and exited the prison system only to return to prison as repeat offenders. The impetus for change must begin with programs that help enhance and enrich the prisoner's willingness and ability to change. These programs must start in the prison and continue once the offender re-enters the community.

As mentioned, it is vital to close the gap that exists in programming when the offender leaves prison and re-enters the community. It is crucial that prison and community-based programs work together and harmoniously by promoting and encouraging social responsibility and accountability. Because change must occur from within the individual for any program to be truly effective in reducing recidivism, prisoner programs must be practical and effective in helping prisoners find the reasons and means to care about themselves and define their new role in the community (Rollo, 2002).

Efficient and Effective Community-Based Programming

According to the Urban Institute, the cycle of arrest, removal, incarceration, and reentry is four times higher than it was two decades ago (2005). Strikingly, this continuous recycling of offenders has acutely affected only a relatively small number of communities over the past decade. The fact is that while an increasing number of prisoners return to major metropolitan cities within the United States, these ex-offenders are settling into a select few neighborhoods within these cities. Why is this fact important? Because these neighborhoods are often unable to provide the necessary support and services needed for successful prisoner reintegration because they are economically challenged, socially disadvantaged, and, to a large extent, disorganized (Urban Institute, 2005).

These communities need the most support to curb the cycle of criminality among offenders, and such services can provide for the betterment of the communities' overall safety and well-being. There is no denying that arrests, removal, incarceration, and reentry affect the community's well-being and may be responsible for fueling the intergenerational cycle of crime in these neighborhoods (Urban Institute, 2005). According to Du Bois and Berg (2002), sociologists must search for resources to implant within the community that will deter crime. (Moreover, sociologists want specific resources that will increase the probability that ex-prisoners will abstain from crime: sociologists are interested in finding the reason why some people living in high crime areas do not resort to crime.) The Urban Institute has established the Reentry Mapping Network (RMN) to collaborate with community-based organizations to foster change through the mapping

and analysis of neighborhood-level data (Urban Institute, 2005). The purpose of mapping is to understand and address prisoner reentry at the community level. But while ex-prisoners must be connected to resources that meet their needs and help them navigate through difficult circumstances now and in the future, it is largely incumbent on the offender to cope with life's stressors (Du Bois & Berg, 2002).

Family and Peer Support

Positive relationship building and maintenance within one's family is indisputably critical to the ex-prisoner's transition and eventual success in mainstream society. According to Travis, Cincotta-McBride, and Solomon (2005), most prisoners feel that family support is a significant factor in reducing or preventing recidivism altogether. Families can also assist with housing, provide emotional support, serve as financial resources, and generally provide stability; therefore, it is important to regain and strengthen family ties as soon as the convicted offender enters prison, rather than waiting until the prisoner's release (Visher, Kachinowski, et al., 2004). Nearly 1 million incarcerated adults are the parents of minor children; however, the incarcerated parents are often separated from the children by an average of 160 miles, which further strains the parent-child relationship (Travis et al., 2005). Keeping prisoners close to home so family members can visit will likely have a positive effect on the offender and the offender's family and, more important, help to facilitate self-change.

Children of incarcerated parents often experience feelings of abandonment and loss, which can have profound consequences in feelings of shame, and in social stigma, weakened ties to family, poor school performance, increased delinquency, and increased risk of abuse or neglect. Moreover, these children are often cared for by extended family or the foster care system, which can perpetuate existing anger and resentment toward the incarcerated parent (Travis et al, 2005). The literature, although limited, suggests that the long-term effects of incarceration can, and most likely do, contribute negatively to intergenerational patterns of criminal behavior, advancing the cycle of self-destructive behaviors for both parent and child (Travis et al, 2005). To break the cycle of criminality, it is important to reestablish the ties that have been weakened or severed by the incarcerated adult's prison sentence, which may also help motivate criminal desistance. However, the onus is on the ex-prisoner to re-establish ties and make amends to those persons affected by the ex-prisoner's past lifestyle. Research indicates that offenders' attitudes affect their ability to reunite with family and friends within the community, and those prisoners with high levels of motivation to change are more likely to succeed in building relationships (Visher et al., 2004).

The Clinical Sociologist as a Change Agent

From a symbolic interactionist's perspective, individuals internalize the ideas, understandings, beliefs, norms, and values of a social group. Their "membership" in that social group subsequently defines how society perceives them as individuals (Robinette & Straus, 2002). An individual's self-image is essentially a reflection of how that individual imagines others view him or her (Robinette & Straus, 2002). The clinical sociologist plays a crucial role as an agent of change by assisting prisoners in adopting attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors that are associated with socially responsible lifestyles. While rehabilitation is the absence of criminal behavior, true rehabilitation must begin with the prisoner's willingness and motivation to change.

Erasing the "Us" Versus "Them" Mentality

The Looking Glass Self theory implies that one's self-image is formed both consciously and subconsciously by the perceived views and judgments of others (Yeung & Martin, 2003). Therefore, successful prisoner reintegration demands that ex-prisoners have the ability to adapt and exhibit socially acceptable and responsible behaviors that include thinking and acting appropriately and accordingly within society. It is essential that they rid themselves of the self-defeating "us" versus "them" mentality by focusing on positive relationship building with family and community members (Rollo, 2002b).

According to Rollo (2004), prisoners internalize hostility, belligerence, and resentment toward society, which ultimately leads to an individual who becomes negative, dangerous, and unstable and exhibits self-defeating behavior. Therefore, it is critical that researchers understand the deep influence incarceration has on the human mind and spirit (Rollo, 2004). Also as a society, it is imperative that we understand the effects of isolationism and alienation. When an individual loses the perception of having a vested interest and link to others the resulting sense of detachment and lack of connectedness limits the offender's sense of responsibility to others, which widens the social distance or dissonance exhibited in criminal behavior.

As a survival mechanism, prisoners create a parallel reality—Rollo (1998) refers to this practice as "reality bending"—which enables them to cope with and survive in an intensely hostile prison environment. If their reality bending is not addressed, many will become trapped in a spiraling cycle of blind rage, resistance, isolation, and despair, which will significantly impede any chance of successful reintegration into the community. Therefore, it is imperative that researchers devise ways to reverse the downward spiral of those who fall captive to the powerful effects of alienation and isolationism (Rollo, 1998). Expunging one's criminal records after a predetermined period of time, for example, would

provide hope and give the offender the sense that society is willing to forgive and forget past misdeeds.

The De-Labeling Process: Erasing the Stigma of Criminal Offender

Change must also occur in the way society perceives those who violated the trust of the American people by breaking the law. Understandably, forgiveness is a difficult character trait to instill in others. Then again, society is partly responsible for criminal acts, because in an ideal society, considerable money would be invested in widespread crime prevention programs that are, by most accounts, far more effective in preventing crime than “treating” crime after the fact. It is, however, unlikely that the United States will move in that direction, at least in the foreseeable future, based on the nation’s historical approaches to crime and criminality and the conservative vacuum in which this nation finds itself (Petersilia, 2003).

But society can help restore the offender’s identity by erasing the social stigma associated with being an “ex-prisoner.” Labeling theory essentially states that society labels certain behaviors and actions as criminal, but once sanctioned for the delinquent or criminal act, the offender is permanently labeled by society (Schmalleger, 2006). Once labeled as a criminal, the individual has few legitimate opportunities to reintegrate successfully back into society. This individual will seek out others with the similar label of social misfit and resort to crime because the offender has identified and internalized the label society has bestowed (Schmalleger, 2006), and the result is more crime not less. According to labeling theorists, the blame lies partly with society because society created the label; yet, the individual eventually comes to identify with and accept the label (Schmalleger, 2006). Restoring the offender’s identity requires society to re-label the ex-prisoner with a positive, socially acceptable label.

