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ADULTIFICATION IN JUVENILE CORRECTIONS: A COMPARISON OF JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFICERS

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ADULTIFICATION IN JUVENILE CORRECTIONS: A COMPARISON
OF JUVENILE AND ADULT OFFICERS

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my loving family and friends. First, a special thank you to my amazing and loving parents, Fred and Debbie. They have provided me continual support throughout my numerous academic years and have always encouraged me to strive to do my very best. Achieving my Ph.D. would not have been possible without them.

I also dedicate this dissertation to my best friend and husband, Travis Bolin who has been my rock throughout this process. Words cannot truly express how much I appreciate the many meals he cooked for me, the ideas he helped me flesh out, and the shoulder he gave me to cry on when frustration kicked in. I am so lucky to have such a supportive and loving husband.

Lastly, I would like to dedicate this work to my late grandfather, Francis C. Livengood. While he did not live to see this project come to a close, I know he would be so proud of my accomplishment. He was always my biggest fan and best cheerleader. This one is for you Pop!

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ABSTRACT

The growing recognition throughout the nineteenth century that juveniles were different than adults culminated in the establishment of the first juvenile court in Cook County, Illinois in 1899. By 1945, every state had developed its own juvenile justice system separate and distinct from the criminal justice system. Since its inception, the juvenile justice system has experienced two waves of adultification in which the lines between the juvenile and criminal justice systems were blurred. While a number of studies have focused on the adultification of juvenile courts, no study has examined the adultification of juvenile corrections. Thus, the present study aims to explore whether one type of juvenile corrections, probation and parole, has been adultified by comparing the professional orientations as well as the behavior of juvenile and adult probation and parole officers. The study finds that juvenile probation and parole officers do differ from adult officers in regards to their professional orientation and behavior. Specifically, it is found that compared to adult probation and parole officers, juvenile officers tend to more strongly adhere to ideas of treatment, welfare, and offender-focused probation/parole. Additionally, it is found that juvenile probation and parole officers are less likely than adult officers to issue written sanctions and to pursue revocation hearings. The evidence from the present study reveals the important practical implications of retaining a separate and distinct juvenile justice system.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DJJ.....	Department of Juvenile Justice
IPS.....	Intensive Probation Supervision
LWOP.....	Life Without the Possibility of Parole
PPO.....	Probation and Parole Officer
PPP.....	Probation, Parole, and Pardon Services
OLS.....	Ordinary Least Squares

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The first juvenile court was established in Cook County, Illinois in 1899 (Platt, 1969). The call for the creation of a separate juvenile justice system resulted from the growing recognition that juveniles were different than adults and therefore should be treated differently (Mennel, 1973; Platt, 1969). Since this time, every state has developed its own system of juvenile justice distinct from the adult criminal justice system (Mennel, 1973; Simonsen & Gordon, 1982). While the juvenile justice system went largely unchanged for over 50 years, beginning in the 1960s, the juvenile justice system began to evolve.

During the 1960s and 1970s, a number of Supreme Court rulings began the transformation of the juvenile justice system. These rulings resulted from the belief that juveniles were not receiving the care and treatment that the juvenile justice system was created to implement (Albanese, 1994; Feld, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1999; Fondacaro, Slobogin, & Cross, 2006; Lederman, 1999; Merlo, Benekos, & Cook, 1999). Further changes to the system occurred during the 1980s and 1990s, when, in response to fear of a juvenile crime wave, attempts were made by legislatures to “adultify” the juvenile justice system by introducing a series of laws designed to “get tough” on juveniles (Fox, 1996; Merlo et al., 1999; Zimring, 1998). These changes largely resulted from the growing belief that some juveniles, particularly those involved in violent and serious crimes, deserved to be treated as adults as they were engaging in adult crimes (Bernard &

Kurlychek, 2010; Cullen, Fisher, & Applegate, 2000; DiIulio, 1995; Feld, 1978, 1988, 1990a, 1999). While the trend towards “getting tough” on juveniles has slowed in recent years, much of the legislation passed during the 1980s and 1990s remains in effect (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006).

With all these changes to the system, it is important to examine whether the attitudes and professional orientation of those working within the system have been impacted. More specifically, do juvenile justice system workers still adhere to the *parens patriae* orientation of the original juvenile justice system or has their orientation become more focused on getting tough on juveniles, handling cases formally, and protecting the public? The majority of the research that has been conducted examining juvenile justice system employees’ professional orientation has focused on juvenile court workers, particularly judges (i.e., Bazemore & Feder, 1997a, 1997b; Cullen, Golden, & Cullen, 1983; Sanborn, 2001). Few studies have examined whether these changes have impacted the attitudes and professional orientation of juvenile corrections personnel. Further, an even more limited amount of research has been conducted examining whether clear distinctions exist between the professional orientations of juvenile versus adult corrections workers. Therefore, the present study adds to the literature by examining the professional orientation of corrections personnel, specifically juvenile and adult probation officers.

The purpose of the present research is to explore the extent to which juvenile corrections has been adultified through a comparison of the professional orientation of juvenile and adult probation and parole officers. This chapter discloses the dimensions of the study. Chapter two focuses on previous research related to this study in two specific

contexts. The first involves an overview of the evolution of the juvenile justice system, specifically outlining how views about juvenile offenders and how they should be treated have varied since the court's inception. The research reviewed within this section explores the idea of adultification within the juvenile justice system and provides an underlying knowledge base for the present study. This discussion will be followed with a presentation of prior literature that has been conducted regarding the professional orientation of correctional workers. Based on this research, I hypothesize that juvenile probation officers will hold orientations more consistent with the traditional philosophy of the juvenile justice system than their adult counterparts. Additional hypotheses regarding the impact of a variety of potential correlates of professional orientation are also proposed. Chapter two concludes with an overview of the limited research that has been conducted on the impact of professional orientation on officer behavior. Though the literature is minimal, a hypothesis was still proposed. Specifically, I hypothesize that officers who adhere more strongly to a traditional juvenile justice orientation will be less likely to support the frequent use of enforcement tactics, and will have lower sanction and revocation rates. Conversely, it is proposed that these same officers will be more supportive of the frequent use of rewards for positive client behaviors.

Chapter three provides a detailed description of and justification for the methodological approach to the present study. Data were collected through the use of an Internet survey. To be specific, probation and parole officers from two separate agencies in South Carolina—the Department of Juvenile Justice and the Department of Probation, Parole, and Pardon Services—were administered Internet surveys over a one-month period. The present study expands on prior literature by including six professional

orientation dimensions that take the inquiry beyond simple considerations of treatment versus punishment. Additionally, the present study adds to the knowledge base by examining how each of these six professional orientation dimensions impacts officers' intended and actual behavior.

Chapter four reports the results of the survey. Overall, the main hypothesis was supported. Juvenile probation officers adhered more strongly to tenets of the traditional juvenile justice system along four of the six dimensions of professional orientation. Additionally, a few correlates were found to predict professional orientation. Finally, only two professional orientation variables were found to be related to officers' behaviors. Specifically, officers who adhered to a more formal orientation were more likely to support enforcement activities. Further, officers who adhered to a more treatment orientation were more likely to support rewarding clients. As with the professional orientation outcome models, only a few correlates were found to predict professional orientation.

Chapter five begins with a discussion of the limitations of the present study and how future research can expand upon this line of work. It continues with an examination of the professional orientation of probation and parole officers in the current sample, how they compare to those in other studies, and what my findings imply about the current orientation of juvenile probation and parole. The correlates of professional orientation are addressed next, followed by the findings regarding officer behavior. As with professional orientation, these findings will be discussed in relationship to prior findings and what they imply about the current state of the justice system. Finally, the study

concludes with a discussion of the policy implications of this research has for juvenile and criminal justice.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Evolution of the Juvenile Justice System

During the 1800s, the United States was experiencing a number of social changes such as industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. These changes had a major impact on how society viewed and treated juvenile delinquents and ultimately played an important role in the development of the juvenile justice system (Feld, 1999; Platt, 1969). These historical developments and changes with regards to the societal views of juvenile culpability will be more closely examined in the pages that follow.

Prior to the 1500s, juvenile defendants who had reached the age of criminal responsibility, as well as some younger juvenile defendants who had engaged in certain crimes, were tried in the same courts and typically given the same punishments as adults, including confinement in the same institutions and even death (Binder, Geis, & Dickson, 2001; Mack, 1909; Simonsen & Gordon, 1982). However, during the 1500s and 1600s, society began to view children as developmentally different from adults and debates began regarding the age at which a child should be held responsible for his or her actions (Aries, 1962). As a result of this changing conception of juvenile culpability, attempts were made to establish a classification system for delinquent children. One classification system that was established was the common law infancy defense. Under this law, minors were separated into three classes based on their presumed level of culpability:

birth to 7 years, 7 to 14 years, and 14 years and older. Children in the first category, birth to 7 years, were not criminally liable for their offenses. Children between the ages of seven and 14 could be found guilty of committing crimes and punished accordingly, but only if the prosecution could prove intent. Finally, children above the age of 14 who committed crimes could receive capital and other punishments just as adults (Fox, 1970a; McCarthy, 1977; Simonsen & Gordon, 1982; Walkover, 1984). Thus, with this law, there was the recognition that, due to inherent developmental differences, certain juvenile offenders were not as culpable as adult criminals.

Further, prior to the 18th century, there were no special institutions or facilities designed to address the needs of juvenile offenders in the United States. Therefore, parents were required by law to monitor and control their own children (Bremner, Barnard, Hareven, & Mennel, 1970; Fox, 1970b). During the 1800s, there was increasing dissatisfaction with parents' abilities to adequately control and punish their own children (Mennel, 1973). Also during this time, the United States was experiencing massive social changes which influenced society's view of children. Specifically, cities were experiencing a growth in urban slums filled primarily with lower class immigrant families. Immigrant parents often worked long hours thus neglecting their children and leaving them free to roam the streets and get into trouble (Feld, 1999; Mennel, 1973; Platt, 1969).

In 1818, the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, a Quaker reform group concerned with the current plight of children, first used the term "juvenile delinquents" to describe these children (Binder et al., 2001; Fox, 1970b). The Society and other progressive social groups argued that delinquent children were not fully responsible for

their actions, but were products of their environment. These progressive reformers maintained that delinquent children should not be viewed as criminals, but instead as children in need of care, protection, and moral guidance who required rescue from a future of crime and degradation. Further, they believed that the state should intervene in the lives of these children and rehabilitate or train them to adhere to conventional norms (Fox, 1970b).¹

Society's dissatisfaction with the parenting practices of the time along with the changing perception of children and their criminal responsibility culminated in 1825 with the development of houses of refuge (Fox, 1970b). Specifically, in 1822, the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism issued a report recommending the establishment of a separate penitentiary for juvenile offenders (Peirce, 1969). Three years after publication of the report, the New York House of Refuge was created, becoming the first institution to deal solely with the confinement and care of juveniles. As noted by Sanford Fox (1970b), "the founding of the House should be seen as the embodiment of the idea that children should be treated instead of punished" (p.1198). This institution was created to teach children the values of hard work, orderliness, and subordination in order to protect them from becoming criminal youth.

Under the *parens patriae* doctrine which allows the state to act on behalf of the child, the state was able to commit not only delinquent youth to the institution, but dependent and neglected youth as well (Fox, 1970b; Pickett, 1969). The creation of the New York House of Refuge was well received and led to a number of other cities

¹ Some scholars have questioned the motive behind the child saving movement arguing that it was not a benevolent effort by concerned citizens to protect and save plighted children, but instead represented an effort by the upper class to extend social control to children of the poor (Platt, 1969; Shelden & Osborne, 1989).

opening their own houses of refuge such as Boston followed in 1826, and Philadelphia in 1828 (Hawes, 1971; Mennel, 1973).

Despite continued support for the use of houses of refuge and other measures aimed at increasing government control over children, many began to question the legality of committing children without due process of law. *Ex parte Crouse* (1839) was the first legal challenge to the practice of committing children to houses of refuge who had not committed any criminal offense (Fox, 1970b). In 1839, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, basing their ruling on the *parens patriae* doctrine, upheld the current practice when it held that a state could legally commit a youth to confinement despite the fact that s/he had not committed a crime. This was the first explicit judicial recognition of *parens patriae* as justification for states' involvement in the lives of children "doomed to a life of depravity" (Fox, 1970b, p. 1206). The court also held that juveniles were not guaranteed due process protections as the children were being helped and treated, not punished (*Ex parte Crouse*, 1839; Fox, 1970a; Rendleman, 1971).

By the mid-19th century, municipal and state governments had begun to play a more important role in the creation and administration of juvenile institutions. Houses of refuge were renamed reform schools to indicate the increased importance placed on formal education (Simonsen & Gordon, 1982). The reformatory system was based on the assumption that education and proper training could offset the various conditions to which delinquent children were often exposed such as having a poor family life or living in a corrupt and poverty-stricken environment (Platt, 1969). By 1890, with the exception of the South, almost every state had developed some type of reform school for boys and many states had separate institutions for girls. Even with the increased emphasis on

schooling, many state and local institutions continued to resemble the early houses of refuge (Mennel, 1973; Platt, 1969).

A number of commitments to reform schools were challenged as infringements upon liberty; however, with but one exception (*People ex rel. O'Connell v. Turner*, 1870), courts upheld that youth could be confined without committing a crime, since the schools were a form of treatment and not punishment (Fox, 1970b). With courts upholding the practice, juveniles, both delinquent and non-delinquent, continued to be committed to institutions without due process protections. Thus, throughout the 19th century, policies and practices regarding the proper response to juvenile delinquency were guided by society's view that children were in need of care and guidance. This growing view that children were less capable than adults and deserved treatment rather than punishment ultimately culminated in the creation of a separate system for juveniles.

2.2 The Traditional Conception of the Juvenile Court

The first juvenile court was established with the passage of the Illinois Juvenile Court Act in 1899 in Cook County, Illinois based on the philosophy that there are inherent differences between juveniles and adults and it is the state's responsibility to protect and rehabilitate young offenders (Feld, 1999; Platt, 1969; Simonsen & Gordon, 1982). The legal basis for granting states jurisdiction over juveniles was the *parens patriae* doctrine—the idea that the court is the ultimate parent of all its citizens. This doctrine was also central to the juvenile court philosophy because children who had violated laws were not to be treated as criminals, but children in need of protection and guidance as would be provided by a good parent. The court was to focus not on

punishing children, but doing what was in the best interests of the child (Feld, 1999; Mack, 1909). Thus, treatment and rehabilitation, not punishment, were the primary goals of the original juvenile court.

The idea of having a separate juvenile court spread quickly and by 1909, juvenile courts had been established in ten states and the District of Columbia. All but two states (Maine and Wyoming) had established juvenile courts by 1925. In 1945, Wyoming became the last state to develop a juvenile court (Mennel, 1973; Simonsen & Gordon, 1982).

The characteristics of the original juvenile court were developed to reflect the “best interests of the child” ideology. This emphasis on child protection as opposed to punishment resulted in a number of clear distinctions between the new juvenile court and the adult criminal court. First of all, the juvenile court was not set up as a junior criminal court, but instead as a social welfare agency. Delinquent children were not the only ones who could be brought before the court. Instead, children experiencing any type of need could be brought before the court, where their problems would be diagnosed and a treatment plan along with the appropriate services would be provided (Feld, 1999; Mennel, 1973). In order to capture this group of juveniles, laws were written using vague and broad language that theoretically would encompass almost any juvenile, particularly those living in an urban area (Platt, 1969). Therefore, the new juvenile court focused on treatment as opposed to focusing on punishment like the adult criminal court.

Second, the juvenile court also developed their own terminology distinct from those of the criminal court to reflect the new juvenile court’s “best interests of the child” ideology. The language of the criminal court tends to imply fault, guilt, and punishment,

while that of the new juvenile court portrayed a sense of problems, concerns, guidance and assistance (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.; Feld, 1999; Platt, 1969; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999a).

In criminal court, an indictment, a formal, written accusation that an individual has committed a crime, begins the process. Following the indictment, the individual proceeds to arraignment where the charges are formally read to the individual. It is at this stage where the individual is formally accused of having committed a crime and must make a plea of either guilty or not guilty. If the defendant pleads not guilty then they go to trial where the prosecution and the defense attorney “fight it out”. If the defendant is found guilty, they are said to have been convicted and are sentenced. The sentence is supposed to be proportionate to the seriousness of the offense (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010; Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d).

In contrast, in the original juvenile court, it was a petition that began court proceedings. A petition, instead of accusing an individual, was a formal request to investigate a child’s situation in order to see if the court needed to intervene. The petition could allege that 1) the juvenile had committed an act that would be considered a crime if committed by an adult, or 2) that the child was in a situation that put him or her in potential danger of becoming a pauper or criminal in the future. Thus, instead of simply accusing a child of committing a crime, the petition identified the child as somebody potentially in need of assistance (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010; Feld, 1999; Ryerson, 1978; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999a).

An intake hearing, as opposed to arraignment, was the first phase of the new juvenile court. During the intake hearing, the juvenile was not accused of any crime,

instead the petition alleged certain facts that, if found to be true, would give the court the right to take jurisdiction over the child. If the juvenile denied the allegations, they were not entitled to a trial, but instead received an adjudicatory hearing where a judge, not a jury, was responsible for determining the validity of the facts (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010; Feld, 1999; Simonsen & Gordon, 1982; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999a).

During the adjudicatory stage, unlike the trial stage, there was to be no implication that the state was going to fight against a juvenile's protestations. Instead, in this non-adversarial proceeding, the focus was on the court determining whatever course of action was in the best interest of the child. If the judge found the facts in the petition to be true, the juvenile was not convicted, but was adjudicated which allowed the court to legally carry out whatever was in the child's best interest (Feld, 1999; Menzel, 1973; Ryerson, 1978).

