CCJLS

Criminology, Criminal Justice, Law & Society

A Transdisciplinary Journal of
Scholarly Inquiry, Policy, Practice, & Pedagogy

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***CCJLS* is the Official Journal of The Western Society of Criminology**

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ABOUT THE JOURNAL

Criminology, Criminal Justice, Law & Society (***CCJLS***), formerly *Western Criminology Review* (*WCR*), is the official journal of the Western Society of Criminology. This peer-reviewed journal builds on the mission of its predecessor by promoting understanding of the causes of crime; the methods used to prevent and control crime; the institutions, principles, and actors involved in the apprehension, prosecution, punishment, and reintegration of offenders; and the legal and political framework under which the justice system and its primary actors operate. Historical and contemporary perspectives are encouraged, as are diverse theoretical and methodological approaches. ***CCJLS*** publishes theoretical and empirical research on criminology, criminal justice, and criminal law and society; practice-oriented papers (including those addressing teaching/pedagogical issues); essays and commentary on crime, law, and justice policy; replies and comments to articles previously published in ***CCJLS*** or *WCR*; book and film reviews; and scholarly article reviews.

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In Support of Transdisciplinary CCJLS Scholarship: A Preface to the Inaugural Issue

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Arizona State University

On behalf of my co-editors, welcome to the inaugural issue of *Criminology, Criminal Justice, Law & Society* (*CCJLS*)! At the outset, I want to draw attention to the fact that this is not Volume 1, Issue 1 of the journal. Rather, to emphasize the continuity of *CCJLS* and its predecessor, *Western Criminology Review* (*WCR*), this is the second issue of Volume 15 of the Western Society of Criminology's official journal.

I write this preface with three purposes:

1. to reflect on (and pay homage to) the historical development of the journal from its origin as *WCR*;

2. to explain why we are using Scholastica to host *CCJLS* and how the WSC is financing our use of this platform through the generous support of three institutional sponsors—California State University, Long Beach; Simon Fraser University; and San Diego State University (additional sponsors are always welcome, folks); and

3. most of all, to explain why we opted to name the journal as we did.

To accomplish these goals, this feature is really two different pieces combined into one: a traditional preface and an essay on both (a) the development of scholarship relevant to the disciplines of criminology, criminal justice, law, and "law and society," and (b) our goal of transdisciplinarity across these fields.

Western Criminology Review

WCR was created in 1997 and first published in June of 1998 under the leadership of founding editor Dr. Patrick Jackson of Sonoma State University. In his preface to the first issue, Dr. Jackson said,

> This is a proud moment for the WSC. After a quarter century of work toward creating a more equitable and just society, we have finally seized the moment to charter a new course by publishing a free, peer-reviewed electronic journal. It is sure to enliven and broaden our perspectives in profound ways over the years to come. (Jackson, 1998, para. 4)

Dr. Jackson's vision came to fruition. At a time when few in academe had even heard the term "open access journal," he pioneered such a venue for our discipline. Moreover he (and his institution) continued to support *WCR* for the past 17 years, hosting the journal on the Sonoma State University servers and handling all sorts of technical issues.

In the years since Dr. Jackson first created *WCR*, other editors have ably stewarded *WCR*, including Gisela Bichler and Stephen Tibbetts from California State University, San Bernardino; André Rosay and Sharon Chamard from the University of Alaska, Anchorage; Leana A. Bouffard and Jeffrey A. Bouffard from Sam Houston State University; and, most recently, Stuart Henry, Christine Curtis, and Nicole Bracy from San Diego State University (SDSU). Although all of these dedicated scholars contributed to the success of the WSC's official journal, the team from SDSU deserves special recognition. They increased the journal's submission rate; decreased the processing time from the date of manuscript submission to date of editorial decision; reliably produced three on-time issues of the journal each year; and improved the overall quality of both the reviews and the finish product. The WSC is

indebted to Drs. Henry, Curtis, and Bracy. They leave a legacy of having achieved a level of excellence which my co-editors and I hope to parallel.

For the moment, all past issues of *WCR* can be found online at http://wcr.sonoma.edu/. Because it is unclear whether Sonoma State will be able to host the *WCR* on its servers indefinitely, back issues of *WCR* are also archived on the WSC's website at http://www.westerncriminology.org/Western_Criminology_Review.htm. Moving forward, *CCJLS* is the official journal of the WSC. I devote the remainder of this commentary to explaining the reasons why we renamed the journal and what our vision is for its future.

A Reimagined Journal

Given the success of *WCR*, some may question why the WSC elected to reimagine its official journal. To be frank, both the co-editors of *CCJLS* and the members of the Executive Board of the WSC were not completely sure that rebranding was necessary. Nonetheless, we collectively opted for a new name for a number of reasons—some of which are quite practical and others of which are more philosophical.

Internationalization

Under the talented leadership of prior *WCR* editors, the journal expanded beyond its regional origins. Indeed, not only did *WCR* receive submissions from all parts of the United States, but also, more than 20% of manuscript submissions came from other countries. Because discourse about crime, criminality, and justice policy transcends regional and even national boundaries, *CCJLS* omits any regional designation in its title.

The Editorial Board for *CCJLS* reflects our intention of an expanded geographical presence. The Board is currently comprised of scholars from across the United States with strong representation from the western region. In addition, we are thrilled that scholars from Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom agreed to serve as Editorial Board members. My co-editors and I are indebted to all of the distinguished scholars who graciously agreed to serve on our Editorial Board, many of whom have already reviewed manuscripts submitted to *CCJLS*.

Branding

The WSC's Executive Board wondered if the name *Western Criminology Review* might have caused potential contributors to misunderstand the nature of the journal. The inclusion of the word "review" in the journal's name may have contributed to the erroneous belief that the journal was a law review. Additionally, the word "criminology"—without more—may have led some to believe that the journal focused on the development of criminological theory and/or empirical tests of such theories, rather than the actual broad scope of inquiry to which the journal was devoted.

The new name of the journal, albeit a longer moniker, accurately represents the WSC's vision of bringing together scholarly discourse on theoretical, practical, and legal aspects of crime, criminality, and responses to each in theory, practice, and pedagogy.

Seeking and Rejecting New Publishing Models

Since its inception, all aspects of publishing *WCR* were overseen by the editorial team. As is the case with most other journals, this meant that the *WCR* editors conducted an initial, internal review of manuscripts; selected peer reviewers; and made publication decisions. But, unlike most other journals, it also meant that the editors actually produced each issue by manually tracking manuscript submissions and peer reviews, copy-editing, and even typesetting. It should go without saying that this took an inordinate amount of time and energy.

The WSC Executive Board considered moving the journal to a commercial press that would manage the technical aspects of the journal's production. But, in the end, there was no financially-viable path forward for partnering with a publisher without the Society needing to take one of several actions that we found unpalatable:

1. charging authors upwards of $300 to $400 for submitting manuscripts;

2. moving from open access to a library-based subscription model; or

3. dramatically increasing WSC membership dues from $45 per year to amounts between the $75 the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences charges and the $95 the American Society of Criminology charges.

Author Pays. Although the first option has become commonplace in some disciplines, it is not the norm in criminology and criminal justice (CCJ). Additionally, the author-pays model can lead to some questioning the integrity of a journal as one that engages in vanity publishing, rather than bona-fide, peer-reviewed scholarly inquiry. Indeed, the author-pays model has been termed "the dark side of open access" (Kolata, 2013, para. 5) because it can allow almost anyone who pays to get their scholarship in print in some questionable journals. Not only can this

result in the padding of *curricula vitae*, but it also can make it quite difficult for end-users to distinguish "credible research from junk" (Kolata, 2013, para. 8; see also Bauerlein, Gad-el-Hak, Grody, McKelvey, & Trimble, 2014). And most of all, because the WSC strives to keep its journal as an accessible venue in which graduate students and new scholars (in addition to established ones) can publish their research, the Board unanimously rejected the notion that researchers and commentators (most of whom are woefully underpaid) should have to bear the cost of publication.

Library Subscriptions. Admittedly, the second option—a library-pays model—held some appeal for the Board, especially since this approach could generate royalties for the WSC. But ultimately, we rejected this approach for two reasons. First, the Board would have had to surrender nearly all control of the journal, including its copyrights, to a commercial publisher. Second, and more importantly, this approach would have made the scholarship we publish inaccessible to far too many people. Here's why:

According to the Association of Research Libraries (Kyrillidou, Morris, & Roebuck, 2013), academic libraries routinely spend approximately two-thirds of their materials budget on journals. Subscriptions to a single journal can cost thousands of dollars. Some journals can only be accessed when libraries purchase "bundles" that are exorbitantly priced in the tens of thousands of dollars. Subscription prices routinely increase four to ten times the consumer price index, while publisher's profit margins approach 40%. With library budgets having been particularly hard hit during the economic downturn that started in 2008, academic libraries—even those at institutions with large endowments—cannot continue to do business as usual. In fact, in 2012, the Harvard University Faculty Advisory Council sent a memorandum to the university faculty saying,

> ***major periodical subscriptions, especially to electronic journals published by historically key providers, cannot be sustained: continuing these subscriptions on their current footing is financially untenable*** (para. 4).

Numerous news sources reported on this memorandum writing headlines like this one: "The wealthiest university on Earth can't afford its academic journal subscriptions" (Gonzalez, 2012).

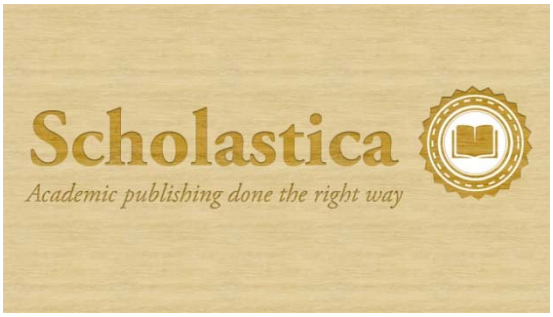
Most of us have had the frustrating experience of finding a source in an abstracting service that looks, based on the article's title or abstract, to be relevant to constructing a literature review on which we were working, only to find that our libraries did not subscribe to the journal in which the article was published. Perhaps you then turned to the Internet, looking for a version of the paper linked from Google Scholar or on SSRN. More likely than not, you were able to find the article posted on the website of the commercial publisher that produced the journal issue in question, only to see that it would cost you $30 or $40 to access that single article! Sure, one could complete an inter-library loan request and return to working on the literature review after the article arrives. But perhaps you, like me, simply decided that the lack of availability of that source simply meant that you would proceed without including that particular source. Of course, such a course of action deprives the author(s) of that piece of scholarship of a citation and the exposure that goes along with being cited by other scholars. But such an omission can also come back to haunt one if reviewers criticize the literature review for missing relevant research. For all of these reasons, the WSC Executive Board ultimately thought it important to remain true to Dr. Pat Jackson's vision of having scholarship freely-accessible via an open-access platform.

Increased Membership Dues. The third option was never seriously considered. The WSC prides itself on being a society that is accessible to students, practitioners, and scholars at all levels of their professional careers. High membership dues impede broad engagement in the Society and, therefore, do not serve our members' best interests.

Software-Assisted, Open-Access Publishing

Given that all three of the options we considered proved to be untenable, the WSC's Publications Committee investigated other alternatives that would facilitate a hybrid approach to journal production—one in which the editors still did most of the work as part of their service to our profession, but were aided by technology in ways that would reduce the burden on the editorial staff, thereby allowing us to focus more on the scholarly content of the WSC's journal, rather than its technical production.

We considered Open Journal Systems, a free open-source software package made available by the Public Knowledge Project. Although impressive, the technical aspects of installing and maintaining the software on the WSC's servers, as well as some concerns about the software not being particularly user-friendly, led us to decide on Scholastica.



Scholastica is a particularly use-friendly, cloud-based software service created by a team of graduate students at the University of Chicago. The software allows authors to submit their manuscripts electronically through the journal's interface: https://scholasticahq.com/criminology-criminal-justice-law-society/for_authors. The editors are immediately notified via email of a new submission. We can conduct an initial editorial review of the journal completely online. We can solicit external reviewers through an intuitive interface. We can make editorial decisions; communicate with authors, reviewers, and co-editors; manage different versions of manuscripts; and ultimately publish the journal in a professional, open-access format. The issue of *CCJLS* that you are reading right now is the first edition of the journal published through Scholastica. So far, my co-editors and I are very pleased with the service and expect to continue using it for the duration of our tenure as editors.

Scholastica Fees. Alas, Scholastica is not free. The WSC pays Scholastica $10 for each manuscript submitted to *CCJLS*. The Society covers these expenses using a portion of the annual membership dues paid by our members. Depending upon what Scholastica does with its prices in the future, there may come a time when the WSC will need to find another way to cover these costs. For example, the Society may need to increase membership dues by a small amount, such as $5 or $10. Alternatively, membership dues may remain constant and dues-paying members of the WSC will be able to submit manuscripts free of charge, while non-members will need to pay the cost of manuscript processing when submitting a manuscript. Or perhaps the Society's membership will continue to grow (as it has for the past five years) and a financially-strong Society will remain able to cover the full cost of Scholastica's fees. Whatever the case may be, we will provide updates in the WSC's newsletter, *The Western Criminologist*, as well as in future editorial comments in *CCJLS*.

Other Production Costs. One of the most significant changes in the way the WSC's journal is now produced concerns sponsorships from supporting universities. In the past, the institution with which the editors were affiliated provided indirect financial support to the WSC by covering the cost of buying-out an editor from one or more of his or her courses (sometimes referred to as "reassigned time" or "release time"). Just as Sonoma State, CSU-San Bernardino, the University of Alaska at Anchorage, Sam Houston State, and SDSU did for *WCR*, CSU Long Beach is generously providing $10,000 of support each year (for three years) to support reduced teaching loads for Dr. Aili Malm and Dr. Christine Scott-Hayward to serve as the co-editors of *CCJLS*. The editorial team and the WSC Executive Board want to express our sincere gratitude to Dr. Ken Millar, Dean of the College of Health and Human Services at CSULB, for agreeing to support Drs. Malm and Scott-Hayward in their roles as *CCJLS* co-editors.

Two other universities have also provided generous financial support as official co-sponsors of *CCJLS*. Both San Diego State University and Simon Fraser University have pledged $2,500 for this year to cover the cost of professional copy-editing and other production-related expenses. We certainly hope that all of our sponsors are pleased with their investment and opt to continue their support of *CCJLS* in the years to come.

On behalf of the entire WSC Executive Board, especially my co-editors, I want to thank Dr. Neil Boyd, Director of the School of Criminology at SFU, and Dr. Stuart Henry, Director of the School of Public Affairs at SDSU, for their generous support of *CCJLS*.

In Search of "-Disciplinarities"

One reason, above all others, stands out for changing of our journal's name to *CCJLS*: the imperative of transdisciplinary scholarly inquiry concerning crime, criminality, law, and justice.

Disciplinary research is primarily concerned with the epistemologies, knowledge, skills, and methods within the boundary of a discipline. For example, the disciplines of psychology, sociology, philosophy, political science, law, medicine, economics, history, and even literature each have long histories of examining issues related to crime, criminality, and societal responses to them (Owen, Fradella, Burke, & Joplin, 2014). But they have traditionally done so from within a monodisciplinary lens. For instance, Freudian psychoanalytic theory explains criminal behavior as a result of the abnormal development of the psyche during the first seven years of life. This psychological theory approaches criminality from a very different perspective than social disorganization theory, which is rooted in sociology and approaches criminality from a more community-based ecological perspective.

The Evolution of CCJ

Criminology. The study of "criminology" dates back to at least the 1700s, albeit at that time grounded largely in medicine and philosophy. From the early political philosophers of the Enlightenment's Classical School, to the moral philosophers and cartographers of the early 1800s, to the medical/psychological approaches in the mid- to late 19th century, to the domination by sociology in the 20th century, criminology has largely been a niche element of many different disciplines, both emerging and established. Cressey (1978) argued that no "academic discipline has a monopoly on criminology" (p. 174). Due to the cross-disciplinary character of criminology, "persons can become criminologists . . . simply by declaring that their work is somehow related to crime" (p. 174). Arguably, criminology came to be an academic discipline in its own right, but it did so as a multidisciplinary area of inquiry that draws on the knowledge and understanding of a variety of the aforementioned disciplines.

Criminal Justice. Starting in the 1960s and emerging strongly in the 1970s, "criminal justice" began to emerge as its own discipline, apart from classical or even sociological criminology. It developed to provide higher education opportunities for personnel working in justice systems, such as police and corrections officers, and in degree programs that were intended to enhance competence, professionalism, and accountability of both personnel and the provision of justice services (Clear, 2001; Langworthy & Latessa, 1989; Morn, 1995; Wimshurst, 2011).

Like criminology, criminal justice was largely a multidisciplinary venture, albeit with very different approaches to the study of crime.

> Programs in the two areas were often taught in different academic departments, and even different institutions, with differently qualified staff. Criminology was seen as a theory-based academic discipline fitting graduates for careers in teaching and research. Criminal justice degrees were vocational, valued more for gaining employment and furthering careers in the justice system. (Wimshurst, 2011, p. 301)

Given their focus on the practical over the theoretical and empirical, most criminal justice programs came to be viewed as awarding academically-suspect, second-class degrees. Moreover, criminal justice departments were largely dismissed "as nothing more than police training, too practitioner-oriented, not academic enough, co-opted by government agencies with grant monies, and a refuge for low-achieving students" (Hemmens, 2008, p. 28).

Convergence. By the 1990s, however, the division between criminology and criminal justice began to erode as a function of the convergence of the disciplines: "'Second generation' criminal justice matured into a scholarly and research-based discipline, and criminology came to focus increasingly on the practical application of its own advanced research and theorizing" (Wimshurst, 2011, p. 302). Part of this maturation of criminal justice and its convergence with criminology was undoubtedly due to both fields of study embracing interdisciplinary inquiry, using the epistemologies and methods of one discipline within another.

> [W]hile multidisciplinary refers to work that remains grounded in the framework of one discipline, interdisciplinary concerns the transfer of methods from one discipline to another either for (a) new applications, (b) new analyses, or (c) the generation of entire new disciplines. . . . When solving problems from the interdisciplinary approach, the people involved offer parallel analyses of parts of a problem. A new synergy emerges from the transfer of knowledge between disciplines. (McGregor, 2004, p. 12)

Unsurprisingly, as such interdisciplinarity gained acceptance, a number of the leading institutions of higher learning with academic units devoted to the social scientific study of crime and societal responses to it have named these units "Criminology and Criminal Justice" (Triplett & Turner, 2010). Regardless of the name of a program, department, or school, by the 1990s,

> criminal justice and criminology Ph.D. programs were well established across the country, and the discipline was gaining respect from its academic brethren and sistern, as it became obvious that the study of crime and criminal justice was much more than "just" a training ground for future law-enforcement officers (Hermmens, 2008, p. 20, citing Clear, 2001; Finckenauer, 2005).

Rather, curricula in CCJ, especially at the graduate level, stress social science research methods, statistics, and criminological theory (much of which is taught in most CCJ programs through the lens of sociology).

The Chasm between CCJ and Law

The study of crime and systemic responses to it remains largely separate from the study of law—at least in the United States. In contrast, law and criminology are routinely taught side-by-side (often by the "Faculty of Law") in many European universities. To be sure, social and behavioral scientists are trained quite differently than most lawyers. They speak different languages, using vocabularies that are native to their respective disciplines. They hold vastly different epistemologies and, as a function of this, theorize quite differently about human behavior. Indeed, they often ask fundamentally different questions and employ vastly dissimilar methods to answer those questions.

> Law determines fact by relevant evidence admissible under the rules of evidence. Credibility is often key to determining whether proffered evidence will be accepted by the trier of fact. In sharp contrast, behavioral scientific methods for determining the existence of a fact are quite different; they depend on experimentation, systematic observation, and the replicability of reliable and valid conclusions. Moreover, in seeking to answer questions of fact, each discipline employs fundamentally different methods of acquiring knowledge. Law is doctrinal and grounded in logic, whereas the behavioral sciences are concerned with contributions to scientific theory via the application of scientific methods. Statistical probabilities and their corresponding uncertainties are inherent to empirical methodologies. The law, however, does not concern itself with statistical probability but rather with levels of proof that are not only often arrived at in very nonscientific ways but also significantly beyond the limits of empirical design. (Schug & Fradella, 2014, pp. 11-12)

These differences, among others, may help to explain—at least in part—why criminology and criminal justice remain largely separate from law. But just as criminology and criminal justice have evolved as disciplines, so has the law.

Legal Education and Interdisciplinary Legal Studies

Legal education in the United States has historically been doctrinal. Contrary to the assumptions of many social and behavioral scientists, this approach does not stress legal skills. Quite the opposite, in the model of legal education that has dominated U.S. law schools for well over a century, "lawyering" skills are supposed to be acquired after law school through the practice of the profession. Rather, law school students

> learn legal theory and reasoning via the case method, a method that combines "conceptions of legal reasoning and legal doctrine with a pedagogical technique" (Feinman, 1998, p. 476). Students are taught how to decipher the rule of law by extrapolating it from a published judicial opinion using logic and inductive, deductive, and analogical reasoning skills. Then students are asked to apply the rule of law to hypothetical fact patterns, both orally during in-class Socratic dialogues and in writing on exams. Historically, this approach to the study of law was devoid of the study of legal processes and their relationship to law's impact on society via the lenses of the humanities and social sciences; at best, such disciplines were mentioned peripherally. The goal of such a legal education, whether undertaken in the past or currently, is to make students learn to think like a lawyer—to acquire knowledge of specialized legal vocabulary; to understand the operation of differing sets of legal rules; to learn how to read various

> sources of law, such as cases, constitutions, statutes, and administrative regulations; and to apply the law in a persuasive form of appropriate argumentation. (Schug & Fradella, 2014, p. 11)

Unlike Ph.D. programs in CCJ, traditional legal education does not include the study of criminological theory, social science research methods, or statistics. But this has begun to change. In the wake of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Daubert v. Merrell Dow Pharmaceuticals* (1993) and cases in its progeny that require judges to assess the reliability and validity of the methods used by experts who testify in civil and criminal cases alike, law schools increasingly have been offering courses in research methods and statistics to provide law students with the tools necessary to litigate cases that required expert testimony (Merlino, Richardson, Chamberlain, & Springer, 2008). In other words, although the study of law continues, in large part, to be doctrinal today, broader perspectives have been gaining acceptance since the 1990s (Merlino et al., 2008; Sonsteng, Ward, Bruce, & Petersen, 2007; Ulen, 2009).

Part of the shift from a purely doctrinal approach to law school (and towards a broader study of "law and society") is a function of law schools having embraced the hiring of interdisciplinarily-trained faculty who approach law through the lenses of the social and behavioral sciences, as well as the humanities (e.g., "law and economics," "law and psychology," "law and literature," "sociology of law," "philosophy of law"). By 2006, professors holding a Ph.D. comprised between 10% and 30% the full-time faculty at many leading U.S. law schools (George, 2006). Today, those figures have risen to between 25% and 50% at leading U.S. law schools (Northwestern Law, n.d.) and upwards of 80% of law faculties at select international law schools (Wish, 2012). Not only do these faculty members teach courses from perspectives that transcend the traditional, doctrinal approach to the study of law, but they also publish empirical legal scholarship in which they use the theories and methods of science to address legal issues (see Chambliss, 2008). This scholarship appears in both traditional law reviews and in specialized, peer-reviewed venues such as *Law and Society Review*, the *Journal for Empirical Legal Studies*, and the *Journal of Legal Analysis* (Chambliss, 2008; Ellickson, 2000; Heise, 2011). Such scholarship is revolutionizing legal theory in the direction of "evidence-based law" (see Rachlinski, 2011) in much the same way that evaluation research in CCJ has produced evidence-based best practices in policing and corrections.

Although the expansion of legal studies into broader social contexts has accelerated in the past two decades as part of the empirical legal studies movement, interdisciplinary legal studies is not a new area of inquiry. The "law and society" movement in the United States has engaged in the social scientific study of law for at least 130 years (e.g., Ehrlich, 1913/2002; Holmes, 1881). It gained traction when Roscoe Pound, one of pioneers of "sociological jurisprudence," became dean of the Harvard Law School in 1916 (see Pound, 1921). The movement hastened with the rise of the social sciences in the post-World War II era. In particular, sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, and anthropologists began applying the methods of science to law in disciplinarily-specific ways, much as philosophers, historians, and literary scholars had applied humanistic perspectives to law since at least the time of Plato.

In contrast to the primarily normative orientation of most traditional legal scholarship, law and society posited that "law, legal practices, and legal institutions can be understood only by seeing and explaining them within social contexts (Silbey, 2002, p. 860). This movement was advanced significant by the Law and Society Association, formed in 1964. (Happy "Golden Anniversary" to our sister organization!) Over the past 50 years, the law and society movement endeavored to develop a body of knowledge concerning not only how the law works in reality, but also where is does not work or where it is absent. Law and society also elucidated how legal actors and institutions operate, especially when the people through whom law operates exercise discretion. But this body of knowledge "flourished most conspicuously outside the law schools" in the humanities and social science programs of colleges and universities (Silbey, 2002, p., 862). In contrast, the law and society movement "never really caught on in the American law schools" such that law school faculty members who engaged in such research remained largely on the fringe of legal scholarship (Duxbury, 1995, p. 445; see also Silbey, 2002). Unsurprisingly, law and society correspondingly remained largely at the margins of legal education until law school faculty began to embrace interdisciplinary legal studies, however, tentatively.

Admittedly, the (relatively) recent shift in legal scholarship toward being more interdisciplinary and social scientific has been slow, and the change in legal education has been even slower. Moreover, these changes have not been without their critics. Some law and society scholars "worry about the politics of the movement and its subservience to law" (Chambliss, 2008, p. 23). Others question whether empirical legal studies is just a new name for the

sociology of law. And still others see the movement as being "more menacingly, law and economics in sociologists' clothing . . . [or] more cynically, the legal professoriate in the emperor's new clothing" (Chambliss, 2008, p. 23, internal quotations and citations omitted).

There is also still criticism of empirical legal studies from traditional legal scholars. At the dawn of the 21st century, many law faculty members frowned upon such work. As a one law professor who does empirical legal scholarship noted in 2003, "[i]t would only be a modest exaggeration to say that most law professors regard empirical work as a form of drudgery not worthy of first-class minds" (Landes, 2003, p. 180). But nearly 15 years into the new millennium, there can be no doubt that legal scholarship has changed rather dramatically over the course of a few decades, with much of that change happening since the 1990s. This, in turn, has even sparked a bit of a counter-revolution in some legal circles. "[T]here is now too much empirical work being done simply because it looks 'empirical' . . . . Too much of the work is driven by the existence of a data set, rather than an intellectual or analytical point" (Leiter, 2010, paras. 1-2). And whether this research has actual impact on law and public policy remains a dubious proposition. Judges, in particular, have grown increasingly hostile to empirical, social scientific research on law since the 1980s (see Fradella, 2004). Perhaps this is most frustratingly exemplified by *McCleskey v. Kemp* (1987), in which the U.S. Supreme Court simply dismissed what should have been highly persuasive social scientific evidence on the racially-discriminatory ways in which capital punishment is imposed in the United States.