Conclusion

Shifting the Paradigm: Punitive to Prevention

Punishment is a necessary purpose in any society, but punishment alone has been ineffective in fostering self-change (OPEN, 2006). Research has shown consistently that prisons are not effective deterrents to criminal behavior. In addition, a decline in educational and vocational prison programs has occurred from the rapid growth of prisons, the frequent transferring of prisoners from facility to facility, decreased state and federal funding for rehabilitation, and greater interest in short-term prison programs (Lawrence et al., 2002). Long-term prison programs are considered cost prohibitive, whereas short-term programs are supposedly cost-effective; yet, short-term programs have not delivered on the promise of reducing recidivism among ex-prisoners (Lawrence et al., 2002).

Simply incarcerating an individual, treating said individual, and returning the individual to the same socially disorganized community without new resources and coping skills is not productive (Du Bois & Berg, 2002). It is therefore critical that society re-evaluate the effectiveness of both prison-based and community-based programming that has been designed to assist the offender in the transformation process from criminal offender to law-abiding citizen. The reward of knowing that a positive future awaits each upon release is far more motivating than any form of punishment or coercion that society can devise (OPEN, 2006). Assisting the offender in changing his or her perceptions of the future can lead to positive behavioral changes and encourage positive growth among prisoners and ex-prisoners (OPEN, 2006).

Reestablish an Ethos of Reintegration

Creating an ethos of reintegration can be accomplished, but it will take cooperation and a coordinated effort by all members of society. As mentioned, the eventual expunging of criminal records might provide the promise of hope that society will forgive the misdeeds of a past. Prisoners must demonstrate control over their thinking, emotions, and behaviors and accept the fact that respect is earned and forgiveness for their past behavior, while unlikely, is not unheard of. To facilitate change, Travis (2005) suggests creating reentry courts, which would deal specifically with the issues confronting ex-prisoners. The reentry court judge would evaluate the offender's progress every month to ensure that the ex-prisoner is abiding by the predetermined conditions of the reentry plan, and the parole officer would serve as a case manager not necessarily an enforcer (Travis, 2005). This approach is more rehabilitative as opposed to the commonly employed retributive approach to crime and deviance and is more likely to be effective in reducing crime.

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64 *Professional Issues in Criminal Justice* Vol 3(2), 2008

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Paid Administrative Leave for Officers Involved in Shootings: Exploring the Purpose, Cost, and Efficacy

James E. Guffey, Chandrika Kelso, James Larson, and Dennis Porter

Paid administrative leave for employees who are under investigation by their employers for policy, rule, or regulation violations and even criminal acts is common practice. Private companies and public agencies have found this a convenient action to take when the facts of the incident are not obvious and outright firing of the employee is not yet justified. The employee continues to receive his or her salary while the agency investigates to determine whether there are grounds to fire the employee. Although the process can be expensive from the standpoint that the employee continues to receive his or her salary without reporting for work, it appears to be less expensive in the long-term in the event the employee brings a lawsuit for unlawful termination. The present study examines this practice within police agencies.

Authors Larson, Porter, and Guffey observed the growth of the concept of paid administrative leave for officer-involved shootings spanning their police careers. In fact, they remember a time in law enforcement in the early 1970s when there was no paid administrative leave for officer-involved shootings. Prior to 1970, their three large California departments did not have policies that addressed the issue of paid administrative leave, and officers continued to work their patrol or other field assignment when they were involved in a shooting of a citizen. This approach worked then, and the research question the authors formulated is “Has the shift to paid administrative leave for line-of-duty shootings been a sound management decision if there are other less pejorative options available?” The authors explore their opinion, based on this study, in the Conclusions and Recommendations section.

The practice of placing employees on paid administrative leave for wrongdoing has been successful and widespread among U.S. private companies and public agencies. It appears to be a fail-safe method of countering lawsuits for unlawful termination. In addition to the main research question the authors identify above, this study also sought answers to the following questions: Is this practice suitable for police officers who have

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been involved in line-of-duty shootings? Is there a presumption that the shooting complied with departmental and U.S. Supreme Court guidelines if an officer is given paid administrative leave automatically, when this practice, as used in the private sector and other public organizations, suggests there has been wrongdoing? Does this practice cast a pall of guilt over the officer or officers, especially when the print media use a headline such as "Officers Involved in Shooting Placed on Paid Administrative Leave"? Can being placed on paid administrative leave be considered as adverse employment action in some cases?

This study examines the use of paid administrative leave for police officers to determine the extent, cost, and advisability of this policy. The objective is to compare the policies of surveyed agencies to identify similarities and make recommendations that may assist agencies that are considering the implementation of paid administrative leave. An additional objective is to determine the extent of mental health and peer support that officers involved in line-of-duty shootings receive.

The study is limited by the relatively small sample of agencies that responded to the survey; however, the authors were limited by budgetary restrictions most college professors face when doing research. Nevertheless, in the authors' opinion, the study's results are significant and provide a framework for more in-depth research in the future.

Literature Review

Paid Administrative Leave

There is a dearth of literature on the topic of paid administrative leave. The authors could not find literature on its origins or scope. Most of the literature is newspaper or other print media articles about someone being placed on paid administrative leave. This portion of the literature review is an attempt to define paid administrative leave and examine how organizations that have such a policy use it.

The University of Colorado System, for example, has published its policy on its Web site. Excerpts follow:

Extended Paid Administrative Leave

If an officer, exempt professional, or faculty member on a twelve-month appointment is the subject of disciplinary action or an investigation, extended paid administrative leave may be authorized for such employee for a reasonable period of time. . . .

Short-Term Paid Administrative Leave

A. Purpose of Short-Term Paid Administrative Leave

Supervisors may authorize short-term paid administrative leave for eligible employees for reasons determined to be for the good of the University and the State. Supervisors shall consider prudent use of taxpayer dollars and the business needs of the University in determining whether such leave is for the good of the State. Such reasons include, but are not limited to, incentive rewards, coursework directly related to employment, participation in school or community volunteer activities, and participation in official activities by elected officers of University employee organizations (2004, p. 1).

The University of Colorado System's policy ostensibly reflects the vast majority of paid administrative leave policies. It is meant primarily for employees under investigation for wrongdoing. But occasionally an employer may have a different purpose for placing an employee on paid administrative leave. As the case of *Foraker v. Apollo Group, Inc.* (2006) demonstrates, employers should understand all the ramifications of its use and apply it judiciously.

The *Foraker v. Apollo Group, Inc.* case (2006) involved an employee who requested leave under the Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA), after he had been given a new job title, additional responsibilities, and a 10% raise.

However, his increased management and budgetary responsibilities, along with the raise, were withdrawn when he took the leave. Subsequently, in 2005, he was placed on paid administrative leave after requesting additional FMLA leave. He still received compensation and other benefits, but was relieved of all job responsibilities. He was not permitted to come into the workplace, and he did not have any interaction with his coworkers. Of course, during this time, he did not get any on-the-job experience or training, as he normally would have received, and he did not get employment reviews that could have led to increased responsibilities or pay. A jury found that the employee had experienced an adverse employment action in retaliation for requesting additional FMLA leave (JobBank USA, 2006, p. 1).

In the case of *Foraker v. Apollo Group, Inc.* (2006), the District Court of Arizona applied the ruling in the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Burlington Northern v. White* (2006). *Burlington Northern* was a Title VII case in which the court ruled that a plaintiff seeking to establish an adverse employment action must show that a reasonable employee would have found the challenged action materially adverse. With its ruling in the *Foraker v. Apollo Group, Inc.* case, the Arizona District Court states that paid

administrative leave can be considered an “adverse employment action.” The implication of this decision is that an employer might use paid administrative leave to carry out disciplinary action or retaliation. The court’s decision suggests that employers cannot use paid administrative leave indiscriminately because there may be consequences for the employer.