After being adjudicated, it was the responsibility of probation officers to prepare a social history of the juvenile. Based on this social history, an appropriate disposition was recommended. Unlike the adult court term "sentence," a disposition does not imply that a juvenile is to be punished; instead, it is supposed to be a treatment plan developed to serve the best interest of the child (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010; Feld, 1999; Ryerson, 1978; Sanborn & Salerno, 2005; Simonsen & Gordon, 1982; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999a).

A final distinction is that, under the new juvenile court, juveniles were not guaranteed any due process rights because the main goal of the court was to help juveniles, not punish them. The legality of this was first challenged in the case of *Commonwealth v. Fisher* (1905). Frank Fisher was committed to the House of Refuge by

a newly established Pennsylvania juvenile court. Fisher's father objected to his son's commitment and filed a writ of *habeas corpus* in an attempt to get Frank released. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court rejected Fisher's claims and upheld his commitment to the House of Refuge. The Court asserted, "To save a child from becoming a criminal...the legislature surely may provide for the salvation of such a child, if its parents or guardian be unable or unwilling to do so, by bringing it into one of the courts without any process at all, for the purpose of subjecting it to the state's guardianship and power" (*Commonwealth v. Fisher*, 1905, p. 53). Thus, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court believed that the juvenile court had a legal right to detain Frank because of the *parens patriae* powers of the state (Mack, 1909).

Further, because the Pennsylvania Supreme Court believed the juvenile justice system was helping Frank Fisher and not punishing him, they argued that due process of law was not necessary. With this ruling, the juvenile court gained credibility and became a distinct entity from the criminal court charged with the care and treatment of juvenile offenders. The juvenile court remained largely unchanged for half a century (Feld, 1999); however, in the 1960s, the lines began to blur between the juvenile court and the adult court (*Commonwealth v. Fisher*, 1905; Merlo et al., 1999).

2.3 Adulthood, Wave 1: The Supreme Court and Due Process

Confidence in the juvenile court's ability to "treat" juveniles began to break down during the 1950s and 1960s (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999a). Evidence of this waning optimism can be seen when examining the numerous rulings of the U. S. Supreme Court on issues related to the juvenile justice system during this time (*Breed v. Jones*, 1975; *In*

re Gault, 1967; *In re Winship*, 1970; *Kent v. United States*², 1966; *McKeiver v. Pennsylvania*, 1971; *New Jersey v. T.L.O.*³, 1984; *Schall v. Martin*, 1984; *Swisher v. Brady*, 1978). It had become clear to the Court that the system was not living up to its goal of rehabilitating youth. In practice, the juvenile justice system was punishing juveniles for their offenses rather than treating them in their best interests (*Kent vs. United States*, 1966; Faust & Brantingham, 1979; Fondacaro et al., 2006). Thus, the Court argued that juveniles were receiving the worst of both worlds; they were neither being provided the due process protections guaranteed to adults nor were they receiving the treatment that the juvenile justice system was responsible for delivering (Feld, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1999; Federle, 1990; Fondacaro et al., 2006; *Kent v. United States*, 1966).

The decisions of the Supreme Court in *Gault*, *Winship* and *Breed* marked the beginning of the adultification of the juvenile justice system in which the clear distinction that once existed between the juvenile and adult criminal justice systems began to erode (Fondacaro et al., 2006). Specifically, the rulings in these cases resulted in a more formalized juvenile court that emphasized due process (Merlo et al., 1999; Vito, Tewskbury, & Wilson, 1998). Below, I review each case and discuss the Supreme Court's ruling.

The Supreme Court emphasized the importance of due process in the juvenile justice system through its ruling in *In re Gault* (1967). In this case, Gault and a friend had been arrested for allegedly making obscene phone calls. Gault was taken to a

² *Kent v. United States* (1966) and *New Jersey v. T.L.O.* (1984) are both important cases that were decided during the due process revolution. However, they are not discussed in this paper as the rulings in both cases did not result in changes to juvenile court proceedings. In *Kent v. United States* (1966), the Court ruled that juveniles are entitled to a waiver hearing prior to being transferred to adult criminal court.

³ *New Jersey v. T.L.O.* (1984) – The Court held that school officials do not need a warrant or probable cause before conducting a search on school grounds.

detention facility where his parents were not notified of his whereabouts until later that evening. At his hearing, Gault was denied formal notice of the charges pending against him, he was not represented by counsel, and the state's chief witness against him never appeared in court. He was adjudicated delinquent, but no official transcript of the proceedings was made. The result was Gault being placed in a state training school "for the period of his minority" or six years. Gault's parents filed a writ of *habeas corpus*, and ultimately, the case was presented before the Supreme Court (*In re Gault*, 1967).

The Court held that Gault had received virtually no procedural protections during his delinquency proceeding. Further, they argued that juveniles are entitled to certain rights when the delinquency proceeding has the potential to end in confinement in a state institution. To be specific, the Court ruled that, in these instances, the state must provide juveniles the following rights: (1) written notice of the charges, provided far enough in advance to allow for preparation for the hearing; (2) assistance of counsel, privately retained or provided by the state; (3) to confront and cross-examine witnesses; and (4) privilege against self-incrimination and the right to remain silent (Fondacaro et al., 2006; Hemmens, Steiner, & Mueller, 2013; *In re Gault*, 1967). This ruling ushered in a new standard for handling cases within the juvenile justice system which more closely resembled that of the adult criminal court⁴ (Feld, 1999; Fritsch & Hemmens, 1995).

The Supreme Court's ruling in *In re Winship* (1970) granted juveniles further due process protections (Fondacaro et al., 2006). This case involved a 12 year old boy, Winship, who was charged with breaking into a locker and stealing \$112 from a woman's

⁴ Various scholars question the actual impact that the *Gault* ruling has had on the juvenile justice system. Specifically, they argue that despite the numerous due process rights guaranteed by *Gault*, juveniles remain largely unaware of these rights and the juvenile courts often fail to truly enforce them (See Ainsworth, 1996; Feld, 1988a, 1989, 1995; Grisso, 1980, 1981).

purse. Winship was adjudicated delinquent and sentenced to a term of confinement in a state training school not to exceed six years. Winship appealed his conviction on the grounds that the judge had erred in his decision to apply the “preponderance of evidence” standard of proof rather than the more stringent “proof beyond a reasonable doubt” standard to adjudicate Winship. He argued that had the latter standard been used, the judge may not have been able to establish guilt in his case. The Supreme Court agreed with Winship and ruled that in adjudicatory hearings that may result in the possibility of confinement, the standard shall be proof beyond a reasonable doubt (Hemmens et al., 2013; *In re Winship*, 1970).

With this decision, and in combination with the ruling in *Gault*, the Court had given a number of due process guarantees that were previously only available for adults to juveniles thus changing many juvenile court practices (Fondacaro et al., 2006). As noted previously, a major reason for the implementation of these guarantees was the Court’s recognition that juveniles may not be receiving the treatment that was supposed to result from the informality of the juvenile court. This concern was expressed in many of the Court’s rulings. For example, Justice Abe Fortas stated in *Kent v. United States* (1966), that “[t]here is evidence, in fact, there may be cause for concern that the child receives the worst of both worlds; that he gets neither the protections accorded to adults nor the solicitous care and regenerative treatment postulated for children” (p. 556). Thus, the Court tried to address at least one of these concerns through its granting juveniles a number of due process rights.

The Supreme Court’s ruling in *Breed v. Jones* (1975) finalized the first wave of adultification of the juvenile justice process. In this case, Jones was transferred to adult

criminal court after being adjudicated in juvenile court. Jones filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus arguing that his transfer to criminal court and subsequent trial placed him in double jeopardy. The Court agreed concluding that “jeopardy attached when respondent was put to trial before the trier of facts, that is, when the Juvenile Court, as the trier of facts, began to hear evidence” (*Breed v. Jones*, 1975, p. 421). With its ruling, the Court extended the Fifth Amendment protection against double jeopardy to juvenile defendants (Steiner & Miller, 2013). Thus, over less than a decade, the juvenile court began to transition from a civil institution that enjoyed substantial discretion and informality because it ostensibly focused on social welfare and acted in a child’s best interest, to one that, similar to the criminal justice system, focused on due process rights and adversarial proceedings.

Though the Supreme Court granted juveniles a number of due process rights, they stopped short of making the juvenile justice system synonymous with the criminal justice system. Three issues decided in the 1970s and 1980s illustrate the Court’s unwillingness to fully equalize juveniles and adults. Rulings established that juveniles do not have a right to a jury trial, preventive detention may be used for juveniles, and masters or referees may be in charge of juvenile trials. Thus, while a number of changes occurred during the due process era that resulted in the juvenile justice system more closely resembling the criminal justice system, there were still inherent differences between the two entities.

The Supreme Court dealt with the issue of whether juveniles had the right to trial by jury in *McKeiver v. Pennsylvania* (1971). *McKeiver* was a consolidation of a number of cases in which a juvenile had been denied the right to a trial by jury. The Court held

that the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment did not guarantee juveniles a right to trial by jury. The Court pointed out that requiring a jury trial might remake the juvenile proceeding into a fully adversarial process, thus effectively ending “the juvenile system’s idealistic prospect of an intimate, informal protective proceeding” (*McKeiver v. Pennsylvania*, 1971, p. 545). Thus, with this decision, the Court upheld that the juvenile justice system should remain a separate, more intimate and informal type of proceeding than its criminal counterpart.⁵

Another distinction between adult and juvenile courts that the Supreme Court upheld is who can be in charge of trial proceedings. In adult courts, only a judge or magistrate can be in charge of proceedings (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005). However, *Swisher v. Brady* (1978) upheld that, in juvenile court, masters or referees can conduct adjudicatory hearings. Of specific issue in this case was whether double jeopardy applied when a prosecutor appealed an unsatisfactory recommendation by a master and was thus able to reargue the case before a judge. The Court held that double jeopardy was not being violated as the defendant was not required to stand trial a second time. Instead, the accused juvenile was merely being “subjected to a single proceeding which begins with a master's hearing and culminates with an adjudication by a judge” (*Swisher v. Brady*, 1978, p. 215).

The Supreme Court’s ruling in *Schall v. Martin* (1984) further distinguished the juvenile justice system from the adult criminal system. At issue in this case was whether preventive detention of a juvenile charged with a delinquent act was constitutional. The

⁵ While the majority of the Court believed juveniles’ right to a jury trial was not constitutionally guaranteed, the vote was not unanimous. Justices Douglas, Black, and Marshall argued that juveniles being prosecuted for a criminal act and facing potential confinement should be entitled to the same procedural protections guaranteed to adults (*McKeiver v. Pennsylvania*, 1971).

Court held that preventive detention does not constitute a violation of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment because its use serves a “legitimate state objective” (*Schall v. Martin*, 1984, p. 274).

The Court based its ruling on the assertion that juveniles and adults do not share the same amount of freedom. They argued “juveniles, unlike adults, are always in some form of custody. Children, by definition, are not assumed to have the capacity to take care of themselves. They are assumed to be subject to the control of their parents, and if parental control falters, the State must play its part as *parens patriae*. In this respect, the juvenile’s liberty interest may, in appropriate circumstances, be subordinated to the State’s *parens patriae* interest in preserving and promoting the welfare of the child” (*Schall v. Martin*, 1984, p. 265). With this ruling, along with the rulings in *McKeiver* and *Swisher*, the Court made it clear that juveniles were different from adults and thus did not deserve all the same liberties (Feld, 1999). Thus, while the Supreme Court was willing to merge some of the practices and procedures of the adult criminal justice system with the juvenile justice system, the justices still believed that juveniles deserved to be treated differently than adults. In practical terms, the juvenile justice system was fundamentally altered but was still necessary.

2.4 Adultification, Wave 2: The “Get Tough” Movement

The Supreme Court’s decisions during the due process revolution proposed a very different idea about juvenile offenders. By providing them with a number of the same rights as adults, they ultimately defined juvenile delinquents as a slightly different version of criminal defendants. Thus, the Supreme Court’s due process reforms provided

the groundwork for the “get tough” movement in juvenile justice that emerged during the 1980s and 1990s (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010).

The United States experienced a surge in juvenile crime, specifically juvenile violent crime, during the 1980s and early 1990s. Specifically, between 1980 and 1994, the number of arrests of juveniles for offenses included in the FBI’s Violent Crime Index increased by 64 percent (Butts & Travis 2002). For homicides, in particular, juvenile arrest rates more than doubled (Cook & Laub, 1998; Snyder, 2000). Public fear of a juvenile crime wave was further fueled by predictions of an invasion of juvenile “super-predators” (Bennett, Dilulio, & Walters, 1996; Dilulio, 1995). The nation’s concern regarding juvenile crime culminated in the passage of a number of new laws aimed at making juvenile sanctions more punitive and harsh like those associated with adult offenders and resulted in further adultifying the juvenile justice system (Fox, 1996; Merlo et al., 1999; Zimring, 1998). From 1992 to 1997, virtually all state legislatures passed new laws regarding youth violence (Zimring, 1998, pp. 11-12). The changes that occurred due to the implementation of “get tough” legislation can be grouped into four broad categories: (1) changes to the purpose of the juvenile justice system, (2) changes to the juvenile court process, (3) changes to the available dispositional outcomes, and (4) changes to jurisdiction (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998; Torbet & Thomas, 1997).

During the “get tough” movement, one major change was the philosophy of the juvenile court. From its inception, the juvenile court was premised on a civil court model and the *parens patriae* philosophy which emphasized doing what was in the “best interest of the child” (Mennel, 1973; Platt, 1969). However, during the 1990s, when the public

was beginning to view juveniles as “super predators” (Bazelon, 2000; DiIulio, 1995; Fox, 1996), many states looked for a new philosophy on which to base their juvenile justice systems that had more of an emphasis on accountability and punishment (Forst & Blomquist, 1992). States no longer wanted their only interests to be in protecting children; they wanted to provide justice for the victim and protection for the community and state as well (Feld, 1988b).

One approach that was adopted by approximately 25 states was the balanced-approach philosophy (Kurlychek, Torbet, & Bozynski, 1999; Maloney, Roming, & Armstrong, 1988; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). This philosophy emphasizes holding juveniles accountable for their actions, while also providing juveniles with treatment. These two objectives were not considered mutually exclusive, but instead were expected to unify and balance the approach in order to provide the best strategy for deterring juvenile delinquency (Maloney et al., 1988; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998; Torbet & Thomas, 1997). As noted by Bernard and Kurlychek (2010), the emphasis on accountability represented a middle ground between the previous *parens patriae* philosophy and the adult court’s punishment philosophy thus providing “some level of justice for the victim and community without promoting a pure punishment philosophy” (p.145). According to the National Center for Juvenile Justice, as of 2010, the purpose clauses of twenty states, as well as the District of Columbia, still emphasized a balanced and restorative justice approach (National Center for Juvenile Justice, 2010).

While nearly half of the states in the country adopted this new philosophy, other states chose to further criminalize their juvenile justice systems by adopting a “get tough” philosophy. Specifically, some states redefined their juvenile justice system’s sole

purpose to be that of handing out punishment for offenses. As of 2010, five states—Connecticut, Hawaii, North Carolina, Texas and Wyoming—still had a purpose clause emphasizing punishment (National Center for Juvenile Justice, 2010). To further demonstrate the change that took place in state juvenile justice purpose clauses, as of 2005, Massachusetts was the only state to maintain the language that fully preserved the original juvenile court’s emphasis on the best interest of the child (Wachter & Hyland, 2005). Thus, during the 1990s, the idea that children are different from adults and in need of care and guidance began to wane in many states.

The juvenile court underwent other significant changes during the “get tough” era when the original emphasis on “child saving” and treatment was modified to include punishment and accountability. This changing emphasis further diminished the distinction between the juvenile justice system and the adult criminal system (Zimring, 1998). Specifically, during the mid-1990s, legislatures in 47 states and the District of Columbia passed laws making their juvenile justice systems more punitive (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Modifications to the system occurred in three main areas: initial processing, confidentiality of proceedings, and victim inclusion (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Torbet et al., 1996; Torbet & Thomas, 1997).

Prior to the “get tough” era, initial processing of juveniles taken into custody generally did not include fingerprinting or photographing. However, during the 1990s, legislation was passed that allowed for the fingerprinting and photographing of youth. As of 1997, all but three states permitted fingerprinting of youth and all but four states permitted photographing. In a number of states, photographing/fingerprinting youth was not just allowed, but was instead required for all, or at least those meeting certain

requirements (Torbet et al., 1996; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). For example, in 1996, New York passed legislation that required all juveniles 13 years or older charged with a juvenile felony to be fingerprinted when arrested. Prior to this time, fingerprinting was only conducted on juveniles age 13 to 15 charged with serious felonies (Silver & Lentol, 2000). Other states also passing such legislation included Virginia, Florida, and Arkansas (Torbet et al., 1996).

A further change that occurred during the “get tough” era involved how the juvenile justice system treated information collected on juvenile offenders. Prior to the juvenile crime wave that occurred during the 1980s and mid-1990s, there was a major emphasis on keeping juvenile records and proceedings confidential so as to protect the youth from being labeled (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010). However, as the legislatures began to panic about rising violence among juveniles, “community protection, the public’s right to know, and service providers’ need to share information displaced the desire to protect minors from the stigma of youthful indiscretions” (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998, p. 8). The result was a trend toward public juvenile hearings, release of juveniles’ names, and access to juvenile court records (Torbet et al., 1996).