Nonetheless, the movement toward empirical legal studies and peer-review of interdisciplinary legal scholarship is now firmly established in U.S. law schools (Eisenberg, 2011; Heise, 2011). Indeed, this movement has become so entrenched that some rankings of law schools actually include metrics based on the number of faculty holding Ph.D.s and the number of peer-reviewed, empirical journal articles published by law faculty (e.g., George, 2006). This has led most top law schools "to view empirical scholars as essential . . . critical to a fully successful law faculty" (Rachlinski, 2011, pp. 906-907). But I question whether these changes have been noticed by those in CCJ and, even if so, whether they have changed the minds of social scientists about those who engage in the more contemporary form of legal scholarship. Sadly, I fear these questions likely have answers in the negative.

Does CCJ Look Down on Law?

When I was a doctoral student, I took a public policy course from a well-respected political scientist who specialized in criminal justice policy. She required her students to write a 50-page paper on any aspect of justice policy. I wrote my paper critiquing the hate speech policies adopted by many colleges and universities. My professor required her students to submit a first draft. One of her comments to me was that I relied too heavily on law review articles. She wanted me to integrate (and this is an exact quote from her hand-written notes on the paper I still possess) "more scholarly books and more peer-reviewed articles from scholarly (non-law) journals." I was immediately struck by the juxtaposition of legal journals and "scholarly journals," as if law reviews did not publish scholarship. But another notation she made utterly confounded me.

She had highlighted one of the sources in my references section as an example of the type of scholarly work I needed to add to my final paper. That favorably-viewed source was the book *Words That Wound: Critical Race Theory, Assaultive Speech, and the First Amendment* (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Williams-Crenshaw, 1993). My professor was dumbfounded when I informed her that the book was a republication of a series of law review articles that had been written by four law professors who specialized in critical legal studies/critical race theory. Apparently, my professor just could not fathom how people with law degrees who taught at law schools could possibly have written scholarship she viewed so highly that she wanted to see more sources like it integrated into my paper. My "take away" from this conversation with my professor in 1995 was that Ph.D.s in the social sciences had such little respect for their colleagues on the faculty of law schools that they readily dismissed their scholarship as inferior.

Even at that early stage of my own academic training as a social scientist, I knew that I could not generalize from an "*n* of 1." The anecdotal evidence from this discussion with my public policy professor did not provide sufficient support for the inference I had drawn. So, I asked other faculty in my doctoral program how they felt about legal scholarship. Almost all of them echoed my public policy professor's views. The only one who did not had earned both a J.D. and the Ph.D. He told me that when he went up for tenure, his concern was not just whether his law review articles would "count," but whether they would actually "count against him"! He explained to me that social science researchers looked down on law reviews for several reasons, not least of which was that the traditional legal

scholarship published in law journals was rarely empirical. Two other reasons likely contributed to this view. First, most law reviews usually are not peer-reviewed, but rather are reviewed and edited by high-achieving law students in only their second and third years of study in the discipline. Second, law review manuscripts may be simultaneously submitted to multiple legal journals. As a result, student editors may rush to accept manuscripts without the benefit of careful deliberation.

Still, these were the views of the faculty in one program at a single university. Perhaps people felt differently at other institutions? In the more than 20 years since then, I venture to say that this perception remains pervasive among social scientists. Consider this commentary:

> [O]utside the law schools, pretty much everyone in the academy knows that what law professors do can't really be called "scholarship" because there are no quality standards, and (aside from a few quirky journals) there is no peer review, and that means that most everything that shows up in legal journals is badly-researched, badly-written, and badly-argued. (Madison, 2006, p. 909)

Another source of evidence for the proposition that Ph.D.s look down on J.D.s concerns hiring in CCJ programs. Unlike the two-decade-long trend of law schools hiring more faculty holding Ph.D.s, the converse is rarely true for leading programs in CCJ employing full-time faculty who hold law degrees (in the absence of a Ph.D. or other research degree). Rather, those holding the J.D. are often relegated to adjunct faculty status in spite of the high-quality teaching and research that some interdisciplinarily-trained lawyers routinely produce. When programs in CCJ do hire full-time faculty members who hold a J.D. "only," it is most often in a nontenure-track appointment (e.g., instructor or lecturer).

In 2005, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS) enacted standards requiring programs seeking ACJS certification to have at least two-thirds of their tenure-track faculty holding their Ph.D. in criminal justice or a related field (ACJS, 2014a). That requirement increases to 90% for programs seeking ACJS certification of a master's degree program (ACJS, 2014b). The 2005 standards specifically excluded the J.D. as being a terminal degree that will be accepted as the equivalent of a Ph.D.[1] Enriquez (2007) criticized this mandate, arguing that each candidate for a tenure-track position should be reviewed on his or her own merits—especially since some high-achieving law students publish law review articles that are akin to dissertations. Hemmens (2008) countered by arguing law review articles and doctoral dissertations are not equivalents. Moreover, the qualitative differences in the academic training one receives in J.D. programs is so far removed from what one receives in a Ph.D. program that the two degrees should not be deemed equivalent for hiring purposes.

With all due respect to my colleagues, I think both arguments miss the mark. The issue should not be about how similar or dissimilar the two courses of study are. After all, as previously explained, the fields of study have been converging as law schools have embraced a more empirical approach to the field. But even if the divide between CCJ and law remained today as wide as it once was, that ought to be irrelevant. Even traditional legal scholarship "can contribute to both the study of law and the social sciences" and vice-versa (Monsma, 2006, p. 218). In other words, both CCJ and law have valuable contributions to make to the study of crime, criminality, and societal responses to each of these two vexing social problems. Moreover, approaches that are not mutually exclusive have the potential to deepen understanding of crime and justice across disciplinary boundaries. And that is the true inspiration behind *CCJLS*.

Toward Transdisciplinarity

Transdisciplinary research focuses on an issue such as crime, pollution, AIDS, poverty, or hunger both within and beyond discipline boundaries with the possibility of new perspectives.

> Indeed, transdisciplinary research is being conceptualized as both: (a) a specific kind of interdisciplinary research involving scientific and non-scientific sources or practice; and, more excitingly, (b) a new form of learning and problem solving involving cooperation among different parts of society, including academia, in order to meet the complex challenges of society. Through mutual learning, the knowledge of all participants is enhanced and this new learning is used to collectively devise solutions to intricate societal problems that are interwoven. Out of the dialogue between academia and other parts of society, new results and new interactions are produced, offering a new vision of nature and reality. (McGregor, 2004, p. 2)

Table 1 presents three ways of conceptualizing the ways in which disciplinary boundaries may be traversed using language, math, and food metaphors.

Table 1: Traversing Disciplinary Boundaries

	Multi-disciplinary	Inter-disciplinary	Trans-disciplinary
Keyword	Additive	Synergistic	Holistic
Math Example	2 + 2 = 4	2 + 2 > 4	2 + 2 = gamma
Food Example	Salad	Fondue in a melting pot	Cake

Adapted from: Kanary et al. (2012).

Our vision for *CCJLS*, to carry the food metaphor forward, is to bake cake—something in which the ingredients are no longer distinguishable, but the finished product is something greater than then the sum of its individual parts. *CCJLS* exists to facilitate transdisciplinary interactions between theorists, empirical researchers, justice practitioners, social activists, and concerned citizens. Our goal is not to build bridges over the spaces between the disciplines, but rather to dismantle the disciplinary silos that prevent us from working together in ways that produce valuable social change.

To the knowledge of those on the WSC Executive Board, no journal is devoted to social science research on the intersection of criminology, criminal justice, law, and society. *Law and Society Review* (*LSR*), the *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* (*JELS*), and *Law and Social Inquiry* (*LSI*) have much broader scopes covering all areas of socio-legal scholarship. For example, the mission statement for the *JELS* states that it "publishes high-quality, empirically-oriented articles of interest to scholars in a diverse range of law and law-related fields, including civil justice, corporate law, criminal justice, domestic relations, economics, finance, health care, political science, psychology, public policy, securities regulation, and sociology." *LSR* and *LSI* both have similarly broad missions. None of these law and society journals specialize in issues that are of primary interest to those who study criminology, criminal justice, or their interaction with law.

The WSC believes that *CCJLS* will fill a niche in transdisciplinary scholarship relevant to crime, criminality, and responses to these phenomena by providing a venue for criminologists, criminal justicians, and law and society scholars to publish relevant research and commentary. To our knowledge, the only journal that comes close to such a hybrid focus is the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (*JCLC*). But that journal devotes one-half of each issue to student-edited, doctrinal law review articles dealing with criminal law, criminal procedure, and criminal evidence, and one-half of each issue to peer-reviewed articles in criminology, albeit in legal citation format. Moreover, unlike *JCLC*, *CCJLS* is not a law review published at a law school and edited by students. It is a peer-reviewed and peer-edited journal that blends social-scientific scholarship on criminal law and society with scholarship from a wide array of other related fields relevant to criminology and criminal justice.

Conclusion

It is now clear that criminology and criminal justice have matured into interdisciplinary fields. And so has law and society. Yet, specialists in each of these areas do not always talk with each other. They attend different academic conferences. They tend to publish their research in discrete venues which may or may not be journals read by those in the other "camps," so to speak. But crime and criminality are social problems that will not be solved without transdisciplinary collaboration and understanding. Consider, for example, the increasing importance of behavioral genetics and clinical neuroscience in understanding the causes of criminal behavior (see Farahany, 2009; Raine, 2014). But these topics are often given only passing coverage in many criminology textbooks and are similarly underrepresented in most CCJ journals, just as are legal issues related to criminology and criminal justice. We hope that *CCJLS* will provide a venue for readers to gain a wide variety of perspectives on matters relating crime, criminality, and responses to them in law, policy, or otherwise.

In closing, my co-editors and I believe it is essential for criminology and criminal justice to embrace the methods and knowledge of many disciplinary frameworks in order to better address the social problems of crime and criminality. We invite you to "make cake" with us by publishing your research in *CCJLS*.

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Endnote

[1] The 2014 amendments to the ACJS Certification Standards are silent about what constitutes the equivalent of a Ph.D.

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To Pay or Not to Pay?: An Investigation of the Direct and Moderating Effects of Community Context on Citizen Willingness to Fund the Police

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A B S T R A C T A N D A R T I C L E I N F O R M A T I O N

This study builds on the literature examining the relationship between community context and the police to determine how measures associated with social disorganization are related to taxpayer willingness to fund policing services. With a sample of 770 survey respondents residing in Pennsylvania, multinomial logistic regression models were utilized to assess the impact of community contextual variables representing social disorganization theory on willingness to pay (or not pay) for police services. The dependent variable measures if residents are willing to pay increased funds for the police, and also if they would prefer to reduce police services or receive combined police services. The results indicate that community contextual measures are not directly associated with willingness to pay for the police, but serve to moderate the relationship between satisfaction with the police and willingness to pay for police services.

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Although the National Bureau of Economic Development declared the economic recession in the United States to have officially ended in 2009 (Pear, 2011), municipal spending continues to face increased scrutiny from politicians and taxpayers alike. Budgets for public safety have been among the municipal-level expenditures hardest hit, with layoffs, decreased funding, and renewed interest in the consolidation of services now a reality for many local police departments. This is especially true of Pennsylvania municipalities and the 1,012 municipal police departments that operated within the state in 2011 (State of Pennsylvania, 2012). The current fiscal stress has resulted in an increased number of

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municipalities in Pennsylvania that receive police services from the Pennsylvania State Police. The Pennsylvania State Police is a statewide law enforcement agency with more than 4,600 sworn officers from which 1,257 municipalities received police in 2011. The current fiscal stress has additionally caused a consolidation of police departments that provide law enforcement services for multiple municipalities (nearly 300 municipalities in 2011). In response to strict municipal budget constraints, many additional cities within the United State have been forced to debate the merits of alternative types of police coverage in order to most efficiently spend their dwindling funds (Biedka, 2012).

While unpopular amongst taxpayers, one simple method of avoiding reductions in public safety services is to simply raise taxes. This is perhaps the most effective method by which to address budget gaps, but politicians are keenly aware of the unfavorable reactions that are likely to emanate from their constituents during difficult economic times. This dilemma raises important questions: What factors influence both the willingness of citizens to pay increased taxes in order to maintain current levels of public safety services, and conversely, do the same factors influence citizen decisions to support cutting police services? A clearer understanding of the correlates of citizen willingness to fund the police is important for a number of reasons. Due to the current budget crises in many states, the loss of police officers has already become a reality for many municipalities. Although there are limited data on the full impact of police levels on crime rates, research has identified a link between fewer officers and more crime (Chalfin & McCrary, 2011; Worrall & Kovandzic, 2010). This finding has been anecdotally supported by examinations of the results of massive police layoffs in cities within New Jersey due to budgetary concerns, with Camden and Newark experiencing increased crime and fewer arrests after the loss of officers (Queally, 2012). Further, reluctance by citizens to fund public safety services can also result in stagnant or reduced salaries for police officers, which has been found to negatively impact job performance (Mas, 2006), lower morale and increase stress (French, 1975), and hurt recruiting efforts and the retention of current police officers (Poole & Pogrebin, 1988).

Researchers have investigated the correlates of willingness to pay for numerous other municipal expenditures, including parks and recreation (Collins & Kim, 2009; Glaser & Hildreth, 1996), public education (Glaser, Aristigueta, & Miller, 2003; Silverman, 2011), and increased municipal-level taxes (Alozie & McNamara, 2008, 2009, 2010; Beck, Rainey, Nichols, & Trout, 1987; Glaser & Hildreth, 1999). The correlates of willingness to pay for the police, however, have received relatively scant attention. Only Donahue and Miller (2005, 2006) have investigated this issue to determine that increased citizen satisfaction with the police increases financial support for police services, but much about this relationship remains unanswered. To understand more about this important issue in a post-recession society, the current study builds upon prior analyses that have identified a link between community context and satisfaction with the police (Falcone, Wells, & Weisheit, 2002; Weisheit, Falcone, & Wells, 2006) by asking whether municipal-level measures associated with social disorganization theory are significant predictors of willingness to fund or not fund the police. In addition, we will also determine if those same community contextual predictors moderate the previously identified relationship between satisfaction with the police and willingness to pay (Donahue & Miller, 2005; 2006), as numerous prior studies have found that community context conditions the relationships between many factors and crime-related outcomes (Berg & Loeber, 2011; Berg, Slocum, & Loeber, 2013; Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008).

Literature Review

Social Disorganization and Perceptions of the Police

We call upon measures associated with social disorganization theory to explain how and why community context will be linked with citizen willingness to pay for the police. While researchers have given the greatest attention to urban areas, tests of social disorganization in rural (Barnett & Mencken, 2002; Bouffard & Muftic, 2006; Osgood & Chambers, 2000) and suburban (Roh & Choo, 2008) locations have similarly supported the effects of community context to influence rates of offending, although recent studies in rural areas have cast doubt on this relationship (Kaylen & Pridemore, 2013a, 2013b). However, most of the variation in studies of social disorganization is due to the exploration of the relationship of community context with a wide range of deviant behaviors at varying levels of spatial aggregation. As measures of disorganization increase, studies have identified accompanying increases in adult offending (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997; Sun, Triplett, & Gainey, 2004) and delinquency (Elliott et al., 1996; Liberman, 2007).

Research has also identified associations between neighborhood contextual factors and

perceptions of procedural justice, police legitimacy (Gau, Corsaro, Stewart, & Brunson, 2012; Sun et al., 2004), satisfaction with the police (Dunham & Alpert, 1988; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Smith, 1986; Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009), estrangement with the police (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998), and reliance on police services (Schaible & Hughes, 2012). Delving further into these relationships, residents from neighborhoods characterized by high levels of disorder and/or crime generally indicate lower levels of satisfaction with the police (Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Cingranelli, 1983). This is most likely due to greater police presence, the use of more proactive policing strategies (Brunson, 2007), and disproportionately high levels of police misconduct (Kane, 2002) found in these neighborhoods. Furthermore, when crime is perceived to be high, citizens might question the ability of law enforcement to control crime, thus resulting in lower levels of satisfaction with the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). In addition to high crime, concentrated disadvantage has been found to be a strong predictor of police satisfaction; residents in neighborhoods with a high proportion of renters, nonwhites, one-parent households, and people below the poverty line report significantly less satisfaction with the police (Dai & Johnson, 2009).

Finally, community context has been shown to exert indirect effects on resident perceptions of crime, safety, and the police by moderating the relationships between many factors on those outcomes. Specifically, studies have concluded that concentrated disadvantage conditions the effects of race on satisfaction with the police (Dai & Johnson, 2009; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Wu et al., 2009) and attitudes toward the police (Schuck et al., 2008), the effects of individual-level characteristics on fear of crime (Brunton-Smith & Sturgis, 2011; Roman & Chalfin, 2008), and the relationship between offending and the likelihood of reporting violent victimization (Berg et al., 2013). Researchers have consistently determined that measures often found predictive of social disorganization, in the form of concentrated disadvantage, matter when considering how resident perceptions of crime and the police are formed.

Willingness to Pay for Municipal Services

In attempting to identify the predictors of citizens' willingness to pay for police services, it is clear that scant academic attention has been paid to this issue. To explore this question, researchers must instead call upon the literature that identifies predictors of support for analogous government services. A series of studies by Alozie and McNamara (2008, 2009, 2010) identified Latinos, minorities, young people, males, and the poor as more willing to pay for public services in a large American city. Tests of citizen satisfaction in the form of continuity of school board members (Ehrenberg, Ehrenberg, Smith, & Zhang, 2004) and confidence in school administrators and local officials (Priest & Fox, 2005) have been shown to increase the likelihood of citizens supporting school budgets. Regarding parks and recreation, the predominant factor of willingness to pay for such services appears to be satisfaction, as work by Collins and Kim (2009) concluded that perceptions of service quantity is a more important determinant of willingness to pay for such services than are perceptions of service quality.

Overall, citizen satisfaction with public services is the most commonly identified factor of willingness to pay for public services. Researchers have found this to be true in municipalities across the nation and for a plethora of indicators representing citizen satisfaction, including government responsiveness, trust in government (Glaser & Hildreth, 1999), satisfaction with the community and services (Beck et al., 1987; Simonsen & Robbins, 2003), and economic interest (Beck, Rainey, & Traut, 1990). Compared to measures of citizen satisfaction, demographics were shown to have little or no effects on willingness to pay for services (Beck et al., 1987; Simonsen & Robbins, 2003). These findings further highlight the importance of citizen perceptions of government toward understanding the determinants of willingness to pay for public services. On the opposite end of the spectrum, research examining correlates of support for tax cuts have found that dissatisfaction, in the form of government waste and political cynicism is strongly associated with support for tax cuts and decreased state government spending (Steel & Lovrich, 1998).

The bulk of studies examining correlates of willingness to pay for local public services have focused on municipal taxes and services in general. The results are generally supportive of the aforementioned findings of specific types of services in that demographics and satisfaction with services have been repeatedly found to exert a significant influence on citizens' willingness to support increased taxes. Research that has examined correlates of willingness to pay for public safety services is much less common, with only two known studies addressing this topic (Donahue & Miller, 2005, 2006). Both found that satisfaction with public safety services is the primary factor of willingness to pay for the police. Donahue and Miller (2005) first concluded that demographics such as age, education, race, political affiliation, marital status, the media, and police preferences influence willingness to pay

for the police. In their subsequent work, they supported their earlier results by finding that direct experience with police and fire services and media exposure indirectly influence willingness to pay for public safety services, while attitudes about police and fire services are direct predictors. They conclude that "the more a person trusts service providers, the more positive his or her views of the character of public safety personnel are, and the more important he or she perceives the services to be, the more money he or she is willing to pay in additional taxes to support the service" (Donahue & Miller, 2006, p. 311).

The Current Study

The proposed analysis seeks to build upon the existing literature exploring willingness to pay for municipal services, and specifically for the police, by addressing several gaps that exist in that literature, including 1) identifying the factors of not only willingness to pay additional taxes for the police, but also on willingness to support cuts in police funding, 2) examining whether community contextual factors based on social disorganization theory can explain municipal-level variations in support for both tax increases and cuts for the police, and 3) determining whether those factors also moderate the relationships between satisfaction with the police and citizen police funding preferences.

Based on the literature, we hypothesize that all three measures found to be commonly associated with social disorganization within municipalities will be negatively associated with willingness to pay, but positively correlated with support for cutting police services. The limited work examining correlates of citizen support for tax cuts justifies this expectation (Rudolph, 2009). Although Donahue and Miller (2005, 2006) did not find location type (rural vs. suburban/urban) to be predictive of willingness to pay for police and fire services, numerous studies (Cao et al., 1996; Dunham & Alpert, 1988; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; Wu et al., 2009) suggest that community context influences the ways in which citizens perceive the police, which indicates that similar processes might also predict support for tax increases intended for the police. We additionally hypothesize, based on the empirical evidence that has identified the moderating effects of community context on satisfaction with the police (Dai & Johnson, 2009; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Wu et al., 2009), that the measures associated with social disorganization will also moderate the relationship between satisfaction with the police and citizen preferences regarding tax changes for police services.

Methodology

Data

The majority of data used in this analysis originated from the Temple University Municipal Governance Survey (TUMGS).[1] Created and administered by the Institute for Survey Research at Temple University, the TUMGS collected data from residents of Pennsylvania and New Jersey through phone interviews conducted between July 9th and 20th of 2010. The TUMGS asked respondents to describe their views of many dimensions of municipal governance, including taxes, crime, and public services. The current study utilized data from the 1,446 respondents who resided in Pennsylvania.[2]

In an effort to obtain a representative sample of residents across Pennsylvania, the TUMGS respondents were divided into three regions: Southeastern PA, Allegheny County, and the Rest of PA. The Southeastern Pennsylvania region includes five counties (Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Montgomery, and Philadelphia counties) that possessed approximately four million residents in 2010. Of the 473 TUMGS respondents from the Southeastern PA region, 178 lived in the city of Philadelphia. Situated in the southwestern portion of the state, Allegheny County is composed of nearly 750 square miles and included more than 1.2 million residents in 2010. In addition to the city of Pittsburgh, 129 surrounding municipalities comprise Allegheny County. One hundred fifty-one of the TUMGS respondents reside in Allegheny County, with eighty living in Pittsburgh. The Rest of PA region, largely suburban and rural territory, includes the remaining 61 counties and approximately 7.5 million residents of Pennsylvania, 836 of which responded to the survey. Based on these regional designations, a weighting process was created so that the full sample of respondents would mirror the distribution of all Pennsylvania residents from the three regions across the state. Residents within the Allegheny County and Southwest PA regions were oversampled in order to mirror the distribution of residents across these three regions. To ensure that each of the subsamples across the three regions has similar margins of error, the weighting process considered the demographic characteristics of respondents in order to ensure a generalizable sample across the three regions and state as a whole.[3]

As part of the TUMGS data collection process, respondents were asked to describe the type of police services that they currently received with one of three responses: provided solely by their municipality (770 respondents, or 55.7% of the weighted sample of 1,383 respondents from whom this information was

available),[4] by their municipality "and some other cities or towns" (259 respondents, 18.7%), or by "the State Police" (354 respondents, 25.6%). We have opted to remove the survey respondents who receive police services via the latter two responses, which represent citizens who receive police services from a consolidated police force or from the Pennsylvania State Police. The dependent variable in this analysis, to be more carefully described in the following pages, represents whether citizens, if faced with a request to pay increased taxes in order to support the police, would prefer to pay increased taxes, would prefer cut taxes and therefore reduce the level of police services that they receive, or if they would support the utilization of police services provided by a consolidated police force or the Pennsylvania State Police to presumably mitigate law enforcement budget concerns. We felt that it would be inappropriate to include survey respondents who currently receive consolidated or State Police services in this analysis because their response to the funding question, which serves as the dependent variable, could simply be that they prefer to utilize a form of a consolidate police force, rather than to increase or decrease their financial contributions for police services. In fact, 69 % of those receiving consolidate or State Police services responded that they would prefer to utilize such services if they faced a potential tax increase to maintain their current level of police services. As a result, the weighted sample to be analyzed in this study was reduced from 1,384 by 614 survey respondents to include only the 770 Pennsylvania residents who received law enforcement services from a local police department.[5] Accordingly, the findings stemming from this analysis can only be generalized to the majority of residents of Pennsylvania who are protected by local police departments. An additional concern could exist if citizens are unaware of the type of police coverage that they receive, but no research currently exists to explain the degree to which citizens are aware of the type of police coverage they receive.

This analysis also considers macro-level data for each survey respondent at the city level. Data describing the municipality of residence for each survey respondent were gathered from the U.S. Census American Community Survey (ACS) Five-Year Summary File for 2007-2011, which measures many social and demographic indicators over that period of time. The 770 respondents analyzed in this study reside in 276 unique municipalities.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables examined in this analysis originated from one survey item from the TUMGS that asked respondents, "If the police who serve your community didn't have enough money to maintain its current service, which of these choices would you support?" Answer choices included, "increasing taxes to maintain police services," "cutting police services," "combining your department's resources with the resources of the department in another city or town," and "county taking over the service." For this analysis, the responses representing support for combined services were collapsed into a single response so that the dependent variable has three categories: "increasing taxes to maintain police services," which is used to represent willingness to pay for the police, "cutting police services," and "combined services," which represents a citizen's preference to neither pay more nor less for policing services by utilizing the State Police or a consolidated police department for law enforcement services.

Independent Variables

Data from the 2007-2011 ACS Five-Year Summary File were used to operationalize three items that represent the antecedents of social disorganization within each respondent's municipality of residence. The first item is an index of concentrated disadvantage that combines four ACS items: the proportion of individuals within each municipality who are unemployed and who live below the poverty line, and the proportion of households that receive public assistance and that are headed by single females with children under the age of 18. The construction of this index is consistent with the literature on concentrated disadvantage (Baumer, 2002; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Socia & Stamatel, 2012, among many others) and exhibits a high level of internal reliability (Cronbach's α = 0.86). The second item represents Shaw and McKay's (1942) concept of ethnic heterogeneity by calculating a Blau Index (Blau, 1977) for each municipality. The formula for this index is $1 - \sum pi^2$, where "p" represents the proportion of residents within each municipality of ethnic group "i," which considers individuals who identify themselves as White, Black, Asian, or Other. Values for the Blau Index range from 0.0 to 1.0; a value of 0.0 indicates that a municipality is populated by residents of a single ethnic group, while values close to 1.0 indicate that a municipality is ethnically diverse. The third item operationalizes residential mobility by calculating the proportion of residents within each municipality who have resided in their current home for less than one year. Satisfaction with the police is based on responses to a survey item that asked respondents to rank their satisfaction with the police, where 10 indicated "very satisfied" and 0 represented "very dissatisfied."