A search in ProQuest and Google for paid administrative leave led the authors to several articles that talked specifically about incidents of paid administrative leave. The following is a selection of these articles:

1. “Voorhees President Given Extended Leave With Pay.” This sexual harassment case has clear guilt implications (Whetstone, 2007).
2. “Thompson Placed on Paid Administrative Leave.” Thompson is a school superintendent whom the School Board placed on paid administrative leave for performance issues while determining what to do next (Lewis, 2007).
3. “Gustine Police Chief Arrested on DUI Charges.” Chief Kris Anderson was placed on paid administrative leave after being arrested for DUI and failing the sobriety testing (*The Stockton Register*, 2008).
4. “Teacher Placed on Leave for Hanging Foreign Flags.” A Jefferson County, Colorado, geography teacher was placed on paid administrative leave for refusing to remove foreign flags on display in his classroom in violation of district policy (Rouse, 2006).
5. “Reno Police Department Sergeant Continues on Leave Pending Internal Investigation.” Reno Police Sergeant Paul Pitsnogle was placed on paid administrative leave after he was accused of coercing a 17-year-old female into undressing in the back of his police vehicle during a traffic stop (Reno Police Department, 2006).
6. “Lt. Hunt Appeals Carona’s Action; He’s Fighting the Demotion Decision That Followed His Election Defeat by Sheriff.” Lt. Bill Hunt was placed on paid administrative leave by Sheriff Michael Carona for “public statements, actions and accusations that went beyond those which are protected by the 1st Amendment” (Hanley, 2006, p. B3). This action occurred after Lt. Hunt lost his bid to unseat Sheriff Corona in a heated election in June 2006 and was widely interpreted as retaliation by Sheriff Corona (Hanley, 2006).

The random selection of articles above represents the many available on the subject of paid administrative leave. As the University of Colorado System’s Short-term Paid Administrative Leave policy demonstrates, organizations use paid administrative leave for purposes other than pending disciplinary action. However, its use in circumstances other than pending disciplinary action seems very small compared with paid administrative

leave given for pending disciplinary action. As a result, a person reading that an employee received paid administrative leave would most likely draw the conclusion that disciplinary action will follow, pending the outcome of an investigation.

Moreover, the public perception of paid administrative leave as an indicator of wrongdoing is further enhanced by the Arizona District Court's decision in *Foraker v. Apollo Group, Inc.* The court viewed paid administrative leave as an adverse employment action that should not be used in lieu of some less "punitive" means of leave. The court noted that Foraker was not permitted to come into the workplace; he had no interaction with his coworkers; he did not get on-the-job training; and he did not get employment reviews that could have led to increased responsibilities or pay (*Foraker v. Apollo Group, Inc.*, 2006).

This calls into question the common practice, especially in the public sector, of involuntarily placing someone on a paid leave. Although the decision is not binding outside of the court's jurisdiction in Arizona, it is possible that other courts will find the reasoning in this case persuasive (McKenna, 2006, p. 1).

Police officers placed on paid administrative leave most likely would not be told not to come into the workplace. This assumption is based on the many years of experience of authors Guffey, Larson, and Porter. On the other hand, most likely the officers would not have interaction with coworkers; they may not get on-the-job training (often referred to as officer in-service training); and they may not get an employment review for the period of time on administrative leave.

Police Officer Peer Support Groups

A second area of literature pertaining to this study is that related to police officer peer support groups. Peer support groups are popular within police agencies because police officers place so much trust in their fellow police officers. In times of crisis, police officers see peer support groups as their trusted family members. Peer support groups are not intended to, nor do they replace counseling by a mental health professional. Police officers, as a general rule, are not trained as mental health professionals. Nevertheless, police officers may "open up" more with a peer or peer group than a mental health professional, knowing that the mental health professional could share with police management what officers discuss during counseling. But at least one state court has upheld the confidentiality of peer and peer support group conversations (*Gilbert M. Bernard v. The Justices of the District Court of Cambridge*, 1996).

Peer supporters serve two major functions. First, they provide a source of help for officers who are unwilling to bring their problems to mental health professionals because they mistrust “shrinks.” Some officers may feel stigmatized for being unable to handle their problems on their own or fear that entering therapy might hurt their careers. Second, peer supporters usually are more accessible than professional counselors (Finn & Tomz, 1998). Another important function of peer support is that officers may be more receptive to obtaining the services of a mental health professional if the referral comes from a peer or peer group (Finn & Tomz).

The August 2007 issue of *The Police Chief* magazine discusses peer support guidelines. “The goal of peer support is to provide all public safety employees in an agency the opportunity to receive emotional and tangible peer support through times of personal or professional crisis and to help anticipate and address potential difficulties” (Peer Support Guidelines, 2007, p. 1). This same article lists the requirements for implementing a peer support program. A summary of these requirements follows.

1. The department policy manual should include a formal policy statement that grants peer support teams departmental confidentiality.
2. Support from Peer Support Programs (PSPs) benefits individuals involved in critical incidents, such as an officer-involved shooting.
3. Individuals may voluntarily choose or reject participation in a PSP.
4. Members of PSPs should be volunteers who are currently in good standing with their departments.
5. A peer support program must have a procedure in place for mental health training and referrals to mental health consultations.
6. Departments should have a policy that clarifies confidentiality guidelines and reporting requirements and avoids role conflicts and dual relationships. For example, it would not be appropriate for supervisors to be members of peer support groups. (Peer Support Guidelines, 2007, pp. 3–4).

Model Peer Programs. Two peer support programs that have emerged as models are the New York Police Department (NYPD) program Police Organization Providing Peer Assistance (POPPA) and New Jersey’s COP-2-COP Hotlines. POPPA originated in the NYPD in 1996, but the serendipity was realized after the World Trade Center disaster we now know as 9/11. From September 11, 2001, until December 2003, POPPA performed outreach, support work, and screening for stress symptoms related to the disaster within the NYPD. Since 1996, POPPA has used volunteer police officers as peer support officers to help fellow officers overcome their resistance to seeking assistance. To meet the needs of the NYPD officers, POPPA has developed and trained a panel of more than 100 mental

health professionals, and all assistance POPPA peer support officers and clinicians offer is confidential (Dowling, Moynihan, Genet, & Lewis, 2006).

COP-2-COP began in New Jersey in 1998 when the state legislature passed Bill 1801 to fund a helpline for law enforcement officers. A crisis intervention helpline for first responders and their families, COP-2-COP provides peer support, clinic assessment, referrals to mental health professionals, and Critical Incident Stress Management. COP-2-COP, like POPPA, has also been active in counseling first responders experiencing various stages of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as a result of the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001.

In its first year, prior to 9/11, COP-2-COP received over 1,700 phone calls. In the first few months immediately following 9/11, a 300% increase in calls was recorded, thus eliciting attention to the program from the New Jersey Governor's Office, the New Jersey Attorney General's Office, the *New York Times*, The New York Police Department, the Port Authority Police Department of New York and New Jersey, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Secret Service as well as similar national and international organizations (Ussery & Waters, 2006, p. 66).

Methods

The method the authors used in this study was primary data analysis of responses to a questionnaire. The questionnaire contained 13 questions designed to retrieve information from police agencies regarding their policies on paid administrative leave for officers involved in line-of-duty shooting incidents.

The authors mailed a total of 65 questionnaires to police agencies nationwide. They selected 55 of the agencies randomly; 10 agencies within California were selected because the authors have personal contacts within these agencies and believed those agencies would return the questionnaires. The authors selected the 55 national agencies randomly by using a Table of Random numbers. Twenty-five large agencies, defined as serving a population of 500,000 or greater, were identified, and the authors selected 20 of these to receive questionnaires. Twenty-five medium-sized agencies, defined as serving a population from 200,000 to 499,999, were identified, and the authors selected 20 randomly. Finally, 25 small agencies, defined as serving a population of less than 200,000, were identified and the authors selected 15 of these randomly.