When the juvenile court was first developed, juvenile court proceedings were designed to be informal and were distinguished from the criminal court by exclusion of the general public (Mennel, 1973; Platt, 1969). However, during the 1980s and 1990s, there was a call for public access to juvenile court hearings which resulted in the implementation of open proceedings for certain juvenile court cases in a number of states (Torbet et al., 1996). In fact, by 1997 open juvenile court hearings were permitted or required in cases involving either juveniles charged with serious offenses or juveniles

who were repeat offenders in 30 states, up from 22 states in 1995 (Torbet et al., 1996; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). While today no national consensus exists regarding the opening of the juvenile court room to the public, the trend continues to be to permit access under certain circumstances (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005).

In similar fashion, legislation passed during the 1980s and 1990s allowed for the release or publication of a juvenile's name and address (Torbet et al., 1996; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). In fact, in some jurisdictions, once a juvenile was arrested and processed, the police department was required to release that information to the press. As of the late 2000s, all but two states, Vermont and Alabama, required the name of juveniles arrested to be released to the public under specific circumstances (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010). For example, Iowa allows the release of a juvenile's name if he/she has been placed in detention and escapes (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Not only did states legislate to release the names of delinquent youth, but some states went one step further and notified the youth's school. In fact, during the "get tough" era, 45 states adopted legislation requiring notification by law enforcement or the juvenile court to a student's school if the student was charged with a delinquent act (Torbet et al., 1996).

The erosion of confidentiality during the 1980s and 90s was also seen in the area of access to juvenile court records. Formerly private, juvenile court records were made available to a number of different individuals during this time (Torbet et al., 1996). Specifically, legislation was passed making changes to the confidentiality of juvenile court records in three main areas: access to or disclosure of information, use of record information, and sealing or expunging records (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998).

In regards to disclosure of information, the “need to know” argument began to replace the “protection of the child” ideology during this time. It was argued that not only was information sharing important in terms of public safety, but it was also important in helping to adequately prevent or decrease juvenile delinquency (Juvenile Accountability Block Grants, 1997; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). So important was the believed benefit from sharing information that in 1997 Congress appropriated funding to states under the Juvenile Accountability Incentive Block Grants program to establish and maintain “interagency information-sharing programs that enable the juvenile and criminal justice system, schools, and social services agencies to make informed decisions regarding the early identification, control, supervision, and treatment of juveniles who repeatedly commit serious delinquent or criminal acts” (Juvenile Accountability Incentive Block Grants, 1997, p. 2). Consequently, 29 states either modified or enacted laws regarding disclosure of information contained in criminal records. By 1998, all but two states allowed juvenile court record information to be released to various parties, and all states allowed records to be released to any party who could show a legitimate interest (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998).

Additionally, changes were also made to how juvenile records can be used. During the 1990s, central record repositories were created to help facilitate and support law enforcement efforts (Torbet et al., 1996; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Information forwarded to the repositories included fingerprints, photographs, and personal identification data as well as other pertinent information. The creation of these repositories made juveniles’ arrest records more accessible for criminal background checks (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010). As of the end of 1997, forty-four states required

information about violent juvenile offenders to be forwarded to the statewide central repository (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998).

A final change regarding the use of juvenile records was centered on the practice of registering juvenile sex offenders (Torbet et al., 1996; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Torbet & Szymanski's (1998) review of state legislative responses to violent juvenile crime over the period of 1996 and 1997 found that fourteen states had enacted laws requiring juveniles convicted of certain crimes to register with the sex offender registry. For example, South Dakota enacted legislation in 1997 providing that if a juvenile age 15 or older is adjudicated of a sex crime or felony sexual contact, he or she must register with the sex offender registry. The juvenile's name will then remain on the sex offender list for at least 10 years at which time they may petition the court for removal. At the end of 1997, all but 11 states had passed laws requiring juveniles convicted of certain sex offenses to register with the sex offender registry (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998).

Similarly, during the era of adultification, laws were passed making it more difficult for juvenile delinquents to get their records expunged. Since its creation, the juvenile justice system has been concerned about the impact that a criminal label would have on a child. As a result, most juvenile court statutes have typically included provisions regarding the disposition of juvenile court records. However, as the system was being transformed to be "tougher on crime", changes were made in regards to sealing/expungement of records. The changes made typically either increased the number of years that a juvenile record was required to remain open or prohibited sealing/expungement of records of juveniles who had committed a violent or serious

felony. By 1998, twenty-five states had enacted statutes with such requirements (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998).

The last major modification to the juvenile court process that occurred during the “get tough” movement was the increased inclusion and active participation of crime victims and victims’ organizations (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). From 1992 to 1997, thirty-two states enacted legislation extending certain rights to victims of juvenile crime. Disclosure of information about the offender, defining victims’ rights, and opening hearings to victims tended to be the focus of new victims legislation. Additional modifications included notifying victims of hearings or when offenders were released from custody, establishing a victims’ bill of rights, being allowed to submit a victim impact statement to the court, and establishing a victims’ bureau to help dispense services to victims (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). All these changes provide evidence to suggest that following the spike in juvenile crime, the focus of juvenile justice was modified to include holding juveniles accountable and ensuring public safety rather than simply acting in the best interest of the child (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010).

With the increased focus on accountability and public safety within the juvenile justice system came a tendency to focus juvenile dispositions more on punishment as opposed to treatment as well as more on the offense as opposed to the offender (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Thus, harsher and more punitive sanctions were increasingly handed down during this time (Merlo, Benekos, & Cook, 1997; Merlo et al., 1999). Evidence of such trends can be found by examining states implementation and use of mandatory minimums (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b), blended sentencing (Merlo & Benekos, 2010; Podkopacz & Feld, 2001; Snyder & Sickmund,

1999b), “once an adult, always and adult” laws (Griffin, Addie, Adams, & Firestone, 2011), capital punishment (Merlo et al., 1999; *Roper v. Simmons*, 2005), life without the possibility of parole sentences (Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, 2005; *Graham v. Florida*, 2010; *Miller v. Alabama*, 2012), and the use of dispositions to both juvenile and adult secure institutions (Merlo & Benekos, 2010).

The implementation of mandatory minimum laws during the 1990s is one indicator that there was an increasing shift towards punitiveness (Feld, 1999; Sanborn & Salerno, 2005). Specifically, from 1992 to 1997, sixteen states either added or modified their statutes regarding mandatory minimum periods of incarceration for certain serious or violent juvenile crimes (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b). By 2005, mandatory sentence statutes had been implemented in 31 different jurisdictions. Seventeen states had mandated a period of incarceration when certain adjudications occurred. For instance, a juvenile adjudicated as a “serious juvenile offender” would be required to serve a minimum term of one year in a secure facility (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005).

An additional nine states adopted even more serious mandatory commitment dispositions for juveniles who had been adjudicated of serious crimes or adjudicated a number of times. Examples include Kentucky’s statute requiring a juvenile who has been adjudicated three times be committed up until his/her 18th birthday and Illinois’s law requiring a juvenile who is 13 or older and has been adjudicated of first degree murder to receive a mandatory commitment of a minimum of five years or until they reach the age of 21 (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005). In addition to mandatory commitment laws, several states also enacted laws requiring mandatory aftercare supervision for juveniles released

from juvenile institutions. As of 2005, fourteen states had enacted this newest form of mandatory sentencing (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005).

Along with the implementation of mandatory minimums, many states, during this same time period, raised the maximum age of the juvenile court's continuing jurisdiction over juvenile offenders (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). To illustrate, between 1992 and 1997 seventeen states extended the age limit for delinquency dispositions (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b). This change allowed for the juvenile courts to hand down dispositions that extended beyond the upper age of original jurisdiction, typically to age 21 (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Thus, instead of having to release juvenile offenders from custody on their 18th birthday, states could now keep them into their twenties. For example, in Wisconsin a juvenile who is adjudicated a serious juvenile offender and is adjudicated with a class A felony is required to be committed until their 25th birthday (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005).

Another indicator of the increased trend toward punitiveness of juvenile dispositions involves the increased use of blended sentencing. Blended sentencing statutes allow courts to give both a juvenile court disposition and an adult sentence to certain juvenile offenders who have been either adjudicated in juvenile court or convicted in criminal court (Merlo & Benekos, 2010; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). There are two main types of blended sentencing laws: juvenile blended sentencing and criminal blended sentencing (Griffin, 2008; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Juvenile blended sentencing laws enhance the sanctioning power of juvenile courts as they authorize the juvenile court to impose a criminal sentence along with its normal juvenile disposition. In contrast, criminal blended sentencing allows criminal courts to impose juvenile dispositions along

with criminal sanctions. In both cases, the result is that juvenile offenders are given adult sanctions. While the sanction may be suspended due to successful completion of the juvenile disposition, the overall risk of juveniles actually serving adult sanctions is increased (Griffin, 2008). As of 2008, thirty-two states, up from 20 at the end of 1997, had one or more blended sentencing options on the books (Griffin, 2008; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b).

In addition, during the late 1980s and 1990s, states increasingly enacted and utilized “once an adult, always an adult” laws. Such laws require that once juvenile court jurisdiction has been waived or the juvenile is prosecuted in adult court, any subsequent case involving that juvenile must also be tried in criminal court (Griffin et al., 2011; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). In other words, any post-transfer offense requires mandatory criminal handling. As of 1997, thirty-one states had “once an adult, always an adult” laws (Griffin et al., 2011).

The sentencing and use of capital punishment for juveniles also provides evidence of the zero tolerance policy towards crime that resulted from the tough on crime movement. During the “get tough” era, the death penalty was permitted in approximately half of the states in the United States for youth who committed capital offenses prior to their 18th birthdays (Cothorn, 2000; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006; Szymanski, 2004). The sentence of death during this time was handed down fairly consistently with about 3% of all U.S. death sentences being imposed on juveniles (Streib, 2004).

The use of the death penalty for juveniles did not go unchallenged during this time (Streib, 1998; *Stanford v. Kentucky*, 1989; *Thompson v. Oklahoma*, 1988). Several cases were brought before the Supreme Court during the late-1980s challenging the use

of the death penalty on juveniles. In each case, however, the Court refused to deem the use of the death penalty as unconstitutional for all juveniles (*Stanford v. Kentucky*, 1989; *Thompson v. Oklahoma*, 1988). By 2005, perspectives on the nature of juveniles' culpability had shifted and imposition of the death penalty on youths once again came before the Court. In *Roper v. Simmons* (2005), the Court held that a sentence of death for juveniles who committed crimes while under the age of 18 was a violation of the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments. Thus, with this ruling, the Court made it unconstitutional to sentence a juvenile to death thereby insinuating that clear differences exist between juveniles who commit violent crimes and adults who commit such acts. Some scholars argue that this renewed recognition that juveniles differ from adults indicated a retreat, however slight, from the "get tough" era of punishment (Benekos & Merlo, 2008).

While only about half of the states during the get tough movement of the 1980s and 1990s were willing to sentence juveniles to death, the majority of states during this time were willing to sentence juveniles to life without the possibility of parole (LWOP) (Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, 2005; Hartney, 2006; Logan, 1998). In 2007, forty-one states allowed for a youth who had been prosecuted in adult court to receive a sentence of life without parole. At this time, 16 of the 41 states made the sentence mandatory for anyone found guilty of certain serious crimes (Streib & Schrempp, 2007). According to Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch (2005), life without parole sentences were increasingly imposed during the 1990s, peaking in 1996 with 152 sentences imposed. For many of the offenders who received such sentences, it was the first time they had ever received a criminal conviction (Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, 2005).

As with the use of the death penalty, challenges were made among scholars and within the court system regarding the constitutionality of sentencing juveniles to life without parole (Fagan, 2007; Feld, 2008; *Graham v. Florida*, 2010; *Miller v. Alabama*, 2012; Streib & Schrempp, 2007). Many scholars asserted that the arguments that were used to support the elimination of the death penalty for juveniles in *Roper* also applied to life without parole sentences (Cepparulo, 2007; Fagan, 2007; Feld, 2008; Streib & Schrempp, 2007). In *Graham v. Florida* (2010), the Supreme Court held that the imposition of a sentence of life without the possibility of parole on a juvenile convicted of a non-homicide offense violates the Eighth Amendment's prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment. Thus, with this ruling, the Court limited LWOP to only those juveniles convicted of homicide.

In 2012, the Supreme Court once again dealt with the issue of sentencing juveniles to LWOP. In *Miller v. Alabama* (2012), the Court ruled that juveniles convicted of homicide cannot receive a mandatory sentence of LWOP. Specifically, the Court held that "such mandatory penalties, by their nature, preclude a sentence from taking account of an offender's age and the wealth of characteristics and circumstances attendant to it" (*Miller v. Alabama*, 2012, p.2467). Thus, again, the Court recognized that an offender's age plays a role in determining how to respond to the commission of crime. Further, they pointed out that such mandatory sentences require juveniles to receive the same sentence as adults who commit similar homicides, but really these sentences are greater for juveniles. Therefore, while the use of LWOP was prevalent during the 1990s, its use has been greatly reduced due to the rulings in these cases.

The various changes made in sentencing practices greatly impacted the number of juveniles incarcerated in both juvenile and adult facilities. In regards to incarceration in juvenile facilities, trends in out-of-home placement paralleled the youth crime rate. Specifically, the number of out-of-home placements increased from the late 1980s up until 1997 when it peaked at 182,800 juveniles. Since hitting its peak, the number of out-of-home placements has been on a steady decline (Merlo & Benekos, 2010). Similarly, during this time, there was an increase in the number of juveniles held in adult institutions. Strom (2000) found that in 1997, 14,000 individuals under the age of 18 were confined in state and local adult institutions. To further illustrate this point, several states not only allowed for the incarceration of youth with adult offenders, but they also made no attempt to segregate the two populations, thus putting new meaning to the phrase “adult crime, adult time” (Merlo & Benekos, 2010).

As the “get tough” rhetoric proliferated in the 1990s, a common method used to increase the punitive nature of the juvenile justice system was to permit the increased use of waiver of juveniles to adult court (Fritsch & Hemmens, 1995). Juvenile waiver, also referred to as juvenile transfer, refers to the transferring of a case from juvenile court to adult court for trial (Steiner & Miller, 2013). The use of waiver was favored because it made it appear as if something was being done about crime while at the same time promoting a punitive, incarcerative model of juvenile justice (Feld, 1999; Merlo et al., 1997). It is important to note that the use of juvenile waiver was not a new concept. The juvenile court recognized, essentially from its inception, that waiver would be necessary in certain cases as some youth would not be amenable to the treatment provided by the juvenile court (Mack, 1909, Tannenhaus, 2000). While not a new conception, there was

an increased focus on utilizing waiver as a way to increase punishment for youthful offenders during the get tough era (Fritsch & Hemmens, 1995).

There were two common reasons given for making it easier to transfer juvenile offenders to adult courts. First, it was argued that the juvenile justice system had been unsuccessful in controlling certain juvenile offenders as evidenced by juvenile recidivism rates (Bishop, 2000). It was further argued that these juveniles had demonstrated, through either the seriousness of their offenses or by the frequencies of their appearances in the system that they were not amenable to the treatment provided by the juvenile justice system (Feld, 1978, 1999; Fritsch & Hemmens, 1995; Nimick, Szymanski, & Snyder, 1986).

While most states had always permitted the use of juvenile waiver, it was not until the 1980s and 1990s that considerable attention began to be directed toward juvenile waiver (Merlo et al., 1997; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b). Specifically, since 1992, all states except Nebraska have passed laws making it easier to transfer juvenile offenders to the criminal justice system (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Between 1992 and 1997 alone, 45 states passed such laws (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b).

Juvenile cases can be waived to adult court in two different ways: by a judicial waiver process (judicial waiver) or by prosecutorial decision (prosecutorial waiver) (Merlo et al., 1997; Sanborn, 1994a; Sanborn & Salerno, 2005; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Judicial waiver is the oldest and most traditional form of transfer (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999a). This type of waiver gives the authority to waive juvenile court jurisdiction to the juvenile court judge. There are two types of judicial transfer: regular and presumptive (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005; Torbet &

Szymanski, 1998). Regular judicial waiver requires the prosecutor to prove that the juvenile is not amenable to treatment within the juvenile justice system (Feld, 1999; Sanborn & Salerno, 2005). Presumptive waiver, on the other hand, shifts the burden of proof to the juvenile to show that he or she *should not* be transferred as they are amenable to treatment within the juvenile justice system (National Criminal Justice Association, 1997; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998).

Prosecutorial waiver is dependent upon the charging decision made by the prosecutor. As with judicial waiver, there are two types of prosecutorial waiver: direct file and offense exclusion. States with direct file provisions have granted concurrent jurisdiction over juvenile crimes that meet certain criteria to both the juvenile and adult court. Thus, in states with direct file, prosecutors are given the discretion to file charges in either the juvenile or criminal court. Offense exclusion also reflects the charging decision by the prosecutor. Under this form of prosecutorial waiver, a juvenile offender can be automatically waived to the adult system, completely bypassing the juvenile court, based on what charge the prosecutor brings against the juvenile (Griffin, 2008; Sanborn, 1994a; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998).

As noted above, traditionally, judicial waiver was the mechanism on which most states relied when it came to transferring youth to adult court (Mole & White, 2005; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b). However, beginning in the 1970s, state legislatures began to change the way in which juvenile offenders were waived into the criminal justice system (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b). The 1990s, specifically, experienced the most extensive changes in state transfer provisions. From 1992 through 1997, all but six states

either enacted or expanded their transfer provisions. In 1996 and 1997 alone, twenty-five states changed their transfer statutes (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998).