To appropriately estimate the direct and indirect effects of variables associated with social disorganization on citizen willingness to pay for the police, numerous additional items were included in this analysis to account for the many demographic, political, and socioeconomic factors that have been shown to influence citizen perceptions of public services and the police. Regarding demographics and personal characteristics, two dummy variables represent gender and race (nonwhite), with two additional dummy variables accounting for the political affiliation of the respondents (Republican and Democrat; Independent affiliation is the reference category). A continuous item controls for the age of the respondent, and a dummy variable controls for educational status (earned a college degree). To control for perceptions of taxes generally, an additional item represents whether residents feel that the current level of municipal taxes is high (residents were to remark on whether taxes are high on a scale of 1 - 5; this item represents those who responded with a 4 or 5).

This analysis also controls for perceptions of neighborhood crime, which is operationalized with two dummy variables based on a survey item which asked residents to describe the amount of crime in their neighborhood during the preceding two years as having increased, decreased, or stayed the same (crime stayed the same is the reference category).[6]

Finally, municipal population and a measure of community type, both originating from ACS data, are used to describe additional aspects of each municipality. Community type is operationalized by a dummy variable that represents urban. The definition of an urban community is culled from the Metro Status Code (MSC) for each municipality, developed by the U.S. Census, which classifies Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA) and Micropolitan Statistical Areas (MCSA) into five categories: 1) in the central city(s) of an MSA, 2) outside the central city(s) of an MSA, but inside the county containing the central city(s), 3) inside the suburban county of an MSA, 4) in an MSA that has no central city, and 5) not in an MSA. For this analysis, municipalities coded as "in the central city(s) of an MSA" are considered urban. All other municipalities are defined as non-urban and represent the reference category.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics*

Item	Metric	*n*	Mean	Min	Max	SD
Dependent Variable						
Cut Services	0=no, 1=yes	722	0.05	0.00	1.00	0.22
Increase Taxes	0=no, 1=yes	722	0.27	0.00	1.00	0.43
Other Services	0=no, 1=yes	722	0.68	0.00	1.00	0.47
Independent Variables						
Police Satisfaction	1 – 10	767	7.73	0.00	10.00	2.53
Crime Increased	0=no, 1=yes	756	0.28	0.00	1.00	0.45
Crime Decreased	0=no, 1=yes	756	0.10	0.00	1.00	0.30
Urban	0=no, 1=yes	770	0.40	0.00	1.00	0.49
Female	0=no, 1=yes	768	0.52	0.00	1.00	0.50
Non-White	0=no, 1=yes	745	0.18	0.00	1.00	0.38
Age	continuous	748	51.3	18.00	93.00	17.27
Republican	0=no, 1=yes	737	0.27	0.00	1.00	0.45
Democrat	0=no, 1=yes	737	0.41	0.00	1.00	0.49
College Education	0=no, 1=yes	759	0.29	0.00	1.00	0.45
Taxes High	1 – 5	752	3.60	1.00	5.00	0.79
Population	continuous	770	305,262	104	1,531,112	578,225
Disadvantage	index	770	0.09	0.01	0.23	0.05
Residential Mobility	proportion	770	0.13	0.02	0.53	0.06

* Based on weighted data; see note 3 for weighting details

Analytic Plan

This study begins with univariate and bivariate analyses to describe the data and identify potential issues of multicollinearity between predictors. Descriptive statistics (weighted) for all items included in the analysis are shown in Table 1. It is observed that, if faced with financial difficulty to maintain police services in their communities, approximately 68% of respondents support combined services, 27% support an increase in taxes to maintain police services, while only 5% support cutting police services if increased funding was requested. Of the independent variables, the mean response on the citizen satisfaction item is 7.73 (on a scale of 1-10), and 40% of respondents reside in urban municipalities. Table 1 also shows that the majority of survey respondents are white (82%), female (52%), and not college educated (71%).

Bivariate analyses indicate that the item representing ethnic heterogeneity is highly correlated with multiple items, including disadvantage, urban residence, and municipal population. As a result, we do not include ethnic heterogeneity in the subsequent multinomial logistic regression models. Therefore, we estimate only six models; the models that would have included the joint effects of satisfaction with the police and ethnic heterogeneity were not included.[7] No other issues of multicollinearity between variables were identified by the bivariate correlation analysis. From there, multinomial logistic regression analysis was used in order to estimate the association between concentrated disadvantage and willingness to pay for the police. This technique permits us to isolate the potential moderating effects of concentrated disadvantage on the influence of satisfaction with the police on citizen financial support for the police. Multinomial logistic regression is appropriate for this analysis due to the categorical structure of the dependent variable (Long & Freese, 2006). In such models, estimates of the effects of each item are calculated separately for each of the responses in the dependent variable, compared against one of the responses (the reference category).[8] Logistic regression models were also an option for this analysis, which would have required that support for both decreased funding and combined police coverage be collapsed into a single category (compared with willingness to pay increased taxes), but this was deemed inappropriate because we feel those two citizen responses are distinct perceptions and should be analyzed separately. Therefore, we proceeded with the use of multinomial logistic regression models.

To summarize, four sets of models were run that provide estimates of the effects of the predictors on both those who favor cutting police services and then those who favor combined services, compared to those who support tax increases to address law enforcement budget gaps. The first set of two models examine the direct effects of the predictors, with the two subsequent sets of models each introducing interaction terms that represent the joint effects of satisfaction with the police with either concentrated disadvantage or residential mobility.

Results

Community Contextual Effects

The results of the multinomial logistic regression analyses are reported in Table 2. To facilitate an intuitive understanding of the effects of the predictors, odds ratios for each item are reported with 95% confidence intervals expressed in parentheses. An odds ratio greater than 1.0 indicates that an increase in that predictor (or, in the case of the many dichotomous predictors, the presence of) increases the likelihood of the outcome. Specifically, an odds ratio of 2.0 for a dichotomous predictor indicates that the odds for the outcome measure in question are doubled relative to an individual with a value of 1.0 for that predictor. In contrast, an odds ratio less than 1.0 denotes a negative relationship; an increase in that variable results in a decreased likelihood of that outcome.

Beginning with the results of Models 1 and 2 that report the effects of the direct effects of each predictor, Model 1 shows that none of the factors included are significantly related to decreased support for cutting police services, compared to those who support increased taxes for the police. Model 2 reports the effects of the same predictors on survey respondents who favor combining services, compared to those who favor tax increases. The results of Model 2 show that age (0.64, $p < 0.001$), satisfaction with the police (0.70, $p < 0.01$), municipal population (0.76, $p < 0.05$), and being a Republican (0.55, $p < 0.05$) predict decreased support for combined services, and that only the perception that taxes are too high (2.01, $p < 0.001$) is associated with increased support for combined services, relative to paying more for the police.

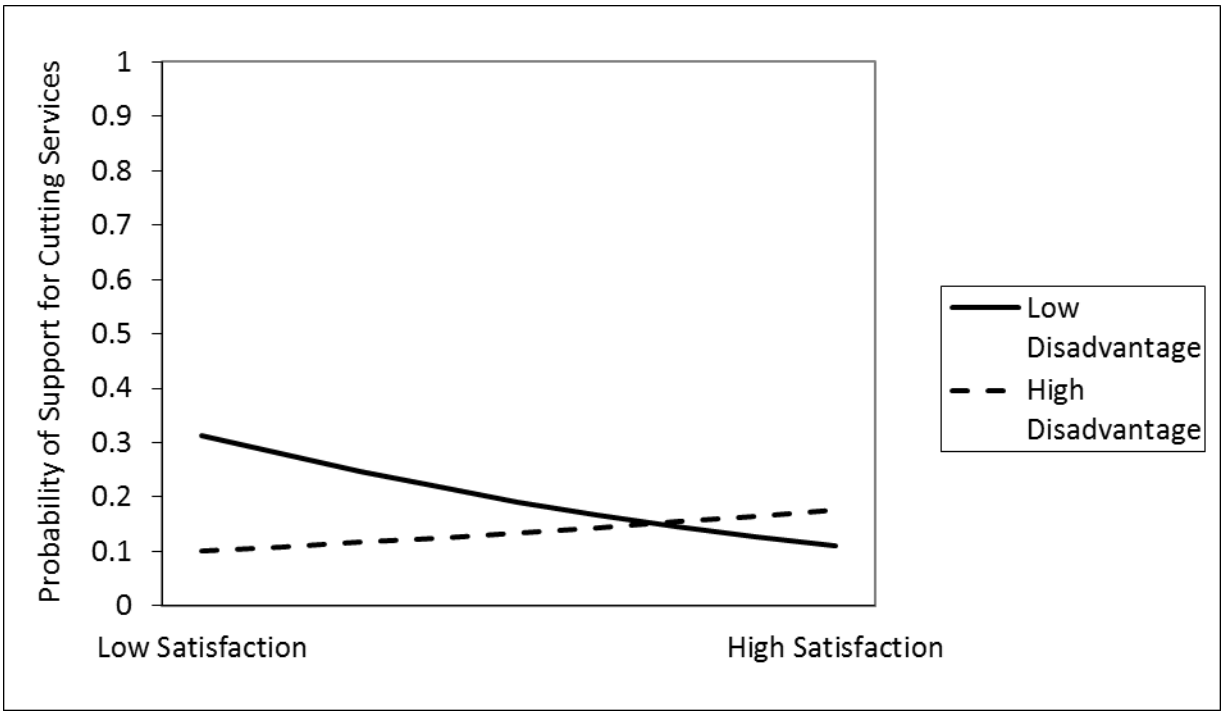
Model 3 is identical to Model 1 with the exception that it includes an interaction term representing the combined effects of concentrated disadvantage and police satisfaction and reports that those joint effects significantly predict support for cutting police services, compared to those supporting tax increases (1.63, $p < 0.05$). In order to interpret this relationship, we depict this significant finding in a graphical format. Figure 1 includes two lines that

Table 2: Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Support for Cutting Police Services and Combined Services, Relative to Those Who Support Increasing Taxes for the Police

	Model 1 Cutting Services	Model 2 Combined Services	Model 3 Cutting Services	Model 4 Combined Services	Model 5 Cutting Services	Model 6 Combined Services
Female	0.72 (0.32, 1.61)	1.27 (0.87, 1.85)	0.75 (0.34, 1.69)	1.26 (0.86, 1.85)	0.74 (0.33, 1.66)	1.25 (0.85, 1.83)
Non-White	1.50 (0.44, 5.10)	1.15 (0.60, 2.20)	1.68 (0.50, 5.67)	1.14 (0.59, 2.19)	1.53 (0.46, 5.15)	1.17 (0.61, 2.27)
Age	0.67 (0.43, 1.03)	0.64 (0.52, 0.79)***	0.69 (0.45, 1.07)	0.64 (0.52, 0.79)***	0.69 (0.44, 1.06)	0.64 (0.52, 0.80)***
Republican	0.38 (0.13, 1.08)	0.55 (0.34, 0.90)*	0.39 (0.13, 1.13)	0.55 (0.34, 0.90)*	0.42 (0.14, 1.22)	0.54 (0.33, 0.88)**
Democrat	0.43 (0.15, 1.21)	0.82 (0.50, 1.34)	0.37 (0.13, 1.08)	0.83 (0.50, 1.36)	0.43 (0.15, 1.23)	0.82 (0.50, 1.35)
College Education	0.57 (0.21, 1.56)	0.69 (0.46, 1.05)	0.67 (0.25, 1.81)	0.68 (0.45, 1.04)	0.60 (0.22, 1.62)	0.68 (0.45, 1.03)
Taxes High	2.20 (0.98, 4.96)	2.01 (1.37, 2.96)***	2.27 (1.00, 5.12)*	2.00 (1.36, 2.94)***	2.27 (1.01, 5.11)*	1.99 (1.36, 2.93)***
Crime Increased	2.61 (0.97, 7.03)	0.79 (0.49, 1.26)	2.55 (0.94, 6.88)	0.78 (0.49, 1.25)	2.55 (0.95, 6.86)	0.75 (0.47, 1.20)
Crime Decreased	2.42 (0.66, 8.97)	1.27 (0.64, 2.53)	2.85 (0.77, 10.58)	1.26 (0.63, 2.51)	2.69 (0.73, 9.96)	1.20 (0.60, 2.39)
Police Satisfaction	1.05 (0.68, 1.61)	0.70 (0.56, 0.89)**	0.85 (0.54, 1.32)	0.72 (0.56, 0.91)**	1.11 (0.70, 1.74)	0.71 (0.56, 0.89)**
Population	1.59 (0.79, 3.19)	0.76 (0.58, 1.00)*	1.63 (0.80, 3.32)	0.76 (0.58, 0.99)*	1.70 (0.82, 3.53)	0.76 (0.58, 1.00)
Urban	0.38 (0.08, 1.85)	0.84 (0.51, 1.41)	0.38 (0.08, 1.80)	0.84 (0.50, 1.40)	0.39 (0.08, 1.79)	0.83 (0.50, 1.38)
Disadvantage	0.85 (0.32, 2.29)	1.10 (0.77, 1.56)	0.81 (0.30, 2.21)	1.10 (0.77, 1.58)	0.78 (0.28, 2.16)	1.09 (0.76, 1.56)
Residential Mobility	0.70 (0.32, 1.53)	1.04 (0.80, 1.36)	0.67 (0.31, 1.44)	1.05 (0.80, 1.37)	0.66 (0.31, 1.38)	1.13 (0.86, 1.49)
Satisfaction * Disad	--	--	1.63 (1.05, 2.53)*	0.93 (0.74, 1.17)	--	--
Satisfaction * Mobility	--	--	--	--	1.58 (0.84, 2.97)	0.75 (0.57, 0.99)*
Model Fit	-2LL = 911.13; $X^2_{(df=28)} = 100.98$, $p < 0.001$		-2LL = 903.658; $X^2_{(df=30)} = 108.53$, $p < 0.001$		-2LL = 902.27; $X^2_{(df=44)} = 109.84$, $p < 0.001$	

*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05

Figure 1: Moderating Effects of Disadvantage on the Relationship Between Police Satisfaction and Support for Cutting Police Services, Compared to Those Who Support Tax Increases

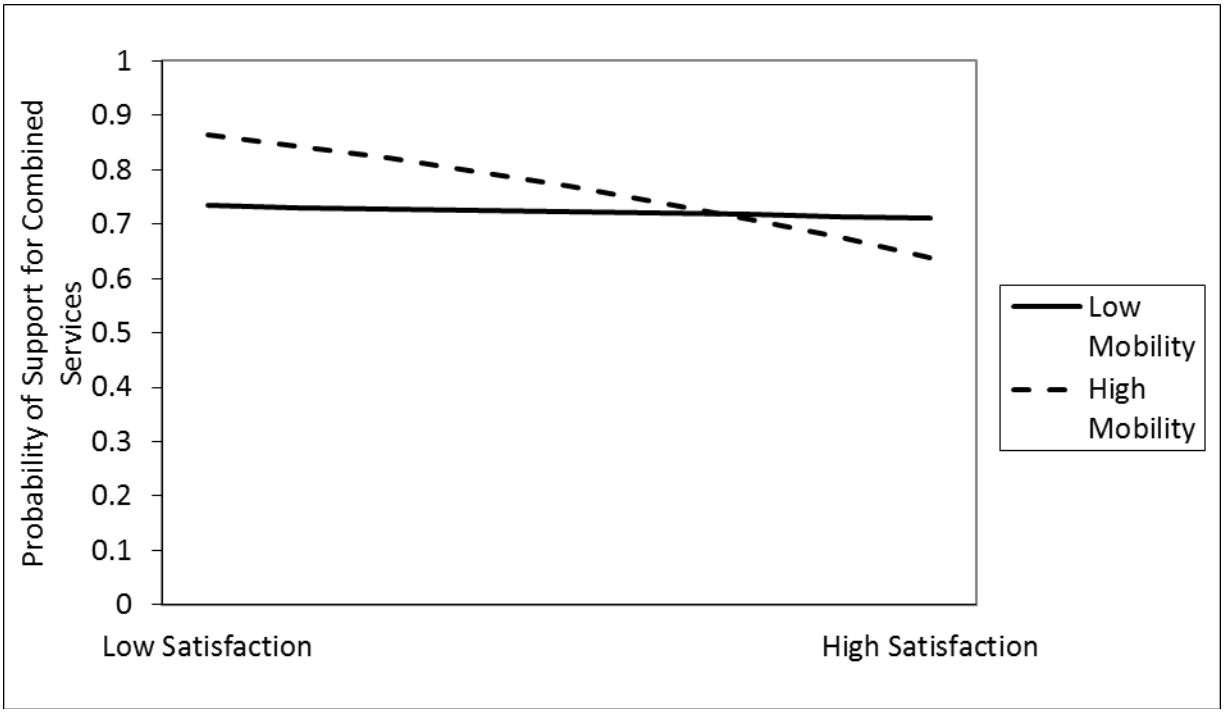


represent the moderating effects of concentrated disadvantage on the relationship between satisfaction with the police and the likelihood that respondents support cutting police services, compared to those who support tax increases for the police. The x-axis of this plot measures satisfaction with the police, while the y axis represents the likelihood of support for cutting services. The solid line represents the likelihood that residents within municipalities characterized by low levels[9] of concentrated disadvantage support cutting police services. This clearly shows that concentrated disadvantage conditions the relationship between satisfaction with the police and support for cutting police services. Specifically, residents of areas with low levels of concentrated disadvantage and who are less satisfied with the police are more likely to support cutting police services, but individuals in the same municipalities who are more satisfied with the police are less likely to support cutting police services. In contrast, the dotted line represents survey respondents who live in municipalities characterized by high levels of concentrated disadvantage and illustrates an opposite effect: individuals living in these municipalities are more likely to support decreased financial support for the police as their satisfaction with the police increases. This particular finding might initially seem counterintuitive. However, it may simply be that residents in disadvantaged communities, who are more likely to be financially distressed, may be more likely to support cuts in financial support for the police if they believe that their satisfactory police services can withstand a tax cut. Unsurprisingly, the effects of the other predictors are substantively the same as those shown in Model 1, with the exception that a perception that taxes are too high (2.27, $p < 0.05$) is shown to increase support for cutting services, relative to paying more for the police. Model 4 includes the same items as Model 3, but compares those who support the use of combined police services relative to paying increased taxes for the police and shows that the interaction term that combines concentrated disadvantage and police satisfaction does not predict support for combining police services.

Models 5 and 6 are similar to Models 3 and 4, but they replace the item that combines concentrated disadvantage and police satisfaction with an item that represents the joint effects of residential mobility and police satisfaction. The results displayed in Models 5 and 6 indicate that the combined effects of residential mobility and police satisfaction are significantly associated with support for the use of combined police services (0.75, $p < 0.05$), relative to those who support tax increases to assuage law enforcement

budget shortfalls, but not support for cutting services. Figure 2 illustrates the moderating effects of residential mobility on the relationship between satisfaction with the police and support for combined police services. The solid line represents those living in areas characterized by low levels of residential mobility, and the dotted line represents those in municipalities with high levels of residential mobility to first show that satisfaction with the police is not associated with support for combined police services, as depicted by the horizontal solid line. However, the dotted line representing residents of municipalities with high levels of residential mobility is sloped to indicate that support for combined police services when facing budget difficulties decreases as satisfaction with the police increases.

Figure 2: Moderating Effects of Residential Mobility on the Relationship Between Police Satisfaction and Support for Combined Services, Compared to Those Who Support Tax Increases



Additional Factors

Regarding the main effects estimated in Models 5 and 6, only the belief that taxes are too high is shown to predict support for cutting services (2.27, $p < 0.05$), relative to paying more for the police. Model 6, similar to the results depicted in Models 2 and 4, indicates that age (0.64, $p < 0.001$), Republican political affiliation (0.54, $p < 0.01$), the belief that taxes are high (1.99, $p < 0.001$), and police satisfaction (0.71, $p < 0.01$) are significantly associated with support for the use of combined police services, relative to paying more for the police.

Discussion

Based on the results, both residential mobility and concentrated disadvantage at the municipal level were found to moderate the relationship between satisfaction with the police and willingness (or unwillingness) to financially support police services. Specifically, the results of the multinomial logistic regression analyses show that residing in municipalities with higher levels of residential mobility and disadvantage conditions the association between satisfaction with the police and preferences to fund the police, but those municipal-level factors have no direct relationships with police funding preferences.

We expected to find that measures related to social disorganization would be related to willingness to pay for the police, but we did not expect to find that those variables would only have indirect impacts on willingness to pay for the police. Nearly all of the literature examining the relationship between variables associated with social disorganization on perceptions of the police has shown that disorganized communities garner negative perceptions of the

police in the form of satisfaction (Reisig & Parks, 2000; Wu et al., 2009), legitimacy (Gau et al., 2012; Sun et al., 2004), and estrangement (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998). However, the same body of literature has concluded that concentrated disadvantage conditions the effects of various factors on similar outcomes that include satisfaction with the police (Dai & Johnson, 2009; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Wu et al., 2009), attitudes toward the police (Schuck et al., 2008), fear of crime (Brunton-Smith & Sturgis, 2011; Roman & Chalfin, 2008), and the likelihood of reporting violent victimization (Berg et al., 2013), so our findings are consistent with earlier research.

Regarding the lack of direct effects of community contextual factors on willingness to fund the police, while neighborhood stability has long been considered a positive force that resists crime and disorder, there is a contrasting perspective that recognizes that some long-time residents of disadvantaged neighborhoods can feel forced to remain there (Warner & Pierce, 1993; Wilson, 1996). Ross, Reynolds, and Geis (2000) describe the isolation perspective by asserting that "residents of poor, stable neighborhoods may feel stuck in a bad situation – powerless to leave a dangerous environment" (p.582). Additional studies have similarly shown that individuals can feel frustrated and isolated if they perceive themselves as trapped in an impoverished and dangerous community (Anderson, 1992, 1999; Jargowsky, 1997). With this in mind, the lack of significant direct effects of community context on willingness to pay more for the police no longer seems surprising, especially when considering that stable, but typically poor, neighborhoods must rely on their stability to resist crime because they enjoy relatively low levels of formal police services (Anderson, 1992). Such individuals may even be more willing to pay for the police if they see law enforcement as a way of protecting them within the neighborhood that they cannot escape. In essence, these competing processes may serve to nullify the effects of community context in our analysis.

The most counterintuitive aspect of our findings initially appears to stem from the nature of the moderating effects of the measures of social disorganization. For example, why would individuals who live in municipalities characterized by high levels of disadvantage be more likely to support a cut in police services as their satisfaction with the police increases? As mentioned above, the social isolation perspective asserts that increased stability within neighborhoods results in increased resident perceptions of isolation (Ross et al., 2000) that subsequently fails to prevent intra-community crime (Pattillo, 1998) and can lead to feelings of distress (Unger, Wandersman, & Hallman, 1992). This perspective appears to be supported by the current study, as we have shown that residing within municipalities with high levels of concentrated disadvantage increases the likelihood of supporting cuts in police services as residents become more satisfied with the police. It may simply be that residents of disadvantaged communities who are more satisfied with the police believe that their police forces can withstand tax cuts more so than residents of similar communities who are not satisfied with their police services. The effects of residential mobility to moderate the relationship between satisfaction with the police and police funding preference are more intuitive. Those who live in areas with more resident transition would be expected to exhibit a higher degree of financial support for the police, as our analysis indicates.

Beyond the moderating effects of residential mobility and concentrated disadvantage described above, several other factors have been shown to be directly associated with willingness, or unwillingness to fund the police in Models 1 and 2. As expected, perceptions of taxes are extremely important when estimating how individuals will feel about paying for the police. The results indicated that the perception that municipal taxes are high is significantly related with increased support for the use of combined police services, relative to increasing funding for the police. In contrast to the work of Alozie and McNamara (2008, 2009, 2010), the effects of gender and race were not significantly related to willingness to pay for police services. Regarding age, this analysis shows that older individuals are significantly less likely to support the use of combined services, relative to supporting increased funding for the police, or in other words, that younger individuals are willing to pay for the police when faced with budgetary issues. Finally, those who are more satisfied with the police are more willing to pay for the police, relative to support for combined services, which is consistent with the very few analyses of this nature (Donahue & Miller, 2005; 2006).

From a practical view, the findings stemming from this analysis have implications for police departments, city managers, and policymakers that are concerned about stagnant salaries, the consolidation of services, and even layoffs related to tax and funding decisions. Increased satisfaction with the police is shown to increase financial support to maintain police services in municipalities. This raises an important question: what, if anything, can be done to improve citizen satisfaction with police? Of course, a broad range of reasons explain the public's satisfaction with the police, but research has consistently demonstrated that an individual's

satisfaction with the police can be influenced by the actions of the police officers. Specifically, Sunshine and Tyler (2003) determined that "the police can enhance their image in the eyes of the public" (p. 535) when the public feels that the actions of the police have been made through a fair process. This is particularly important to a police department because, unlike many of the other static predictors of willingness to financially support the police, the police can focus on improving citizen relations through specific training (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). This is not to suggest that the police are generally biased or uncivil in their dealings with the public, but police officers might be especially receptive to additional training devoted to citizen interactions if the issue is framed as relating to their salary or job security.

Additionally, policymakers can consider these findings before attempting changes to local tax practices. For example, the knowledge that residents of disadvantaged communities who are satisfied with the police seem to be more amenable to tax cuts, compared to residents of disadvantaged communities who are less satisfied with the police, can be considered by policymakers when appropriating resources to garner political support for or against tax cuts. Similarly, the finding that residents of areas with higher levels of residential mobility become less supportive of combined police services as their satisfaction with the police increases may also prove to be valuable to policymakers. Considering the current fiscal climate, the recent proliferation of consolidated police coverage, and the finding that type of police coverage is related to satisfaction with the police (Lockwood & Wyant, in press), policymakers and politicians could utilize this information to target particular constituents when campaigning for or against the use of consolidated police services or tax changes.

The current study is not without limitations. Although social disorganization theory is highlighted, ultimately there are no measures of the actual social ties and informal control within neighborhoods; rather we have only examined the common antecedents of socially disorganized communities. Future researchers should consider the use of surveys and interviews to capture data that directly correspond to the processes that have been directly linked to levels of social disorganization and collective efficacy within neighborhoods (Sampson et al., 1997). On a similar note, researchers have cautioned against measuring community context at large levels of aggregation (Oberwittler & Wikstrom, 2009). Although countless studies have tested social disorganization at the municipal-level, subsequent analyses should strive to replicate the current findings with smaller levels of spatial aggregation. It may be that the usage of large spatial units of analysis in the form of municipalities have acted to mask the direct effects of the measures of social disorganization that might otherwise have been detected with smaller units of analysis, such as neighborhoods or block groups. Furthermore, the models estimated in this analysis, did not include two factors that have been shown to influence perceptions of the police. Media exposure, for example, has been shown to impact willingness to pay for public safety services as an indirect correlate that first influences police satisfaction (Donahue & Miller, 2005, 2006). A larger body of literature has also identified contact with the police as an integral factor towards determining citizen perceptions of the police (Decker, 1981; Skogan, 2006; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Researchers should consider the inclusion of measures of media exposure and likelihood of contact with police to alleviate potential issues of spuriousness in subsequent investigations of the effects of community type and perceptions of the police and safety on willingness to pay for the police.