A total of 40 agencies returned completed questionnaires (see Table 1). Although some information was missing on a few of the questionnaires, the authors used all 40 returned questionnaires in the study. The authors have made no assumptions with regard

to the validity and reliability of the data; however, the authors do believe that the agencies and, therefore, the data are representative of police agencies nationwide in the three categories of large, medium, and small agencies. The variables the authors used were primarily nominal and not rank ordered. Therefore, non-parametric tests of significance, such as chi square and binomial, could not be run in SPSS. Nevertheless, the questionnaires were completed by personnel within each department that were given the responsibility to research the answers within their own departments. For the large and medium departments, this was generally a research section or department. The findings from the 40 returned questionnaires appear in the Results section.

Table 1. *Large, Medium, and Small Agencies Responding to Questionnaire*

Large Agencies (serving populations of 500,000 or >)	Medium Agencies (serving populations 100,000–499,999)	Small Agencies (serving populations of < 100,000)
NYPD	Oklahoma City PD	Hartford, CT PD
CHP	Newark, NJ PD	Manchester, VT PD
LAPD	Norfolk, VA PD	Sioux Falls, SD PD
Sacramento Sheriff	Birmingham, AL PD	Carlsbad, CA PD
Seattle PD	Boise PD	Chula Vista, CA PD
Cleveland PD	Oakland PD	El Cajon, CA PD
Alameda Sheriff	Anchorage PD	National City, CA PD
Honolulu PD	Charleston PD	La Mesa, CA PD
St. Louis PD	Des Moines PD	
Dallas PD	Sacramento PD	
San Francisco PD	Louisville Metro PD	
Chicago PD	New Orleans PD	
Miami-Dade PD	Kansas City PD	
Portland Police Bureau		
Las Vegas PD		
San Diego Sheriff		
San Diego PD		
Boston PD		
Charlotte-Mecklenburg PD		
Total = 19	13	8

Results

The authors obtained the following results from the 40 questionnaires. The questionnaire contained 13 questions: Question 1 asked for the agency's name, and Questions 2–13 asked specific data questions. The 40 responding agencies are categorized by large, medium, and small departments so further comparison of the data could be made among these three categories. As stated previously, the authors defined large departments as

those serving a population of 500,000 or more; medium departments as those serving populations of between 100,000 and 499,000; and small departments as those serving populations of less than 100,000. There were 19 large agencies, 13 medium agencies, and 8 small agencies for a total of 40 responding agencies.

Question #2—Does your department have a policy on paid administrative leave for officer-involved shootings?

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
16—yes	12—yes	6—yes
3—no	1—no	2—no

Among the surveyed agencies, 34 have specific policies on paid administrative leave for officer-involved shootings and 6 do not. However, the 6 departments that indicated they do not have a specific policy do have either an informal procedure for handling officer-involved shootings or a written policy that does not place the officers on paid administrative leave. For example, NYPD police officers involved in shootings that result in death or injury of a subject are temporarily reassigned to their “overhead command” (desk duty) for three tours of administrative duty. The borough or precinct captain can extend this assignment. Boston PD has a similar. A Boston PD officer is reassigned to administrative duties, pending the outcome of the Firearms Discharge Investigation Team. If the preliminary investigation reveals that the discharge was justified, the officer may be restored to regular duties. If a Chicago Police Officer is involved in a shooting just before his/her regular days off (RDO), he/she goes home on RDO. At the conclusion of the RDO, the officer is placed on “miscellaneous detail” and presumably works in an administrative capacity.

Question #3—Which of the following describes the purpose of paid administrative leave for officer-involved shootings (please circle all that apply)?

a. Allow the officer time to “unwind” from the stress of the shooting

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
14—yes	9—yes	3—yes
2—no	3—no	3—no

b. Allow time for a thorough investigation of the shooting without interference from his/her duties

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
12—yes	9—yes	4—yes
4—no	3—no	2—no

c. Allow time for psychological counseling

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
14–yes 2–no	10–yes 2–no	5–yes 1–no

d. Other

The following are a sample of two of the other purposes given:

CHP—“When the shooting incident is of such a sensitive nature that it is in the best interest of the officer’s welfare.”

Boise PD—“To be with their families.”

The data indicate that the administrative leave policy has three purposes: (a) to allow the officer to unwind and de-stress from the incident, (b) to allow time for a thorough investigation of the incident, and (c) to allow time for psychological counseling and peer group intervention.

Question #4—How long has your policy of paid administrative leave been in effect?

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
Mean = 20.37 years	Mean = 17.9 years	Mean = 20.4 years

The data indicate that the paid administrative leave policy is a relatively new policy compared with age-old policies such as pursuit driving, which has been in existence since automobiles were first used in policing (1930s), and use of force, which has been in existence since the Boston PD and NYPD were established in 1845 and 1854, respectively .

Question #5—Does your department automatically place an officer(s) on paid administrative leave when he/she shoots or kills a citizen in the line of duty?

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
14–yes 2–no	11–yes 1–no	6–yes 2–no

The five agencies that indicated that they do not automatically place the officer(s) on administrative leave explained that the decision to do so was given to a command officer at the rank of at least captain, deputy chief, or chief of police after initial findings of the investigation were reported.

Question #6—What is the length of time required before the officer can return to his/her original duty assignment?

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
3 = 1 week or less	4 = 1 week or less	1 = less than 1 week
1 = 2 weeks	8 = varies	5 = varies
13 = varies		

All the agencies that identified a specific time after which the officer must return to full-time duty indicated that the time limit could be extended with a command officer's approval. Table 2 provides a selection of the explanations given for the "varies" responses the 26 agencies gave.

Table 2. *Explanations of a Sample of Agencies for "Varies" Response to Question #5*

Agency	Explanation
Honolulu PD	Based on evaluation by psychologist
Newark PD	Based on evaluation by psychologist
Dallas PD	At conclusion of grand jury findings
Charlotte-Mecklenburg PD	Dependent on investigation and interview with psychologist
Birmingham PD	Dependent on psychological evaluation and findings of the District Attorney's office.
Des Moines PD	After grand jury makes recommendation
Miami-Dade PD	Chief of Police after 72 hour review of case
Portland Police Bureau	After recommendation by grand jury and psychologist's evaluation
Louisville PD	Depends on the outcome of the investigation
Kansas City PD	The DA must clear officer of any wrongdoing first
Las Vegas PD	Must be cleared by coroner's inquest and release by psychologist

Question #7—Are these officers allowed to work a "desk assignment" in lieu of paid administrative leave?

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
9–yes	3–yes	1–yes
10–no	10–no	5–no

The data show that there is more allowance for officers to choose to work a "desk assignment" in large agencies versus the medium and small agencies. The authors explore this finding more in the Conclusions section of this paper.

Question #8—Which of the following occurs during the paid administrative leave (please circle all that apply)?

- a. Investigation of the officer's shooting to determine whether the shooting was justified by policy or not

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
13–yes	11–yes	6–yes
4–no*	1–no*	0–no

*The “no” answers were given by agencies whose paid leave was 3 days or less. The authors assume this response means that the investigation would not be sufficient within this short time frame to make a “justifiable” conclusion.

- b. Questioning of the officer(s)

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
13–yes	10–yes	6–yes
4–no	2–no	0–no

- c. Psychological counseling by a departmental psychologist or mental health professional or one contracted to perform this service

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
19–yes	13–yes	8–yes
0–no	0–no	0–no

- d. “Support Group” of other officers who have or have not been involved in a shooting of their own

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
12–yes	8–yes	5–yes
5–no	4–no	1–no

- e. Other services

The single largest response here that varied from the above choices was counseling by a departmental chaplain.

The data indicate that, although not unanimous, a combination of two dichotomous events takes place during the administrative leave: (1) investigation of the shooting and questioning of the officer, and (2) counseling by psychologist, peer support officers, and departmental chaplains.

Question #9—Is psychological counseling mandatory or voluntary?

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
18—mandatory	13—mandatory	8—mandatory
1—voluntary	0—voluntary	0—voluntary

All but one agency makes psychological counseling mandatory.

Question #10—If your department offers psychological counseling, is there a limit to the number of hours of counseling that an officer can receive?