Typically, changes occurred through legislatures adding to the list of offenses eligible for criminal prosecution and/or lowering the age at which certain juveniles could be tried in criminal court as well as shifting the authority from judges to prosecutors (Fritsch & Hemmens, 1995; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Explicitly, during the years 1992 through 1999, twenty-seven states extended the coverage of judicial waiver laws through lowering age requirements or by broadening eligibility in some way, 13 states enacted new presumptive waiver laws, 35 states created or modified automatic transfer laws, and 11 states strengthened the role of the prosecutor in transfer by either expanding existing statutes or enacting new direct file laws (Griffin, 2008).

The changes in waiver laws that occurred during the late 1980s and 1990s resulted in an increased number of juveniles being tried as adults. Though it is hard to determine the number of waivers that occurred during this time due to the failure of court systems to record the information, it is estimated that the number of judicial waivers nationwide increased from approximately 7,200 in 1985 to a peak of approximately 13,200 in 1994, an 83% increase (Butts & Mears, 2001; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). It is further difficult to estimate the number of juveniles waived by prosecutorial waiver. This is particularly true in regards to estimating the number of transfers made through the use of offense exclusion as juveniles charged with excluded offenses are not transferred per se; their cases are initiated in adult court. However, an analysis produced by the United States General Accounting Office (1995) showed that prosecutors in some jurisdictions,

such as Arkansas and Florida, may charge as many as ten percent of juveniles in adult court. Thus, juvenile waiver was a tool that was systematically used during the “get tough” era to more efficiently transfer youth who had engaged in serious or repeat offenses to the adult court. Youth who were transferred were no longer viewed as amenable to juvenile court treatment, but instead due to their involvement in serious adult crimes, deserved adult punishments⁶ (Mears, 2003).

2.5 Roles of the Juvenile Justice System Actors: Past and Present

When the juvenile justice system was first created, two people were responsible for a juvenile’s fate within the system: the judge and the probation officer. Until the 1960s, these two people held virtually all the power within the juvenile court. However, with the implementation of due process protections as well as the adultification efforts that took place during the 1980s and 1990s, the roles of the juvenile justice system actors changed in various ways with some gaining power and others losing it (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005).

Traditionally, the juvenile probation officer was the most critical juvenile court worker (Mack, 1909). In most cases, they were responsible for controlling the front end of the juvenile court process and in some cases were responsible for running the entire system. The probation officer alone had the power to decide whether to detain the youth, how thoroughly to investigate an incident, whether to refer the case to the court, and what disposition to recommend to the judge. Further, in some cases, probation officers were responsible for prosecuting the case in juvenile court. Thus, during the early years of the

⁶ See Bishop & Frazier (1991), Bishop, Frazier, & Henretta (1989), Bishop, Frazier, Lanza-Kaduce, & Winner (1996), Butts & Mears (2001), and Mears (2003) for discussions on the effectiveness and implications of the increased use of juvenile waiver.

juvenile court, the probation officer maintained a great presence during the processing and trial of a juvenile court case. However, with the 1960s Supreme Court rulings that guaranteed juveniles various due process protections, the juvenile probation officer's discretionary power began to wane (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005).

Today, the juvenile probation officer is largely recognized as a post-conviction figure, though they still are responsible for conducting intake in many states (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005). Their main responsibilities include intake, preparing the predisposition recommendation (PDR) and supervision. While they continue to maintain some power in the charging and prosecution of offenders, these responsibilities have largely been transferred to prosecutors who were previously not present in the juvenile justice system.

Similarly, probation officers law enforcement powers have been greatly reduced. While in most states, they still maintain some arrest powers, these powers tend to be limited to only youth under their supervision. Further, probation officers have relinquished their power to investigate crimes over to police officers (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005).

One new role that juvenile probation officers received during the "get tough" era of the 1990s was victim management (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005). During this time, accountability and retribution were emphasized as important goals and thus victims gained power within the juvenile justice system (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Juvenile probation officers, being the ones responsible for supervision of youth, were tasked with several duties related to victims. Minimally, juvenile probation officers today are required to keep victims posted on the status of the case, inform the victims of services available to them, and determine the amount of

damage caused by the juvenile offender to include in the disposition report. They are also responsible for making sure that the victim receives any reimbursement that is determined in the disposition of the case (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005).

An additional task that materialized as a result of the “get tough” movement was to inform the school of a juvenile offender’s involvement with the juvenile justice system. For example, over the two year time period of 1996 to 1997, nineteen states modified or enacted legislation requiring schools to be notified of the child’s adjudication and disposition (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). In many states, probation officers have been the ones charged with informing the school of a delinquent’s adjudication as well as the disposition of the case (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005).

Similar to probation officers, historically, judges in juvenile court played a much more central role than they do today. Traditionally, the probation officer and the judge shared the responsibility of being the prosecutor and the defense attorney as these individuals were rarely present in the system in its infancy. They were viewed as unnecessary because the proceedings were investigational rather than adversarial. Thus, in the early years of the juvenile court, the judge had immense discretionary power in terms of adjudication and disposition (Feld, 1991a; Sanborn & Salerno, 2005). The reason behind giving the judge such broad discretion was because they were expected to act as a benevolent parent with the best interests of the child in mind (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010; Mack, 1909; Platt, 1969).

The role of judges as a parental figure went unchallenged until the Supreme Court’s 1967 ruling in *Gault*. No longer, the Supreme Court argued, should the judge act as a father figure considering and making decisions based on the best interest of the child,

but instead they should play the role of a neutral referee between the prosecutor and defense attorney making decisions based on facts. Thus, *Gault* reduced the discretionary power of the juvenile court judge, particularly at the adjudicatory stage (*In re Gault*, 1967).

Judges' discretionary powers were further reduced during the "get tough" era of the 1980s and 1990s (Mole & White, 2005). Prior to this time, judges were typically the only ones with the ability to transfer a juvenile to adult court through the use of judicial waiver (Feld, 1987; Fritsch & Hemmens, 1995). Even after the *Kent* (1966) decision, which formalized the waiver process, judges maintained a significant amount of discretion regarding transfer hearings. They were tasked with evaluating the amenability of youth to treatment or the threat posed by the youth to public safety and using their discretion to make a decision on where the case should be tried (Fritsch & Hemmens, 1995; Merlo et al., 1997). However, the increase in violent juvenile crime caused politicians to scramble for policy ideas.

One solution was to implement laws making it easier for juveniles to be tried in adult courts. Thus, prosecutorial waiver laws began to be enacted (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). The implementation of such laws moved the authority away from judges and placed it into the hands of prosecutors through either direct file or by the exclusion of certain offenses from juvenile court jurisdiction altogether (Fritsch & Hemmens, 1995; Merlo & Benekos, 2003; Mole & White, 2005). Thus, today, while judges still have some discretionary power regarding decision-making within the juvenile court, their authority has been greatly reduced from what it once was due to the implementation of prosecutorial waiver laws (Benekos & Merlo, 2008; Merlo & Benekos, 2010; Mole &

White, 2005). It is important to note, however, that not all states chose to transfer waiver power to the prosecutors. In ten states, judges remain the only individuals capable of transferring juveniles to adult court (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005).

As noted previously, the original juvenile court was created to be a non-adversarial, non-legal, and non-punitive institution in which the court based decisions on the best interest of the child (Sagatun & Edwards, 1979). Due to this ideology, it was believed that there was no need to grant juveniles the constitutional rights that are guaranteed to their adult counterparts (Mennel, 1973; Platt, 1969). Therefore, attorneys were rarely present in juvenile court proceedings during the court's infancy appearing typically only at the request of the juvenile court or juvenile probation department (Sagatun & Edwards, 1979; Sanborn & Salerno, 2005). However, the Supreme Court formalized the adjudicatory stage of delinquency proceedings with their 1967 ruling in *Gault* arguing that the juvenile court was not achieving its goals and that children before the court were receiving the "worst of both worlds" (*In re Gault*, 1967; *Kent v. United States*, 1966, p. 556).

After the *Gault* ruling, children were guaranteed a number of due process rights including the right to an attorney. Thus, attorneys became an integral part of the juvenile justice system. The presence of prosecutors in juvenile court was a response to the newfound presence of defense attorneys (Rubin, 1980). Specifically, after *Gault*, states began to assign prosecutors to juvenile courts to help with deciding who and what to charge, whether to detain the individual prior to court, to assemble and prosecute the case, and to recommend sentencing options to the judge (Rubin, 1980; Sagatun & Edwards, 1979; Sanborn & Salerno, 2005). To illustrate the increased influence of

prosecutors in juvenile court, Finkelstein, Weiss, Cohen, & Fisher (1973) and Rubin (1980) examined the roles of prosecutors' post-*Gault* and both found that their involvement was present in almost all stages of juvenile court processing including intake, adjudication, and disposition.

The role of prosecutors was further expanded during the 1980s and 1990s when states began to pass juvenile waiver laws that gave prosecutors the power to determine whether to try the case in juvenile or criminal court (Griffin et al., 2011; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Legislatures implemented such laws as they had become dissatisfied with the rate of judicial transfers and they believed that prosecutors would be more willing to transfer a juvenile to adult court. Unlike the traditional judicial waiver procedure, most states did not specify any requirements to guide or limit prosecutors' decisions regarding transfer nor did they provide any general principle or specific factors to consider when making a transfer decision. Further, no hearing was required nor an evidentiary record created, thus giving prosecutors unbridled discretion with little to no possibility of review (Griffin, 2008; Griffin et al., 2011; Sabo, 1996). With the implementation of such laws, discretionary power was transferred from the judge to the prosecutor thereby enhancing the role of prosecutors within the juvenile court (Bell, 2005; Bishop et al., 1989; Burrow, 2005; Green, 2005).

Similarly, prior to *Gault*, defense attorneys were not viewed as necessary within the juvenile justice system and thus played only a marginal role (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005). However, the Court ruled in *Gault* that defense attorneys were needed, particularly in cases involving the potential for incarceration, in order to enable juvenile defendants “to cope with problems of law, to make skilled inquiry into the facts, to insist upon

regularity of the proceedings, and to ascertain whether [the juvenile defendant] has a defense and to prepare and submit it” (*In re Gault*, 1967, p. 36). Thus, the Court granted juvenile defendants the right to counsel. Despite this constitutional guarantee, a number of studies have found that juveniles do not capitalize on this right and regularly waive their right to counsel (Berkheiser, 2002; Feld, 1989, 1991b; Grisso, 1980; 1981; 2003; Puritz, Burrell, Schwartz, Soler, & Warboys, 1995). For example, a national study involving urban, suburban, and rural court systems found that, in one-third of these court systems, a substantial proportion of juvenile defendants waive their right to counsel (Puritz et al., 1995).

Regardless of the use of defense attorneys by juvenile defendants, one challenge that defense attorneys within the juvenile justice system have faced is the appropriate role they should play (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005). Should they play the same role in juvenile court as they do in adult court; that is, that of the advocate of their client and adversary of the prosecutor, or should they instead act as their client’s guardian and serve in the best interests of the child (Federle, 1990; Sanborn, 1994b; Sanborn & Salerno, 2005)? The research appears to demonstrate that juvenile court workers tend to view defense attorneys proper role as more of a guardian than an advocate (Sanborn, 1994b). Thus, while *Gault* may have granted juveniles the right to counsel, it appears as if it is not often utilized and even when it is, the defense attorneys often work in collaboration with the court to serve the best interests of the child rather than zealously advocating for their client (Puritz et al., 1995). This reflects the trend that while the juvenile justice system and the actors working within the system did evolve during the due process and “get

tough” eras, remnants of the unique roles and goals of the original juvenile justice system are still evident.

2.6 Shifting Focus in Juvenile Justice

While the legislation that was passed during the “get tough” era remains on the books in most states, some scholars suggest that the era of harsh punishments is declining and the pendulum is swinging back towards a more rehabilitative, “best interest” of the child ideology (Benekos & Merlo, 2008; Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010; Merlo & Benekos, 2010). To support their claim, they point to the elimination of the death penalty for offenders under age 18 (*Roper v. Simmons*, 2005), declining trends in the passage of get tough legislation (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006), the implementation of laws and practices aimed at decreasing harsh punishments for juveniles (Campaign for Youth Justice, 2010; Illinois Juvenile Justice Commission, 2013; Juvenile Justice Initiative, 2013; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998), and a more positive public opinion of juvenile offenders (Applegate & Davis, 2006; Cullen et al., 1998; Moon, Cullen, & Wright, 2003; Moon, Sundt, Cullen, & Wright, 2000; Nagin, Piquero, Scott, & Steinberg, 2006; Piquero, Cullen, Unnever, Piquero, & Gordon, 2010).

As noted previously, the United States allowed for the execution of juveniles up until 2005 when the Supreme Court ruled in *Roper v. Simmons* that it was unconstitutional to do so (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006; Szymanski, 2004). Benekos & Merlo (2008) argue that the Court’s ruling provides some evidence that there is a waning belief that juveniles who commit adult crimes deserve to receive adult punishments. Within their ruling, the Court, referencing the research of Steinberg & Scott (2003), argued that there were clear differences between juveniles under age 18 and adults, an

idea that had largely been disregarded during the juvenile crime wave panic (*Roper v. Simmons*, 2005). Specifically, writing for the majority, Justice Kennedy identified three main differences between juveniles and adults: 1) juveniles often lack maturity and have an underdeveloped sense of responsibility which leads them to act impulsively; thus “their irresponsible conduct is not as morally reprehensible as that of an adult” (p.12); 2) juveniles are more likely to fall to the negative influences of peer pressure and therefore “their own vulnerability and comparative lack of control over their immediate surroundings mean juveniles have a greater claim than adults to be forgiven for failing to escape negative influences in their whole environment” (p.12); and 3) juveniles have yet to fully form their true character making it “less supportable to conclude that even a heinous crime committed by a juvenile is evidence of irretrievably deprave character” (p.13). These differences, in the Court’s opinion, made it irresponsible to classify juvenile offenders who had committed capital crimes among the worst offenders and thus be given an “absolute” sentence (*Roper v. Simmons*, 2005).

Further, in reaching their decision, the Court considered the national consensus on the death penalty for juveniles and found that the majority of states rejected its use. In addition, they found that in those states that continued allowing its use, it was applied infrequently (*Roper v. Simmons*, 2005). For example, while 20 states allowed the death penalty for juveniles when *Roper* was being decided, only six states had executed a prisoner who had committed a crime as a juvenile since 1989 and only three states had done so since 1995 (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Thus, the Court ruled that the national consensus viewed juveniles as “categorically less culpable than the average criminal” (*Roper v. Simmons*, 2005, p. 2). This recognition that juveniles are different from adults

and thus less culpable contrasts with the “get tough” ideology that dominated the 1980s and 1990s and signifies that there may be a softening in attitudes toward youthful offenders.

Scholars have also pointed to the slowed expansion and use of “get tough” legislation as an indicator of the decline of harsh punishments for juveniles. For example, Bernard & Kurlycheck (2010) note that during the “get tough” era, there was a major push towards enacting enhanced sentencing provisions for juveniles. To be specific, they pointed out that between 1992 and 1997, thirty-one states enacted juvenile blended sentencing and/or enhanced sentencing provisions such as mandatory minimums and life without parole for juveniles (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998); however, since 2000, no further additions have been made (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006).

Based on the data, they argue that “the climax of the ‘get tough’ movement was reached during the late-1990s, and since that time, movement in the direction of further harshness has come to a halt” (Bernard & Kurlycheck, 2010, p. 189). Bernard and Kurlycheck offer various interpretations for the recent absence of “get tough” legislation including legislatures’ contentment with the current state of the system and the oversaturation of punitive policies. They suggest, however, that it could be legislatures are ready to move past the emphasis on harsh punishments and refocus on rehabilitation.

Along with the decreased implementation of get tough legislation, the decreased use of such legislation may further indicate a shift in ideology. For instance, South Carolina’s statutory exclusion and mandatory waiver laws provide for automatic criminal court processing of youths over 14 who are accused of certain crimes. However, it was

found that in the two largest counties, almost every juvenile whose offense required mandatory transfer was allowed to plead to a lesser offense and thus avoid transfer (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010). This finding could suggest growing unwillingness of prosecutors in some locations to transfer juveniles to the adult court indicating that there may be a softening of juvenile justice policy.

Despite increased efforts to reduce the reliance on juvenile waiver, a substantial number of youth continue to be tried in adult courts (Adams & Addie, 2008). Further, recent evidence suggests that some states are responding to the criticism of an overreliance on transfer by simply recreating juvenile justice systems within their criminal justice systems. For example, Kupchik (2006) observed a criminal court in New York City that exclusively dealt with the processing of thirteen to fifteen year olds as adults. Through his observation, he found that while the trial phase of the proceeding was similar to that of the criminal justice system, the sentencing phase closely resembled the juvenile justice system. Specifically, the sentencing phase for these juveniles was more informal, nonadversarial, and offender-focused just like that of the juvenile justice system. Based on these findings, Kupchik (2006) argues that it appears as if those involved in the processing of juvenile offenders are returning to the belief that adolescents are less culpable than adults and should not be held responsible for their offenses in the same way or extent as adults thus indicating that the “best interest” ideology is not dead.

In similar fashion, the imprisonment rate of juveniles in adult facilities has also declined, suggesting an easing of the punitive ideology. The number of juveniles held in state prisons increased dramatically during the 1990s due to passage of various laws

making it easier for juveniles to be tried as adults (Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). The number of persons under the age of 18 being held in state prisons peaked in 1997 at 5,400, representing less than 0.5% of all inmates (Strom, 2000). Since then, numbers have consistently declined. By 2007, less than half as many juveniles were being held in state prisons—2,283 inmates under the age of 18, representing less than 0.1% of all inmates (Sabol & Couture, 2008). Further, of those juveniles being sentenced to prison, recently, even fewer are receiving sentences of life without parole than before. Specifically, the number of juveniles sentenced to life without parole decreased during the years 1996 through 2003 from 152 to 72 (Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, 2005). As noted by Merlo and Benekos (2010), the decline in both of these figures could be a result of the decreased juvenile crime rate; however, it could also be an indicator of a change away from punitive ideology.