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Endnotes

[1] The TUMGS was created by Dr. Joseph P. McLaughlin and Dr. Michael G. Hagen of Temple University, with support from Richard A. Stafford, MS, of the Heinz College of Public Policy and Management of Carnegie Mellon University, Dr. Gregory J. Crowley of the Coro Center for Civic Leadership in Pittsburgh, Dr. David Y. Miller of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, and Dr. David Elesh of Temple University. Dr. Heidi E. Grunwald of Temple University's Institute for Survey Research directed the data collection process.

[2] The current analysis analyzes data only from the respondents residing in Pennsylvania and omits data from New Jersey residents for two reasons: 1) state-based differences between Pennsylvania and New Jersey (including the current political climate, the structure of police departments, and perceptions of municipal taxation) might act as spurious factors in this analysis and 2) the relatively low number of New Jersey residents in the sample (n = 163).

[3] To avoid the over- or underestimation of residents of particular demographic characteristics within regions that could have occurred during the data collection process, survey weights were created. Using data from the 2006-2008 American Community Survey, measures representing age, race, gender, educational attainment, and household ownership were incorporated into the calculations of weights for each of the three regions so that the sample from within each region represents the total regional population. Additional information about the TUMGS, including detailed descriptions of the survey methodology and weighting procedure, see McLaughlin, 2010, is available at: http://www.cla.temple.edu/ipa/files/2012/12/TempleMunicipalGovernanceSurveyfinalreport.pdf

[4] Of the 1459 weighted survey respondents, 76 did not provide information regarding how they would address budget gaps intended for the police. To ensure that those who did not provide information are not significantly different from those who did answer the question, we ran several chi square tests that compared those who did and did not answer this survey question with demographics, including gender, race (White vs non-White), and political affiliation (Republican vs non-Republican). All three tests showed that there is no significant difference between those who did and did not provide tax-paying preference information on gender, race, or political affiliation. As a result, we do not feel that the exclusion of survey respondents from the subsequent multivariate analyses will bias the analysis.

[5] Additional models including all 1,384 survey respondents were estimated and illustrated substantively similar results compared to the results of the models that will be reported in this analysis.

[6] We also considered multiple UCR crime rates (based on total index crime, property index crime, and violent index crime) at the municipal-level from the FBI, but those measures were highly correlated with multiple predictors, so they were omitted from our final models.

[7] We also estimated, but did not report, models that included the direct effects of ethnic heterogeneity and the joint effects of ethnic heterogeneity and satisfaction with the police and after removing the items which were significantly correlated with ethnic heterogeneity. The results showed that neither the direct nor combined effects of ethnic heterogeneity exerted a significant influence on citizen preferences for funding the police.

[8] We initially considered the use of hierarchical linear models (HLM) with which to analyze the data, but concerns regarding the relatively sparse number of level-one data (survey respondents) nested within several hundred level-two units of analysis (municipalities) suggested that we not utilize a multi-level modeling technique (for more regarding this issue, see Clarke, 2008).

[9] For the purpose of this figure, we defined low and high levels of residential mobility and concentrated disadvantage as being one standard deviation below and above the mean.

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Breaking News of Social Problems: Examining Media Consumption and Student Beliefs about School Shootings

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ABSTRACT AND ARTICLE INFORMATION

School shootings are considered by many to be a social problem in need of a solution. While episodic in nature, they generate fear and concern, particularly as a result of the amount of attention they garner by and through the media. The present study explores the relationship between college students' media consumption and their beliefs that school shootings are a problem in the United States. A survey was administered to 442 university students in fall 2012 and included measures of specific modes through which media is consumed, including television, newspaper, and social media, which then were analyzed to assess such a relationship. The results indicate that social media—Twitter in particular—are significant predictors of students' beliefs about school shootings. These findings also represent an important shift in media production that encourages a more participatory discourse with audience members. Implications for journalistic practices, study limitations, and directions for future research also are discussed.

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School shootings in the late 1990s, culminating with the 1999 shooting at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, have been characterized as a social problem in need of a solution. Additional events, including the shootings at Virginia Tech (2007) and Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut (2012), have become what Kellner (2003, 2008a, 2008b) has called a "media spectacle." Though different events will receive varying amounts of coverage, the local, national, and even international media cover multiple facets of the story in order to capture audience attention and win the ratings war. Stories permeate television screens, especially on 24-hour news channels, such as Fox News, CNN, and MSNBC. Headlines appear daily across the front pages of newspapers, and the transition of many of them to a digital online format allows for faster, more frequent story generation.

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The view of school shootings as a social problem can be attributed to the abundant media coverage of these events. Stafford and Warr (1985) proposed that in order for a phenomenon to be considered a social problem, people must "(1) condemn it (i.e., view it as wrong or hazardous), (2) perceive it to be frequent or prevalent, and (3) consider it mutable" (p. 307). Despite varied responses to school shootings (particularly as they relate to gun control versus gun ownership), virtually all people condemn them. The around-the-clock media coverage, as well as constant linking of one event to another in the media discourse, leads news consumers to believe that these events are common (Schildkraut & Muschert, 2014). Mutability, or the ability to change the phenomenon (Stafford & Warr, 1985), can be observed through the punitive responses to school shootings that are aimed at preventing future events (Schildkraut & Hernandez, 2014). In addition to proposed gun control and mental health legislation, responses also have included zero-tolerance policies, identification cards, metal detectors, and increased security in schools (Schildkraut & Hernandez, 2014; Schildkraut & Muschert, 2014).

The present study examines students' beliefs that school shootings are a national problem. A survey was administered at a large southwestern university in fall 2012 and included questions about media consumption over a number of different modes, including television, radio, newspaper (in print and online), and social networking, among others. Specifically, this study was intended to examine the relationship between college students' media consumption, and their beliefs that school shootings are a problem.

Literature Review

Media and the Cultivation Process

Scholars have long contended that people's beliefs about the world around them are influenced strongly by the media content they view or hear (Arendt, 2010; Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorelli, 1986; Gerbner, Gross, Signorelli, & Morgan, 1980; Morgan & Shanahan, 2010; Potter, 2011; Shrum, 2001). This has been termed a "cultivation effect" by Gerbner and colleagues (1980, 1986; see also Potter, 2011). This means that the more people consume media, the more likely they are to see the world as it is reflected in the media's content, particularly when the content is fictional in nature or heavily framed around one specific issue or topic (Arendt, 2010; Morgan & Shanahan, 2010; Romer, Jamieson, & Aday, 2003). The media become people's main framers of social reality (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Gerbner et al., 1980, 1986; Morgan & Shanahan, 2010).

Media exposure may occur either directly or indirectly (Hughes, 1980; Potter, 2011). People may receive media messages themselves, or the messages may be transmitted through conversations and interactions with other news consumers (Hughes, 1980; Potter, 2011; Romer et al., 2003; Sacco, 1982, 1995; Surette, 1992). Thus, exposure to media messages is continually allowing the media to reach broader and more diverse populations through different sources (Couldry, 2008; Gerbner et al., 1986; Potter, 2011). Further, this sharing of information allows people to formulate opinions about a number of issues to which they may not have otherwise been exposed (Callanan, 2012; Couldry, 2008; Gerbner et al., 1986). The impact of media intake, however, has been found to vary by recency and frequency of consumption and may be limited to the short-term (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010; Shrum, 2001).

Heavy consumption of media coupled, with exaggeration about the numbers of people involved in violence, affects consumers' beliefs about their likelihood of victimization and the true occurrence of such events (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Gerbner et al., 1980, 1986; Sacco, 1982, 1995). Gerbner and Gross (1976) elaborate by noting that people who see themselves to be at a greater risk of victimization often consume greater quantities of violent media (see also Heath, 1984; Liska, Lawrence, & Sanchirico, 1982; Romer et al., 2003). These same people also believe that crime is occurring more frequently in their communities, even if that is not the case (Dowler, 2003; Dowler, Fleming, & Muzzatti, 2006; Liska et al., 1982).

Prevalence of Violent News

Research on media coverage of crime has found that the information presented by news outlets often is disproportional to its actual occurrence. Studies (e.g., Chermak, 1995; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Graber, 1980; Lawrence & Mueller, 2003; Maguire, Sandage, & Weatherby, 1999; Surette, 1992) have shown that up to 50% of news coverage focuses on violent crime. The large amount of coverage devoted to homicide and serious violent crime is unbalanced with its frequency of occurrence. Additionally, its reported rate is disproportional to the rate of property crime, which is far more common (Chermak, 1994, 1995; Duwe, 2000; Garofalo, 1981; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Graber, 1980; Jewkes, 2004; Maguire et al., 1999; Mayr & Machin, 2012). Stories of property crime, however, rarely contain the sensational characteristics that are needed to hook an audience (Chermak, 1995; Jewkes, 2004; Robinson,

2011; Surette, 1992). Still, not all violent crimes will garner the same coverage (Chermak, 1995, 1998; Duwe, 2000; Pritchard & Hughes, 1997). Due to space and time constraints, the media often highlight the most extreme or serious cases (Lawrence & Mueller, 2003; Maguire, Weatherby, & Mathers, 2002; Robinson, 2011; Stylianou, 2003), especially when news coverage reaches the national level (Duwe, 2000).

School shootings highlight the disproportional reporting by the media. When the Columbine story first broke, CNN aired over six continuous hours of uninterrupted live coverage (Muschert, 2002), and three major news networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) devoted a minimum of half their nightly news airtime to coverage of the shooting for a month (Robinson, 2011). In the year of the shooting, 319 stories about Columbine were aired on nightly news broadcasts, making it the top story (Robinson, 2011). A separate analysis of coverage of 14 school shootings, each for a one-week period, found that these same three networks aired 53 stories about Columbine, totaling four hours of airtime (Maguire et al., 2002). By comparison, the remaining 13 shootings had just slightly more airtime when their coverage was totaled (Maguire et al., 2002).

Disproportional coverage is not solely limited to television news. Newman (2006) found that over 10,000 articles were published in the nation's top 50 newspapers in the year following Columbine. One paper, *The New York Times*, published 170 articles (Chyi & McCombs, 2004; Muschert & Carr, 2006). Following the 2007 shooting at Virginia Tech, *The Times* published 138 articles, including opinion and editorial articles (Schildkraut, 2012), and a similar number of articles was published in the month following the December 2012 shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School (Schildkraut & Muschert, 2014). Still, other shootings, such as the 1998 Westside Middle School shooting in Jonesboro, Arkansas or the 2008 Northern Illinois University shooting, and even other mass shooting events, such as those at a Binghamton, New York immigration center in 2009 and a movie theater in Aurora, Colorado in 2012, that have similar fatality counts have failed to garner equal coverage. The result, then, is a distorted picture of the prevalence of school shootings, with the most extreme cases fueling the public's panic.

Purpose of the Study

School shootings, similar to other extremely violent crimes, have the ability to garner high levels of media coverage that lead to a belief that these events are indicative of a larger social problem (Schildkraut & Muschert, 2014). The "disaster narrative" that accompanies such events represents a broader discourse related to on-going societal value conflicts and provides an opportunity for political agendas to be highlighted and ultimately affect public opinion (Barak, 1994; Gans, 1979; Schildkraut & Muschert, 2014; Tuchman, 1978). This process tends to result from agenda-setting, typically conducted by and through the media (Downs, 1972; McCombs, 1997; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Weaver, 2007).

Not all events, even those that are extremely violent, will be recognized as a social problem. A recent poll, for example, indicated that readers perceived the 2012 shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School as a reflection of broader social problems in the U.S. ("Washington Post-ABC News poll," n.d.). The same readers, however, suggested that other mass shooting events, including the 2007 Virginia Tech shooting, the 2011 shooting of congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords in Tucson, Arizona, and the 2012 shooting at an Aurora, Colorado movie theater, were more indicative of isolated, random acts of violence ("Washington Post-ABC News poll," n.d.).

As Cohen (1963) noted, the media "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling people what to think *about*" (p. 13). Therefore, in a broader sense, the present study seeks to understand how a particular phenomenon (school shootings), without regard to specific events, is perceived as a problem in the U.S. Specifically, this study seeks to understand how media consumption affects college students' beliefs about school shootings as a social problem. This study is particularly important as both media production and consumption increasingly are dynamic processes, especially among college students, with the recent shift towards social media for more rapid story construction.

Methodology

Research Question and Hypotheses

The present study focused on the following question: *What is the relationship between college students' media consumption and their beliefs that school shootings are a problem in the United States?* Given the prevalence of media coverage of these episodic violent crimes, it was hypothesized that there is a positive relationship between the amount of media that students consume and their beliefs that school shootings are a social problem. This was expected to hold for all main categories of media (television, print newspaper, online newspaper, and social media).

Participants

A survey was administered during fall, 2012 to students at a large southwestern university. Data collection began at the end of August and was completed at the beginning of December, approximately one week prior to the Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting. A purposive sample of undergraduate courses was selected, and pen-and-paper surveys were administered to students in each course. No students refused to participate, and 442 surveys were completed.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Respondents

	Respondents (N = 442)	
Variables	***n***	**%**
Gender		
Male	257	58.1
Female	182	41.2
Race / Ethnicity		
White	215	48.6
Black	40	9.0
Hispanic	159	36.0
Other	13	2.9
Age		
21 and Younger	252	57.0
22 and Older	186	42.1
Political Party Affiliation		
Republican	159	36.0
Democrat	166	37.6
Other	102	23.1
Residence		
On campus	49	11.1
Off campus	380	86.0
Gun Ownership		
Owns	145	32.8
Does Not Own	260	58.8

Note: Variable frequency percentages may not total to 100.0% due to rounding error or missing data.

Table 1 presents the descriptive characteristics of the sample. Males comprised nearly two-thirds of the respondents. Whites were the largest racial/ethnic group, followed by Hispanics. Nearly 60% of respondents were age 21 or younger, representing more traditional students. Political party affiliation was nearly evenly matched between Republicans (36%) and Democrats (37.6%). The majority of respondents lived off campus (86%), and over 30% identified themselves as gun owners.

Dependent Variable

A Likert scale question was used as the dependent variable, to which respondents were asked to express their agreement with the following statement: "School shootings are a major problem in the U.S." Response options for each question were on a five-point scale, from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Responses to this question were nearly evenly distributed, though they were slightly skewed towards the higher end (greater agreement that school shootings are a major problem).

Explanatory Variables

Respondents were asked to report their use of specific media sources for each category (television, print and online newspaper, and social media), focusing on the quantity of media consumed rather than the content (see Gerbner, 1993). For national news television, respondents were asked about their viewership of CNN, Fox News, MSNBC, and Headline News. For national newspapers, both in print and online, respondents were asked about their frequency of readership of the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, *Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*. Respondents also were asked about their readership, both in print and online, of local newspapers. These included the *Austin American-Statesman* and the *San Antonio Express*. A category for other local newspapers also was included for both modes of readership. For social media and networking sites, respondents reported their use of Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, Google+, and other sites.

Respondents reported their media use with the response categories of never (coded as 0), sometimes (1), often (2), and daily (3). Additive scales were then constructed to assess overall media consumption of a particular type of media. To assess levels of consumption for cable news networks, a scale was created using the variables CNN, Fox News, MSNBC, and Headline News. Questions regarding consumption of local television news and national evening news programs also were included in the models.

Four scales were computed to assess newspaper readership. For national level newspapers, an additive scale was constructed to assess the frequency of readership of the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, *Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times* in print. For local newspapers in print, a scale was created to measure consumption of the *Austin American-Statesmen*, the *San Antonio Express*, and other local newspapers. Similar scales also were constructed for the online versions of the national and local newspaper sources. Finally, a scale was constructed assessing the frequency of social media usage, combining responses about Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, Google+, and other social media sites. Table 2 provides the descriptive

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for Main News Sources and Types of Media Consumed (*N*=442)

	Never		Sometimes		Often		Daily	
	n	**%**	***n***	**%**	***n***	**%**	***n***	**%**
Viewership of News Stations								
Local News	77	18.8	203	49.5	95	23.2	35	8.5
CNN	125	30.5	202	49.3	66	16.1	17	4.1
Fox News	128	31.2	168	40.8	88	21.4	28	6.8
MSNBC	196	47.9	137	33.5	62	15.2	14	3.4
Headline News (HLN)	176	43.1	164	40.2	58	14.2	10	2.5
National Evening News	209	51.2	141	34.6	48	11.8	10	2.5
Reads Print Newspapers								
New York Times	333	75.3	90	20.4	15	3.4	0	0.0
Wall Street Journal	391	88.5	43	9.7	3	0.7	1	0.2
USA Today	326	73.8	97	21.9	15	3.4	0	0.0
Washington Post	387	87.6	40	9.0	7	1.6	0	0.0
L.A. Times	411	93.0	25	5.7	1	0.2	0	0.0
Austin American-Statesman	289	65.4	107	24.2	35	7.9	5	1.1
San Antonio Express	329	74.4	75	17.0	30	6.8	3	0.7
Other Local Newspaper	275	62.2	121	27.4	36	8.1	6	1.4
Reads Online Newspapers								
New York Times	273	61.8	124	28.1	37	8.4	4	0.9
Wall Street Journal	335	75.8	82	18.6	17	3.8	2	0.5
USA Today	254	57.5	137	31.0	37	8.4	9	2.0
Washington Post	339	76.7	66	14.9	28	6.3	3	0.7
L.A. Times	382	86.4	44	10.0	6	1.4	1	0.2
Austin American-Statesman	298	67.4	98	22.2	34	7.7	4	0.9
San Antonio Express	326	73.8	85	19.2	20	4.5	5	1.1
Other Local Newspaper	275	62.2	108	24.4	43	9.7	9	2.0
Uses Social Media Platforms								
Facebook	36	8.1	102	23.1	86	19.5	214	48.4
Twitter	251	55.8	45	10.2	34	7.7	108	24.4
MySpace	423	95.7	9	2.0	0	0.0	1	0.2
Google+	328	74.2	54	12.2	32	7.2	22	5.0
Other Sites	235	53.2	41	9.3	61	13.8	84	19.0

Note: Variable frequency percentages may not total to 100.0% due to rounding error or missing data.

statistics for the respondents' consumption of the individual media sources.

Table 2 shows that a large percentage of students report never using most types of media. The exception is that large percentages of students report sometimes viewing news stations, especially local news (49.5%), CNN (49.3%), and Fox News (40.8%). Very few students, however, report using any media on a daily basis, with the exception of social media. A large percentage of students reports using Facebook on a daily basis (48.4%). Additionally, a smaller, yet still sizable percentage of students report using Twitter (24.4%) and other social media sites (19.0%) on a daily basis

Additional variables were created to represent respondent characteristics. Gender was coded 1 for females, with males as the comparison group. Three individual dummy variables – Black, Hispanic, and other were created to measure race and ethnicity, with Whites serving as the reference category. The university surveyed recently was granted status as a Hispanic-Serving Institution, meaning that at least 25% of the student body identifies with this group (Parker, 2011). This and the location of the university support inclusion of this variable. Age

was dichotomized into two categories: 21 and under and 22 and older, with respondents who were 21 and under serving as the reference category.

Several additional variables were included in the analysis: (1) political party affiliation, or more specifically, whether one identifies as a Republican or Democrat (with other affiliations, such as Libertarian, Independent, and Tea Party, serving as the reference category), and (2) ownership of a handgun, rifle, or shotgun. Respondents reporting no ownership of any type of firearm were coded as being a non-gun owner (gun owners were used as the reference category).

Analysis and Findings

Table 3 presents the OLS regression results. In examining the individual categories of media consumption, only one media source has a significant coefficient.

Table 3. OLS Regression Results for School Shootings as a Major Problem by Frequency of News Source Consumption

Variable	School Shootings are a Major Problem in the United States
News Source	
Local News	.074 (.083)
National Evening News Programs	-.092 (.094)
Cable News Networks	.054 (.034)
National Newspapers (Print)	.087 (.050)
National Newspapers (Online)	-.025 (.034)
Local Newspapers (Print)	-.084 (.061)
Local Newspapers (Online)	.077 (.058)
Social Media	.049 (.024)*
Demographics	
Female	.307 (.136)**
Black	-.183 (.255)
Hispanic	-.114 (.150)
Other Race	-.291 (.328)
Over 21	-.108 (.133)
Democrat	.036 (.173)
Republican	-.133 (.171)
Non-Gun Owner	.202 (.153)
(Constant)	2.576 (.222)**
N	330
R^2	.109
Adjusted R^2	.064

* p < .05. ** p < .01. Results presented are unstandardized coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

Frequency of social media consumption is positively and significantly related to students' beliefs that school shootings are a major national problem (b = .049, p < .05). The regression results indicate, however, that no other type of media has a similar relationship. Particularly noteworthy is the lack of significance of cable news network scale in the model, as these networks often are among the first sources to provide coverage of school shootings. Gender is the only other significant variable in the model. Specifically, females, as compared to males, were more likely to believe that school shootings are a major problem (b = .307, p < .01). Females are more likely than males to fear crime (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1994; Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Fisher, Sloan, & Wilkins, 1995; Kaminski, Koons-Witt, Thompson, & Weiss, 2010; Ortega & Myles, 1987; Roundtree & Land, 1996; Stafford & Galle, 1984; Warr, 1984, 2000; Warr & Stafford, 1983). Therefore, females may be more likely to see crime-related issues as social problems, but future research is needed for further determination.

The non-significant coefficients in Table 3 indicate that there is consensus among most media users and among most groups about the extent to which school shootings are a social problem in the U.S. Further, the low R^2 value suggests that none of the variables account for a sizeable proportion of the variation in students' beliefs about school shootings as a problem.

In order to gain a better understanding of the relationship between social media and whether school shootings are viewed by students to be a national problem, the regression model was rerun with the social media websites disaggregated. Table 4 presents the results of this analysis. The results highlight an important finding. Twitter users differ significantly in their attitudes about school shootings from users of other social media. Specifically, the more students use Twitter, the stronger their belief that school shootings are a social problem (b = .132, p < .05). As was seen in the previous model, females again were more likely to agree with the statement than males (b = .412, p < .01).

Discussion

Stylianou (2003) has posited that "the relationship between public perceptions of crime as a social problem and media projections of crime is a central issue in the study of the social construction of crime" (p. 49). The disproportional media coverage of these events, such as Columbine, Virginia Tech, and more recently, Sandy Hook, has led to heightened awareness of school shootings as a social

Table 4. OLS Regression Results for School Shootings as a Major Problem by Frequency of Social Media Platform

Variable	School Shootings are a Major Problem in the United States
News Source	
Facebook	.065 (.060)
Twitter	.132 (.051)*
MySpace	-.346 (.304)
Google+	.047 (.078)
Other Social Networking Sites	.048 (.053)
Demographics	
Female	.412 (.133)**
Black	-.121 (.242)
Hispanic	-.025 (.143)
Other Race	-.264 (.329)
Over 21	.040 (.127)
Democrat	.085 (.164)
Republican	-.030 (.161)
Non-Gun Owner	.285 (.144)
(Constant)	2.540 (.221)**
N	357
R^2	.103
Adjusted R^2	.069

* p < .05. ** p < .01. Results presented are unstandardized coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

problem. A number of studies (e.g., Altheide, 2009; Chyi & McCombs, 2004; Muschert, 2002, 2007; Muschert & Carr, 2006; Schildkraut, 2012; Schildkraut & Muschert, 2014) have researched how school shootings stories are constructed in the media. Still, none has examined the impact of the media on beliefs about school shootings as a social problem.

The present study sought to examine the impact of media consumption on respondents' beliefs that school shootings are a problem in the U.S. It was hypothesized that there is a positive relationship between the amount of media that students consume and their belief that school shootings are a problem. It was found that the more students use social media, and Twitter in particular, the stronger their beliefs that school shootings are a social problem. Not *all* media use, however, was related to these beliefs in accordance with cultivation theory.

Facebook has been touted as the social media website, with over one billion active users each month (Tam, 2013), and it is clearly the medium of choice among students in the present study. Facebook, however, functions mainly as an online community network that encourages reciprocal communication among users (Kwak, Lee, Park, & Moon, 2010). Conversely, Twitter, considered a microblogging platform (Hughes & Palen, 2009; Java, Finin, Song, & Tseng, 2007; Kwak et al., 2010; Lerman & Ghosh, 2010; Naveed, Gottron, Kunegis, & Alhadi, 2011), functions less as an interactive community. Instead, Twitter is more synonymous with live streaming news feeds, similar to news tickers and RSS feeds. Users can post short messages (140 characters or less) that mirror news headlines, called "tweets," without a specifically intended audience. The brevity of tweets encourages more rapid and frequent sharing of information by users (Java et al., 2007). In addition to posting updates, users also may share posts from other users, a process known as "retweeting" (Kwak et al., 2010). Research has shown that retweeting allows a single message to reach an average of 1,000 users, regardless of the number of followers (or subscribers) for the original source (Kwak et al., 2010).

Early examinations of Twitter use (e.g., Java et al., 2007) suggested that the application was mainly used to talk about what users were currently doing or about their daily routines (see also Braun & Gillespie, 2011; Hermida, 2010). Some users would share news and weather information, though these were often from automated sources (Java et al., 2007; Lerman & Ghosh, 2010; Naveed et al., 2011). More recently, Twitter has been used to report news and reactions in real time (Braun & Gillespie, 2011; Hermida, 2010). Most national newspapers and television news channels, as well as individual anchors and reporters, stream breaking news via Twitter feeds. Pew Research Center for the People and the Press (2010) reported that among respondents actively using social media, Twitter users are more likely to follow, or subscribe, to the feeds of news organizations and individual journalists than users of other social media sites.

The findings of this study underscore an important shift in journalism practices toward a participatory discourse with audiences (Braun & Gillespie, 2011; Hermida, 2010; Picard, 2009; Skoler, 2009; Stassen, 2010). As Skoler (2009) notes, "Today, people expect to share information, not be fed it" (p. 39). In an effort to get stories onto the air faster, journalists have begun to incorporate more eyewitness accounts through pictures, videos, and other forms of content from various social networking sites (Braun & Gillespie, 2011; Hermida, 2010; Lariscy, Avery, Sweetser, & Howes, 2009). This practice has been called "participatory news" (Deuze, Bruns, & Neuberger, 2007), with the audience members as non-traditional news sources taking on the role of information subsidies (Wigley & Fontenot, 2009; see also Gandy, 1982).