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
0—yes	0— yes	0—yes
19—no	12—no	6—no

Although a few departments indicated that they limited the psychological counseling hours, they also indicated that the counseled officer could request an extension.

Question #11—During the time your policy has been in effect, approximately what percentage of officers have *not* returned to a type of duty that would put them in the position of possibly having to use deadly force once again? This would *not* include officers who were fired or chose to leave the department.

Large Agencies	Medium Agencies	Small Agencies
6 of 19	1 of 13	1 of 6
Range 1%–5%	1%–2%	1%
Mean = 2%	Mean = 1%	Mean = 1%

The data indicate that large agencies have the most officers who do not return to a type of duty that could possibly subject them to having to use deadly force again. Six agencies reported this with an estimate of 1% to 5% not returned. For medium and small agencies, only one agency in each reported such loss and with an estimate of only 1% to 2% and 1%, respectively. Two assumptions can be made. First, large departments are able to reassign an officer more easily than a medium or small department. Second, overall the percentages are low; therefore, it would appear that the interventions are working.

Question #12—During calendar year 2006–2007, how many officers were given paid administrative leave for an officer-involved shooting and what was the total number of days off?

Large Agencies		Medium Agencies		Small Agencies	
Officers	Total Days	Officers	Total Days	Officers	Total Days
318	4,121	58	755	6	18
Days per officer = 12.95		Days per officer = 13.01		Days per officer = 3	

The data show that the large and medium agencies lose officers substantially longer on paid administrative leave versus the small agencies—13 versus 3 days during calendar years 2006–2007. According to the Web site www.theblueline.com, the average daily salary of a U.S. police officer in the middle pay grade is \$199.28. Rounding this figure to \$200.00/day would equate to approximately \$2,600 per officer on leave for the large and medium departments versus \$600.00 per officer on leave for small departments. These estimated costs are not significant when calculated per officer as a mean for all large and medium departments. For example, Honolulu, with 2 officers and 6 days leave total, incurred only \$1,200 in paid leave. However, Las Vegas PD, with 128 officers involved and 3,328 days of leave, incurred approximately \$665,600 in paid leave. These estimated costs do not include possible overtime paid to officers who may be “back-filling” the vacant position. Clearly some of the large and medium agencies are absorbing a significant cost for paid administrative leave.

Question #13—Does your department have a program(s) not addressed in this questionnaire that have assisted officers who have been involved in line-of-duty shootings of citizens? If so, please describe below.

Table 3 lists a sample of the responses given to this question. The responses indicate that peer support groups are the most popular program to supplement mental health services.

A careful analysis of the questionnaire results indicates that over the last 20 to 25 years, police agencies have adopted specific policies for paid administrative leave for police officers involved in line-of-duty shootings. The purpose of these policies is therapeutic on the one hand and investigatory on the other hand. Psychological counseling by mental health professionals is a part of all the policies, and internal peer support groups are a part of many.

Another aspect of these policies is their automatic implementation. Only in a very few cases were command personnel allowed to make the decision to implement the policy. Very few of the surveyed agencies had specific time limits for these paid leaves; rather, the duration was determined by the outcome of the investigation, or an outside agency

had control: the district attorney's office, the grand jury, the coroner's office, or some other outside investigative agency.

Table 3. *Sample of Support Programs for Officers Involved in Line-of-Duty Shootings*

Agency	Support Program
NYPD	Internal Support Programs Chaplin's Unit Counseling Services Unit Early Intervention Unit NYPD Helpline Police Self Support Group Psychological Services Unit External Support Programs Columbia University in conjunction with New York Presbyterian Hospital P.O.P.P.A. (Police Organization Providing Peer Assistance) at http://www.poppainc.com
CHP	Peer Support Teams
Oklahoma City PD	Police Chaplains, CHAPS (Cops Helping Alleviate Policemen's Problems)
Cleveland PD	Peer Counseling via the Employee Assistance Unit
Newark PD	COP-2-COP Peer Support
Dallas PD	Peer Counseling
Sioux Falls PD	Critical Incident Stress Debriefing
Chicago PD	Traumatic Incident Stress Management Program
Miami-Dade PD	EAP, Seafield 911
Alameda County Sheriff's Department	Post-trauma debriefing; Peer support

The study also revealed that generally officers were not given a choice as to whether they wanted to be placed on paid leave or continue to work a "desk" assignment. The surveyed agencies were almost unanimous in requiring officers to obtain professional psychological counseling, and none placed an absolute limit on the number of hours of counseling.

The study also revealed that the percentage of officers who were not returned to "hazardous" duty was very small; however, the percentage for larger agencies was greater than for medium and smaller agencies. Large agencies were also losing officers

for much longer periods of paid leave versus the medium and small agencies surveyed, which resulted in greater dollar and manpower costs to larger agencies.

Finally, the study revealed that most of these departments had excellent resources for officers involved in shootings. Psychological resources were available in all departments, and most had additional counseling services available from Employee Assistance Programs, including peer support groups and police chaplains. The NYPD, for example, has contracted with Columbia University to receive free psychological counseling.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

The authors will first address the research questions posed in this paper's introduction.

1. Has the shift to paid administrative leave for line-of-duty shootings been a sound management policy? The data from the surveys indicates that it is not. These policies are not cost-effective, and they may cause the department to lose control to outside agencies such as the district attorney, the grand jury, or the department psychologist regarding when officers can be recalled. As a result, the officers may become a loss to the department for a longer period of time than the policy sets forth.

2. Is the practice of forcing officers involved in line-of-duty shootings to take paid administrative leave suitable? Based on the findings of this study, placing officers on paid administrative leave for line of duty shootings is neither cost-effective nor fair to the involved officers.

3. Is there a presumption that the shooting complied with department and U.S. Supreme Court guidelines if an officer is given paid administrative leave automatically when this practice, as used in the private sector and other public organizations, suggests there has been wrongdoing? Based on the findings of this study, the authors believe that unintended prejudice and innuendo is foisted on the involved officer(s). For example, an officer who is arrested for sexually assaulting a female in his custody has an accuser and evidence of probable cause. This officer most likely will be placed in paid administrative leave pending the outcome of the full investigation. Compare this example with an officer who is involved in a shooting in which there is clear evidence of justification. This officer may also be placed on paid administrative leave. The public reading and hearing about this incident and the action taken most likely will assume the shooting officer is at fault because they most likely will not distinguish the two incidents.

4. Can being placed on paid administrative leave be considered an adverse employment action in some cases? The case law is not definitive on this issue. As this paper discusses, at least one case, *Foraker vs. Apollo Group, Inc.*, did find in favor of plaintiff Foraker who was placed on paid administrative leave in what the court interpreted

as a retaliatory measure. However, this case was from an Arizona District Court, and the ruling has not been adopted in other states.

Recommendations

1. Departments should make a clear distinction between officers placed on paid administrative leave for line-of-duty shootings and officers placed on paid administrative leave for an allegation of criminal wrongdoing. The distinction could be allowing the officers involved in a shooting to work a “desk assignment” instead of giving them forced paid administrative leave. During an investigation of a shooting, the officer involved may feel isolated if left for an extended period without contact with peers. Remaining on duty also facilitates the officer’s access to internal counseling resources. In addition, the officer continues to be productive. It is also feasible that the involved officer could relieve another officer who has left a desk assignment to fill the vacated position in the field division.

2. Departments should also consider giving a command officer the authority to implement the paid administrative leave or not. When an officer is placed automatically on paid administrative leave, it may be more difficult to return the officer to his or her original duty assignment as evidenced by the many outside agencies that have control over the time that an officer remains on paid administrative leave. On the other hand, if the officer is retained in a desk assignment, he or she can continue to be productive during the investigative process.