Similarly, for those cases tried in juvenile court, use of out-of-home placement increased beginning in the late 1980s and continuing until 1997 when it peaked at 182,800. Since reaching its peak, the likelihood of delinquency cases receiving placement has steadily decreased (Merlo & Benekos, 2010). These data also could suggest that the punitive rhetoric of the 1990s is no longer being matched by court behavior.

Not only is the use of “get tough” legislation declining, but many states are enacting legislation that reduces the overreliance on the adult court to deal with juvenile delinquents. One such trend has been to raise the maximum age of juvenile court jurisdiction. Recall that during the “get tough” era, many states lowered the age in which a juvenile was able to be automatically transferred to adult court (Torbet & Szymanski,

1998). In 2007, the Connecticut legislature approved a bill raising its maximum age of juvenile court jurisdiction from 16 to 18, becoming the first state in recent history to raise the age of juvenile court jurisdiction. In 2010, Mississippi enacted a new law which removed the majority of 17 years olds from the adult criminal court (Campaign for Youth Justice, 2010). More recently, in 2013, the Illinois Juvenile Justice Committee proposed raising the age of juvenile court jurisdiction to 18 for juveniles charged with misdemeanors and nonviolent felonies (Illinois Juvenile Justice Commission, 2013). As of May 14, 2013, the bill had passed both the House and the Senate in Illinois and was heading to the governor for review (Juvenile Justice Initiative, 2013). Though only three states to date have passed such legislation, it may be that this is an early indicator of a change in juvenile justice policy.

An additional trend has been the implementation of reverse waiver laws in several states. Reverse waiver laws are utilized to send juveniles who are automatically waived to the adult system due to statutory exclusion or mandatory transfer back to the juvenile justice system. As of 2009, twenty-four states had enacted reverse waiver laws (Griffin, 2010). It is impossible to determine how often states are actually using this mechanism due to the fact that states are currently not tracking its use; however, the fact that almost half the states have enacted such laws suggests that states are once again returning to a more benevolent stance on juvenile delinquency (Burrow, 2008; Jordan & Myers, 2007; Mears, 2003).

Alongside these trends in legislation, there appears to be a growing belief that the current juvenile justice system should emphasize the treatment philosophy (Bazemore & Terry, 1997; Burns et al., 2003; Blueprint Commission, 2008; Campaign for Youth

Justice, 2010; Children's Defense Fund, 2007; Loving, 2007; Macallair, 1993). For example, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention conducted a study group on very young offenders (under the age of 13). The study group consisted of 39 experts on child delinquency and child psychopathology. They concluded that comprehensive and coordinated services aimed at treatment not punishment need to be provided to young people who persistently behave in disruptive ways, in addition to young juvenile offenders who have committed serious and violent crimes (Burns et al., 2003).

Furthermore, in recent years, a number of other professional organizations and committees on juvenile justice have begun to de-emphasize punishment, while promoting more rehabilitative strategies (Blueprint Commission, 2008; Campaign for Youth Justice, 2010; Children's Defense Fund, 2007). For example, the Campaign for Youth Justice is a national organization dedicated to ending the practice of processing youth under the age of 18 in adult court. They recommend that all youth be removed from adult jails and prisons, that the age of juvenile court jurisdiction be raised to at least age 18, that juvenile transfer laws be reformed to keep youth out of the adult system, and finally, that mandatory minimum sentences for youth convicted in the adult justice system be repealed (Campaign for Youth Justice, 2010). Similarly, The Children's Defense Fund started a campaign entitled "Cradle to Prison Pipeline". As part of the campaign, they call for the nation to assign the highest priority to treatment and prevention as opposed to the detention and punishment of youthful offenders (Children's Defense Fund, 2007).

Additionally, recent research suggests that the public is largely in favor of such rehabilitative and less punitive strategies (Applegate & Davis, 2006; Cullen et al., 1998;

Moon, Cullen, & Wright, 2003; Moon, Sundt, Cullen, & Wright, 2000; Nagin, Piquero, Scott, & Steinberg, 2006; Piquero, Cullen, Unnever, Piquero, & Gordon, 2010). For example, Moon et al. (2003) surveyed a random sample of Tennessee residents in order to determine whether they believed that rehabilitation should be an integral part of the juvenile justice system. They found that the vast majority (over 80%) of the sample supported both pre intervention and rehabilitative programs focused on at-risk youth. Similarly, Piquero et al. (2010) found that among Pennsylvania residents, there was broad consensus in support of rehabilitation for juvenile offenders. These studies suggest that the public believes that rehabilitation and pre-intervention, not harsh punishments should be the main focus of the juvenile justice system.

In sum, the juvenile justice system has experienced a number of changes since its inception in 1899. The first wave of adultification that occurred during the 1960s and 1970s granted juveniles a number of due process protections that had originally been deemed unnecessary (Albanese, 1994; Fondacaro et al., 2006; Lederman, 1999; Merlo et al., 1999). While these changes helped to protect juveniles from unfair processing, they also fundamentally altered the nature of the juvenile system. During the get tough era of the late 1980s and 1990s, the second wave of adultification introduced increasingly harsh punishments for juvenile offenders, particularly those who engaged in serious crimes (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010; Cullen et al., 2000; DiIulio, 1995). These changes reshaped and modified the original intent and goals of the juvenile justice system; no longer was the system solely focused on the care and protection of the juvenile, but instead a new emphasis of accountability and community protection emerged (Fox, 1996; Merlo et al., 1999; Zimring, 1998). Recently, however, there appears to be a shift back

towards an emphasis on rehabilitation (Merlo & Benekos, 2010; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). It is not yet clear whether the “get tough” rhetoric of the past will be abandoned for a more treatment oriented juvenile justice system. What is apparent is that the system will continue to be molded and modified as the system works to find the most effective way to deal with juvenile delinquency.

2.7 Orientation of Correctional Officers

Beyond shifts in the overarching nature of the juvenile justice system, examining the available dispositions for adjudicated juveniles is also of importance. The juvenile corrections system is responsible for making sure that the disposition(s) handed down by the juvenile court are enforced on the juvenile. There are two main types of dispositions that are available to juveniles: out of home placement and probation. Within each of these categories, there are a variety of different types of sanctions that vary in terms of their severity (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2013; Sanborn & Salerno, 2005). Recall that the purpose of the present study is to examine the extent to which juvenile community supervision has been adultified. It would be useful to examine all aspects of juvenile corrections, but this would be a massive undertaking and out-of-home options are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Probation is a less severe type of disposition in which youth are allowed to remain in the community but are under the supervision of a probation officer and subject to a variety of conditions. Conditions frequently required of juveniles on probation include restitution, day and evening treatment programs, intensive supervision, house arrest or home detention, and participation in rehabilitative programming. It is the oldest and most widely used disposition by the juvenile court (Sanborn & Salerno, 2005; Torbet, 1997).

In 2009, probation was the most restrictive disposition used in 60% of the cases adjudicated delinquent (Puzzanchera et al., 2012). Due to the fact that probation is still the most commonly used disposition, the present study will focus on the orientation of these officers. They arguably have the greatest interaction with the largest number of offenders and thus can amply illustrate the nature of the system.

Parole, also referred to within the juvenile justice system as aftercare, is similar to probation. The defining distinction between probation and parole is that parole occurs after a juvenile has been placed in some type of out of home institution and then is allowed to reenter the community. Reentry programs typically involve both surveillance and reintegrative services. Similar to the monitoring that occurs under probation, surveillance practices used within juvenile aftercare programs typically include such things as electronic monitoring, regular contact with a parole officer, intensive supervision, and urine testing. In regards to aftercare services, juveniles are exposed to a variety of reintegrative services, including health, mental health, vocational, educational and family components that are aimed at helping them prepare for successful reentry into the community (Altschuler, 2009; Altschuler, Armstrong, & MacKenize, 1999; Geis, 2003). Because probation and parole officers engage in many of the same activities and are often housed within the same agency, the present study also chose to focus on the orientation of juvenile parole officers.

There is a continuing tension in the criminal and juvenile justice systems between two largely incompatible orientations: rehabilitation and punishment (Farnworth, Frazier, & Neuberger, 1988). This tension is particularly salient among those working within the area of corrections (Farkas, 2001; Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980; Steiner, Purkiss, Kifer,

Roberts, & Hemmens, 2004; Steiner, Roberts, & Hemmens, 2003). For example, correctional officers are tasked with two main goals: custody and treatment. Both goals aim to protect the community, but they emphasize different means of accomplishing this task (Cressey, 1965; Zald, 1962). On the one hand, correctional officers are to protect the community by maintaining security and control over inmates (Zald, 1962). Officers are expected to focus on containment by means of punitive control techniques if necessary. On the other hand, correctional officers aim to achieve the same community protection by facilitating rehabilitative treatment for inmates. As noted by Zald (1962) and Cressey (1965), a treatment ideology requires the utilization of nonpunitive control of inmates and relaxed discipline. Based on these descriptions, it appears as if these goals are in contention with one another.

Similarly, within the area of probation and parole, opposing orientations are also promoted (Ohlin, Piven, & Pappenport, 1956; Steiner et al., 2004; Steiner et al., 2003). On the one hand, probation and parole officers are tasked with enforcing the legal requirements of supervision, while on the other, officers are responsible for assisting the offender in successful community adjustment (Ohlin et al., 1956; Steiner et al., 2004; Steiner et al., 2003). Due to these competing goals within the field of corrections, it is possible that correctional personnel vary in their professional orientation. Further, it is possible that the professional orientations of correctional personnel vary due to the uncertain distinction that exists between the juvenile and criminal justice systems. The historical trends reviewed above reveal clear movements toward adultification of juvenile justice, and a possible return toward more traditional policies. They do not establish the current nature of juvenile corrections. The existing evidence leaves up to question to

what extent distinctions endure between the professional orientations of juvenile versus adult community corrections officers—we do not know whether juvenile probation and parole supervision has been adultified. The present study examines whether juvenile probation and parole officers' professional orientations differ from those of adult officers. As a prelude to specifying the hypotheses to be tested here, I first review the existing evidence on correctional officers' orientations.

Research examining the orientation of those working within the field of corrections began in the late 1960s and proliferated through the 1990s. The majority of studies examined the orientation of adult correctional officers and adult probation and parole officers, but few studies have examined the orientations of various juvenile corrections personnel (See Appendix A). Further, a limited number of studies have compared juvenile corrections personnel with adult corrections personnel (e.g., Shearer, 2002; Sluder & Reddington, 1993). The following overview of the literature should shed some light on the orientations of various corrections personnel.

Professional orientation of adult correctional personnel. The vast majority of research examining correctional orientation has focused on adult correctional officers. Research on this population has consistently found that correctional officers tend to hold a mixture of rehabilitative and punitive beliefs (Burton, Ju, Dunaway, & Wolfe, 1991; Cullen, Latessa, Burton, & Lombardo, 1993; Cullen, Lutze, Link, & Wolfe, 1989; Farkas, 1999; Jacobs, 1978; Klofas, 1986; Shamir & Drory, 1981). For example, Cullen et al. (1989) found in their study of 155 correctional officers that the officers tended to embrace both a custodial and treatment orientation. Specifically, they found that the majority of their sample agreed that prisons are “too soft” on inmates while at the same

time agreeing that treating offenders is as important as punishing them. Similarly, Cullen et al. (1993) found in their study of 375 prison wardens across the United States that the wardens, while placing a priority on custodial concerns, were also supportive of rehabilitation.

Adult probation and parole officers also express a mixture of both punitive and treatment beliefs, though the emphasis appears to shift more towards treatment/rehabilitation (Dembo, 1972; Harris, Clear, & Baird, 1989; Sluder, Shearer & Potts, 1991; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). For example, Sluder et al. (1991) found support for both treatment and punitive orientations in their study of 159 probation officers. More specifically, they found that approximately three-fourths of the officers agreed with the following treatment-casework orientation statements: “the probation officer’s goal should be to change the offender’s behavior through a helping relationship” (89%) and “counseling is the most essential part of the probation officer’s job” (70%). In contrast, they found that over three-fourths of the sample agreed with the following punitive-law enforcement statements: “the probation officer’s job is to control, regulate, and document” (78%), “the probation officer’s primary responsibility should be to ensure public safety” (80%), and “the probation officer’s primary concern is monitoring probationers to ensure that they are complying with the conditions of probation” (89%).

Similarly, Whitehead & Lindquist (1992) found in their study of 108 probation and parole officers that rehabilitation was highly supported among the officers. Specifically, they found that fewer than 10 percent of the respondents agreed that rehabilitation programs should be left to mental health professionals or that counseling is not a part of their job. Further, over half of the sample disagreed with the four punitive

orientation variables that were included in the survey. Specifically, more than 90% of the sample disagreed with the statements “improving prisons for inmates makes them worse for officers” (92%) and “rehabilitation programs are a waste of time and money” (95%), while 81% of the sample disagreed that “there would be much less crime if prisons were more uncomfortable” and 68% disagreed that “a military regime is the best way of running a prison”. While the majority of officers disagreed with the punitive orientation, as the numbers show, there is still some support. For instance, almost 20% of the respondents agreed that crime would decrease if prisons were more uncomfortable and 32% believed that running a military regime was beneficial (Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). Thus, while studies have suggested that rehabilitation may be the primary objective of most probation officers, punishment appears to also be an important, secondary focus.

Professional orientation of juvenile corrections personnel. While only a few studies have been conducted examining the work orientation of juvenile corrections personnel, findings suggest that their professional orientations are similar to those of their adult counterparts (Bazemore & Dicker, 1994; Bazemore, Dicker, & Nyhan, 1994; Blevins, Cullen, & Sundt, 2007; Brennan & Khinduka, 1970; Farnworth et al., 1988; Gordon, 1999a; 1999b; Lieber, Schwarze, Mack, & Farnworth, 2002; Lopez & Russell, 2008; Shearer, 2002). For instance, Bazemore and Dicker (1994) found strong support for a treatment orientation, along with relatively strong support for punishment in their study of juvenile detention workers. Of interest, over 80% of the sample agreed with the four survey questions regarding a treatment orientation, while between 40% and 70% of the sample agreed with four of the five punitive orientation survey questions.

More recently, Blevins and her colleagues (2007) found that rehabilitation and custody were supported simultaneously in their study examining 195 juvenile correctional workers. To illustrate, in regards to treatment, the majority of the sample agreed to some extent with the following statements: “rehabilitating a criminal is just as important as making a criminal pay for his or her crime” (84%), “the most effective and humane cure to the crime problem in America is to make a strong effort to rehabilitate offenders” (63%), and “I would support expanding the rehabilitation programs for criminals that are now being undertaken in prisons” (68%).

Conversely, the majority of the sample also agreed with the following statements regarding custody and punishment: “so long as the inmates I supervise stay quiet and don’t cause any trouble, I really don’t care if they are getting rehabilitated or cured” (92%), “my job isn’t to rehabilitate inmates; it is only to keep them orderly so that they don’t hurt anyone or tear this place apart” (70%), “many people don’t realize it, but prisons today are ‘too soft’ on inmates” (72%), and “sleep ‘em, feed ‘em, and work ‘em is the best way to handle inmates” (90%). Thus, similar to workers in adult corrections, juvenile corrections personnel also appear to hold a range of different work orientations (Blevins et al., 2007).

While it appears as though juvenile probation officers hold similar orientations to their adult counterparts, direct comparisons cannot be made when separate studies examine the two groups in isolation. When only juvenile workers or only adult workers are examined the best that can be done is a rough comparison of the studies. It is unlikely that the only difference would be the type of client with whom the officer works. Thus,

in order to engage in more direct comparisons, both types of workers need to be included in a single study.

Comparison of juvenile vs. adult correctional officer orientation. As noted above, to date, only two studies have compared officer orientations among adult and juvenile correctional officers (Shearer, 2002; Sluder & Reddington, 1993). In the early 1990s, Sluder & Reddington (1993) compared the work ideologies of 203 juvenile and adult probation officers. Specifically, they examined whether juvenile and adult probation officers differed in their adherence to three work ideologies (casework, resource brokerage, law enforcement). They found that juvenile officers had significantly higher scores on the casework scale than adult probation officers, meaning that juvenile officers held a more rehabilitative orientation than their adult counterparts. No significant differences were found between juvenile and adult probation officers on the resource brokerage or law enforcement scales.

Nearly a decade later, Shearer (2002) compared the probation strategies of 158 juvenile and adult probation trainees. Specifically, five groups of trainees (three juvenile and two adult) were administered the *Probation Strategies Questionnaire (PSQ)*, which splits probation strategies into the same three categories identified by Sluder and Reddington (1993)—casework, resource brokerage, law enforcement. For the law enforcement scale, Shearer found a significant difference between the total juvenile trainee sample and the total adult trainee sample with adult officers more likely to support a law enforcement orientation. No significant differences were found between the groups on the casework and resource brokerage scales. Thus, while they found adult probation officers were more likely to support a law enforcement ideology and thus be more

supportive of punitive strategies than their juvenile counterparts, no significant differences were found regarding their beliefs on rehabilitation.