For news media organizations, there are several benefits to using social media. Use of social media platforms, particularly those like Twitter that are limited in message length, allows for more concise and detailed information to be disseminated (Farhi, 2009; Hermida, 2010; Stassen, 2010). It also allows reporters to break stories more quickly from any location (Farhi, 2009; Hermida, 2010; Stassen, 2010), and to do so at a lower cost to news organizations (Braun & Gillespie, 2011; Picard, 2009). Further, the shift towards social media also has allowed the news media to reach consumers that normally were not avid followers, such as most students in the present study (Deuze et al., 2007; Skoler, 2009). One study indicated that Twitter users are up to three times as likely to visit a news website than an average person (Farhi, 2009), thus generating the needed traffic to attract potential advertisers and generate revenue (Picard, 2009; Skoler, 2009).

One issue that is both a benefit and a problem with social media is that these platforms enable millions of people to communicate instantaneously with one another and discuss current news topics (Deuze et al., 2007; Hermida, 2010; Stassen, 2010). While Hermida (2010) notes that the gatekeeping function of the media can be maintained by filtering through tweets prior to publishing them, this does not account for other sources that disseminate information. Even if journalists are selective in the information they share through Twitter and other social media platforms, it does not control for inaccuracies that can occur from general users sharing information with no fact-checking in place (Deuze et al., 2007). Thus, as social media continue to take a more prominent role in the presentation of news, researchers must gain a more critical understanding of the potential effects these technologies have. Additionally, researchers must work with law enforcement and journalism personnel to help to minimize the misinformation that is transmitted by such platforms, particularly as it relates to crime.

The present study is not without several limitations that warrant caution in interpreting its findings. First, this survey was conducted with a purposive sample. The location of the university also is close to the location of another mass shooting at a university. Although that event occurred more than 45 years prior to the current study, students who completed the survey still expressed a greater familiarity with that relatively distant yet local event compared to other, more recent mass shootings. The recency of particular events also should be considered. In order to substantiate the findings of this study, it would be beneficial to replicate this survey at other universities that are not as spatially proximate to a school shooting site. Further, the media questions included in the survey focused solely on the amount consumed and did not consider the content of what was being viewed. Gerbner (1993), however, found that the consumption of media content can impact perceived likelihood of victimization through a stable set of messages about casting and fate. Future studies could benefit from including such questions to address this issue.

It is possible that these findings may not be generalizable beyond students, as they often are the main users of social media. Still, this is an important consideration about the future of media and social problems. As college students transition into adulthood, the absence of an impact of traditional media sources, such as television and newspapers, on social problems may persist. Instead, these consumers may continue to rely on social media, such as Twitter, as their primary source of news. These sources may endure as the greatest influence in shaping beliefs about social problems, even as individuals enter later stages of their life course. Though it is too early to identify the long-range impact media has in the creation of social problems, future research should examine this issue, particularly as social media and its users continue to evolve.

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Exploring the Nexus of Officer Race/Ethnicity, Sex, and Job Satisfaction: The Case of the NYPD

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ABSTRACT AND ARTICLE INFORMATION

We consider officer satisfaction and explore whether satisfaction with various aspects of the job differs across officer race/ethnicity and sex. We do so using a unique data set of New York City Police officers who were surveyed after working on the street for six years (*n*=184). The current study employs a different approach to job satisfaction by querying officers across several job-related features and by examining satisfaction across officer sex, race/ethnicity, and sex-race/ethnicity categories. Results suggest that, while this sample of NYPD officers were generally satisfied with their job, and that there was much consensus regarding specific categories of satisfaction, important differences emerged between men and women officers, between White, Black, and Hispanic officers, and between several interaction (gender by race/ethnicity) categories. We discuss the findings in terms of broader trends within the NYPD and the traditional, male-centered police subculture, as well as with regard to efforts at sustaining a representative police department through officer retention.

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Though American policing is a profession still dominated by White males, police departments across the United States have made substantial efforts to become increasingly more diverse, albeit with mixed results. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) for the year 2007, 81.1% of all American

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police were male and 74.7% were White (as cited in Reaves, 2010). BJS data also suggest that large police departments (those serving cities with more than 250,000 citizens) have made greater strides in racial/ethnic diversity than those serving smaller communities (Hickman & Reaves, 2006). Despite these modest advances, many police departments are under significant pressure to recruit and retain minority officers (White, Cooper, Saunders, & Raganella, 2010). Diversity in police departments is emphasized most notably by the perceived link between under-representation and poor relations with minority communities (Alex, 1969; Huang & Vaughn, 1996; Kappeler, Sluder, & Alpert, 1998; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Moreover, many believe that increasing the diversity of the police force so that it reflects the community will enhance police legitimacy, which will ultimately increase community cooperation, participation, and police effectiveness (e.g., Skogan & Frydl, 2004; Tyler, 2006).

Prior research has found that, after adjusting for sex and race/ethnicity, officers are generally satisfied with their profession (Buzawa, Austin, & Bannon, 1994; White et al., 2010). Though researchers have explored correlates of police officer satisfaction at the individual and organizational levels (Buzawa, 1984; Buzawa et al., 1994; Wilson, 1975; Zhao, Thurman, & He, 1999), prior research has not given the study of police officer satisfaction a more nuanced treatment. Just as importantly, prior research has not fully articulated potential differences in satisfaction (and the factors related to it) among minority, female, and White male officers. Variation in job satisfaction among minority, female, and White male officers may result in differences in their productivity, overall performance, and likelihood of staying in the profession. The study of police officer satisfaction therefore remains incomplete.

The current study seeks to address these gaps through an examination of job satisfaction among a sample of New York City police officers (n=184). Officers completed a survey that asked them to rate their satisfaction level overall, as well as with 11 different aspects of the job. The authors explore factors related to job satisfaction across sex, race/ethnicity, and interaction terms using a battery of t-tests and ANOVA models. The current study therefore provides a detailed approach to understanding the nexus of race/ethnicity, sex, and officer satisfaction, which will better inform police efforts to retain minority and female officers. This study is a follow-up to our previous study on police officer motivation in which we acknowledged satisfaction covariates, but did not explore them in more detail.

Prior Research: The Nature of Police Work and its Impact on Officer Satisfaction

Although the majority of empirical research suggests that police officers are satisfied overall with their chosen profession (Buzawa et al., 1994; Wright et al., 2010), ample evidence indicates that they are also dissatisfied with certain aspects of their job. Early work by Niederhoffer (1967) suggested that officers quickly become dissatisfied with their working environment, resulting in cynicism. This dissatisfaction may stem from the expectation of fixing an *impossible problem* through a mandate that is both ambiguous and indeterminate (Manning, 1978, 2001), forcing officers to struggle to fully define their task or find significance in what they do. Moreover, officers often perceive that their efforts are thwarted by a criminal justice system that is too lenient and short-circuits their noble work of putting "bad guys behind bars" (Crank & Caldero, 2000; DeLattre, 2001). In recent past, the frustration produced by this means-ends disjunction has at times culminated in police misconduct (see, e.g., Daley, 1978; Kappeler et al., 1994; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993).

Inadequate positive feedback and lack of recognition—from both the community and the department—can also lead to officer dissatisfaction. Officers often find themselves engaged with individuals who are not interested in their *services*, whether it be arresting a drug dealer or stopping a suburbanite for a traffic violation (Van Maanen, 1974). Further, as Manning (1978) has pointed out, a police officer's goals are ambiguous and difficult to measure. They are essentially what DiIulio (1993) has called *nonoperative goals*. As such, the ability to assess success and failure is blurred. Nevertheless, police are held to several numerical standards, including arrest numbers. Dealing with unhappy people, coupled with the numerical standards by which their success as officers is most often gauged (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993), creates an environment where formal intervention (i.e., arrest) is the preferred course of action regardless of the circumstances, and where officers' failures are more likely to draw attention than their successes (Van Maanen, 1974). It also creates a frustrating environment where police are not often rewarded when they do, in fact, have a positive impact on the safety of the community as a result of actions that cannot easily be quantified (e.g., Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993, suggested that the good cop may be invisible to the department, producing few numbers).

Correlates of Police Officer Satisfaction

What leads to a satisfied police officer? The answer to this question is complex and involves at

least three general sets of factors: individual, organizational, and environmental (Wilson, 1975; Muir, 1977; Buzawa, 1984). At the individual level, officer satisfaction is related to a number of variables including years as a police officer, education level, race, and sex (Buzawa et al., 1994; Zhao et al., 1999). Similarly, attitudinal measures have been found to affect officer satisfaction (Buzawa, 1984). However, for both attributional and attitudinal variables, research findings have been unclear regarding the direction of the effect (Buzawa et al., 1994; Zhao et al., 1999). For example, the bulk of early empirical work suggested that higher education was tied to lower levels of satisfaction (Lofkowitz, 1974; Sherman, 1980; Swanson, 1978). More recently, however, Dantzker (1992) found that higher levels of education were indeed predictive of higher levels of satisfaction. Buzawa's (1984) work demonstrated that covariates of satisfaction behaved differently according to institutional environments. Although pre-service education stood out as the most important factor in predicting officer satisfaction in Oakland, this same variable stood out as the least important factor in Detroit. Similarly unclear findings have emerged regarding officer years of service and rank. Whereas some research contends that both years of service and rank are negatively associated with levels of satisfaction (Burke, 1989; Buzawa et al., 1994; Hunt & McCadden, 1985; Sheley & Nock, 1979), others have reported a more dynamic relationship where an officer's degree of satisfaction drops precipitously during the first five years, then levels out and remains relatively stable afterwards (Allen, Hitt, & Greer, 1982; Dantzker, 1994).

At the organizational level, research has demonstrated that individual officer satisfaction is influenced by the police agency for which they work (Uchida, 2005). For example, as previously noted, Buzawa (1984) examined satisfaction among officers in Detroit and Oakland, and although the satisfaction of officers in both departments could be predicted with the same set of independent variables, the strength of individual predictors differed according to location: "Two markedly different sample profiles emerged. In Oakland, job satisfaction appeared to a large degree to be a byproduct of several work-related attitudes.... The foregoing was not true in Detroit" (p. 77). Buzawa (1984) also found that in both Oakland and Detroit an officer's attitude towards his job was related to levels of satisfaction. This was especially true in Oakland, where variables representing self-fulfillment and career advancement were more strongly predictive of satisfaction than they were in Detroit. However, the desire for prestige and feelings about supervision were stronger predictors of satisfaction in Detroit (Buzawa, 1984).

Research has also examined the effects of community oriented policing paradigms on officer satisfaction. This line of research is often coupled with inquiries into an officer's broader working environment that includes the community. Greene's (1989) study of Philadelphia officers suggested that different domains of job attachment were tied to satisfaction with community policing: Officers who were satisfied generally in their interactions with community members were more attached to a community policing paradigm. Contrariwise, Lawton, Hickman, Piquero, and Greene (2000) later found that job satisfaction was unrelated to the style of policing employed (traditional or community oriented). Rather, officers who were generally satisfied with their job were also likely to see their job as being impactful, regardless of the policing style. Though both of these studies explicitly treat police satisfaction as endogenous, Zhao and colleagues (1999) explored the impact of external influences on different dimensions of police satisfaction, including satisfaction with their work, their supervisor, and their coworkers. They concluded that, for all three measures, organizational factors were more important in predicting officer satisfaction than were demographic characteristics.

Officer Race/Ethnicity and Sex

Prior research examining the relationships between officer race/ethnicity, sex, and job satisfaction is limited and the findings are ambiguous. Early research, often gleaned from limited samples relative to race, found that Black officers exhibited lower levels of satisfaction than White officers (Alex, 1969, 1976; Jacobs & Cohen, 1978; Juris & Feuille, 1973). Again, Buzawa's work (1984; Buzawa et al., 1994) has consistently found that the satisfaction of officers in different agencies appears to be driven by the organization in which they find themselves, regardless of race. Black officers in Detroit scored higher in satisfaction for a number of domains (such as occupational prestige, advancement opportunities, and overall job satisfaction) than did Black officers in Oakland. This, however, does not necessarily rule out race effects, per se, but instead may suggest an interaction of race and organization.

Though research on satisfaction and officer sex has also suffered from methodological limitations, findings suggest that female and male officers have similar levels of job satisfaction (Buzawa et al., 1994; Dantzker & Kubrin, 1998; Felkenes, 1991; Fry & Greensfield, 1980; Poteyeva & Sun, 2009; Singer & Love, 1988; Winfree, Guiterman, & Mays, 1997). Although they found no direct relationship between job satisfaction and sex, Dantzker and Kubin (1998)

did suggest that "satisfaction may have some sex relationship when combined with other variables, such as rank, ethnicity, age, education, and years of experience" (p. 29). As suggested previously, the complex relationship between sex and police officer satisfaction may also be contingent on the organizational and environmental contexts (Belknap & Shelley, 1992). For example, Krimmel and Gormley (2003) found that female police officers who worked in agencies where less than 15% of the workforce was female were less satisfied with their job than female officers who worked in more diverse agencies. Zhao and colleagues (1999) underscore the complexity of questions surrounding race/ethnicity, sex, and job satisfaction and note that

> policing . . . tends to be dominated by employees who are both White and male; thus seems reasonable to assume that both minority and female police officers might demonstrate lower levels of job satisfaction than their White male counterparts, who set the tone for an agency's organizational culture. Research findings on these issues are inconsistent, however (Zhao et al., 1999, p. 156).

In some ways, then, the same factors that may contribute to a White male officer's job satisfaction may provide unique stressors for minority officers which directly impact their levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Additionally, more detailed research is required to explore these issues.

The Current Study

Despite facing ambiguous goals (Manning, 1978), dealing with difficult individuals (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993), and lack of recognition (Van Maanen, 1974), research indicates that police officers are overall satisfied with their jobs (Buzawa et al., 1994; White et al., 2010). Correlates of officer satisfaction include individual, organization, and environmental factors (Buzawa, 1984; Muir, 1977; Wilson, 1975). While these correlates are important to the understanding of officer job satisfaction, the current study explores the role race/ethnicity and sex play in officer job satisfaction. Although dated and involving small samples, previous research has found differences in job satisfaction along White/Black racial lines (Alex, 1969, 1976; Jacobs & Cohen, 1978; Juris & Feuille, 1973), but none between males and females (Buzawa et al., 1994; Dantzker & Kubrin, 1998; Felkenes, 1991; Fry & Greensfield, 1980; Poteyeva & Sun, 2009; Singer & Love, 1988; Winfree et al., 1997).

This study adds to previous scholarly inquiries regarding the nexus of officer race/ethnicity, sex, and job satisfaction in at least two important ways. First, the current study considers both marginal and interactive effects of officer race/ethnicity and sex on levels of job satisfaction. Second, the study considers both overall job satisfaction as well as satisfaction with eleven different aspects of the profession, including job-related features (e.g., job security, benefits, and salary), aspects of the department (e.g., supervisors, subordinates, and co-workers), the community, and the nature of the profession (e.g., opportunity to help, excitement, fighting crime, etc.). Although we were unable to investigate all of these covariates, they remain an important part of the picture of police officer satisfaction. The remainder of this paper presents the research methodology and results, and concludes with a discussion focused on theoretical and policy relevance.

Methodology

The current study uses a sample of New York City police officers who started at the academy in July 2001 (graduating in June 2002, with approximately six years on the street as NYPD officers). Out of the initial population of 1,463 officers, 569 were no longer employed by the NYPD and could not be located through available departmental records (an attrition rate of 39%). A mail survey methodology was employed in which a satisfaction survey was sent to the current assignment of each of the remaining 894 NYPD officers from the July 2001 recruit class. The package was initially sent in the summer of 2008 and included the survey, a cover letter explaining the purpose and voluntary nature of the study, and a self-addressed, stamped return envelope. The authors sent a second wave of surveys six weeks after the first surveys were mailed (officers were instructed to disregard the survey if they had already completed and returned it in order to avoid duplicate respondents). Out of the 894 surveys that were mailed, 206 surveys were returned (a response rate of 23%), but only 184 surveys had both race/ethnicity and sex indicated and were thus usable for this study.

For the survey instrument, the authors used a modified version of a survey originally developed by Lester (1983). Though the survey was developed to measure motivations for entering the profession, it works equally well for capturing satisfaction with various aspects of the police profession. The modified instrument includes several items that collect the respondent's demographic information including race/ethnicity and sex, as well as 11 items tapping into the policing experience, such as job

security and benefits, salary, relationships with peers, bosses and subordinates, and various aspects of the job (e.g., fighting crime, excitement, and helping others). Using a Likert three-point rating scale, respondents rated their degree of satisfaction with each item: *not satisfied*, *somewhat satisfied*, or *very satisfied* (values of one, two, and three, respectively). The authors also added a question asking officers to assess their overall job satisfaction using the same three-point scale. Finally, respondents were asked two open-ended questions, instructing them to identify the best and worst aspects of their job.

Analytic Plan

To explore potential variation in satisfaction across police officer race/ethnicity and sex, the data were submitted to the following analyses. First, we rank-ordered all 11 factors by their mean scores to create a baseline for subsequent analyses. Then, we explored sex differences across categories using *t*-tests and racial/ethnic differences across categories using one-way ANOVA models. Interaction terms (sex by race/ethnicity) were created and also analyzed using ANOVA models.

Limitations

There are limitations in the current study that warrant discussion. First, the low response rate of 23% raises concerns over sample bias. We were unable to assess the degree to which officers who responded to the survey differ in important ways from those who did not respond. Additionally, 569 officers had left the department since the 2001 recruit class began the academy. Our inability to assess why they left the department limits the analyses (for some, the decision to leave may have been related to their levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction). Nevertheless, we were able to access information from exit reports of these officers, including basic demographic information. At the very least, this will allow for some basic comparisons among those who left and those who completed the study survey across race/ethnicity and sex. This study also examines only one recruit class in the largest police department in the United States. The degree to which findings from this study apply to other smaller departments remains unknown. In a related matter, because of low representation among Asian respondents and those of other race/ethnicities, these categories were excluded from the analyses. Lastly, this study also suffers from the traditional limitations associated with respondent self-report, such as honesty, memory problems, candidness, etc.

Results

Table 1 shows the race/ethnicity and sex breakdown of both the entire 2001 recruit class and the sample of officers from this recruit class who compose the current study (n=184). The respondent sample for the current study was primarily male (74.5%) and White (57.6%). Approximately 20% were Black and 20% were Hispanic. Cross-tabulating race by sex reveals that this NYPD recruit class was majority White male (50.5%), with the other five race/sex groups distributed relatively equally among the remaining officers. Importantly, this distribution mirrors the pattern from the population of 2001 recruit class members, with small differences. For example, the current study sample appears to slightly over represent females, White males, White females, and Black females, while under representing males, Hispanics, and Hispanic males (the proportion of Blacks, Black males, and Hispanic females were all within the confidence intervals and therefore the same in the recruiting class and follow-up studies). Although small, these differences should be kept in mind while considering the analyses that follow. Also note that most officers were line-level or assigned to a detail (38.59% and 50%, respectively), held the rank of patrol officer (71.20%), and were on average 33 years old.

Table 1 also presents basic demographic information for the 569 officers from the July 2001 recruit class who left the department before the study survey was sent (six years later). This information was gleaned from exits interviews conducted by the department. Compared to officers who responded to the survey, a greater proportion of White (62.9%) and male (82.2%) officers had left the department, while a smaller percentage of Blacks had left (13.6%). Among the 569 who left from this recruit class, 251 (44%) resigned during their academy training or shortly after during their probationary period, 237 resigned later during their time of service (41.7%), 39 were terminated/dismissed (7%), 18 retired on disability (3.2%), 18 retired once they vested (3.2%), and six died (1%).

It is unclear how the demographic characteristics of those officers who left (or why they left) influence the findings presented here. There is anecdotal evidence from the NYPD's academy that recruits resign for one of two reasons. First, the "culture shock" of the paramilitary academy may not what the recruit had expected. Second, they are failing physically and/or academically and are given a chance to resign rather than face termination. We also suspect that, of those who do graduate the academy, another wave of resignations occurs once they hit the streets and get another dose of "culture shock" and

Table 1. Frequency Statistics of Study Sample, Entire Recruit Class, and Officers who Left the Department

	Study Sample (*n*=184)	Recruit Class (*n*=1463)	Officers Who Left (*n*=569)
	Percent (*n*)	Percent (*n*)	Percent (*n*)
Sex			
Male	74.5 (137)*	79.4 (1,116)	82.2 (468)
Female	25.50 (47)*	20.6 (289)	17.8 (101)
Race/Ethnicity			
White	57.6 (106)*	49.7 (698)	62.9 (343)
Hispanic	20.7 (38)*	29.8 (419)	23.5 (128)
Black	21.7 (40)	20.5 (288)	13.6 (74)
Sex by Race/Ethnicity			
White Male	50.5 (93)*	45.3 (636)	58.3 (318)
Hispanic Male	11.4 (21)*	20.9 (294)	17.1 (93)
Black Male	12.5 (23)	13.2 (186)	6.4 (35)
White Female	7.1 (13)*	4.4 (62)	4.6 (25)
Hispanic Female	9.3 (17)	8.9 (125)	6.4 (35)
Black Female	9.3 (17)*	7.3 (102)	7.2 (39)
Rank			
Patrol Officer	71.2 (131)		
Detective	14.7 (27)		
Sergeant	13.0 (24)		
Assignment			
Patrol	38.6 (71)		
Detail	50.0 (92)		
Administration	10.9 (20)		
	Mean	*SD*	
Age	33.3	4.2	

*Significant difference from the entire recruit class.

Note: Due to missing values, some variable may not add up to the total (184, 1463, 569, respectively).

discover that the actual job is not for them. Perhaps it is also possible that resignations occur due to officers finding another better paying police job—in effect, using the NYPD as a stepping stone. More research should consider reasons for resignation in general, as well as its relationship to job satisfaction.

Table 2 presents the mean rankings for each question for the entire sample. Note that these rankings were calculated by the authors and do not reflect any categorical ranking done by respondents. Overall, officers were generally satisfied in their profession (2.711). More specifically, this table indicates that relationship to one's coworkers/peers is the aspect of the job with which police officers are most satisfied (2.859), followed by job security and benefits (2.755 and 2.614, respectively). Lowest ranked, however, is salary (1.576), relationship to the community (1.880), and relationship to one's boss (1.995). For those officers in supervisory positions, relationship to their subordinates[1] was ranked in the middle (fifth). Given that these parameters were calculated from a 3-point scale, it is clear that, as a group, officers are mostly satisfied with their work (*very satisfied* or *somewhat satisfied*) and are dissatisfied with only two (or maybe three) factors.

Table 2. Mean rankings for each item for the entire sample (*n*=184).

	Rank	*Mean*
Overall satisfaction		2.711
Relationship to your coworkers/peers	1	2.859
Job security	2	2.755
Job benefits	3	2.614
Opportunities for career advancement	4	2.337
Relationship to your subordinates (*n*=64)	5	2.266
Opportunity to help people in the community	6	2.207
Excitement of the work	7	2.196
Fighting crime	8	2.092
Relationship to your bosses	9	1.995
Relationship with the community	10	1.880
Salary	11	1.576

Table 3. Score and Rank for Each Item by Sex and Results from T-tests

Item (with overall rank)	Male (*n*=137)		Female (*n*=47)		*Mean Diff.*	*t*	*Sign.*
	Mean	*Rank*	*Mean*	*Rank*			
Overall satisfaction	2.13		2.30		0.17	1.63	0.105
Good companionship with co-workers	2.35	3	2.49	3	0.14	1.40	0.164
Job security	2.75	1	2.77	1	0.14	0.17	0.865
Job benefits (i.e. medical/pension)	2.57	2	2.74	2	0.18	1.93	**0.055**
Opportunities for career advancement	2.31	4	2.40	6	0.09	0.81	0.418
Relationship to your subordinates*	2.19	5	2.47	4	0.28	1.54	0.129
Opportunity to help people in the community	2.13	7	2.43	5	0.29	2.57	**0.011**
Excitement of the work	2.18	6	2.26	7	0.08	0.73	0.466
To fight crime	2.09	8	2.09	9	0.01	0.08	0.931
Relationship to your bosses	1.92	9	2.21	8	0.29	2.62	**0.010**
Relationship with the community	1.82	10	2.04	10	0.22	1.86	0.065
The salary	1.55	11	1.64	11	0.08	0.79	0.429

*n=47 male, 17 female

Tables 3, 4, and 5 present both overall satisfaction levels by sex, race/ethnicity, and sex by race/ethnicity, as well as differences within these groups across all 11 questions. For all models, an alpha level of 0.05 was used. Significance levels are presented in the tables.

Table 3 displays the *t*-test results for differences by sex. Male and female officers appear to differ in three categories. First, women appear to be more satisfied with their job generally than do men in terms of job benefits, the opportunity to help people in the community, and their relationship to their bosses. The largest mean difference between their scores is for the opportunity to help people in the community, followed by their relationship to their bosses (both a difference of 0.29). In terms of mean rankings, there was only one notable difference between men and women, with men ranking opportunities for career advancement at 4 and women ranking this factor at 6.

Table 4 displays the ANOVA models for differences in satisfaction by race/ethnicity. First, Black officers are more satisfied than Hispanic officers, and both groups are notably more satisfied

Table 4. Score, Rank and ANOVA for Each Item by Race

Item (with overall rank)	White (*n*=106)		Hispanic (*n*=38)		Black (*n*=40)			
	Mean	*Rank*	*Mean*	*Rank*	*Mean*	*Rank*	*F*	*Sign.*
Overall satisfaction[1]	2.06		2.29		2.35		4.18	**0.017**
Good companionship with co-workers	2.41	3	2.26	6	2.45	4	1.12	0.328
Job security	2.74	1	2.76	1	2.78	1	0.06	0.943
Job benefits (i.e. medical/pension)	2.54	2	2.71	2	2.73	2	2.54	0.082
Opportunities for career advancement	2.27	4	2.34	5	2.50	3	1.74	0.179
Relationship to your subordinates*	2.15	6	2.55	3	2.38	5	1.94	0.153
Opportunity to help people in the community[2]	2.08	7	2.42	4	2.35	6	4.86	**0.009**
Excitement of the work	2.19	5	2.13	7	2.28	8	0.49	0.615
To fight crime	2.04	8	2.03	9	2.30	7	2.52	0.083
Relationship to your bosses	1.95	9	2.00	10	2.10	9	0.69	0.502
Relationship with the community[3]	1.73	10	2.13	8	2.05	10	6.58	**0.002**
The salary[4]	1.47	11	1.74	11	1.70	11	3.65	**0.028**

**n*=40 White, 11 Hispanic, 13 Black

1. Post-hoc Bonferroni tests indicated that Whites were significantly different than Blacks ($p < 0.05$).
2. Post-hoc Bonferroni tests indicated that Whites were significantly different than Hispanics ($p < 0.05$).
3. Post-hoc Bonferroni tests indicated that Whites were significantly different than both Hispanics and Blacks ($p < 0.05$).
4. Post-hoc Bonferroni tests indicated that, at $p = 0.07$, Whites were significantly different than Blacks.

overall than White officers. White officers' overall satisfaction level was 2.06, compared to 2.29 for Hispanics and 2.35 for Blacks. For the most part, this pattern is reflected throughout the other statistically significant findings: While Blacks and Hispanics are typically on par with one another in their scores, they are both substantively different and more satisfied – than their White counterparts. This is true for satisfaction related to the opportunity to help people in the community and salary, as well as, to a lesser extent, with the relationship to the community. In some instances, Hispanics are more satisfied than Blacks (opportunity to help people in the community and relationship with the community), but here again, the differences are small compared to that with Whites and, according to post-hoc tests, were not statistically significant. Interestingly, in regard to satisfaction with crime fighting, Whites and Hispanics seem to be in accord with their satisfaction levels, while Black officers are more satisfied with this aspect of the job – although these levels did not reach statistical significance. Note also that according to post-hoc multiple comparisons tests, for overall satisfaction, Whites were different than Blacks; for helping the community, Whites were different than Hispanics; and for relationship with the community, Whites were different than both Blacks and Hispanics. For salary, Whites were different than Hispanics, but at $p < 0.07$ (p value may be due to low power issues associated with Bonferroni tests, which can result in false negatives).