3. Departments should have well-trained peer support groups and chaplains to supplement professional psychological counseling services. As all police officers and former police officers know, they trust first and foremost their peers. Professional mental health professionals are very effective in reducing stress and therapeutically treating disorders such as posttraumatic stress disorder. But police officers do not routinely seek help. They are the *problem solvers*. This mentality is often so ingrained in police officers that there seems to be a shame attached to asking for help or seeking counseling from a mental health professional. Police officers may also associate mental health professionals with the “crazy” people they contact on the streets and transport to their local mental institutions. Establishing a peer support system takes away the stigma associated with sessions with a mental health professional. Studies have shown that the right type of immediate help from peer support officers or a member of the mental health profession can resolve stress reactions (Anderson, Swenson, & Clay, 1995).

According to the California Peer Support Association, many large police departments, such as the Los Angeles Police Department, Los Angeles Sheriff’s Office, and the San Diego Police Department, as well as more than 140 departments in California, have trained officers to work as volunteer counselors (Mitchell & Bray, 1990). Most departments

provide training to officers according to the Peer Support Guidelines, which the International Association of Chiefs of Police ratified in 2006 (IACP, 2006).

4. Because paid administrative leave for police officers carries the same aura of wrongdoing, the option of another assignment should be the first response to line-of-duty shootings. As discussed in the literature review, paid administrative leave generally casts an aura of guilt over the individual who has been placed on paid administrative leave. The mass media often adds “doubt of legitimacy” to officer shooting cases with headlines such as “Officer Placed on Paid Administrative Leave.” Agency policies should be written so it is clear that the automatic paid administrative leave for line-of-duty shootings by no means suggests foul play or wrongdoing and should never be used in a civil service hearing, civil trial, or any other venue as evidence of foul play or wrongdoing. As mentioned previously, allowing the officers involved to work in an administrative assignment or allowing a command officer to decide on paid administrative leave after the initial findings of the investigation are reported can vitiate the stigma often associated with the use of paid administrative leave.

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Time and Space Compression in Criminology

John M. Landry

This report discusses the effect of globalization on the perception of time and space and the subsequent compression of those entities. It explores facts surrounding crime rate increases and international issues and discusses evolving crime patterns and new types of offenses. In addition, the article examines social compression theory and the compression of time and space and the subsequent effect it has had on twenty-first century crime, including computer crimes (cybercrimes) and traditional crimes that have now been affected by the Internet's ability to link victims with offenders. It also discusses criminological theories as they relate to contemporary cybercrime and computer-related crime issues.

This paper defines the phenomenon of time and space compression and attempts to explain changes in crimes and crime causation in terms of this phenomenon.

It is not a common term, at least not yet; however, time and space compression can be easily explained and understood. Like other academic terms or phrases, time and space compression sounds much more scientific and academic than it really is. The term time and space compression, refers to the fact that both time—the amount of time it takes to accomplish a task—and space—the distance that one can cover or travel to accomplish a task—has been compressed or shortened but not necessarily actually reduced. In other words, one may consider the amount of time it now takes to accomplish a specific task compared with the amount of time it took to accomplish that task years ago.

In just an average person's lifetime, any number of activities now take less time than they did before. For example, before email (electronic mail), a person had to physically deliver a hard copy letter or use the United States Postal Service to deliver the hard copy letter to another person. Before the twentieth century, a person had to wait for mail to be delivered by means of horseback, carriage, or train. The advent of trucks and airplanes then compressed the time it took to receive or send mail.

In addition to the United States Postal Service, other forms of delivery became available such as United Parcel Service, Federal Express, and other services offered by companies hoping to cash in on the fact that they could deliver items more quickly than the United States government could.

Later on came the facsimile machine, or fax machine as it is known today, and then the Internet with email. As one can see from these examples, the time it takes to get a

Landry

hard, or printed, copy of a document has been reduced to seconds. The time it takes to receive a hard copy of a document has been compressed, or reduced, from what it was formerly to what it is now.

One cannot discuss time compression without discussing space compression as its companion. As Einstein discussed in his theories, time and space are related and depend on the viewpoint of the observer. In the time compression example of the delivery of a document, we must also explain what happened to the space involved between the point of origin of the document and the point of destination. While the actual physical distance from one end of the country, or for that matter the world, to the other end has not become reduced, the perception of that same distance has become reduced. Compression has therefore occurred between distances as they relates to time and space.

As one can clearly see, the mileage has not been reduced between two points of longitude and latitude on the planet Earth, but the distance has become compressed and can be traveled more quickly than before. Moreover, the compression of the space is relative to the perspective of the observer, and it appears to the observer that the distance traveled is smaller due to the speed at which the distance is covered.

With email, an attachment can pass from a person's hands as that person sits at a computer in Asia to a person's hands in North America in a matter of seconds. How is that possible? It is possible because the time has been reduced to a point where a person's perception of the distance traveled by that document seems to be inches instead of several thousand miles.

Time and space compression is actually not simply due to the Internet; it occurred with the invention and common use of the telephone, telegraph, trains, cars, and airplanes. A study of United States history would show that crime has been increasing steadily at a rate consistent with modernization. A larger population could explain some of the increase (more people to commit crimes and more people to become victims); however, the fact that people can travel more quickly and easily now compared with when they traveled by foot or by horse is a strong factor in explaining the increase in crime in the United States. Criminals also take advantage of this time and space compression. Someone can commit a murder in Los Angeles and then fly by means of a jet aircraft to Chicago, thus leaving the scene of the crime and having ample opportunity to remove and destroy evidence along the way. In the early 1800s if someone was to commit a crime in Los Angeles, California, he would have to leave the crime scene on foot or horseback and would not be able to travel very far by the time the crime was discovered. Also, with that type of travel, physical evidence of the departure path would be visible and detected by authorities, resulting in a more difficult escape route for the criminal and more likelihood of being tracked.

Traditional Theories of Crime Causation

If one was to follow the classical theory of criminology, then one would believe that every person has the intrinsic choice either to commit a crime or not to commit a crime. It is entirely up to the individual to decide whether the consequences of the action are worse than the pleasure derived from the same action (Vold, Bernard, & Snipes, 2002).

The author believes that classical criminologists did not take into consideration overt factors influencing criminals to act the way they do. All things being even within a family unit, why does one child act in a socially unacceptable way, while others in the family behave properly and comply with society's norms? It could be explained biologically perhaps: one child could have a chemical imbalance that others within the family do not have. Or some type of outside social influence or other extrinsic elements could act on or pressure the deviant child to behave in the "abnormal" way.

Given the social perspective's theory, a person's environment appears to influence the individual's attitudes, beliefs, and cognitions; however, this theory does not explain a criminal raised in a family of law-abiding individuals, all with the same material objects, the same amount of love and attention, and all the same opportunities available. This topic will probably be discussed forever in criminology circles, and it will possibly never be explained; however, the author hopes that with further research—biological, societal, and other types—the reason for an anomaly within a family unit can be better explained.

Theorists Guerry and Quetelet believed that the solution to crime was far more complicated than simply trying to induce the fear that the consequences of the action are worse than the possible pleasure derived from committing the act (Vold et al., 2002). Intelligence levels below average have often been discussed as a factor in criminal behavior (Vold et al., 2002); however, this line of reasoning does not explain the fact that some of the most notorious criminals of all time have been highly intelligent, such as the Unabomber. The Internet compresses the ability to view what others have and what society suggests one must have to be successful and happy. Unlike television, newspapers, and other forms of mass media, the Internet allows interaction between perpetrators and victims, thereby helping to facilitate the commission of crimes. Other forms of mass media could certainly provide a motive—greed—for committing a crime, but those static, 1-dimensional forms do not allow the meeting of perpetrators with victims as the Internet does.

Traveling from coast to coast would present an individual with thousands of examples of high crime neighborhoods and poor, crime-ridden communities that contain a frustrated and underprivileged segment of our society. The Internet allows those neighborhoods to come to the victim, instead of the victim coming to those neighborhoods. Now, potential

Landry

victims must do more than simply stay out of the high crime areas of their communities; they must guard themselves from predators entering their homes via the Internet.