Based on these two studies, it appears as though juvenile correctional workers hold a more rehabilitative orientation than their adult counterparts, with Sluder and Reddington (1993) finding juvenile officers to be more likely to hold a case manager work ideology and Shearer (2002) finding juvenile officers less likely to hold a law enforcement work ideology. Notably, in both studies differences were not significant on two of the three scales measured. While these two studies did examine differences in the professional orientation of juvenile and adult correctional workers, they failed to examine a wide range of dimensions that make the adult court different from the traditional juvenile court. In order to get a better estimate of the differences in professional orientation of juvenile and adult probation officers, a number of other dimensions need to be considered. Critical distinctions between the traditional juvenile system and the criminal justice system include an emphasis on treatment versus punishment, a focus on the offender's personal situation versus the offense, welfare versus just deserts, exercising discretion versus adhering strictly to rules, procedural informality versus formality, and a concern for the child's welfare versus controlling him or her (Feld, 1999; Kupchik, 2006).

2.8 Sources of Correctional Orientation

While understanding the level of support for rehabilitation and custody is important, it is also useful to examine the sources of these orientations. Two competing models have been developed in order to explain impacts of and differences in correctional personnel orientation: the importation-differential experiences model (see VanVoorhis, Cullen, Link, & Wolfe, 1991) and the work role/prisonization model (see

Feldberg & Glenn, 1979). Table 2.1 presents an overview of the literature on correlates of professional orientation of juvenile and adult correctional personnel.

Importation-differential experiences model. The importation-differential experiences model was first conceptualized by Van Voorhis et al. (1991). Similar to Irwin and Cressey's (1962) importation model of inmate behavior and adaptation, this model assumes that reactions to correctional work are impacted by the individual attributes that correctional personnel bring with them to the job. In other words, the model argues that correctional employees import certain characteristics into their job and these pre-existing characteristics impact their attitudes and experiences (see Blevins et al., 2007; Clear & Latessa, 1993; Cullen et al., 1993; Cullen et al., 1989; Farkas, 2001; Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980; Jackson & Ammen, 1996; Jacobs & Kraft, 1978; Jurik, 1985; Lopez & Russell, 2008; Maahs & Pratt, 2001; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Sluder & Reddington, 1993; Sundt & Cullen, 2002; VanVoorhis et al., 1991). Measures commonly included in studies examining the importation-differential experience model are age, gender, race, and education. While numerous studies have explored the impact of individual characteristics on correctional personnel orientation, the findings have been mixed.

Age. Several studies have found that chronological age is linked to correctional personnel orientations. Specifically, many studies have found that age is significantly and positively related to a rehabilitation orientation, indicating that officers who are older hold more rehabilitative orientations (Farkas, 1999; Hemmens & Stohr, 2000; Klofas, 1986; Lambert, Hogan, Barton, & Elechi, 2009; Liou, 1998; Robinson, Porporino,

Table 2.1 Review of Literature on Correlates of Adult and Juvenile Correctional Orientation

Author(s)	Measure of Correctional Orientation	Age	Gender (Male)	Race (White)	Education	Correctional Experience	Client Contact	Role Conflict	Position (Custody)	Urban context
Antonio & Young (2011)	Staff apathy	ns	ns	ns	ns	+	*	*	+	ns
	Treatment orientation	ns	ns	ns	ns	+	*	*	-	ns
Arthur (1994)	Rehabilitation	ns	ns	*	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
	Retribution	-	ns	*	+	ns	*	*	*	*
	Deterrence	+	ns	*	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
Bazemore & Dicker (1994)	Punishment/control	-	+	ns	ns	ns	*	ns	*	*
	Treatment/services	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	ns	*	*
Bazemore, Dicker, & Al-Gadbeeb (1994)	Punishment/control	-	+	ns	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
Bazemore, Dicker & Nyhan (1994)	Punishment/control	*	*	*	*	*	*	ns	*	*
Blevins, Cullen & Sundt (2007)	Punishment	+	-	-	ns	ns	*	ns	ns	*
	Rehabilitation	-	ns	ns	-	ns	*	ns	ns	*
Burton et al. (1991)	Custody	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
	Rehabilitation	ns	ns	ns	+	ns	*	*	*	*
Clear & Latessa (1993)	Authority	ns	ns	*	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
	Assistance	ns	ns	*	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
	Enforcement	ns	ns	*	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
Cullen et al. (1989)	Custody	*	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	+	*	*
	Rehabilitation	*	ns	-	ns	ns	*	ns	*	*

Table 2.1 Review of Literature on Correlates of Adult and Juvenile Correctional Orientation

Author(s)	Measure of Correctional Orientation	Age	Gender (Male)	Race (White)	Education	Correctional Experience	Client Contact	Role Conflict	Position (Custody)	Urban context
Cullen et al. (1993)	Rehabilitation goal of prisons	*	*	ns	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
	Amenability to treatment	*	*	ns	+	+	*	*	*	*
	Rehabilitation in ideal prison	*	*	ns	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
	Emphasis given to rehabilitation	*	*	-	ns	+	*	*	*	*
	Emphasis given to custody	*	*	-	ns	+	*	*	*	*
	Support for rehabilitation	*	*	ns	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
Dembo (1972)	Punishment	*	*	ns	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Reintegrative	*	*	ns	*	*	*	*	*	*
Devaney (2005)	Assistance	*	-	-	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*
Farkas (1999)	Counseling roles	+	+	ns	ns	*	ns	-	*	*
	Social distance	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	ns	ns	*	*
	Punitive orientation	ns	+	ns	ns	*	ns	-	*	*
	Corruption of authority	ns	+	-	ns	*	ns	ns	*	*
Gordon (1999a)	Punishment	ns	-	ns	ns	ns	*	*	+	*
	Rehabilitation	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*	-	*
Gordon (1999b)	Attitudes toward punitiveness	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*	+	*
	Attitudes toward treatment	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*	-	*
Hemmens & Stohr (2000)	Human service orientation	+	-	*	ns	*	*	*	*	*
	Hack orientation	-	+	*	ns	*	*	*	*	*
Hepburn & Albonetti (1980)	Punitiveness	*	*	*	*	*	*	+	+	*

Table 2.1 Review of Literature on Correlates of Adult and Juvenile Correctional Orientation

Author(s)	Measure of Correctional Orientation	Age	Gender (Male)	Race (White)	Education	Correctional Experience	Client Contact	Role Conflict	Position (Custody)	Urban context
Jackson & Ammen (1996)	Counseling roles	+	*	-	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Social distance	-	*	ns	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Punitive orientation	-	*	+	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Corruption of authority	-	*	+	*	*	*	*	*	*
Jurik (1985)	Officers' attitudes toward inmates	+	ns	-	ns	-	ns	*	*	*
Klofas (1986)	Human service orientation	+	*	ns	*	+	*	*	*	ns
Lambert & Hogan (2009)	Support for treatment	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*	-	*
Lambert et al. (2009)	Support for punishment	ns	ns	ns	-	ns	*	*	+	*
	Support for rehabilitation	+	ns	ns	+	ns	*	*	ns	*
Lambert et al. (2010)	Support for punishment	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*	+	*
	Support for rehabilitation	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*	-	*
Lieber et al. (2002)	Punitiveness	ns	ns	*	-	*	*	*	+	*
Liou (1998)	Punishment	-	ns	*	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
	Treatment	+	ns	*	+	-	*	*	*	*
Lopez & Russell (2008)	Rehabilitation orientation	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*	-	*
Poole & Regoli (1980)	Custody orientation	*	*	*	-	+	*	+	*	*
Robinson, Porporino, & Simourd (1993)	Rehabilitation orientation	ns	ns	*	+	ns	*	*	-	*

Table 2.1 Review of Literature on Correlates of Adult and Juvenile Correctional Orientation

Author(s)	Measure of Correctional Orientation	Age	Gender (Male)	Race (White)	Education	Correctional Experience	Client Contact	Role Conflict	Position (Custody)	Urban context
Robinson, Porporino, & Simourd (1997)	Custody orientation	-	ns	*	-	ns	*	*	*	*
	Rehabilitation orientation	+	ns	*	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
	Punitive orientation	-	ns	*	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
	Social distance	-	ns	*	ns	-	*	*	*	*
	Counseling roles	+	ns	*	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
	Human service orientation	+	ns	*	ns	ns	*	*	*	*
Shamir & Drory (1981)	Rehabilitation potential of prisoners	+	*	*	ns	ns	ns	-	*	*
	Rehabilitative potential of the prison	ns	*	*	ns	-	ns	-	*	*
	Supportive role of the prison guard	ns	*	*	ns	ns	-	+	*	*
Shearer (2002)	Law enforcement	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Resource broker	ns	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Case management	ns	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Sluder & Reddington (1993)	Law enforcement	*	+	ns	ns	ns	+	*	*	*
	Resource broker	*	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*	*
	Case management	*	ns	-	ns	ns	ns	*	*	*
Sluder, Shearer, & Potts (1991)	Law enforcement	-	*	*	*	-	*	*	*	*
	Resource broker	ns	*	*	*	ns	*	*	*	*
	Case management	ns	*	*	*	-	*	*	*	*
Sundt & Cullen (2002)	Rehabilitative orientation	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	ns	*	*
	Punitive orientation	+	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	+	*	*

Table 2.1 Review of Literature on Correlates of Adult and Juvenile Correctional Orientation

Author(s)	Measure of Correctional Orientation	Age	Gender (Male)	Race (White)	Education	Correctional Experience	Client Contact	Role Conflict	Position (Custody)	Urban context
Tewksbury & Mustaine (2008)	Rehabilitation	*	-	ns	ns	ns	*	*	-	*
	Retribution	*	ns	ns	-	-	*	*	ns	*
	Incapacitation	*	ns	ns	ns	-	*	*	ns	*
	Specific deterrence	*	ns	ns	-	ns	*	*	+	*
	General deterrence	*	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*	+	*
Toch & Klofas (1982)	Human service orientation	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-
	Inmate orientation	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-
	Custody orientation	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+
Van Voorhis et al. (1991)	Custody scale	ns	ns	ns	*	ns	*	*	*	*
	Rehabilitation scale	+	ns	-	*	-	*	*	*	*
Walters (1992)	Custody orientation	*	+	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ward & Kupchik (2010)	Treatment index	ns	-	ns	*	ns	*	*	*	ns
	Punishment index	+	+	ns	*	ns	*	*	*	+
Whitehead & Lindquist (1989)	Punitive orientation	*	*	+	ns	ns	*	+	ns	*
	Social distance	*	*	-	ns	ns	*	ns	ns	*
	Counseling roles	*	*	ns	ns	ns	*	ns	ns	*
	Corruption of authority	*	*	ns	ns	ns	*	ns	ns	*
Whitehead & Lindquist (1992)	Punitive orientation	ns	+	ns	ns	ns	-	-	*	*
	Social distance	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*
	Counseling roles	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	*	*
	Corruption of authority	ns	ns	ns	ns	-	ns	ns	*	*

Table 2.1 Review of Literature on Correlates of Adult and Juvenile Correctional Orientation

Author(s)	Measure of Correctional Orientation	Age	Gender (Male)	Race (White)	Education	Correctional Experience	Client Contact	Role Conflict	Position (Custody)	Urban context
Whitehead & Lindquist, & Klofas (1987)	Punitive orientation	ns	ns	+	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Social distance	+	ns	-	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Counseling roles	ns	ns	ns	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Corruption of authority	ns	ns	ns	*	*	*	*	*	*

+ Significant positive relationship

- Significant negative relationship

ns Relationship not significant

* Variable was not included in the study

Simourd, 1997; VanVoorhis et al., 1991). Correspondingly, studies have also found that custodial or law enforcement orientations tend to be more likely held by younger officers (Bazemore & Dicker, 1994; Jackson & Ammen, 1996; Liou, 1998; Robinson et al., 1997; Shearer, 2002; Sluder et al., 1991).

A few studies, however, have found a different relationship. For example, Blevins et al. (2007) found in their study of juvenile corrections officers that age was significantly and negatively related to a rehabilitative orientation and significantly and positively related to a custodial orientation. Ward & Kupchik (2010) also found in their study of juvenile probation officers that age was positively and significantly related to a punishment orientation. Further, a number of studies have found that age is not a significant predictor of correctional orientation for corrections personnel (Antonio & Young, 2011; Burton et al., 1991; Clear & Latessa, 1993; Fulton, Stichman, Travis, & Latessa, 1997; Gordon, 1999a; 1999b; Lambert & Hogan, 2009; Lambert, Hogan, Altheimer, Jiang, & Stevenson, 2010; Lieber et al., 2002; Lopez & Russell, 2008; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992).

Gender. The majority of studies have found no influence of gender on officer orientation (Antonio & Young, 2011; Arthur, 1994; Burton et al., 1991; Clear & Latessa, 1993; Cullen et al., 1989; Fulton et al., 1997; Gordon 1999b; Jurik, 1985; Lambert & Hogan, 2009; Lambert et al., 2010; Lambert et al., 2009; Lieber et al., 2002; Liou, 1998; Lopez & Russell, 2008; Maahs & Pratt, 2001; Robinson et al., 1997). However, there are a few exceptions (Bazemore & Dicker, 1994; Bazemore, Dicker, & Al-Gadheeb, 1994; Blevins et al., 2007; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2008; Walters, 1992; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). For example, Walters (1992) found in his study of

196 correctional officers that female officers had significantly lower scores on the custody orientation scale than their male counterparts. Similarly, Bazemore and Dicker (1994), Bazemore et al. (1994), and Whitehead and Lindquist (1992) found in their studies of juvenile detention workers that females were less likely to adopt a punitive orientation. Conversely, Blevins et al. (2007) found in their study of juvenile correctional officers that females were more likely to adopt a custody orientation than the male officers.

Race. Race has been examined in a number of studies. Researchers have hypothesized that minority correctional officers will adhere to a more rehabilitative orientation due to the fact that they share a similar cultural and economic background with many inmates (Jacobs & Kraft, 1978; VanVoorhis et al., 1991). Research has been mixed in regards to this hypothesis. A number of studies have found that minorities do tend to hold more rehabilitative beliefs (Cullen et al., 1989; Devaney, 2005; Jackson & Ammen, 1996; Jurik, 1985; Maahs & Pratt, 2001; Sluder & Reddington, 1993; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989; Whitehead, Lindquist, Klofas, 1987), while others have found that minorities hold more punitive beliefs (Blevins, et al., 2007; Cullen et al., 1993; Jacobs & Kraft, 1978).

For example, Van Voorhis et al. (1991) found that black correctional officers showed more support for a rehabilitative orientation than white officers, while Jacobs and Kraft (1978) found black prison guards expressed a more punitive orientation than whites. Additionally, in his study of prison wardens, Cullen et al. (1993) found that nonwhite wardens had higher levels of both custodial/punitive and rehabilitative orientations than white wardens. Further, a number of studies have found no relationship

at all between race and orientation (Antonio & Young, 2011; Bazemore & Dicker, 1994; Bazemore, Dicker, & Al-Gadheeb, 1994; Burton et al., 1991; Farkas, 1999; Gordon, 1999a; 1999b; Hemmens & Stohr, 2000; Klofas, 1986; Lambert & Hogan, 2009; Lambert et al., 2010; Lambert et al., 2009; Lopez & Russell, 2008; Sluder et al., 1991; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2008; Ward & Kupchik, 2010).

Education. The majority of studies examining the relationship between education and correctional orientation have found no significant relationship (Antonio & Young, 2011; Bazemore & Dicker, 1994; Bazemore, Dicker, & Al-Gadheeb, 1994; Clear & Latessa, 1993; Cullen et al., 1993; Cullen et al., 1989; Farkas, 1999; Gordon, 1999a; Gordon, 1999b; Hemmens & Stohr, 2000; Jurik, 1985; Lambert & Hogan, 2009; Lambert et al., 2010; Sluder & Reddington, 1993; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). However, of the studies that have found a significant relationship, typically, it is found that individuals with higher levels of education tend to hold a more rehabilitative orientation (Burton et al., 1991; Lambert et al., 2009; Liou, 1998; Robinson et al., 1993), while individuals with lower levels of education tend to exhibit a more custodial orientation (Lambert et al., 2009; Lieber et al., 2002; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Robinson et al., 1997).

For example, Burton et al. (1991) found a significant positive relationship between education and support for rehabilitation. Similarly, Poole and Regoli (1980), Robinson, Porporino and Simourd (1997), and Lambert et al. (2009) found negative relationships between education and their measures of custodial orientation. Blevins et al. (2007), who focused on juvenile corrections officers, found the opposite relationship—those with fewer years of formal education were more favorable toward rehabilitation. Blevins et al.'s (2007) result represents a singular exception to the overall findings

reported in the literature, suggesting additional attention to juvenile corrections personnel is warranted.

Work role/prisonization model. The work role/prisonization model suggests that attitudes of workers are a function of organizational factors and the work role; the job itself imputes particular orientations. According to this model, the impact of individual variables such as age and gender are virtually negated by organizational factors and work role demands (see Bazemore & Dicker, 1994; Bazemore, Dicker, & Nyhan, 1994; Blevins et al., 2007; Cullen et al., 1993; Cullen et al., 1989; Jacobs & Kraft, 1978; Jurik, 1985; Lopez & Russell, 2008; Sundt & Cullen, 2002; VanVoorhis et al., 1991; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989, 1992; Whitehead et al., 1987). Commonly identified work role variables include correctional experience, contact with inmates, role conflict, shift, perceived dangerousness, position, and support of supervisors. Similar to the importation model variables, studies have been inconsistent in determining the importance of these variables.