When we consider the mean rankings, differences also appear. While all three racial/ethnic groups indicated that job security and job benefits were their number one and number two ranked elements of the job with which they are most satisfied, each group's number 3, 4, and 5 differed. Indeed, each group had elements ranked in their top five that were not present in the top 5 of the other groups. For example, for Whites, good companionship with co-workers was ranked number 3, while Hispanics ranked this 6 and Blacks, 4. Similarly, Hispanic officers ranked opportunity to help as 4th, compared to 6th for Black officers and 7th for White officers.

Finally, Table 5 presents differences between the interaction terms of sex by race/ethnicity. Note that all interaction terms should be viewed as exploratory because of our small sample size. Considering the difference in means, these models suggest that the only statistically significant differences are for the questions concerning the opportunity to help people in the community and the relationship with the community. For the relationship with the community, it appears that Hispanic females, Black males, and Black females were the most satisfied (with scores

Table 5. Score and Rank for Each Item by Race and Sex

Item (with overall rank)	White				Hispanic				Black			
	Male (*n*=94)		Female (*n*=13)		Male (*n*=24)		Female (*n*=17)		Male (*n*=22)		Female (*n*=17)	
	Mean	*Rank*	*Mean*	*Rank*	*Mean*	*Rank*	*Mean*	*Rank*	*Mean*	*Rank*	*Mean*	*Rank*
Overall satisfaction	2.04		2.15		2.30		2.41		2.29		2.29	
Good companionship with co-workers	2.40	3	2.46	3	2.35	5	2.59	3	2.14	6	2.41	5
Job security	2.75	1	2.69	2	2.74	1	2.82	1	2.76	1	2.76	1
Job benefits (i.e. medical/pension)	2.50	2	2.77	1	2.74	2	2.71	2	2.67	2	2.76	2
Opportunities for career advancement	2.26	4	2.38	5	2.61	3	2.35	6	2.34	5	2.47	4
Relationship to your subordinates*	2.12	6	2.33	6	2.38	4	2.40	5	2.40	4	2.67	3
Opportunity to help people in the community[1]	2.02	8	2.46	4	2.26	7	2.47	4	2.48	3	2.35	6
Excitement of the work	2.18	5	2.23	7	2.22	8	2.35	7	2.10	7	2.18	8
To fight crime	2.05	7	1.92	9	2.30	6	2.29	8	2.05	9	2.00	10
Relationship to your bosses	1.94	9	2.08	8	1.96	10	2.29	9	1.81	10	2.24	7
Relationship with the community[2]	1.72	10	1.77	10	2.00	9	2.12	10	2.10	8	2.18	9
The salary	1.47	11	1.46	11	1.70	11	1.71	11	1.76	11	1.71	11

**n*=White males = 34, White females =6, Hispanic males = 8, Hispanic females = 5, Black males = 5, Black females = 6.
[1] $p < 0.05$. Post-hoc Bonferroni tests indicated that White males were significantly different than Black males at $p = 0.08$

from 2.10 to 2.18); White males and White females were the least satisfied (1.72 and 1.77); and Hispanic males scored somewhere in between (2.0). [Note that post-hoc Bonferroni tests suggested that there were no differences between the groups; see endnote 2.] For the opportunity to help people in the community, a similar pattern holds, except that White females appeared to score on par with Hispanic females, Black males, and Black females. Although what was ranked 1 and what was ranked 2 sometimes changed according to category, for all groups, job security and job benefits were ranked in the top two, and relationships to supervisors, the community, and the salary were typically ranked lowest. For the most part, then, Table 5 seems to suggest that the differences in satisfaction levels are more a product of race/ethnicity and less of sex.[2]

Discussion

In order to better understand minority officer satisfaction, this study explored differences in levels of satisfaction according to race/ethnicity, sex, and sex by race/ethnicity interaction terms. The purpose of this study is to increase understanding of these differences in satisfaction among officer race/ethnicity and sex to assist administrators in developing more effective retention efforts. Notably,

this study found that after six years on the job, NYPD reported relatively high levels of satisfaction across most aspects of the profession. Nevertheless, several differences in satisfaction by officer race/ethnicity, and to a lesser extent, sex, were identified. Our discussion will focus on understanding the quantitative results outlined above, particularly in terms of what they might mean for officer retention efforts. Throughout this discussion, our study's limitations, as discussed above, should be kept in mind. As we indicate below in our conclusions, any interpretation of our findings must be considered speculative.

Differences in Levels of Satisfaction among Officers by Race/ethnicity and Sex

The first two analytic tables indicated differences in satisfaction levels in several categories. Contrary to previous research finding no difference between male and female officers in measures of job satisfaction (Buzawa et al., 1994; Dantzker & Kubrin, 1998; Felkenes, 1991; Fry & Greensfield, 1980; Poteyeva & Sun, 2009; Singer & Love, 1988; Winfree et al., 1997), the current study found that female officers were typically more satisfied than their male counterparts. Whereas previous research found that Black officers were less satisfied than White officers (Alex, 1969, 1976; Jacobs & Cohen, 1978; Juris & Feuille, 1973), the current study found both Black and Hispanic officers were typically more satisfied than their White counterparts. Interestingly, these patterns were also reflected in the officers who had left the department (greater percentages of Whites and males, smaller percentage of Blacks and females). The analyses displayed in Table 5 seem to suggest that these differences are largely a matter of race/ethnicity, rather than sex, as differences appear to consistently break down across racial/ethnic lines. Regarding race/ethnicity specifically, statistically significant differences exist for overall satisfaction, as well as for the opportunity to help people in the community, the relationship to the community, and the salary (see Table 4). In these categories, the smallest difference was observed in satisfaction levels for salary, while the largest difference was for relationship to the community.

These race/ethnicity findings warrant some additional consideration. It should be recalled that Niederhoffer (1967) suggested that officers quickly become dissatisfied with their working environment, resulting in cynicism. Manning (1978, 2001) similarly submitted that this dissatisfaction may stem from the expectation of fixing an *impossible problem* through a mandate that is both ambiguous and indeterminate. In turn, this forces officers to struggle to fully define their task or find significance in what they do. Similarly, officers often perceive that their efforts are thwarted by other actors in the criminal justice system (Crank & Caldero, 1999; Delattre, 2001). It is possible that a racial/ethnic difference, where the foregoing somehow affects Whites more so than minorities, causes it to be more predominant among them and thereby explains their lower levels of satisfaction. Or, perhaps Whites possess some unfulfilled expectations of what they thought the job would be, which, in a sense, ties into our previous work on motivations for entering the profession (see White et al., 2010).

To some extent, these findings may be tapping into changes occurring in the NYPD in terms of its racial/ethnic composition and what these changes might mean regarding the police subculture. As we have previously suggested (White et al., 2010), the traditional, White male-dominated policing subculture in the NYPD may be waning in recent years. The NYPD has made a concerted effort, with considerable success, to hire and retain minority officers. Such recruitment and hiring practices have occurred at both the line level and the administrative level. At the conclusion of 2010, 53% of patrol officers were Black, Hispanic, or Asian. More Hispanic, Black, and female officers are now employees of the NYPD than ever before. Additionally, more supervisors come from these demographic categories now than before (El-Ghosashy, 2011). These changes may herald a subsequent dissolution of the salience of a White male-dominated subculture. Such a change may create a sense of malaise in White officers which, in turn, may manifest as a lack of satisfaction.

In our previous study (White et al., 2010), we were able only to suggest this by observing the global, overall satisfaction of officers. The current study provides a more detailed look at officer satisfaction. The degree to which White officers are less satisfied than their counterparts in those areas of the occupation most reasonably not associated with traditional policing subculture, merits the idea that in the NYPD, that subculture may be waning. Focusing again on Table 4, White officers are statistically less satisfied with the following occupational elements that are conceivably not associated with the traditional policing subculture: the opportunity to help people in the community and the relationship with the community. These rankings were clearly reflected in the qualitative assessments done by the officers. As one White officer put it, the best thing about the job was "Retirement. Detail = weekends off," and the worst was "Community." Although some White respondents did respond positively relative to their community (e.g., "Ability to meet people in community and make new contacts"), they

were few and far between. When White officers did mention interacting with the public, it was typically either in individualist terms, as in "Occassinally [sic] being able to help people in a meaningful way," or in regards to crime control, as in "The ability to put bad people away."

Black and Hispanic officers were both apt to mention working directly with the community as a "best" aspect of the job. Some were stated in individualistic terms similar to White officers' responses, such as "the ability to help people and have fun doing it," while others more explicitly mentioned *community:* "That you get to make a difference within the community somewhat" and "The ability to fight crime and help the community." Perhaps more telling is that Black and Hispanic respondents rarely mentioned the public or the community as a "worst" aspect about their job. Indeed, one Hispanic officer stated that the worst part of the job was "supervisors … [and the] lack of ability permitted by supervisor staff to assist community."

This speaks to a number of points raised by researchers and politicians. The 1960s President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) argued that one central reason for the unrest and rioting among minority communities was the poor rapport between police and communities. Their recommendations included hiring more police minority officers. In many ways, the results of this study offer good news when compared to the recommendations given by the President's Crime Commission (1967): As the NYPD has become more diverse, the satisfaction of officers from different racial/ethnic and sex backgrounds may be reaching a certain homeostasis. To be sure, NYPD officers appear to be satisfied with their job. Still, the study does point out important differences with the very concerns the President's Crime Commission raised, namely, rapport with the public.

Although this study does not offer us a glimpse into the citizen side of the equation, it is apparent from these data that NYPD Black and Hispanic officers were experiencing a positive rapport with the community. Although the NYPD has not espoused community oriented policing, this may yet suggest to administrators the importance of community-oriented programs within their agency in regards to retention. If minority officers find interaction with the community to be tied to their levels of job satisfaction, this is additional evidence supporting the shift to a focus on community policing. In effect, there may be an internal benefit in the form of officer satisfaction within the philosophy underpinning community policing. There is also the presumed external effect, which increases the legitimacy of the agency as a whole in the eyes of the public (Kane, 2005; Skogan & Frydl, 2004; Tyler, 2006). In light of these findings, future research should consider the racial/ethnic composition of the communities served by police officers and the impact that this has on those officers' levels of satisfaction, relative to officers' race/ethnicity.

Satisfaction and the Boss/Subordinate Relationship

Even though there were statistically significant differences between levels of overall satisfaction, the fact remains that, on average, officers were generally satisfied with their profession. Indeed, one of the most striking findings of this study is that officers are dissatisfied with very few aspects of their work on average. One aspect with which officers *were* dissatisfied (and for which there were statistical significant differences between males and females, but not among racial groups) was the relationship with supervisors. Across the board, after six years on the street, NYPD officers were concerned with how their supervisors went about their job. As one White male officer stated, "Everything is so micromanaged. I had less supervision in kindergarten than I do now. Constantly worrying about 'covering yourself' and making sure all the T's are crossed, because if something happens you [are] considered guilty and not innocent." The negative perceptions seemed to be attached to two other aspects: political maneuvering among the brass and myopia with regards to numbers. This same officer continued, stating that there is "too much emphasis on statistics and numbers, and not [on] reality." One Latina officer summed up this connection thusly: "The job is all about generating numbers and compliance with politicians up above and little to do with fighting crime, protecting POs, or serving the public…!"

These statements were common across all groups and clearly demonstrate a diametric between line-officers and supervisors. However, the concern over management was limited to mid- and upper-level managers. One officer decried "the way an individual police officer is treated by the upper echelon, and the misinformation given to promote their own agenda and careers." This pattern was articulated three decades ago by Reuss-Ianni (1983), who argued that the subculture of policing was not monolithic but was composed of two disparate parts. On the one hand, there was the management cop culture. This culture was concerned with a smoothly running bureaucracy that aimed towards the efficient and rational productivity of objective goals. This management cop culture inherited a need for accountability based on quantifiable outcomes. Set against the management cop culture was the more traditional street-cop

culture. While the management culture was focused on rational and standardized decision making processes, the street culture gave credit to gut feelings earned through on-the-job experience. Line officers and their immediate supervisors were seen to eschew the standardized procedures and "packaged" solutions of the brass (Reuss-Ianni, 1983, p. 6).

The findings from this study support Reuss-Ianni's contention that large urban police departments are not composed of a monolithic cop culture but instead manifest a street-cop and a management-cop culture. Since Reuss-Ianni's study was done in the NYPD over 30 years ago, it seems fair to suggest that the two culture policing model presented in her monograph remains salient for the this agency. Furthermore, Reuss-Ianni (1983) also argued that the existence of these two cultures would push street-cops towards a cohesive camaraderie. This, too, was found to be the case in the current study. Given the sometimes poor view that line-officers hold of management, it is no surprise that the respondents were also consonant in their levels of satisfaction of camaraderie which ranked number 1 overall. Officers of all sex and race/ethnic groups expressed how important their peers were to them. The shift from a street-cop orientation to a micromanaged and numbers emphasized management-cop culture has no doubt solidified the desire for front-line officers to stick together, thereby furthering the gap between themselves and the brass.[3]

The low satisfaction of salary in the NYPD (least satisfying among all groups across the board) deserves attention. This finding was reflected equally in the quantitative and qualitative data. Our previous work (White et al., 2010) found salary to be among the least influential reasons for entering the profession. In the current study, it is also the least satisfying among all groups six years later. We do not know how much, if at all, lower satisfaction with salary caused officers to leave the NYPD and thus not be included in this study. Perhaps, as one reviewer noted, it may have had to do with the lowering of the NYPD's salary in the mid-2000s. Would this same finding hold true in other agencies with much higher pay, and would there be a difference by officer sex and race/ethnicity? Lastly, while recruits knew the starting salary coming onto the job, as time goes on and officers mature, perhaps the satisfaction level of salary drops since it fails to meet their requirements or expectations. In other words, upon entering the police force, salary may not have been a highly motivating factor because it was not a crucial consideration at that point in their life. However, with time on the job and increased financial obligations that come with maturity, an officer's salary eventually became insufficient. This developmental framework for understanding motivation, satisfaction, and their impact on job retention is an important pursuit for future research.

Conclusions

The retention of good police officers is a key element of the administration of law enforcement agencies. Notably, for a number of decades there has been a push for recruiting officers from racially and ethnically diverse populations with a concomitant focus on recruiting female officers. This recruitment initiative goes hand in hand with efforts to retain officers. Although the subject of officer retention encompasses a variety of issues, one potential source of retaining officers is found in their level of job satisfaction. To the extent that minority officers are satisfied with their profession, it can reasonably be expected that they will remain at their current office of employment. One of the most important issues related to the retention of officers, regardless of race/ethnicity or sex, is job satisfaction. Officers who are satisfied with their job are more likely to stay in the profession, and they are also more likely to stay motivated and engaged and to perform at a high level (Emmert & Taher, 1992; Hackman & Oldham, 1976). As a result, the identification of factors that are related to job satisfaction has important implications for police departments.

This study can be valuable to police leaders in crafting their officer retention efforts. For example, the findings from this study tentatively suggest that good job benefits, job security, opportunities for career advancement, and especially the rapport between co-workers were all important factors in the satisfaction of these NYPD officers. These factors may have affected their decision to remain employed by the NYPD after six years, net of sex and race/ethnicity. Further, for agencies interested in retaining minority and female officers, this study suggests the importance of emphasizing working proactively and positively with communities as well. This study also speaks to what administrators need to avoid in order to prevent morale degradation and officer dissatisfaction. Namely, administrators should avoid political gestures and what Skolnick and Fyfe (1993) referred to as the numbers game. These factors appeared to alienate the officers in the study sample, leading them to resent this aspect of the job, the support of their superiors, and the "real" motives behind what they were told to do on a daily basis. As a result, serious reconsideration of how officer performance is evaluated in this regard may be fruitful in reducing levels of officer dissatisfaction.

The attrition rate came as a surprise to the researchers and begs the question of whether the

NYPD consistently experiences new hire turnover of this magnitude. There is some evidence that this is the case: in 2000, out of 2,926 entrants, 1,203 left over an 11-year period for an attrition of 41.1%. In 2002, 900 out of 2,549 entrants (35.3 %) left over a nine-year period. Although only covering three years, these numbers suggest that there is nothing unusual about this level of attrition for the NYPD in the 21st century, per se, but certainly leads us to wonder if this attrition rate is unique to the NYPD. For example, do other large departments suffer from the same rate? What are the rates among smaller departments? These questions merit further research.

If this level of attrition is not unique to the NYPD, then the number of resources lost in having over a quarter of one's work force leave within six years is enormous. It would behoove law enforcement agencies to have a good grasp on why people are leaving the job, as well as why others are remaining. Although it is clear from the current study that most NYPD officers are typically satisfied after six years on the job, there are areas where that satisfaction is relatively low. Importantly, we can assume that just as there were differences between different racial/ethnic and sex categories among the survey's respondents regarding satisfaction, so too were there differences in the reasons that the 569 officers left within a six year time period. Exploring retention in terms of satisfaction is only the first step in understanding officer retention.

The discussion in this article, although informed by both the empirical findings of the study and the body of police scholarship, remains speculative. Both the processes behind these levels of satisfaction and their implications remain to be explored. For example, why, in the NYPD, are White officers less satisfied than minority officers, and does this finding persist in other departments? To what extent does training and socialization impact satisfaction? Why is the divide between street cops and management so persistent in the NYPD, and does this culture clash (Reuss-Ianni, 1983) exist so strongly in other departments? Do these processes differ by race/ethnicity and sex? What impact does satisfaction have on officer performance? Just as importantly, how does satisfaction with the job affect officers' willingness to remain in the profession? These questions have important implications for police departments that struggle to hire and retain minority and female officers in their ranks.

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Endnotes

[1] The sample size for the question 'How satisfied are you with your relationship to your subordinates?' was necessarily reduced for each analysis because many officers remained patrol officers. As a result, these officers had no subordinates.

[2] In supplementary analyses, 11 ordered logit regression models were run for each survey question in order to consider other covariates collected in the survey. In light of the bivariate analyses, the multivariate models provided some more insight. Hispanic officers were more likely than White officers to be somewhat satisfied or very satisfied in terms of opportunities for career advancement, and Black officers were more likely than White officers to be somewhat satisfied or very satisfied regarding helping communities. Similarly, Black officers were more likely than White officers to be somewhat or very satisfied with community relations. Also, females were more likely to be satisfied than males with helping communities, and Hispanic female officers were more likely than White male officers to be satisfied with helping communities.

Otherwise, the models indicated very few differences in levels of satisfaction across all questions. Also, no variables reach significance in the "co-workers," "subordinates," "supervisors," or "salary" models. These results suggest that for this suite of outcomes, police officers in the NYPD were fairly consonant in their levels of satisfaction. Although age was a statistically significant predictor over several models, its effect size was relatively small. These findings are contrary to research that suggests that as officers age and grow in their tenure, their level of cynicism increases in tandem with a drop in their job satisfaction (Niederhoffer, 1967). Also, overall satisfaction had a strong relationship with one's assignment: Both sergeants and detectives were more likely than patrol officers to be satisfied overall with their job. Not surprisingly, these same groups were also more likely to be satisfied with opportunity for career advancement.

Last, the fact that the race differences remain significant to some degree in several of the multivariate models supports the overarching conclusion suggested by the t-tests and ANOVA models, that the differences in satisfaction among NYPD officers is more pronounced in terms of race/ethnicity than it is for sex.

Not all models fit the data well; the -2 log likelihood for Job Benefits, Salary, Excitement, Job Security, Crime Fighting, Relationship with Supervisor, Relationship for Subordinates, and Relationship with Co-workers models failed to reach statistical significance. Further, many of the standard errors were large enough to be of concern. Severe multicollinearity did not appear to be a problem, as all variance inflation factors were less than 4. Further, heteroskedasticity was not apparent according to the Breusch-Pagan test for the models, except for the Opportunity and Crime models. Further, it is important to consider the possibility that the models may be misspecified, leaving out a number of important precinct level and background variables. Because of these fit concerns, these models are meant to be an extension of the ANOVA and t-test models presented above.

[3] One anonymous reviewer suggested that, for the NYPD, the shift in management culture may have more to do with COMPSTAT. This may, indeed, be the case, and is worth considering in future research. COMPSTAT has had the effect of shifting responsibility from the street level cop to the administration, and, as such, it has changed the relationship between the brass and line officers. This has the potential to greatly impact the satisfaction of police officers.

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"We're Not Supposed to Have Nothing in Here"[1]: Life in Juvenile Jail through the Voices of Incarcerated Girls

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ABSTRACT AND ARTICLE INFORMATION

This article discusses findings from a subsection of data collected through qualitative interviews and observations inside a juvenile detention facility for girls. The analysis of incarcerated girls' and their correctional counselors' narratives reveals a contradiction between the rhetoric of rehabilitation and the actual behavior of staff encouraged within juvenile institutions. This paper discusses the impact such culture has on young women's consciousness and prospects. It further contributes to the existing literature by revealing that the ideology of deprivation as intervention in contemporary juvenile correctional contexts systemically fosters an atmosphere of counter-rehabilitation that may be resistant to top-level reform legislation and programing.

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During the 1990s, the juvenile justice system faced a significant increase in the numbers of female offenders entering juvenile institutions (Acoca, Le, Poe-Yamagata, & Muckelroy, 2000; Porter, 2000; Scahill, 2000). Harms (2003) reports that the number of detained females increased by 50% as compared to a relatively low 4% increase for males. This increase was primarily due to an increase in violent offense charges for girls. Today, young women make up 16% of all juveniles in detention and 14% of juveniles in residential placement facilities, and they are more likely than their male counterparts to be confined for a technical violation (Hockenberry, 2013).

Court caseload and arrest trends have followed a similar pattern to detention and placement data. Since the late 1990s, court case loads for female juveniles have increased while male rates have remained stable (Puzzanchera & Hockenberry, 2013). Moreover, between 2001 and 2010, person offense case rates decreased at a much lower pace for girls as compared

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to boys younger than 17. Interestingly though, during the same decade, caseloads increased by 8% for young women in the 17 year-old age group, whereas they dropped by 11% for 17 year-old males (Puzzanchera & Hockenberry, 2013).

Females currently represent 29% of all arrested juveniles, (Puzzanchera, 2013), and their arrests increasingly involve violent offense charges (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). The most recent data indicate that young women represent 1 out of 5 arrests for juvenile violence (Puzzanchera, 2013). Whereas males are still disproportionately involved in violence, arrest trends reveal some gender conversion: Between 2002 and 2011 the proportion of girls arrested for assaultive behavior increased. In general, in the first decade of the 21st century, while male offenses continued to drop significantly, arrests for females either dropped less (Puzzanchera, 2013), or increased for some offenses, for example, simple assaults (Puzzanchera & Adams, 2011).

Empirical research (Chesney-Lind, 2010; Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008; Chesney-Lind & Paramore, 2001; Feld, 2009) attributes these increases to the changing attitudes of law enforcement and probation officers, to laws that re-label girls' behaviors and criminalize victimized girls' survival strategies, and to the drop in public mental health care options (General Accounting Office [GAO], 2003) that resulted in sending many girls otherwise ineligible for incarceration to juvenile detention facilities.

In 2007, the year before this study started, about 12% of the total juvenile inmate population in public and private facilities in California was female (Sickmund, Sladky, & Puzzanchera, 2011). The rate at which females were incarcerated in the same state was slightly higher than the national average (81 compared with 78 per 100,000) and much higher for minority youth, especially Hispanics. Not surprisingly, and despite the increase in arrests for violence, the strongest representation of detained and committed young women (as compared to their male counterparts) was still in non-violent, non-person offenses such as status (in particular, running away) and technical violations. In fact, in California, 11% of girls as compared to 3% of boys in residential placement had committed a status offense, whereas about 25% of confined girls (as compared to 14% of confined boys) were locked up for a technical violation (Sickmund et al., 2011). These gender disparities seem to have remained relatively stable between 2007 and present day.

These trends have sparked concerns over whether juvenile detention institutions provide the kinds of contexts where system-involved girls' needs are addressed in a humane, fair, and effective manner (Bilsky & Chesney-Lind, 2010). Evidence suggests that greater involvement in the system increases impairment and recidivism among girls (Lederman, Dakoff, Larrea, & Li, 2004). Although literature on conditions of confinement for incarcerated girls has been sparse, qualitative studies in this area conducted mostly by feminist scholars (Acoca, 1998; Belknap, Holsinger, & Dunn, 1997; Bilsky & Chesney-Lind, 2010; Human Rights Watch [HRW] & American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU], 2006; HRW, 1995, 1997; Kempf-Leonard & Sample, 2000) have revealed that abuse and neglect is commonplace inside juvenile institutions for girls in the United States. The current study aims to contribute to this line of research and take it one step further by examining how such conditions may be linked to system-involved girls' difficulty to remain trouble free once released.

The analysis of this qualitative data set unravels the multiple ways in which the institution under study perpetuates the devastation that has shaped its clients' pathways to detention. My findings indicate that a fundamental problem with the treatment of female juvenile offenders is a key contradiction between the institution's stated goals and its practices. Like all juvenile institutions, especially those operating in a state, and run by a county with progressive ideals, this one too claims to be a rehabilitative place that wants girls to be successful, empowered, and confident; however, in practice it routinely undercuts those supposed aims at every turn. In doing so, it distorts young women's views of themselves, their behaviors, and their prospects; it discourages critical self- reflection; and it normalizes loss of control over their own lives.

Conditions of Confinement for Detained Girls

A number of female youth institutions countrywide have, on paper, adopted rehabilitative and gender responsive principles and ideals. This is also the case for the correctional institution where the current study was conducted. However, whether rhetoric matches reality is an empirical question that very few studies have explored thus far through field research. Evidence from the limited number of studies using qualitative interviews with incarcerated young women reveals that conditions of confinement in these institutions are far from what they are advertised to be. In fact, they not only contradict the aforementioned principles, but they also mimic the multiple marginalization and victimizations that typically pervade the lives of system-involved girls outside detention (Chesney-Lind, 2001; 2010; Loper, 1999).