Classical theorists state that an individual's decision to commit crime comes from free will and rational decisions; contemporary theorists state that many different social factors lead to an individual committing a crime such as learning criminal behavior and inability to obtain what society says one must have. Time and space criminologists would look at these existing theories and apply them to twenty-first century society with its inherent time and space compression issues.

Types of Crimes Made Possible by Time and Space Compression

Many new or contemporary crimes now exist that did not in years past due the fact that the instrumentalities of the crimes were not yet invented. Crime commission, or the ways that crimes are committed, may change as society evolves; however, the actual crime, or definition of the crime, remains the same. So while the crime (stalking) remains the same, new terms (cyberstalking) have been created to describe crimes that now occur and are possible because of technology and the Internet. Along with new terms such as the virtual world, virtual reality, cyberspace, the Internet, and the World Wide Web have come new crimes such as cybercrimes, cyberstalking, identity theft, computer crimes, computer fraud, computer viruses, and hacking. We are constantly told that technology enriches our lives: the Internet provides learning opportunities for our children, cell phones allow us to keep in touch while we are on the move, and laptop computers allow us to work almost anywhere at any time. But we are also warned about the dangers of technology, especially the Internet: hackers can steal our credit card numbers, pedophiles can target our children, and racists spread messages of hate. We take these dangers seriously because technology permeates almost every aspect of our lives.

For instance, it is not an exaggeration to suggest that virtually every child in the United States, Europe, and any number of other technologically advanced nations comes into regular contact with the Internet. It is for this reason that parents, teachers, law enforcement agencies, and others constantly monitor the safety of the young people in their care.

This section discusses some of these new technology-related crimes. Familiarity with the crimes made possible by time and space compression is necessary and relevant so the researcher can identify the criminological results of this phenomenon.

Stalking Versus Cyberstalking

Stalking is nothing new; it has been around for ages. A person follows another person to annoy or threaten him. Stalking can be motivated by hatred or obsession. Oftentimes stalkers state that they actually love their victims, and their victims love them.

Cases are reported daily to local police in reference to one person stalking another. Jilted boyfriends and ex-husbands may be the primary offenders; however, female stalkers exist as well. Celebrities and other people in the spotlight may become the fantasy object that the stalker must have. Stalkers can intend to cause stress by making threats, or they may actually intend to harm the victim physically. Some stalkers want only to be with the victim because they are obsessed or in love with the person. Regardless of the stalkers' motivation, their victims suffer tremendously from the stalking activity. Most states have made stalking a criminal offense; however, certain elements must be established for it to be a prosecutable case.

Now with time and space compression, a new form of an old crime has developed. The Internet now allows stalkers to use the World Wide Web to locate victims and to stalk them in cyberspace. Now instead of only ex-wives, girlfriends, or celebrities being stalked, any of us can be the victim, as long as we use the Internet.

When the communications revolution of the 1990s brought the Internet and other technology into the home, it took little time for stalkers to discover that technology offers new ways to pursue victims and avoid detection. Cyberstalking can affect any Internet user, no matter where he or she is located. Adults and young children, males and females, expert computer users and novices are all equally vulnerable to this form of electronic harassment.

Although cyberstalking represents a new form of deviant, and oftentimes, illegal behavior, it bears many similarities to offline, or traditional stalking. In working toward a definition of cyberstalking, it is important to understand something of the nature of offline stalking.

One of the problems that arise when dealing with these new crimes involving computers and derived from or encouraged by time and space compression is to define and label these new offenses. For instance, cyberstalking is named after traditional stalking but with a prefix that indicates that the stalking involves cyberspace or the virtual world of the Internet. As with other new offenses, the challenge then is to create a definition of cyberstalking that can meet the needs of all of those involved, or a wide range of stakeholders.

Stakeholders are all those with an interest in cyberstalking, including law enforcement agencies, Internet Service Providers (ISPs), clinicians, researchers, and victims. Each

Landry

stakeholder has a different set of needs. Law enforcement agencies want to catch cyberstalkers as well as other contemporary criminals, ISPs want customers to feel safe using their services, clinicians want to treat cyberstalkers, researchers want to explain the nature of cyberstalking, and, of course, the victims want to be protected.

As in all areas of research, a problem must be defined before it can be examined. Without a common understanding of a given concept, any research undertaken may not address the actual problem and is unlikely to be of any real value. In addition, it becomes difficult to draw together the work carried out by different individuals and organizations because each is working under a different set of preconceptions and expectations.

Traditional Crimes Now Executed by Different Means

When looking at cyberstalking compared with traditional stalking, several differences become evident. Electronic communications technologies also make it much easier for cyberstalkers to encourage third parties to harass or threaten a victim, for example, by impersonating the victim and posting inflammatory messages to bulletin boards and chat rooms, causing viewers of that message to send threatening messages back to the victim.

Criminal offenses that have always existed, and probably always will, but now are made easier or the victim made more accessible due to time and space compression include child molestation, serial killing, theft, sex crimes, and fraud. These offenses are not exclusive to criminals who choose to use the Internet but exist independently of the Internet. That being said, the Internet could be blamed for assisting these criminals in carrying out and executing their criminal behavior. Some criminals may have never located an appropriate victim even if they had the intent to do so (“mens rea” the guilty mind). The Internet now offers this criminal a wide variety of infinite possibilities to locate and secure a victim for his crimes. A person could be in a cabin in the woods with a wireless modem hooked to a battery operated laptop computer and communicate with a potential victim of child molestation who is in New York City.

Serial Killers Can Use the Internet to Acquire Victims

John Wayne Gacy was a notorious serial killer whom the author has researched. The author was a little boy living in the suburbs of Chicago, Illinois, when the Gacy case hit the headlines.

As a young white male, the same profile of Gacy’s many victims, the author was especially frightened by this criminal’s actions. After all, the author could have possibly been one of his victims. In addition, as a student of criminal justice at a local community college, the author was able to tour the actual prison where Gacy spent the last 14 years of his life. That experience provided the author another morbid connection to this case.

John Wayne Gacy was a middle-aged white male contractor, living in the Chicago area, who enjoyed, among other things, dressing up like a clown for children's birthday parties. Gacy had another, more insidious, passion, that being the torture, strangulation, and sodomization of young males. Over a three-year period, Gacy murdered at least 33 young males; moreover, Gacy disposed of his victims' bodies by covering them with lye and placing their remains—sometimes intact, sometimes not—into the crawlspace under his house. In other words, he made every attempt not to be discovered. Gacy literally created his own graveyard for his victims, right inside the confines of his home. Investigators stated that the smell inside of Gacy's home, when they served a search warrant, was overwhelming.

John Wayne Gacy was ultimately executed in an Illinois prison after serving time on death row. Gacy was interviewed before his execution but displayed no remorse when speaking of his many victims.

What if John Wayne Gacy had access to the Internet at the time of his killing spree? Could time and space compression have allowed that killer to multiply his victim count exponentially? Gacy used deception and deceit to hire potential victims to work for his contracting business, but what if he did not even know the victims in advance but had been able to set up meetings at his home with potential victims? Gacy could have used time and space compression capabilities to set up meetings with young males from all over the world. The Gacy killings are an excellent example of what a traditional serial killer could do given time and space compression capabilities by using the World Wide Web.

According to the classical school of thought, people are rational beings able to make decisions in a calculating and logical way by taking into consideration the consequences and benefits of their actions. Having free will allows them to make decisions. The theory of free will states that crime is a choice that a person makes after considering the benefits and costs of the behavior (Vold et al., 2002).

The case of Martha Stewart is another excellent example of how the criminal justice system of today can operate and relate to time and space compression. Stewart's case was a showcase illustrating that the federal criminal justice system can effectively prosecute anyone. Even an individual with an outstanding reputation, and someone who most of society would probably describe as "squeaky clean," could be prosecuted and convicted. The fact that Stewart was actually convicted of obstruction of justice and lying to investigators draws a striking contrast to her reputation as a loving and honest professional "Homemaker." Time and space compression could have enabled Stewart to commit the crimes she was convicted of. The Internet, telephones, fax machines, and email may have been instruments of the crime, enabling an "inexperienced" criminal to commit the crime.