Correctional experience. Correctional experience is a work role variable commonly included in studies examining sources of correctional orientation. Poole and Regoli (1980), along with a number of other researchers, have hypothesized that there would be a relationship between increased correctional experience and correctional personnel orientation. Some studies have found significant relationships between the two, but the findings have been inconsistent (Arthur, 1994; Bazemore & Dicker, 1994; Bazemore, Dicker, & Al-Gadheeb, 1994; Burton et al., 1991; Cullen et al., 1989; Devaney, 2006; Gordon 1999a; 1999b; Lambert & Hogan, 2009; Lambert et al., 2010; Lambert et al., 2009; Robinson et al., 1997; Sluder & Reddington, 1993; Ward &

Kupchik, 2010; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989; 1992). For instance, Poole & Regoli (1980) found a significant positive relationship between correctional experience and custodial orientation, indicating that support for a custodial orientation increases as correctional experience increases. Similarly, both Liou (1998) and Van Voorhis et al. (1991) found that support for treatment declined with correctional experience. In contrast, Antonio and Young (2011) found that correctional experience was positively associated with a treatment orientation. Further, a number of studies have found no significant relationship between correctional experience and work orientation.

Frequency of contact. Frequency of contact has also been considered in a number of studies (Devaney, 2005; Farkas, 1999; Jurik, 1985; Shamir & Drory, 1981; Sluder & Reddington, 1993; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). While not all studies have found a significant relationship between contact and orientation (Devaney, 2005; Farkas, 1999; Jurik, 1985), those that have report mixed findings. To illustrate, Whitehead and Lindquist (1992) found that officers who reported spending a greater amount of time with clients tended to be less punitive. Conversely, Sluder & Reddington (1993) found in their study involving juvenile and adult probation officers that officers who had more contact with probationers were more likely to adhere to a law enforcement work orientation.

Role conflict. Role conflict, as defined by Hepburn and Albonetti (1980), is characterized as a divergence between two mutually incompatible goals. In the case of corrections, these two mutually incompatible goals are punishment and treatment. Researchers have hypothesized that individuals experiencing higher levels of role conflict will be more likely to have punitive orientations (Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980). Most studies examining this relationship between role conflict and correctional orientation

have found support for this hypothesis (Cullen et al., 1989; Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Sundt & Cullen, 2002; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992).

Position. Another work role variable that has been examined in a number of studies regarding sources of correctional orientation is the actual position that individuals hold. It has been hypothesized that individuals who are involved in treatment efforts are more likely to adhere to a rehabilitative orientation, while those employed in custodial positions will be more likely to hold a punitive orientation. A number of studies examining this relationship have found support for this expectation (Antonio & Young, 2011; Gordon, 1999a; 1999b; Hepburn & Albonetti, 1980; Lambert & Hogan, 2009; Lambert et al., 2010; Lambert et al., 2009; Lieber et al., 2002; Robinson et al., 1993). For instance, Hepburn & Ablonetti (1980), Gordon (1999a), and Gordon (1999b) all found that personnel assigned to custodial positions within a correctional facility were more likely to hold punitive beliefs than those assigned to treatment positions. Further, Fulton et al. (1997) found that intensive supervision probation officers were more likely to support treatment than officers assigned to regular probation. This finding is counter to what is normally expected as well as to what the authors hypothesized; that is, that intensive supervision officers will be more punitive than officers assigned to regular probation.

Urban context. It has also been posited that the location of the agency in which an individual works may also have an impact on their professional orientation (Cullen et al., 1993, Feld, 1991; Sanborn, 1996). This idea, termed “justice by geography”, which focuses on how the administration of justice varies based on whether a criminal justice agency is located within an urban, suburban, or rural area has been explored by a number

of scholars, though most have focused on the courts (Feld, 1991,1999; Sanborn, 1996; Sampson & Laub, 1993) . Specifically, Feld (1991) found that juvenile courts located within urban communities tended to place greater emphasis on formal, rather than informal mechanisms of social control, and to also punish similar offenses more severely than those located within suburban and rural areas. Similarly, Sanborn (1996) found that juvenile court workers, including judges, prosecutors, defense attorneys, and probation officers, working within an urban court setting prioritized punishment and incapacitation higher as a dispositional goals than those who worked within a suburban and rural court. Thus, both concluded that the location of courts appears to impact the goals and orientations of those working within those courts (Feld, 1991; Sanborn, 1996).

Evidence on the influence of geographic context on the professional orientation of custodial correctional officers has been mixed. Toch and Klofas (1982) found that corrections officers working in rural prisons were less prone to strict custody orientations and behaved more positively toward inmates than those working in urban settings. In contrast, however, Antonio and Young's (2011) more recent study revealed no relationship between prison location and adherence to a treatment orientation.

The influence of urbanization on the professional orientation of probation and parole officers has been explored by a limited number of studies and the evidence of its impact also has been mixed (Klofas, 1986; Toch & Klofas, 1982; Ward & Kupchik, 2010). In regards to the professional orientation of probation officers, Klofas (1986) found that urbanization did not have an impact. More recently, Ward & Kupchik (2010) found that court location was not a significant predictor of a treatment orientation for probation officers. However, they did find court location to be a significant predictor of a

separate measure of punitive orientation for officers. Specifically, they found that nonurban probation officers were less supportive of punishment than urban probation officers. Thus, to date, the findings regarding the impact of urbanization on professional orientation remains unclear.

2.9 Impact of Officer Orientation on Behavior

Another important question regarding correctional orientation is whether an officer's orientation impacts their behavior towards their clients (i.e. probationers/prisoners). Based on his findings that knowledge of officers' attitudinal types increased prediction of their intended response to offender behavior, Glaser (1969) hypothesized that officers' attitudinal (correctional) orientations would be linked to actual supervisory responses to offender behavior. Despite Glaser's (1969) assertion, only a few studies have examined the relationship between officers' correctional orientations and their actual behavior toward inmates, parolees, or probationers (Dembo, 1972; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Steiner, Travis, Makarios, & Brickley, 2011).

In an early analysis, Poole & Regoli (1980) studied prison guards working in a maximum security prison. Specifically, they examined whether an officer's custody orientation was related to filing disciplinary reports. Based on questionnaire responses from 144 prison guards, Poole & Regoli (1980) found that there was a significant positive relationship between custodial orientation and disciplinary reports, indicating that officers with a higher custodial orientation were more likely to file disciplinary reports than officers with a lower custodial orientation.

Further, two studies have examined the relationship between correctional orientation and the behavior of probation and parole officers (Dembo, 1972; Steiner et al., 2011). Dembo (1972) examined whether an officer's correctional orientation was related to their number of motor vehicle license referrals⁷, technical violations filed, and recommendations of return to prison for those who had a technical violation. Based on 94 parole officer interviews and a review of agency records, Dembo (1972) found a significant positive relationship between having a punitive orientation and taking formal action on a technical parole violation. Thus, it was found that officers with a more punitive orientation were more likely to take formal action against a parolee who had violated his conditions of probation. Further, he found that, while not statistically significant, the relationship between officer orientation and recommending a return to prison was in the anticipated direction; officers with more punitive orientations were more likely to recommend the return to prison for a parolee who had a technical violation. One unanticipated finding was the significant negative correlation between high reintegrative scores and the number of motor vehicle license referrals. Dembo (1972) concludes, based on his findings, that parole officers' orientations are at least partly related to their job behavior.

Steiner et al. (2011) reported similar findings in their study which focused on the relationship between officers' attitudes towards supervision and their supervisory response to offender behavior. Unlike Dembo (1972), Steiner et al. (2011) examined the impact of officers' orientations on both their intended behavior and their actual behavior. To examine officers' intended behavior, they measured officers' intentions of

⁷ The number of motor vehicles license referrals referred to the number of recommendations an officer gave to allow a parolee to receive a driver's license.

enforcement and reward. Sanction rates and hearing rates measured officers' actual behavior.

Based on their sample of 351 parole officers, Steiner et al. (2011) found that officers' orientation impacts both their intended behavior and actual behavior to some extent. In regards to the relationship between officer orientation and intended behavior, Steiner et al (2011) found that officers who scored higher on an authority scale were more enforcement oriented. Similarly, they found that officers who scored higher on assistance scales were more likely to reward offenders who completed supervisory goals. Thus, based on their findings, officer attitudes seemed to predict intended behaviors.

The findings were mixed, however, regarding the relationship between orientation and actual behavior. Specifically, neither authority nor assistance orientations were associated with officers' rates of issuing sanctions. Conversely, in regards to revocation hearings it was found that officers who held more authoritative attitudes were more likely to pursue a revocation hearing for offender non-compliance.

2.10 Gaps in the Literature

Much of the research that has been conducted on professional orientation has focused on officers who work within the adult correctional system, specifically those who work in prisons (See Appendix A). Much less research has examined the professional orientation of individuals who work within the juvenile corrections system. Of the research that has been conducted on the professional orientation of juvenile corrections personnel, the majority of studies have focused on detention workers (Bazemore & Dicker, 1994; Bazemore, Dicker, & Al-Gadheeb, 1994; Bazemore, Dicker, and Nyhan,

1994; Blevins et al., 2007; Gordon, 1999a; 1999b; Liou, 1998). To date, only four studies have specifically focused on the professional orientation of juvenile probation officers (Lopez & Russell, 2008; Shearer, 2002; Sluder & Reddington, 1993; Ward & Kupchik, 2010). In addition, the current literature lacks an understanding of whether a difference exists between the professional orientations of correctional personnel working within the adult system and those working within the juvenile system (c.f., Shearer, 2002; Sluder & Reddington, 1993). More research needs to be conducted examining both the professional orientation of juvenile corrections personnel as well as comparing the orientations of juvenile and adult corrections personnel as their attitudes may potentially influence how they behave on the job (Blevins et al., 2007).

Additionally, the studies that examined juvenile probation officers and those that compared juvenile to adult probation officers have only examined limited dimensions of orientation (treatment versus punishment). This point is significant to the extent that there are a number of other dimensions that distinguish the juvenile justice system from the criminal justice system including those that tap into differences between offender versus offense, welfare versus just deserts, discretion versus rules, procedural informality versus formality, and welfare versus control (Feld, 1999; Kupchik, 2006).

Finally, the research literature would benefit from an examination of the relationship between officer orientation and their behavior towards their clients and how that relationship manifests itself. To date, only a few studies have examined the relationship between officers' correctional orientations and their behavior toward inmates, parolees, or probationers (Dembo, 1972; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Steiner et al., 2011). Of the studies that have been conducted, all have focused on adult correctional

personnel (i.e., parole officers and prison guards). Thus, no studies have been conducted examining this relationship among juvenile correctional personnel. Due to the fact that the current literature on professional orientation and behavior has found that officer orientation is related in some extent to officer behavior, it is important to assess whether this relationship holds true when examining juvenile corrections personnel.

2.11 Hypotheses

As stated above, the present study seeks to determine whether juvenile and adult probation and parole officers differ in their professional orientations. There is reason to suspect that juvenile community corrections officers will hold somewhat different professional orientations than adult officers due to the differences in the nature of the juvenile and adult justice systems. Recall that the juvenile justice system was designed as an alternative to the punitive adult justice system to serve as a social welfare agency focused on treatment and serving the “best interests of the child” (Feld, 1999; Mack, 1909; Mennel, 1973; Platt, 1969). While the juvenile justice system did experience a number of changes which aligned it more closely with the adult court, it can be argued that many of the original goals and intentions of the juvenile court remain intact (Benekos & Merlo, 2008; Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010; Merlo & Benekos, 2010). The two previous studies that compared the professional orientations of juvenile and adult corrections personnel found that juvenile officers tend to hold more rehabilitative orientations than adult officers (Shearer, 2002; Sluder & Reddington, 1993). Thus, the following hypothesis is extended for the current study.

Hypothesis #1: Juvenile probation and parole officers will hold orientations more consistent with the traditional philosophy of the juvenile justice system than their adult counterparts.

There are a number of dimensions that distinguish the juvenile justice system from the criminal justice system. These dimensions include treatment versus punishment, welfare versus just deserts, welfare versus control, discretion versus rules, and procedural informality versus formality, and offender versus offense (Feld, 1999; Kupchik, 2006). To provide a more detailed exploration of the uniqueness of juvenile corrections, hypotheses may be offered for each separate dimension.

Hypothesis #2: Juvenile probation and parole officers will be more focused on administering treatment, as opposed to ensuring punishment, than adult officers.

Hypothesis #3: Juvenile probation and parole officers will be more focused on the general welfare of their clients, as opposed to ensuring just deserts, than adult officers

Hypothesis #4: Juvenile probation and parole officers will be more focused on the general welfare of their clients, as opposed to controlling their behavior, than adult officers.

Hypothesis #5: Juvenile probation and parole officers will be more supportive of using discretion when making decisions about clients, as opposed to strictly following agency rules, than adult officers.

Hypothesis #6: Juvenile probation and parole officers will be more supportive of recommending dealing with clients' situations informally, as opposed to formally, than adult officers.

Hypothesis #7: Juvenile probation and parole officers will be more focused on the needs of the client, as opposed to the offense they committed, than adult officers.

Additionally, it is important to consider how individual and organizational factors may impact one's orientation. Despite the inconsistency of prior findings, the research has found that certain factors are correlated with an officer's professional orientation.

The following hypotheses were derived from this research.

Hypothesis #8: Older officers will hold attitudes more aligned with the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system than younger officers.

Hypothesis #9: Female officers will hold attitudes more aligned with the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system than male officers.

Hypothesis: #10: Minority officers will hold attitudes more aligned with the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system than white officers.

Hypothesis #11: Officers with higher levels of education will hold attitudes more aligned with the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system than officers with lower levels of education.

Hypothesis #12: Officers with less correctional experience will hold attitudes more aligned with the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system than those with more correctional experience.

Hypothesis #13: Officers who have more client contact will hold attitudes more aligned with the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system than those with less client contact.

Hypothesis #14: Officers experiencing lower levels of role conflict will hold attitudes more aligned with the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system than those with higher levels of role conflict.

Hypothesis #15: Officers assigned to intensive supervision will hold attitudes more aligned with the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system than those assigned to regular probation.

Hypothesis #16: Officers working in a non-urban context will hold attitudes more aligned with the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system than those working in an urban area.

A final goal of the present study was to examine whether an officers' professional orientation impacts their behavior regarding probation client management and supervision. As mentioned above, only a few studies have examined this relationship. Given these findings, the following hypotheses were developed.

Hypothesis #17: Officers who hold attitudes more aligned with the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system will less frequently take formal actions in response to client violations.

Hypothesis #18: Officers who hold attitudes more aligned with the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system will be less inclined toward enforcement behaviors and will be more inclined toward reward behaviors.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The current study examines whether a difference exists between the professional orientations of juvenile and adult probation and parole officers (PPOs). Specifically, the present study aims to determine the extent to which juvenile probation and parole officers hold orientations that are more consistent with the traditional philosophies of the juvenile justice system than adult probation officers. Further, this study attempts to identify whether a number of individual and organizational factors influence an officer's orientation. Finally, this study explores the extent to which officers' individual orientations impact their behavior, both intended and actual, toward probationers. A printed survey of officers' attitudes and behaviors was used to gather the data necessary to compare the professional orientations of juvenile probation and parole officers to the professional orientations of adult probation officers and to examine whether officers' professional orientations impact their behavior towards probationers. This chapter provides a detailed description and justification of the methods employed.

3.1 Sample

To test the hypotheses provided above, data were collected by means of an Internet survey distributed to 428 juvenile and adult probation and parole officers with active supervisory caseloads. The lists of officers were provided by agency contacts

employed with the South Carolina Department of Probation, Parole, and Pardon Services (PPP) and the South Carolina Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ). Due to the fact that there is currently no sampling frame listing all elements in the target population—all juvenile and adult probation and parole officers in the U. S.—from which a representative sample could be drawn, South Carolina was chosen as the study site based on the convenience of its location.

Each agency provided a list of all their probation and parole officers with active supervisory caseloads as of March 10th, 2014. It was decided to include all officers as opposed to a sample of officers due to the relatively small number of officers employed by the state. At the time of the survey, according to agency contacts, South Carolina's Department of Juvenile Justice and the Department of Probation, Parole, and Pardon services employed 184 juvenile probation and parole officers and 244 adult probation and parole officers with active caseloads, respectively.

3.2 Data Collection Procedure

Choosing an Internet survey. The present study employed a survey methodology. More specifically, an Internet survey was distributed to all juvenile and adult probation and parole officers with active supervisory caseloads in South Carolina. While there are four ways in which the survey data could have been collected, including personal interviews, telephone surveys, mail surveys, and Internet surveys, both agencies indicated that contacting agents through e-mail and administering the questionnaire via the Internet survey was preferred. There are also a number of methodological advantages to using Internet surveys.

First, online surveys are convenient for the respondent. Specifically, respondents are given the opportunity to answer the survey at a time that is most convenient for them thus giving them ample time to consider their responses to survey questions (Evans & Mathur, 2005). Further, the present survey allowed respondents to start the survey and later return to finish. This was especially important for the study sample as they are often in and out of the office supervising clients. Providing the sample this option may have contributed to the relatively low number of incomplete responses.

A second advantage of using a Web-based survey is ease of follow-up (Evans & Mathur, 2005). In the present study, the online survey program utilized was able to identify individuals who had not responded via a unique ID number and allowed for personalized follow-ups to be sent to those individuals. Thus, it was relatively simple and cost efficient to adhere to the Dillman (2000) “tailored design method” to increase the response rate.

A final major advantage to choosing this methodology for the present study was a reduction in costs. Cost savings were recognized at both the survey preparation stage as well as the survey administration stage. Had the present study decided to utilize a postal mail survey, the survey cost would have more than doubled. This advantage of cost savings has been both recognized in the literature and realized in a number of Web-based studies (Cobangolu, Warde, and Morec, 2001; McCullough, 1998; Schmidt, 1997; Sheehan & Hoy, 1999).