One such account comes from a 2006 Human Rights Watch (HRW) and American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) report on confinement conditions for incarcerated girls in two state-run juvenile facilities in New York. This report summarizes and discusses data collected through in depth interviews with 30 formerly incarcerated girls and reveals that female delinquents have been subjected to abusive and neglectful conduct inside prison-like facilities that, contrary to their stated purpose, often fail to provide appropriate, meaningful, and rehabilitative services. Conditions of confinement in these New York institutions involved humiliation, hostility, and discrimination against young women who fail to meet socially constructed standards of femininity; blunt favoritism; prohibition of interactions between inmates; forced isolation; idleness; collective punishment; and even sexual and physical abuse. Young women complained about being threatened and yelled, screamed, or cursed at by staff. One of the respondents expressed feelings of being treated like a "dog" or "animal," or not "as human" (p. 85). The report indicates that educational, vocational, mental health, treatment and reintegration programs and services are inadequate, haphazard, untailored, or ineffective. In fact, counseling services are provided by untrained staff counselors who lack the knowledge, but above all, the nurturing attributes to promote their wards' wellbeing (HRW& ACLU, 2006).

Such reports are consistent with academic studies, such as the one by Leslie Acoca (1998) which used qualitative observations and interviews with incarcerated girls. Acoca's study is of particular relevance to the current one because her sample was also drawn from female adolescent populations detained in county juvenile facilities in California. Reports of emotional, physical, psychological, and sexual harassment are abundant in the interview narratives. Girls in that study complained that staff members made them feel worthless, yelled and cursed at them constantly, and used unnecessary restraints such as handcuffs. Environmental conditions like poor quality food, shared clothing, and, at times, inhumane living arrangements also contributed to the young inmates' degradation. Limited access to outdoor, or any, activities and isolation in bare rooms resulted in sadness and depression (Acoca, 1998).

More recently, Laurie Schaffner's (2006) study used mixed methods, which included interviews with delinquent females and observations inside detention facilities in four different states. The author sought to "immerse" herself "in the worlds of young women in trouble, youth advocacy, and popular culture" (p. 45) in order to illuminate and contextualize the girls' experiences with juvenile justice processing. Schaffner found that girls came from neighborhoods and families marked by rampant violence, poverty, racism, and sexism; however, interventions inside juvenile institutions often failed to critically or successfully address the impact of these conditions. To the contrary, correctional employees often exposed young women to gendered, racial, and homophobic stereotypes that urban minority youth typically face in the outside world (Schaffner, 2006).

Kempf-Leonard and Sample (2000), who analyzed focus-group discussions with at-risk female adolescents, also reported that girls' experiences with the justice system were negative: They entailed perceptions of injustice and disrespect due to gender, overmedication, and lack of treatments responsive to experiences of abuse and neglect. Respondents in that sample expressed their desire for close, caring, stable relationships with well-adjusted adults to fill the gap of functional family in their lives (Kempf-Leonard & Sample, 2000).

Belknap et al. (1997) did not focus exclusively on conditions of confinement but rather on investigating potential gender biases in the administration of services within the juvenile justice system and identifying the needs of delinquent girls in order to inform policies that are responsive to these needs. Nevertheless, their study, which employed focus group interviews with delinquent girls and juvenile justice professionals in Ohio, offers valuable insights highlighting the treatment of young women throughout the juvenile justice system. Findings reflect girls' frustration with insulting, humiliating, and offensive behavior by staff members; their unmet need for love, attention, and individualized treatment tailored to their specific needs; and their fear of failing to reintegrate once released.

Last, findings from a study that used grievances and incident reports as a proxy for conditions of confinement in the Honolulu Youth Detention center (Bilsky & Chesney-Lind, 2010) indicate that girls, a large number of whom were detained for non-violent status offenses, were often subjected to boredom, forced silence, and capricious regimentation and were likely (more likely than detained boys) to be harshly punished for minor infractions. The same study found that when young women protest conditions of confinement, which commonly violate federal, state, and international legislation and contradict the purposes of juvenile justice processing and treatment, they get into more trouble with correctional staff. Often times, as a result of these hostile living arrangements, girls become depressed, suicidal, and self-destructive (Bilsky & Chesney-Lind, 2010).

The current study is similar to the ones cited above, as it also uses qualitative methods to explore

the reality inside female detention institutions and gives a voice to those mostly affected by these conditions: the detained girls themselves. This paper presents the analysis of a subsection of data collected in a larger field research project that blended several kinds of qualitative approaches including observations and interviews. The focus of the larger project was on examining the conditions of confinement in female detention institutions and their effects on the detainees.

Methods

This field research followed an interpretive, feminist approach and was inspired among others by Gaarder and Belknap (2002) and Belknap et al. (1997) in the design, as well as in the execution. The most important goal of this approach was to give voice to the incarcerated girls who participated in the study, allow their perspectives to be heard, and ultimately, place them in the forefront of the analysis. This goal was realized through a qualitative design that included intensive interviews, and observations.[2] Whereas observational data as well as informal conversations with frontline staff, supervisors, and parents were used to support and corroborate findings throughout, the bulk of the data in this paper came from qualitative interviews with detained girls.

Research Site

The research site for this study was the female unit inside a public juvenile institution in Southern California. The institution is a secure detention facility run by the county's probation department, which, in addition, operates a jail unit for minors tried as adults and three non-secure placement facilities (camps) for adjudicated youth. However, only one placement option in the county is available to girls.[3] As a result, the research site for this study was the larger of two and the only secure institution for delinquent girls in one of the most heavily populated counties in the country.

The facility detains female arrestees awaiting juvenile court hearings and adjudicated youth awaiting placement in the treatment camp, in some sort of community-based alternative (such as, for example, house arrest), or, less often, in a private institution. A large proportion of the residents in this unit, however, are there to serve a confinement sentence as other options are either unavailable or unaffordable or as consequence of a technical violation.

The unit was designed to house 40 young women, but this capacity was not reached during the two year study period. When this study began in 2008, this institution, similar to many youth correctional facilities nationwide, was faced with an increase in the number of female detainees, which averaged about 30-35 per day. However, coinciding with the figures in Sickmund et al. (2011), recently the trend seems to be reversing. Due to a shift in emphasis towards home-based rather than incarcerative post-adjudication options, there were fewer girls (about 20 to 25 day count) confined in the same unit by the time data collection was completed as compared to 2008. According to correctional staff in the research site, this change was a mere consequence of the budget crisis in California rather than a result of an intentional policy decision to effect de-institutionalization.

The juvenile justice system was founded on the philosophy of *parens patriae*, the idea that the state must act as the caretaker for minors who violate the law (Feld, 1998). Assuming that youth transgressions are due to inadequate or neglectful parenting, the state intervenes in order to provide the guidance. The system is also supposed to provide a nurturing atmosphere, something that the system-involved adolescents' parents have failed to provide. Therefore, at least in theory, the primary purpose of juvenile justice processing and treatment has historically been and still is rehabilitation, rather than punishment, albeit notable with shifts toward crime control (Howell et al., 2013).[4]

In addition, according to the county's probation website; literature that was shared during training sessions, fundraisers, and meetings with administrators; and personal communication with probation managers, this institution takes this commitment a step further: The department's stated mission is indeed to use "efficient, innovative, and evidence based practices to promote lawful and productive lifestyles," while its employees are "committed to delivering services with integrity and in a manner which respects the rights and dignity of individuals."[5] In addition, the institution is, at least in rhetoric, endorsing these ideals by implementing restorative and gender-specific practices. Gender specific practices address the unique nature of the problems associated with female delinquency (Lederman et al., 2004) and respond to particular needs of female offenders that hinder their successful reintegration in society (Bloom, Owens, Deschenes, & Rosenbaum, 2002; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004; Cooney, Small, & O'Connor, 2008; Gavazzi, Yarcheck, & Chesney-Lind, 2006). Such programs focus on creating caring, comfortable, and inclusive environments that encourage self-expression and promote empowerment, relation support, healing, and safety (Chesney-Lind, 2001; Covington & Bloom, 2006; Valentine Foundation & Women's Way, 1990). In fact, just before this study started, the

female unit had proudly announced their collaboration with a community organization in order to implement a so-called "gender empowerment and reintegration" program inside the facility, an announcement which partially motivated this research.

Procedure

Between October 2008 and May 2010, I conducted 1-2 hour-long interviews with 28 females incarcerated inside the facility (three girls were interviewed twice; two of them were interviewed separately and then together for a second time). Because of the low numbers of girls in this institution, as well as the high frequency of the same young women returning into it, all girls in this unit were eligible for participation.

Participants were recruited through announcements to groups of 10 or more detainees. The announcements explained the purpose and method of the study. Potential participants were informed that the study was voluntary, and they were provided a study information sheet. If they were interested, they would fill out the name and phone number of their legal guardian on the study information sheet and would return it in order for the researcher to gain consent for participation. If the potential subject was over 18, she would print and sign her name on the appropriate space on the sheet and would be interviewed within about a week.

During the course of the study, I recruited about 150 girls. Of those, only a very small number (7) did not return a filled-out information sheet. An even smaller number (n=2) of guardians whose daughters had wanted to participate in my study did not consent. However, the response rate, as measured by the proportion of returned signed consent forms sent to guardians who consented over the phone, was very small (n=15). That number would have been even smaller had I not agreed to physically go meet with consenting guardians in their homes in order to receive the signed form. Moreover, attrition (subjects for whom I had consent forms but by the time I was able to interview them had left the unit or had been placed on disciplinary room isolation) was also very common.

Most interviews took place inside the facility in a private room usually reserved for small group counseling sessions. Although there was a camera inside and glass windows in the entrance door of the room, it was otherwise a private space, ideal for confidential conversations. A few interviews were conducted in the common open space area also referred to as the 'cafeteria,' or common room. The room was loud, due to staff conversations and the TV being always on, but we were allowed to sit in a relatively secluded corner where nobody other than I and the participant would be able to listen to the discussion.

The interview process and the wording of the questions drew heavily on Belknap and colleagues' (1997) method of interviewing delinquent girls in Ohio. The current study applied similar techniques in order to create a comfortable environment and encourage open discussion of sensitive issues, while remaining focused on the purpose of the interview. I also recorded observations of respondents' during the interviews. Since I was the only researcher present at the time of the interview, I audio-taped verbal responses while writing observations down in a note pad. Interviews were transcribed within one week and produced about 300 pages of qualitative data.

Interviews followed a life-history approach, were semi-structured, and consisted of questions on the following topics: the juvenile justice system and the subject's trajectory through the system; childhood experiences; familial and peer relationships; views and attitudes about social institutions; their current experience in the facility, and in particular, their interactions with staff, counselors, and other residents; and the availability of treatment or recreational programs. Additional topics explored their thoughts about their own offending (causes, consequences, justifications), about their future as recidivists or desisters, and their policy suggestions. The analysis in this paper examines young women's responses to their experiences throughout the juvenile justice system, with emphasis on their current experience in the facility and their suggestions on potential policy changes that would work better for them and other girls in similar situations to succeed and become happy.

Participants

Young women in my sample were between the ages of 14 and 19 (average age: 16), and about half (n=13) of all the respondents were adults at the time of the interview. Due to the persistent problem of disproportionate minority confinement in juvenile corrections (Chesney-Lind, 2010), girls of color were over-represented in my sample: the majority (n=19) of the girls were Latinas and the rest were White (n=7) and African American (n=2). With the exception of three first-timers, all other girls had been inside this facility multiple times in the past, some of them as many as 10 times (average times served: 4-5). Also consistent with past research (American Bar Association [ABA] & National Bar Association [NBA], 2001; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006), this study showed that the most common reason for incarceration was a technical violation, most often for a status offense such as running away, not showing

up to probation meetings, or being incorrigible, coupled with a consequent "dirty" drug test. Four of the girls I interviewed were pregnant at the time, and while nobody in my sample had children, several of them had had terminated a pregnancy in the past. Notably, all girls in my sample were or had been drug users. The most popular drug among my sample was methamphetamine. In terms of socio-economic background, the group of my respondents was multiply marginalized (Vigil, 1998), and exacerbating the effect of this marginalized status, family dysfunction, sexual and physical victimization, educational neglect, and domestic violence were present in the narratives of all 28 girls I interviewed.[6]

Study Limitations

Although its findings are consistent with previous literature, which may allow room for broader conclusions and implications, like most qualitative research, the current study is low on generalizability. Additionally, although its sample is similar to those of the female inmate population in the particular county's juvenile justice system, it is, nevertheless, not necessarily representative of the larger, nationwide population of detained girls. Another possible limitation is that findings are based primarily on girls' accounts. They are, then, in some ways one-sided. They largely represent their subjective reality. Girls' accounts, however, were also corroborated by my own observations inside the facility and by my frequent informal conversations with frontline staff, which not only did not contradict, but rather, enhanced girls' narratives. Last, because I only had access to female detainees, I am unable to conclude with confidence that conditions of confinement for them are gendered, although girls' accounts often suggest this.

Findings: A Climate of Counter-Rehabilitation

The findings in the current study are similar to those of previously reviewed research in that they also reveal the inadequate and neglectful treatments to which detained girls are routinely exposed. The current study, however, differs from and expands past literature by moving beyond a mere description of confined young women's experiences. This study reveals the ideology that prevails in a progressive juvenile justice system and how this ideology systematically trumps the goals of rehabilitation, reintegration, and gender empowerment. In other words, based on the analysis of the current qualitative data, I argue that abuse and neglect are not conditions that merely contradict the juvenile justice system's goals, but that they have become the system's main goals instead, transforming its institutions into spaces where deprivation is the standard intervention.

Frigidness

Girls detained in the facility where this study was conducted frequently complained about feelings of loneliness, boredom, and detachment. Residents were required to walk with their heads down and their hands behind their back and were not allowed to talk to each other without permission from staff members. Staff members, whom girls (and probation managers) referred to as "counselors," were also discouraged from talking to juveniles under their care. In fact, during a Volunteer training I attended, former staff and probation officers leading the session advised future youth counselors to keep to themselves because delinquents were "manipulative and cunning" and would perceive "warmth as a sign of weakness." Staff in the unit would address girls by their last name and would refrain from talking to them unless they were giving them orders. Several of my respondents described the relationship with their counselor as uninvolved. When I asked Tanya (14) about this relationship, she responded: "My counselor? Oh, I don't really talk to her, unless I want to make a phone call or something." Several participants shared similar sentiments. In fact, girls shared that some staff members were completely unresponsive to residents' requests. As Jenni (16) complained, "staff would scream at everybody; like people would say 'can I talk to you?' and she'd say 'No! I don't have time for you'…And the whole time she would be on her cell phone." Similarly, Vienna (15) told me,

> Well, I know it's not their job to listen to our problems, you know? That's what they all say to us… And obviously they show that they don't care 'cause when we have a problem and we wanna let them know they say: "we don't wanna know, we didn't ask."

Vienna, a bright young girl with a self-admitted "anger problem" who is nevertheless very cooperative with unit rules and staff demands, not only summarizes counselors' unwillingness to counsel, but also excuses it. Even though Vienna says (and her violent history confirms) that she is always "willing to fight," she often gives up trying to get her counselor's attention, even when she needs it the most. One day, she wanted to call her older cousin, who was visiting from Mexico. "He always listens to me and keeps me out of trouble, you know?" she said, explaining why talking to him while locked-up was so important to her. She said that she kindly

asked her counselor permission to talk to her (so she would place the phone-call request), but the counselor refused to even listen to what Vienna had to say. She related the following experience:

> I said, [submissive tone] 'Ms. Y whenever you have time can I talk to you?' And she said, 'Yeah, whenever I have time.' …All day she didn't do anything, she was sitting there eating, texting, and I told everybody 'hey let me know what she's doing' so when I was at bible study they were like 'nothing' …Why can't she come and talk to me? Instead of texting, why can't she talk to me?

Days passed, her cousin returned to Mexico, and Vienna never got a chance to make the phone call, or even ask permission for it; her reaction, however, was not anger, but rather, sad acceptance. When I asked her if someone had indeed told her that counseling or even talking is not something counselors are obliged to do according to their job description, she responded that no one had told her that, but that it was something she had assumed based on witnessing their behavior. This assumption was one of the many young women made that resulted in their overall perception that they were neither entitled, nor deserving of any kindness or care while detained.

Boredom and Segregation

While in detention, residents detested the long hours of inactivity ("there's nothing to do here!" was a universal complaint) and room segregation they received. "We're trapped in our room, miserable" proclaimed Isla, a 15-year-old respondent. Room isolation, the most commonly administered intervention in this unit, was traumatizing to newly admitted juveniles as it followed the shock and humiliation of arrest; it continued to be hurtful to girls who carried the additional weight of violent victimization and abuse in their memories. Yajaira, an 18 year-old child rape survivor, still recalls the time she was first brought into the unit at the age of 11: "They, like, put me with no roommate and I was, like, so terrified of being alone at the time!" Talia, who was 14 at the time of the interview, shared similar emotions: "Well, to me it's scary in here because, like, you're just in your room like behind these brick walls with nothing to do." In fact, the benefit of a peer's company to coping and healing was intrinsically understood by several girls, as the following excerpt relates:

> And I came to [the institution] and Anna, the other girl too, she got arrested and she came in here with me too which was great…. I mean, It was sad that she had to be in here, but she helped me do time, like, different, you know what I mean? She was my roommate in here…because I was all hysterical then. (Dianne, 17)

The emotional impact of loneliness, isolation, and idleness surrounding adolescents in the unit is apparent in several girls' narratives, as in the following one from Dora, a 17 year-old who had been incarcerated in the facility a total of eight times:

> This place depresses you sometimes; you are used to being out and listen to music and all you hear here is yelling and …and you don't have really anything to do but to think about all the things, and usually you remember things that make you feel bad…cause everything catches up to you.

It is notable that sadness and depression were already present in the lives of my respondents before their involvement with the criminal justice system, and the institution seemed to have missed an opportunity to reverse or alleviate them by offering activities that its design seemed to permit. The institution was surrounded by green space, a baseball field, and a few smaller courts for basketball or other athletic activities. However, of all the times I visited the site, I only saw them being used a couple of times, and never by females. This observation was shared by the girls:

> I know that they play a lot of sports and like I'm an athlete you know like I've played on many things; I know what I'm doing.…But they never allow me to participate.…And do you see all these fields, out here? Oh, no, they are great.…We NEVER go out to play, they just leave us here (in the cafeteria) and sometimes they play music and we jump up and down, and that's it. (Trish, 18)

Barbra, a 15-year old who was born with fetal drug syndrome, likes to practice sports because it helps her cope with traumatic parental rejection (she was abandoned by both her parents), physical abuse by her older cousin, rape (at age 11), and several health problems, including addiction and depression. "Sports keep you happy," she said in a trembling voice, taking pride in her softball talent. Barbra was chosen to play softball in the institution's (all-male) team, but staff would not allow her to do so, because of what they called her "poor attitude."

Defeatism and Diminished Control

Depriving young women of what they need the most during adolescence, that is, emotional connection and support (Covington & Bloom, 2006; Matthews & Hubbard, 2008; Miller, 1976, 1990; Valentine Foundation & Women's Way, 1990; Zavlek & Maniglia, 2007), seems to diminish their confidence in their own prospects and abilities to change the course of their lives. Staff members perhaps inadvertently reinforce these defeatist attitudes by frequently bringing up girls' past failures. When, during my joint interview with Vienna and Bianca (15), I asked whether counselors gave them a "you can do it" pep talk at their release day, both young women seemed amused with my question: "Are you serious? You know what they say? Every time a girl is released here they say: 'OK, see you in 24 hours!'" they both claimed in one voice. At the same time, staff members openly discount girls' positive attributes or strengths. As Vienna explains, "Well, the staff here make fun of me, 'cause I tell them I actually like school…And they're like, 'no one in here likes school.'"

"They think we're mess-ups," related another girl describing staff members' expectations of the residents. She illustrated her point by describing the following incident: "One day that I was downstairs the counselor told me: 'What are you hanging around my office for? Are you gonna steal something?'" (Yolanda, 18). Mistrust and disapproval is generally communicated in several ways inside the facility, but especially through strict scheduling and rule enforcement. In this cultural context, girls receive the message that they possess or control nothing.

First, girls are under constant staff watch. As my own recorded observations, my conversations with staff and parents, and especially my interview data indicate, staff members are present during visitations, monitoring and recording everything that is discussed between the inmate and her visitors (usually parents). My respondents complained that rooms are searched routinely on the pretext of safety maintenance, and personal effects such as drawings, books, and letters are removed. Such privacy intrusions can have detrimental consequences for a young woman's psychological stability. For example, one girl *went off*[7] because the staff entered her room and took away a sheet with song lyrics. Having control over lights in their cell is also out of the question and a major source of frustration among my interviewees. Vienna described what happened to a mentally ill girl, who was agitated because the staff had punished her with an "early bed":

> She was really-really upset, shouting, "It's not fair," and she started banging the door in her room, so the med lady came, and popped her out to give her her meds, and then the girl asked her lights off and they're like "No- lights close at 9:30" … point is she walked where we used to have the tooth brush, she got the box and threw it on the desk, and then she started throwing other stuff and yelling "fuck this place," so right away they called code 1 and had to calm her down.…So they tackled her and that big guy, plus 8 other staff, and then they put her in the observation room, so she started banging her head in the wall.

Second, girls are obliged to follow a strict time schedule that cannot be bent for any reason short of illness: They are told when to sleep, wake up, leave their rooms, exercise, and shower. Several girls complained that exercise, although a rare and desired activity, also posed a great dilemma: "I feel gross, I stink" said Isla in the beginning of our interview, which started after a short-lived aerobics class. "We can't shower now, only in the morning," she explained. She looked genuinely embarrassed and uncomfortable in her sweaty clothes. Another interesting living arrangement was related to me by a couple of my respondents: Girls are allowed to apply lip balm only in the morning so several of them secretly save it by applying it to the wall of their cell –and that often results in punishment. Residents are also forced to wear used underwear:

> Sharing underwear is the worst thing about this place…'cause the underwear we wear are not our own. It gets washed and passed around.…It's yucky and not good cause let's say…I don't know if they're clean and what people come in with.…It doesn't feel right.…And we only get to change our bras once a week. (Yajaira)

Third, letters sent to locked-up girls are opened, read, and scrutinized by frontline staff. Staff also decides whether to give these letters to their recipients. In some cases, young women are punished for the content of sent letters. In a characteristic case, a girl (Bertha, 17) got in trouble with her counselor because one of her friends greeted her with a "Hey, love I miss you." My respondent was placed under room isolation and was treated with contempt because the letter raised suspicions that she was gay. Bertha was obviously distraught with the whole incident, and not just because she was punished for something another girl had written to her in private communication, but also because she felt rejected by her counselor, with whom until then,

she thought shared a good relationship. She explained,

> If the staff look at it, it looks like wrong but that's how [my friend] talks…Like the way she said "hey love" all the time…but he thought… I was like '*eww* {Counselor's last name}' I was like "she's my friend! We were like this!"… And I started crying.… I was mad…because he told me "I'm really disappointed of you." And then when he started reading me the letter, and I started pouring tears…and he's like "you know the other part the way she wrote to you," and I was like, "but you know the way me and her were. She was my best friend!" and he's, "I believe you. I believe you, but you know other staff would have readed [sic], and it would sound bad too."

Consistent with past research (Pasko, 2010; Schaffner, 2006), data from the current study reveal that a strong heterosexist value system is enforced inside juvenile institutions, where girls are punished not only for their sexual identity, but even for exhibiting behaviors, such as affection, that may be misconstrued as deviant. "The staff here don't like gay people" stated Brenda (17), who self-identified as gay. It was perhaps the reason why several girls (including Yajaira and Bianca) who had complained to me about not having a roommate felt the need to clarify that the reason they wanted one was not because they were gay, but because they liked company.

Last, residents are punished for not following rules and codes that are never explained to them beforehand, which makes their time in the unit confusing and stressful. As one girl explained,

> It was the first time I had been there, when I was punished a lot… I was really slow to what they were trying to tell me. Like they would pop the door to my room open and they wanted me to immediately know what was going on and I didn't…. (Yajaira)

Girls insisted that they would find out what they were supposed or not supposed to do by trial and error. I was told a different story by the staff who claimed that the rules were posted on the walls for everyone to read. The rules are posted in the facility, but since looking around was one of the prohibited behaviors, this rule-posting proved ineffective. With time, young girls are directed to believe that in order to become "good" and "straighten up" they must accept this process as normative. Victoria, 16, for example, became accustomed to penalties for harmless acts, such as smiling:

> I used to, like, be bad. Like, I'd smile a lot. Like, I wouldn't care, so the staff was very hard on me. The staff would give me early bed every single day.… You can't smile or you'll get in trouble.… It's nonverbal communication, … and I'd get in trouble; like, I have a nervous smirk.

Obeying what they understand as nonsensical and purposeless rules, however, increased feelings of powerlessness and failure while diminishing self-worth. As one girl stated,

> I don't think it'd make sense. If we're like bitchy, they'll be- they'll give us early bed. OK, so one time I got early bed and they said, 'Poor attitude.' Ok, so I get early bed by smiling, I get early bed if I have poor attitude. You know what I mean? I can never do right! (Victoria)

"Well, I'm gonna screw up anyways, why not do it sooner?" said Lori (19) explaining her attitude towards these rules. It was an attitude shared by most inmates.

Gendered Abuse and Insults

The young women's worth and dignity was attacked in more direct ways as well, namely through the use of psychological and verbal abuse by staff members. Evidence of this type of victimization was abundant in the interview narratives as well as my observational data (the staff made no attempt to hide their abusive behavior from me, although they were aware that I was taking notes).

Staff members would call young women names, such as "fuckin lil' brat" or "evil child," as one of my respondents, Bianca, was often addressed by her counselor. According to Bianca, the same counselor once gave Bianca's name to a pile of feces in the yard and made sure she was there to witness him laughing about it. Bianca's plight inside the institution—and her antagonistic relationship with her counselor and most frontline staff—had gained notoriety among the residents of the unit. Her story was corroborated by a few other young women who used Bianca's situation to illustrate the reasons why they frequently do not resist mistreatment by talking back or by following the formal grievance procedures to which they are entitled by law. Bianca, however, talks back and has filed formal complaints against her counselor. I was especially intrigued to interview her even before I met her, largely as a function of comments made to

me by frontline staff when they saw Bianca's name on the list of residents I had received consent to interview. One sarcastically asked, "How much time do you have?" Two of his peers who were present rolled their eyes. Her counselor added "Good luck with that one. She will not shut up." When I responded that I was looking forward to talking with such a girl, Bianca's counselor pointed out that I was lucky to have caught Bianca in the small window of time in which she was not in isolation.