Online Harassment/Cyberstalking Statistics

The following report is a result of continuous efforts to track information in the community. In the past, law enforcement personnel, journalists, and lawmakers asked for demographic information and found that it could not be provided by any organization. Although many victims of online harassment and stalking are unwilling to provide demographic information, Working to Halt Online Abuse (WHOA) has been around long enough to earn their constituency's trust. So in early 2000 they started asking victims for demographic information. The following statistics are based on cases handled by WHOA where the victims filled out the questionnaire as completely as possible, not the total number of cases handled by WHOA each year: 198 cases for calendar year 2003, 218 cases for calendar year 2002, 256 cases for calendar year 2001, 353 cases for calendar year 2000. The latter years have better demographic information, based on what law enforcement asked WHOA to attempt to collect.

The very nature of online crimes means little information exists regarding the harassers, as most victims either do not know their harasser or do not know enough information about them to record. However, beginning in 2001, WHOA was able to obtain at least the gender and location of the harassers. Please note: the demographic information WHOA has is reported by the victims and has not been verified. Members of the media and other professionally interested parties can receive PDF versions of each year's complete statistics by e-mailing [WHOA \(http://www.haltabuse.org/\)](mailto:WHOA@http://www.haltabuse.org/) with their name and organization.

Summary

The condition of time and space compression has endangered the lives and property of more people than ever. Potential crime victims and criminals now reside in an arena of potential criminal acts that could not have been dreamed of in days past. At the turn of the last century (nineteenth to twentieth century), all that was needed to keep yourself and your property secure was a good fence, a watchdog, and maybe a shotgun. The borders around you, your loved ones, and your property were clearly drawn. The chance of you being victimized by someone who lived halfway around the world was very minimal. A person knew when strangers were in their community. People watched out for each other and noticed unusual behavior. How do we recreate that same sense of security now? Where exactly are the fences around cyberspace and the virtual world? How do we know who the strangers are? Who are our virtual neighbors watching out for us? These questions and many others may never be answered; however, the purpose of this paper was to ask the questions and familiarize the criminal justice practitioner, as well as the scholar, with this contemporary concept of time and space compression and how it contributes to modern crime causation.

The work of traditional theorists may still be applied during this modern era of time and space compression due to the fact that theories describe why people commit crimes and not necessarily how they are able to commit those crimes. Computers are mere instruments of crimes, the same as a club, a knife, or a gun. Regardless of how a person manages to locate a victim and carry out an offense, the traditional theories of crime causation can still be applied and explored. The question of how time and space compression will ultimately affect society has yet to be seen; however, recognizing its existence and identifying potential problems are the first steps to formulating a solution.

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Index

- Addictions (See Substance abuse.)
- ATLAS instrument, 40
- Cadets Corps, NYCPD, 1–15
- Canonical discriminant function (See Discriminant analysis.)
- Care, coworker, 17–31
 - effect on job satisfaction, 17, 22, 24, 25, 27
 - effect on life stress, 17, 22, 24, 25–26
 - effect on work stress, 17, 22, 24, 25–26, 27
- Center for Epidemiological Studies
 - Depression Scale (CEDS), 24
- Central Personnel Index (CPI) (See Police officer, performance.)
- Civil service system, 2, 3, 6
- Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB), 5 (See also Police officer, performance.)
- Civilian complaints (See Police officer, performance.)
- Classification table (See Discriminant analysis.)
- College education, benefits of, 1–15 (See also Police officer, performance.)
 - and policing, 1–15
 - for homeland security, 1, 15
- COP-2-COP Hotline, 72–73
- Correctional employees,
 - and coworker care, 17–31
 - and family relationships, 21–22, 27
 - job danger, 18, 24, 25, 26
 - job satisfaction, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27
 - shift work, 18–19, 21
 - social/peer support, 20–22
 - stress, 17, 18, 20–22
 - subculture among, 19–20
- Crime desistance, 49–66
- Crime theories, 89–90, 95
- Computer crime (See Cybercrime.)
- Cybercrime, 9–94
- Cyberstalking, 90, 91–92, 94
- Diallo, Amadou, 2
- Desistance (See Crime desistance.)
- Discriminant analysis, 33–47
 - canonical discriminant function, 38
 - classification table, 35, 37, 39
 - discriminating variables, 36, 37
 - pooled within-groups matrix, 38
 - structure matrix, 35, 38, 41, 42
 - unstandardized canonical discriminant function, 38
- Gacy, John Wayne, 92–93
- Homeland security (See College education.)
- Inmate
 - recidivism
 - society's treatment of, 49–50, 54–55, 62–63
 - statistics, 49–50
 - treatment programs, 50, 52–53, 58–60
- Internet, 98
 - use in crime, 90–94
- Job satisfaction
 - among correctional personnel, 17, 18, 20, 22
 - characteristics affecting, 18, 20, 22
- King, Rodney, 2
- Logistic regression, 33, 42–45
- Louima, Abner, 2
- Mass incarceration, 53–54
- Mentally ill, in criminal justice system, 55–56
- New York City Police Department, 1–15, 72–73, 74, 75, 81, 82
 - hiring practices, 1–15
- Null hypothesis, 37
- Paid administrative leave, 67–85
- Peer programs for police officers, 71–73, 81, 84
- Police academy, 1, 3, 4, 11, 12
- Police agencies, paid administrative leave practices, 67–85

Index

- Police officer, recruiting/recruits, 1, 5
- Police officer, mental health support, 68, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83
- Police officer, peer support, 68, 77, 80, 81, 83, 84
- Police officer, performance
 - arrest activity, 5–6, 8–9, 10
 - civilian complaints, 5, 6, 9, 10
 - CPI points, 5, 6, 7–8, 10
 - department vehicle accidents, 5, 6, 9, 10
 - rank (promotions), 5, 6–7, 10, 11
 - shootings, line-of-duty, 67–85
 - sick records, 5, 6, 7–8, 10, 11
- Police officer salary, 80
- Pooled within-groups matrix (See Discriminant analysis)
- POPPA (Police Organization Providing Peer Assistance), 72–73 ,
- Prison/s, 19
 - population, 49–50, 54
 - treatment programs in, 50, 52–53, 58–60
- Prisoner reintegration, challenges, 49–66
 - education, 55
 - employment, 54–55
 - family support, 60
 - housing, 57
 - physical and mental health, 55–56
 - substance abuse, 56
 - treatment programs, 56–57
- Prisoner self-transformation, 49–66

- Qualitative data, 3, 34, 35
- Quantitative data, 34, 35

- Recidivism, 41
 - causes of, 49–66
 - reducing, 51–52,
- Reentry courts, 63
- Regression analysis, 33, 41–45

- Sexual harassment, 28–29
- Sick time (See Police officer, performance.)
- Space compression, in criminology, 87–95
- SPSS, 37
- Stalking, 90–92
- Statistical (computer) software, 34, 37

- Statistics (See also Discriminant analysis, Logistic regression, and Regression analysis.)
 - analysis of variance (ANOVA), 33, 40
 - chi-square, 38, 40
 - multivariate, 33–47
 - univariate, 35, 44, 45
- Stewart, Martha, 93
- Stress, 17, 18, 20–21, 24–26
 - and job satisfaction, 17, 18, 20–22, 24
 - effects of, 17, 18, 21–22, 28
- Structure matrix (See Discriminant analysis.)
- Substance abuse, among offenders, 53, 54, 55, 56
- Symbolic interactionism, 49, 61

- Terrorism/terrorists, 1, 11
- Time compression, in criminology, 87–95

- Unstandardized canonical discriminant function (See Discriminant analysis.)
- U.S. Department of Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), 53
- U.S. Supreme Court, 68, 82