Because Bianca has filed several grievances against her counselor, she faces frequent punishments and mistreatment by most other staff as well. Moreover, according to Bianca and several other young women, although this mistreatment is known to the unit supervisors, correctional managers seem unwilling or unable to put a stop to it. Bianca illustrated this point with the following story:

> And it got me mad cause on Wednesday, I was in room 6 and Thursday, I was in room 22, and then Friday, I was in room 5 and then yesterday, they moved me to 7.… And you know room 7 is in the corner and sometimes cockroaches come in so I asked for a towel to put under my door, and they're like, "oh you don't need it; you'll be moving rooms tomorrow again," and I was like *WTF*? "Why do you guys do that?" …Yesterday, they were banging my door every time they would go by.… I was sleeping and they would bang my door; first I was scared, but then I got mad.…And then they would get on the speakerphone and they would put their cell phone on it and have this ringtone play that says: "Wake up Bitch, Wake Up Bitch".… Then, Ms. "M" comes and was like "who are you talking to," and I was like, "you need to stop," and they started banging on my door.… They do that just to irritate me.

The latter incident had resulted in throwing Bianca into depression, a condition which is often masked by aggressive and risk taking behaviors similar to those in which Bianca had engaged repeatedly (drunk driving, drug use, fighting). "I declined all day yesterday," she told me when I first interviewed her, "I didn't eat breakfast, lunch, anything; I was sleeping all day, and they kept coming and banging on my door…."

Constant mocking, yelling, name calling, and cursing are treatments that girls like Bianca face while detained. As Isla summarized, "They're kinda like cracking jokes in front of everyone like laughing like, you know, degrading." Girls are often mocked for their appearance. Once, I asked frontline staff to point out to me the girl I was supposed to interview. The girl, who had braided her hair up in pigtails was standing very close by, so the employee told me loud enough so that she and everybody else could hear: "Do you see that one, with these two things sticking out from her head? That's her!" Another girl, who was going through drug withdrawals, was humiliated in front of others:

> One of the counselors, well, she was degrading to me. When she saw me she would be like "oh yeah, children, this is why you don't do drugs" or something like that, cause I'd come in and I'd be coming down. (Trish)

Lori, a young woman who insists that she sees staff members as her family because she has spent her whole adolescence in this unit, did not escape humiliation either:

> The other day I was just walking by a staff and she's like "*eww*" and I knew.…I get a lot of stuff from the staff cause I'm the only girl here with so many tattoos, but she looked at me disgusted.… I was very upset cause, like, these staff, they're not that much older than me, you know? They look down to me; they like to pretend they have a lot of power, you know? …They're just very rude, and they talk down to me, and I get very angry.

Lori told me that she knows that such comments constitute reason to file a grievance. However, grievances are avoided. First, they make things worse because the staff members join together in being vengeful to the girl who formally complained. They call them "snitches" and make life much harder for them by harshly penalizing them for minor infractions. "Staff are with staff," as Monique, 18, explained, and are therefore "unbreakable." Second, grievances result in no positive outcomes for the complainant. Bianca's situation, for example, has become increasingly worse, even though her mistreatment is well known to her public defender, her correctional therapist, and the supervisors in the unit, all of whom are supportive of her. Nevertheless, Bianca is still placed in the same unit, under the care of the same counselor about whom she has grieved.

No Way Out

It is not a big surprise then that a large number of my respondents have accepted these conditions of confinement as an unalterable part of life in the unit

and find it pointless not only to fight against them, but also to complain about them:

> Yeah, like a lot of the girls like to complain about everything and, oh my gosh, and this and that but it's, like, you know, you don't really have control over the situation. I've kinda learned that from coming back so many times. (Amy, 19)

Again, having been stripped of any sense of control over their bodies, their immediate environment, their possessions, their relationships, their ideas, and their sense of self in general, girls in this unit often express fatalistic attitudes and doubt as to whether any effort on their behalf will be effective in changing their pathway back to detention. In other words, their self-efficacy is diminished. Study participants attribute the poor treatments they receive and the resulting lack of self-efficacy to their delinquent status: "They say we're in here, cause we're obviously not good people, cause we're in here for something bad, you know" (Vienna).

These perceptions were not unfounded as similar ideas were reiterated in conversations I had with frontline staff members. Counselors believed that female delinquents violated the law because they were spoiled and selfish. They dismissed sociological explanations of delinquency by saying that they too "grew up poor, in the ghetto, but did not turn to crime." They believed that detained girls had nothing in common with their own teenage daughters: Comparing his ward with his daughter, one counselor said that his child is "miles away" better, in a way de-humanizing delinquent girls, or at least denying the fact that they, too, were children.

Several of my respondents had bought into others' views of them as incorrigible, "bad," and unworthy and had internalized feelings of shame and self-loathing. "I don't deserve any better" and "I should give up trying" were the types of comments I frequently recorded. My respondents had also internalized staff members' conceptualization of deterrence. Several young women reported that the staff often yelled at them, saying: "We want you to be miserable. We want you to do your time unhappy!" Tanya justified such yelling by explaining that the staff is "[mean], so we won't get comfortable in here." This reasoning was something several other young women referred to in order to make sense of the hostile correctional environment of the institution. This reasoning shaped girls' "spoiled" identity. As Brenda explained,

> ***"We're not supposed to have nothing in here … 'cause we're criminals."***

Contrary to what counselors seemed to believe, this sense of hopelessness, apparent in the narratives of almost all my respondents, contradicts any possibility that such attacks would deter young women from future involvement with the law:

> They say that being in your room all the time and staring at your 4 walls makes you think…I don't think that…It makes you think: "Oh I don't want to be here and I'd do anything to get out"…and pretty much…you sit there thinking and there's so much thinking, that you are convincing yourself in your head that what you're gonna do is right, but when you get out it's not the same. "I'm gonna do this and I'm gonna do that", and you have all day to think about it, and you keep saying it over and over again… you say it to your PO and the judge, you try to convince them, and sometimes they give you a chance and then you get out and you do the same thing. (Monique)

Monique very powerfully points out that deprivation during detention has no impact on the social context which contributes to girls' pathways to juvenile processing and does not in any way provide them with the attributes, strengths, or resources to rise above structural disadvantage or personal trauma. Deprivation, instead, stands in the way of a critical understanding of delinquent girls' behavior and gives rise to conflicting accounts regarding their repeat incarcerations. Girls are troubled and confused by their own behaviors and by the correctional responses those behaviors receive. Frustrated, confused, and uncertain about who is to blame here, they end up reproducing the language of blame they are accustomed to hearing. What follows is a medley of quotes illustrating self-blame, confusion, and unresolved feelings of shame and embarrassment:

> I am doing good in the program but yet I am struggling with how I feel. (Isla)

> I let the little voice in my head control me! (Victoria)

> I am working on myself.… I want to change.… I wanna become a better person than when I came in. (Vienna)

Why can't I change? (Barbra).

I'm good, but I'm bad. (Monique)

Analysis: Deprivation as Intervention

My findings reveal a gap between speech and practice, as well as a stark contrast between what "ought to be" and what "is" in this juvenile institution. Conditions of confinement for incarcerated girls not only ignore, but are antithetical to the institution's mission statement and purpose of rehabilitation and innovation. Indeed, the interventions that take place seem to be designed with the opposite goal in mind: to attack young women's sense of control, confidence, and prospects.

The preceding narratives illustrate how this happens and highlight the devastating consequences it has on girls' lives: Girls are routinely subjected to boredom and idleness; room segregation; privacy and dignity assaults; enforced silence and needless regimentation; vague, poorly articulated, but pervasive rules; anti-supportive, stigmatizing attitudes; and emotional/psychological abuse and neglect. These patterns reflect the counter-rehabilitation view that the institution is designed to deprive, and this, in turn, is based on a dim and pessimistic perception of who these young women are and where they are expected to go in life.

These findings are consistent with previous studies inside female juvenile institutions (Acoca, 1998; Belknap et al., 1997; Bilsky & Chesney-Lind, 2010; HRW & ACLU, 2006; HRW, 1995; 1997; Kempf-Leonard & Sample, 2000; Pasko, 2010; Schaffner, 2006;), indicating that these views are common and seem to be deeply rooted in the punitive culture of penal control. Even more discouraging is that these views seem to prevail over ideas that system-involved youth need guidance, nurturing, and healing, ideas that drive recent juvenile justice reform efforts. Despite the county's commitments and probation directors' promises, counter-rehabilitation ideology is systematically reflected in the inmates' treatment, when Unit "X" doors close behind top officials. This treatment is the reality of life inside this juvenile facility, a reality illuminated through the eyes of those who live it day-in, day-out.

This treatment causes something more than a conflict with the department's mission, the standards of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention ([OJJDP], 1998), or human rights. It impacts girls' self-image by subtly forcing them to develop a criminal understanding of themselves and their actions and to construct a "fallen" identity. As such, it contributes to young girls' further marginalization and powerlessness.

Adolescent girls in this institution experience what Miller (1990) calls condemned isolation. They also experience negative emotions such as embarrassment/exposure and unresolved shame (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001). Combined with the lack of material resources and aftercare, these emotions undermine girls' self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997), making it difficult to turn their lives around, as most of them dream they will do one day.

Condemned Isolation

My findings illustrate that the state of condemned isolation that saturates system-involved girls' lives in the outside world is maintained, if not reinforced, inside juvenile institutions. Condemned isolation (Miller, 1976, 1990), refers not only to the physical, social, and psychological disconnections that result from arrest and incarceration, but also to the emotional impact that these disconnections have on female inmates' lives and especially on their adolescent development.

Connections with others are very important to females (Surrey, 1985). Furthermore, evidence suggests that relational support promotes feelings of safety, and safety is a critical aspect of success in girls' programing (Bloom & Covington, 2006; Koons, Burrow, Morash, & Bynum, 1997; Ms. Foundation for Women, 2001; OJJDP, 1998; Zavlek & Maniglia, 2007). Because delinquent girls typically enter the system already traumatized by unhealthy, disrupted, or abusive relationships, correctional environments that foster separation, frigidness, and indifference exacerbate these traumas. According to Miller (1990) condemned isolation creates feelings of worthlessness and powerlessness and encourages internalization of blame so that the person is made to think that something is wrong with her personally. Condemned isolation may result in destructive behaviors and a "depressive spiral that is the opposite of growth" and that "characterizes too well the females in our criminal justice system" (Covington, 2008, p. 145).

This pervasive sense of isolation characterizes the females in the facility under study. Most of them felt ignored, unloved, powerless, and unfairly treated; most had given up efforts to assert themselves or hopes that their circumstances would improve. Given the strict regimentation inside the facility and the socio-economic disadvantage and aggressive law enforcement in the communities they return to, girls in my sample were presented with countless opportunities of rule breaking. Because girls tend to internalize failure (Gilligan, 1982) it is not surprising that several of my respondents felt like they were "screw-ups" or "fuck-ups" (terms that several of them used throughout their narratives) that could

never do right, a finding strikingly similar to the report by the Indiana Criminal Justice Institute (as cited in Ziemba-Davis, Garcia, Kincaid, Gullans, & Myers, 2004). They would come back again and again, and they all shared a sad prognosis. The concept of condemned isolation, then, captures the essence of delinquent girls' overall experiences with the juvenile justice system. It also perpetuates and exacerbates the consequences of the stigma these young women have been accustomed to carrying since their first contact with social control agencies. Reintegrative shaming concepts (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001) may help specify how these consequences affect girls' self-perceptions, while self-efficacy propositions (Bandura, 1997) may explain how they affect girls' actual prognosis.

Embarrassment/Exposure and Unresolved Shame

Many of the negative treatments young women related in their narratives were not only unfair but also violated the probation department's rules regarding respectful and humane treatment of system-involved persons. When the young women filed grievances, they rarely received a response. There was an obvious reason for that: the grievance box was right in front of frontline staff, so several girls felt intimidated, especially knowing from past experiences that to file a grievance would mean to face retaliatory actions (such as early bed, "picking on," and room isolation). These retaliatory actions were wielded not only by the counselor/line staff member against whom the complaint was filed, but from every one of his/her peers in the unit. Whereas girls felt that their treatment lacked legitimacy, many of them had trouble processing this feeling and seemed confused as to whether the treatment was deserved, and they often normalized it as a necessary corollary of detention. When I asked them if they thought that being treated unfairly was their fault, they would offer conflicting responses, blaming staff, rules, and, in the end, themselves, all in the same response.

Their attitude toward their delinquent behavior was similarly conflicted. There was not one instance during my interviews where girls tried to (consciously) attribute their misbehavior to others. This finding is quite different from Schaffner's (2006), who reported that girls in her study often used accounts to excuse or justify their violent offending. Whereas my sample was smaller, and only included a few girls who had committed violence, I found that my respondents typically blamed themselves by saying that they had trouble controlling their anger or that there was a "voice" inside them which kept telling them to be "bad." Several of them seemed embarrassed and wanted to find out why they were being "bad" and how they could change, yet, at the same time, they would also think of themselves as generally good at heart.

These expressions seem to fit Reintegrative Shaming Theory's (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001) concepts of *Embarrassment/Exposure* and *Unresolved Shame*, both of which are negative emotions that indicate an inability to manage one's guilt of wrongdoing in a productive, healthy way. Embarrassment/exposure refers to feelings of awkwardness and humiliation, whereas unresolved shame means that one is bothered by others' judgments and cannot decide whether and what they have done wrong. Both contribute to frustration and anger (Harris & Fallot, 2001). It is empirically unclear whether they also contribute to higher recidivism rates, but as Reintegrative Shaming Theory suggests, and research (Tosouni & Ireland, 2008) confirms, they are both a result of stigmatization and procedural injustice, of the kind to which young women in the current study are perpetually exposed.

Self-efficacy

This climate of counter-rehabilitation undermines self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997), the belief that one is capable of executing desired actions. This is evident not only in observed correctional practices that challenged girls' independence and sense of control, but also in narratives that related a sense of futility and surrender. Persons with low self-efficacy tend to think that they are unable to change their future on their own.

Unfortunately, this perception was not entirely unfounded. Alternatives were rare, and meaningful rehabilitation or reintegration assistance existed only on paper. Several times in my informal conversations with staff and counselors in this unit, I heard attributions of reoffending to delinquent girls' lack of self-esteem. In fact, in discussing some (scarce) counseling sessions they had received, girls in my sample seemed perplexed, if not bothered, by counselors' attempts to persuade them that the reason why they were incarcerated was because they had low self-esteem. "I don't have a low self-esteem; I have low confidence" a few of them protested. Indeed, girls believed that they possessed both talents and potential, but they also thought that those were wasted due to their involvement with the law, drugs, and bad friends. They felt that their hands were tied and that they were unable to achieve anything other than constantly disappointing themselves and others. So, their narratives did not link their actions to low self-esteem, but instead to doubt that legitimate sources for coping with poverty, loneliness, and lack of power were available to them.

Discussion: System Failure

This denial of nurture, empathy, and valuable activities for incarcerated girls reflects the idea that positive treatment might pass the wrong message that deviance is not only tolerated, but also rewarded. As my findings suggest, correctional officers see it as their duty to make young women under their supervision feel miserable and unhappy in order to deter them from recidivating. In addition, they impose so many rules and demands that rather than helping them avoid reincarceration, they actually increase their chances of reentering the system (Lederman et al., 2004). Their behavior is not incidental, but routine and systemic. Their attitudes about how to "straighten up" young girls are not based only on personal ideology, as it was communicated to me in casual conversations, but on what seem to be the standard prescriptions of juvenile institutions' cultural milieu.

Evidence from studies with similar purpose and methods to mine (Acoca, 1998; Belknap et al., 1997; Bilsky & Chesney-Lind, 2010; HRW & ACLU, 2006; HRW, 1995; 1997; Kempf-Leonard & Sample, 2000) suggests that deprivation as intervention, also evidenced in my respondents' narratives, may be a typical and wide-spread phenomenon in juvenile detention centers. My findings add to this literature by indicating that what happens inside juvenile institutions attacks young females' prospects of rehabilitation and self-efficacy in a gender-specific way.[8] Instead of providing real assistance, the conditions of confinement for incarcerated girls reproduce the powerlessness and marginalization that permeates their lives outside the system. This, in turn, explains why, as past research has indicated, girls who have been incarcerated are more likely than those who have not to engage in repeat delinquent behaviors. They are less likely to transition into adulthood as well-balanced, independent, and trouble-free women (Lederman et al., 2004). I argue that because girls are disempowered by being treated as if they have no rights, feelings, or prospects, they are likely to fulfill the prophecy of re-offending.

My analysis makes an additional contribution by raising the following concern: It suggests that counter-rehabilitation practices are largely invisible and well concealed under the veil of evidence-based programing and of justice reforms declarations. The reality of girls' living conditions is hidden to those who have the authority to change them. What really goes on in the field may only be exposed through research on the field. Unfortunately, access to juvenile institutions is difficult and time-consuming to gain, which understandably discourages potential researchers from pursuing this type of study. Even when bureaucratic channels are navigated to achieve access, data collection often becomes unnecessarily frustrating. Consider, for example, that access to a total instruction requires various levels of formal approvals by both the researcher's intuition (e.g., IRBs) and the correctional institution. But in spite of the fact that we had agreed upon access and research protocols in a formal research contract, these agreements mattered little to frontline staff. They expected me to follow the rules they made up, such as visiting only when they deemed it convenient for them, rather than abiding by the rules in formally approved research contract, which appeared to mean little to them. As one line counselor characteristically told me soon after my data collection began, "If we don't want you here, you won't be here." It is understandable, then, that qualitative studies inside these institutions are rare. The few studies that successfully come to fruition (after successful navigation of both formal agreements and practical barriers) naturally lack the generalizability that would allow the large persuasive power that quantitative studies enjoy. Nevertheless, qualitative research may be the only way to determine whether real help and empowerment is provided to incarcerated populations. In the next section, I discuss this argument in light of recent juvenile justice reforms in California.

Although it may sometimes seem to be the case, my analysis does not aim to assign blame on frontline staff or to pass judgment on their actions. First, as Acoca (1998) eloquently disclaimed, "Reports of victimizations are included here not to castigate the majority of juvenile justice and correctional professionals" (p.574). Nowhere in my observations did I find any shred of malicious intent in correctional counselors' actions; rather, it was often obvious that their actions were driven by a desire to perform their duties as these duties were conceptualized and communicated to them during training. Perhaps misguided, correctional staff seemed to be doing what they thought their job title required them to do: correct delinquent youth. If the language used to describe their actions here is strong, that is because the alleged violations are strong as well; it is also because incarcerated girls' voices are not. It is this paper's aim to bring out these voices so they can be heard loudly and clearly and beyond the plausible rhetoric of rehabilitation which silences them. This paper also aims to encourage researchers to obtain uninterrupted access inside juvenile institutions so that more qualitative work can examine the perspectives of incarcerated youth.

Study Implications: System Reform or Business as Usual?

It probably comes as no surprise that the young women who were interviewed for this study were unsatisfied with the treatment they received by the juvenile justice system. Moreover, they believed that there were much more effective and humane ways to help similarly-situated girls. These views are expressed in the following quotes:

> I'm against the system. In the system, the person doesn't get looked at as a human being. They get looked at as a convict, a criminal and they don't get any … respect (Shelley, 18).

> Most of us that are in here, the one thing that we want is stability. None of us has stability…and this is no place to get it. Well, maybe [you can get it] somewhere you don't have to leave and you know you could always go there. And like, sustained people, the same faces. Like a mom and a dad. (Dianne)

Despite the grim tone in this study's narratives, recent developments in juvenile justice offer reasons to be optimistic that effective and humane ways to respond to troubled youth are becoming increasingly popular across the United States. It seems that the juvenile justice policy pendulum is swinging back to its original rehabilitation ideals, as new emphasis is being placed on decarceration, reform, and evidence-based programming (Howell et al., 2013). "A sea change is underway in our nation's approach" (p.1) to juvenile offenders, proclaims a report by the Annie E. Casey Foundation (2013).

Two similar reform efforts are leading this change. The first is the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI), which provides funding to jurisdictions seeking to implement a new model of juvenile justice—one that relies less on detention and more on interagency collaboration and evidence-based practices to increase system efficiency and effectiveness (Sherman, 2005). Among others, JDAI also promotes gender specific reform, the significance of which is evidenced by the current study's findings. Gender specific reform encourages the implementation of practices that focus on girls' strengths and, at the same time, acknowledges the tremendous impact that previous trauma and dysfunctional relationships have on girls' potential to remain trouble-free. Jurisdictions that participate in JDAI report a significant reduction in detention as well as in offending rates (Sherman, 2005). Lower delinquency and recidivism have also been recorded in Missouri, where an alternative juvenile justice system has been in effect for quite some time (Mendel, 2010). The Missouri model employs evidence-based, innovative programing that is administered in small treatment facilities, as opposed to large training schools, by caring adults as opposed to correctional officers. Although it has not yet been widely implemented outside Missouri, this model has, nevertheless, recently received the positive attention of media and policy makers alike in several jurisdictions across the country (Mendel, 2010).

The findings in this research highlight the need for several reforms. Similarly to JDAI and the bulk of feminist literature, it also highlights the need to educate probation workers on gender specific issues, especially on the prevalence of trauma in young females' lives (HRW &ACLU, 2006; Chesney-Lind & Paramore, 2001; Freitas & Chesney-Lind, 2001; Goodkind, 2005; Owen & Bloom, 1997; Schaffner, 2006). Training on how to handle sexual abuse survivors is imperative, as a large proportion of system-involved girls fit this profile (Acoca,1998). In general, juvenile institutions that house female delinquents, even short term, would benefit from replacing deprivation with a *trauma-informed approach*. This approach requires universal acknowledgment of how pervasive and devastating traumatic experiences can be for female offenders' lives and persistent implementation of therapeutic programs to heal them (Harris & Fallot, 2001). To alter the crime-control culture of youth correctional agencies, education and training must additionally stress the significance of relationships in girls' lives. This paper aligns with Covington's (2008) suggestion that criminal justice employees working with females must be introduced to the propositions of relational theory.

The findings from this study raise questions as to whether reforms are possible in the system that exists. Currently, there are indicators that such reforms may have had an effect on juvenile delinquency and detention rates: racial disparities (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2013) notwithstanding, the overall confinement rates for juveniles (both girls and boys) have been generally on decline. There are currently about 1,200 girls (a figure much smaller than in 2007) in California juvenile facilities at any given day (OJJDP, 2012). With the 2012 implementation of Juvenile Justice Realignment (see De Leon & Teji, 2012), the number of youth in secure confinement is expected to drop even lower in the near future, as counties will be forced to find less costly alternatives. There is reason to believe that reduced use of confinement results in lower

delinquency (Feld, 1999). This belief is corroborated by the fact that parallel to these changes, overall juvenile offending rates have dropped and are currently at their lowest level since the early1980s (Puzzanchera, 2013). This is true for the jurisdiction where the current research was conducted as well: According to the probation department which runs the facility under study, desistance rates for youth under county supervision exceeded 60% in 2012. It is unclear, however, which change came first and whether there is a cause and effect relationship between the two (meaning, there is no clear evidence that lower offending is the result of policy reform commitments, especially since crime rates in general have been dropping even in places where traditional/punitive justice models are still in effect). This is an empirical question that needs further investigation.

Most importantly, however, skepticism about the material effects of such reforms arises from qualitative research findings such as those discussed in the current paper. These findings indicate that top-down policy reforms, while necessary, might nevertheless be insufficient to overturn the collective ideology that prevails inside juvenile justice institutions. This same ideology prevents good intentions and well-designed, evidence-based practices to be truthfully implemented.

The county in which my research site is located is now one of the many who participate in JDAI.[9] This is a positive development and a step toward the right direction. At the time of this research, the same agency had made a commitment to gender-specific programing as well, for which it had received federal funding. Despite good intentions and promising efforts by the agency's top managers, however, my data suggest that this programing never managed to alter the punitive, repressive environment inside the institution's units. Gender specific programing emphasizes empowerment, a goal that clashes with the restrictive correctional context in which it was supposed to materialize. Soon, the program became indistinguishable from other traditional types of counseling sessions (such as AA, and Bible study) that were offered here and there. That this program had no positive impact on conditions of confinement for girls in this institution raises concerns as to whether participation in JDAI and commitment to other evidence-based initiatives necessarily means that these commitments will realize. It seems unlikely without line counselors' ideological commitment to treatment goals, which is necessary for them to accommodate programing, rather than expecting things to happen the other way around (meaning, rather than expecting programing adjustments that fit with correctional control goals). On the other hand, this skepticism is founded on data collected a few years ago. To determine whether promises made are indeed promises met, further research into juvenile justice institutions is necessary in the academic community.

Conclusion

As this Southern California illustration reveals, the system promotes a *pretend* regime of rehabilitation and innovation. Re-offending is consequently and conveniently attributed either to youths' individual failure or to factors in the "outside" world. Through its endorsement of rehabilitation and empowerment, this regime eloquently masks the fact that it consistently attacks everything that we need to build on in order to help better system-involved girls' lives: Personal efficacy, control, meaningful relationships, and confidence. Because these attacks are systematic rather than incidental, they need to be addressed not as isolated (even if frequent) events, but as acts deeply rooted in the system's ideological foundations. Rather than solely arguing for removing most girls, unsuitable staff, or nonsensical rules from these institutions, I argue for a fundamental reform of the juvenile justice system that goes beyond paper to change not only the law, but also, the culture of penal control and disempowerment.

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Endnotes

[1] This is a quote from one of the study's respondents, a 17-year-old detained girl, whom I will call "Brenda." All names and identifiers have been changed to protect the participants' anonymity.

[2] This research design sought and received IRB approval by the University of California Committee on Human Subjects as well as by the Committee on Human Subjects of the County in which the facility where data were collected (the County name is not disclosed to ensure respondent confidentiality).

[3] Excluding private facilities, although according to recent data, those are rarely used in California.

[4] Whereas recent developments, such as outlawing death penalty and mandatory life without parole sentencing for minors and the adoption of promising juvenile justice reforms in several states, suggest that there may be a shift back to the welfare model, crime control policies still exist. A few examples include waivers, life sentences, and sex offender registries for minor offenders, policies arguably divergent from principles of rehabilitation and *parens patriae* on which the juvenile justice was conceptualized. If anything, one can argue that there are two contrasting parallel trends right now in juvenile justice policy: one punitive and a second one rehabilitative.

[5] This quote is taken from the county's website. A citation is purposefully omitted in an attempt to preserve as much anonymity as possible for study participants.

[6] For a detailed discussion of respondents' background and life stories, see Tosouni (2010).

[7] "Going-off"—a frequent happening in the unit—refers to girls' emotional and, at times, violent outbursts, such as screaming, yelling, banging one's head on the wall, and similar behaviors.

[8] Because this study was conducted inside the female unit, I am unable to draw conclusions regarding the conditions of confinement for male delinquents.

[9] Gathering from the county's official website, this participation started about the same time that my data collection concluded.

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