While there are a number of advantages to Web based surveys, there are also a number of potential limitations that have been identified in the literature and are relevant to the present study, including the possible perception that the survey is junk mail,

unclear answering instructions, and low response rates (Evans & Mathur, 2005, Sax, Gilmartin, & Bryant, 2003; Schmidt, 1997 Sheehan & McMillan, 1999; Shih & Fan, 2008). A number of efforts were made to minimize these potential problems. First, to ensure that the survey was not perceived as junk mail, a pre-notice e-mail was sent by the researcher as well as agency supervisors to the sample respondents informing them that they would be receiving an e-mail asking them to participate in the survey. By informing them of the pending arrival of the survey, officers could anticipate seeing the subsequent contact requesting their participation and would be less likely to perceive the e-mail as junk mail.

Second, as there is no personal interaction between the respondent and the researcher during survey administration, there is always the possibility that the respondent may not understand the answering instructions or may have concerns about the questions and opt to not answer them (Evans & Mathur, 2005; Ray & Tabor, 2003) . To help address this possible concern, contact information for the researcher was provided on the first page of the survey and respondents were encouraged to reach out if they had any questions or concerns. Further, allowing individuals to start the survey and then later come back and finish gave respondents the ability to reach out about their questions and/or concerns as opposed to misinterpreting the question or skipping the question completely.

A final potential limitation that has been identified by a number of studies is that many online surveys have low response rates (Fricker & Schonlau, 2002; Sheehan & McMillan, 1999. Sax et al., 2003; Shih & Fan, 2008). To address this concern, two strategies were used. First, agency supervisors agreed to send out pre-notice letters

encouraging their officers to participate in the survey. Further, one of the agencies also sent follow-up emails to non-respondents. Additionally, the study utilized the Dillman (2000) method which has proven to increase response rates in both mail (Fox, Crask, & Kim, 1988; Yammarino, Skillner, & Childers, 1991) and web-or Internet based surveys (Cook, Heath, & Thompson, 2000; Schaefer & Dillman, 1998). Employing these two strategies helped to minimize the possibility of a low response rate.

Distribution of the Internet survey. Prior to survey administration, the survey was pre-tested on supervisors of probation officers. These supervisors provided helpful comments on question comprehension, appropriate terminology, and suitable ranges for respondent demographic responses. The questionnaire was modified accordingly prior to administration to the target sample members. In the end, separate versions of the survey were prepared for PPP and DJJ. The questions on each version were identical, but the agencies use different titles for probation and parole officers. Specifically, those employed at PPP were referred to as probation/parole “agents” while those employed at DJJ were referred to as “caseworkers”. The unique terminology for officers was the only difference between survey versions.

Aiming to achieve high response rates, survey administration generally followed the Dillman (2000) method. First, an e-mail explaining the importance of each officer’s response as well as a link to the survey was distributed in March, 2014 to all participants. Approximately two weeks after sending the first survey e-mail, a reminder e-mail containing the link to the survey was sent to all non-respondents. An additional two weeks after the second e-mail, a final reminder e-mail containing a link to the survey was sent to all non-respondents.

Agency administrators also agreed to e-mail participants in order to help encourage participation. The timing and frequency of agency contacts varied. For PPP, an agency administrator sent a pre-notice email to all agency probation/parole agents four days prior to the first mailing informing them that they were going to receive the survey and that participation was encouraged. An agency administrator at DJJ also sent an e-mail to their probation and parole caseworkers encouraging participation; however, the e-mail was sent one week after the initial e-mail. Follow up e-mails were sent by an agency administrator at PPP at the end of April to all non-respondents reminding them to complete the survey. Copies of agency e-mails, each survey e-mail as well as both questionnaires are provided in Appendix B.

It should be noted that a number of additional steps were taken during survey administration in order to ensure participant confidentiality and sample integrity, and to increase response rates. First, in order to ensure confidentiality, a unique ID number was attached to each individual survey link. When the number was recognized in the system as complete, it was removed from the mailing list. Requiring a unique ID number helped to not only ensure confidentiality, but it also helped to maintain the integrity of the sample. Specifically, assigning unique ID numbers kept respondents from replying more than once and, additionally, assured that the survey would be accessible only to the respondents who had been invited to participate. Second, with each e-mail sent, the cover letter took on a slightly different approach to encourage respondents to participate. Each follow up e-mail expressed more urgency with the final e-mail reminder presenting respondents with a final deadline date for survey submission.

By utilizing the Dillman (2000) method in addition to the above methods, participation resulted in 347 partially completed or fully completed questionnaires. In addition, 25 questionnaires were returned incomplete as the respondent identified that they did not currently have an active caseload and thus were ineligible for participation. Thus, the resulting response rate for respondents who received the survey and were eligible for participation was 86.9% (372/428). When examining response rates of each agency, PPP had a higher response rate of 98% (239/244), while DJJ had a response rate of 72.3% (133/184). The final sample was 54% male, 56.5% white, 39.9% black, and 3.6% other race, with a mean age of 37 years.

3.3 Independent Variables

Data on key demographic and attitudinal variables were collected. The measures used for each characteristic are described below.

System. System is a dichotomous variable which indicates the system in which the probation officer works—juvenile justice or criminal justice. This variable was identified based on the agency for which the probation officer worked. As noted above, officers employed by PPP supervise adult offenders and are part of the criminal justice system (=1), while officers employed by DJJ supervise juveniles and are part of the juvenile justice system (=0).

Age. Age was measured by asking individuals to report the year in which they were born. Measuring age in this manner has its benefits in that it may be easier for some respondents to recall their birth date as opposed to their age. Also, asking the question in

this way may seem less intrusive to the respondent. Age was then computed by subtracting respondents' date of birth from the current year, 2014.

1. In what year were you born?

Gender. Gender was measured by asking respondents to report their gender.

1. What is your gender?

Male
Female

Race. Race was measured by asking respondents to report their race. The variable was ultimately dichotomized into white and black, excluding all other categories, due to the fact that only a small percentage of the sample self-reported themselves as something other than white or black (3.6% of the sample); thus, any analyses for these other groups would have been extremely unstable.

1. What race do you consider yourself?

White
Black
Hispanic
Asian
Native American
Pacific Islander
Other

Education. Education was measured by asking respondents to select from a range of categories which appropriately described the amount of formal education they had received, ranging from less than college to completion of a graduate school degree. While previous studies have measured education by simply asking respondents to report the number of years they have received formal education (Blevins et al., 2007), the method used here is believed to be beneficial as it eliminates any confusion in calculating

education. For instance, if a respondent repeated a grade, they may be unsure of whether that counts as one year of formal education or two. Further, individuals who attended college part time or occasionally may also be unsure of how to calculate their years of education. Education was ultimately dichotomized (4-year college degree, more than 4-year college degree) due to the lack of variation in the remaining responses.

1. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

- Less than college
- Graduated with a 2-year college degree
- Graduated with a 4-year college degree
- Attended graduate school but did not graduate
- Completed a graduate degree

Job tenure. Job tenure has been operationalized in a number of ways including asking respondents to state the number of months/years they have worked in probation (Clear & Latessa, 1993; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Jurik, 1985; Farnworth, 1988) and the age at which they became a probation officer (Cullen et al., 1989; Sluder et al., 1991; Sluder & Reddington, 1993; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2008). The present study chose to measure a respondents' job tenure by asking them to report what year they started working as a probation officer. This type of operationalization was chosen because, as with age, it was believed that officers would have an easier time remembering what year they started working as a probation officer as opposed to calculating the number of years they have worked as a probation officer or remembering the age at which they began their job. Job tenure was then computed by subtracting the year the respondent started working as a probation officer from the current year, 2014.

1. In what year did you first start work as a probation/parole agent/caseworker?

Client contact. Client contact was measured by asking respondents to estimate the number of hours they spend in face-to-face contact with their clients each week. This measure has previously been used by Sluder and Reddington (1993) and Whitehead and Lindquist (1992).

1. On average, how many hours do you spend each week in face-to-face contact with clients?

Role conflict. To measure role conflict, a 10-item scale was developed based off the work of Rizzo, House, and Lirtzman's (1970) and Hepburn and Albonetti (1980) regarding role conflict. Using a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree, respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with the statements below. A mean additive scale was then computed. This measure of role conflict, in which high scores indicate high levels of role conflict, has a mean of 3.19 and a standard deviation of .64 ($\alpha=.74$)⁸.

1. The rules that we are supposed to follow never seem to be very clear.
2. When a problem comes up, the people who I work with seldom agree on how it should be handled.
3. I often receive an assignment without the resources to complete it.
4. I often have to violate a rule or policy in order to carry out supervision duties.
5. There are so many people telling us what to do here that you never can be sure of who is the real boss.
6. I often receive conflicting requests.

⁸ Item 8 was removed from the additive scale in order to increase the reliability of the index. Removing the item increased the Cronbach's alpha from .62 to .74.

7. Probation/parole agents/caseworkers know what their fellow agents are doing
8. The rules and regulations are clear enough here that I know specifically what I can and cannot do on my job.
9. Those who are in charge do not really understand what the average agent/caseworker has to face each day.
10. I try to meet the expectations of my agency at all times.

Position. In order to determine respondent work position, respondents were asked to identify the type of position they currently held. Based on the questions below, a dichotomous position variable was created representing either having at least one client on intensive supervision (=1) or having no clients on intensive supervision (=0).

1. How many of the clients on your current caseload are (a) regular probation and (b) intensive supervision probation?

Urban context. To measure urbanization, respondents were asked to report the county in which they were employed. The 2013 ERS Rural-Urban Continuum Codes, a classification scheme which distinguishes metropolitan counties from non-metropolitan counties based on nine categories, was then utilized to identify whether the county for which the individual worked was located within either a metro area (=1) or a non-metro area (=0). Specifically, counties assigned a code of one through three were coded as metro, representing metro counties with population from fewer than 250,000 to 1 million or more. Non-metro counties included those assigned codes of four through eight, representing non-metro counties with urban populations of 20,000 or more and are adjacent to a metro-area ranging all the way to non-metro counties that are completely

rural or have less than a 2,500 urban population and are adjacent to a metro-area (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2013).⁹

3.4 Dependent Variables

Professional orientation. Semantic differentials were used to measure officers' professional orientation. Semantic differentials are used to measure individuals' reactions to pairs of words with contrasting meanings (e.g., good versus bad) (Heise, 1971). They have been used and validated as an appropriate measure of attitude in a number of studies (Heise, 1971; Fulton et al., 1997; Mueller, 1986). In regards to studies examining officer orientation, only one study, Fulton et al. (1997), has previously used semantic differentials as a measure of officer orientation. Most other studies have chosen to separately assess officers' attitudes toward control and assistance (e.g., Bazemore & Dicker, 1994; Blevins et al., 2007; Clear & Latessa, 1993; Lambert et al., 2010; Robinson et al., 1997; Sundt & Cullen, 2002; Ward & Kupchik, 2010). Although a majority of studies use of a different measure of officer orientation, it is believed that semantic differentials are the more appropriate way to measure orientation because, as noted by Fulton et al. (1997), "decisions regarding officer goals and strategies are rarely made in isolation of one another" (p. 304). Due to this realization, it is believed that semantic differentials more accurately reflect officers' professional orientations and reflect the tensions between the operations of the criminal justice system and traditional juvenile justice system. Further, the juvenile justice system was developed as an alternative to the criminal justice system and thus can be conceived of as opposite the adult system on a

⁹ There were no counties in South Carolina that were coded a 9, non-metro, completely rural or less than 2,500 urban population, not adjacent to metro area.

variety of dimensions other than just control versus assistance. Therefore, utilizing the semantic differentials technique allowed the juxtaposition of several important dimensions, rather than simply determining whether officers are more treatment or control oriented.

There are key distinctions between the original juvenile justice system and the adult justice system. Thus, semantic differentials were created with these distinctions in mind. Specifically, semantic differentials were designed to tap into six different conceptual foci: treatment vs. punishment, offender vs. offense, welfare vs. just dessert, discretion vs. rules, informal vs. formal, and welfare v. control (Feld, 1999; Kupchik, 2006). Respondents were asked to mark along a continuum between each semantic differential the point that best matched their feelings. In order to try to avoid making the point of the study too transparent and to reduce the risk of response sets, both of which can bias respondents' answers, the current project followed the suggestion of Fulton et al. (1997) and randomly altered the direction of the scales. The following statements were created to tap into each of the six concepts. All items were answered on a five-point scale. It was chosen to utilize a scale as opposed to a dichotomy to allow for greater variation and to provide officers the opportunity to express the strength of their orientation; therefore, the degree of difference between juvenile and adult officers' adherence to an orientation can be compared. For each of the six concepts, the items were summed and divided by the number of items answered to create a mean index. For each of the indexes, lower scores reflect a stronger adherence to the traditional philosophy of the juvenile court. Conversely, higher scores reflect a stronger adherence

to adult criminal court philosophies. Scores approximating the true mean on each scale

(3) indicate that the respondent has a blended philosophy towards supervision.

Treatment vs. Punishment (Cronbach's alpha=.60)

1. As a(n) caseworker/agent, your primary obligation is to [rehabilitate clients / enforce supervisory conditions].
2. The most effective way to change behavior is through [positive reinforcement/punitive sanctions].
3. The primary goal of probation/parole is [rehabilitation/punishment].

Welfare vs. Just Deserts (Cronbach's alpha=.71)

1. As a(n) caseworker/agent, it is your duty to make sure clients [receive treatment/pay for their crimes].
2. Case supervision should be designed to focus on [client's best interest/handing out deserved punishment].

Welfare vs. Control (Cronbach's alpha=.80)

1. Which best describes your role as a(n) caseworker/agent [police officer/social worker].
2. Your most appropriate role with clients is as [advocate/supervisor].
3. The most essential part of a(n) caseworker/agent's job is [counseling/enforcing].
4. Your primary function as a(n) caseworker/agent is [enforcement/intervention].
5. Your function as a(n) caseworker/agent most closely approximates [law enforcement/social work].
6. The most important aspect of your job is [monitoring client compliance/counseling clients].
7. The most effective way to handle clients is to [treat everyone the same under a single set of rules/focus on their individual needs and situation].

8. The most important aspect of your job is [intervention/surveillance].

Discretion vs. Rules (Cronbach's alpha=.58)

1. The most appropriate way to handle a situation in which a client violates his/her probation is to [use your discretion/follow agency rules].
2. As a(n) caseworker/agent, your decision-making is largely based on [personal discretion/agency rules].

Informal vs. Formal (Cronbach's alpha=.51)

1. When a client violates his/her probation, the best way to handle the situation is to [handle it informally/report a technical violation].
2. Violation of supervision conditions should be dealt with [formally/informally].

Offender vs. Offense (Cronbach's alpha=.63)

1. Terms of probation/parole should be developed based around the [client/offense].
2. As a(n) caseworker/agent, you evaluate clients based on [client related criteria/offense related criteria].
3. The most important criteria to consider when developing a case plan is [offense related criteria/ client related criteria].

Officer behavior. Two measures of officer behavior were utilized in the present study: officers' intended behavior and officers' actual behavior. Officers' intended behavior included two measures, enforcement and reward. Enforcement is operationalized with a six-item scale designed to measure officers' intentions regarding the enforcement of offenders' conditions of community supervision. A number of the items that comprised the scale were previously developed and utilized by Glaser (1969) and Steiner et al. (2011). However, a few other items were added to reflect standard conditions of supervision in South Carolina (South Carolina Department of Probation,

Parole, and Pardon Services, 2004). Specifically, officers were asked to indicate on a five-point scale ranging from “Always” to “Never” how often a variety of tasks should be conducted by a probation officer. Higher scores indicate a belief that more frequent enforcement of offenders’ conditions of community supervision is necessary. The reliability of the scale is .62¹⁰.

1. How often should a probation officer...
 - a. Make unannounced home visits
 - b. Test their clients for alcohol/drugs
 - c. Perform record checks
 - d. Make checks on who their clients have been hanging out with
 - e. Make unannounced work/school visits
 - f. Conduct searches

Reward was measured by inquiring about how often probation officers believe that their clients should be rewarded for completing supervision goals. Responses were based on a five-point Likert scale ranging from “Always” to “Never”. Higher scores indicate a belief that frequent rewarding of clients for good behavior is necessary. The reliability of the scale is .60.

1. How often should a probation officer...
 - a. Praise clients for good behavior
 - b. Reward clients for completing supervision goals

Two measures were also used to measure officers’ actual behavior: sanction rate and revocation rate. Sanction rate was measured by asking officers to report the number of written sanctions they have issued in the past month. Similarly, revocation rate was measured by asking officers to report how many revocation hearings they have pursued in the past month. Rates were then computed by standardizing responses to these two

¹⁰ The item “make unannounced work/school visits” was omitted from the index in order to increase reliability from .57 to .62.

questions by the number of offenders that the officer reports having on his or her caseload. The questions asked include:

1. How many written sanctions did you issue last month?
2. How many revocation hearings did you pursue last month?

3.5 Analytic Strategy

The statistical analysis was designed to determine the degree to which differences existed in the professional orientation of juvenile and adult probation officers as well as to determine whether professional orientation impacted officer behavior. As an initial step in the analysis, descriptive results for all dependent variables and all key independent variables were carried out. To test the study hypotheses, analyses occurred in two subsequent stages. First, ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions were computed for each professional orientation outcome variable. Next, OLS regression was used to determine whether professional orientation had an impact on each of the four indicators of officer behavior: enforcement, reward, sanction rate, and revocation rate.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The methods that were used to collect the data for this dissertation were presented in Chapter 3. In this chapter, the results of this data collection effort are presented. This discussion is divided into two sections, beginning with the examination of the professional orientation of probation and parole officers. Specifically, results are presented regarding whether differences exist in the professional orientation of juvenile and adult probation and parole officers. Additionally, potential correlates of professional orientation are examined. The next section explores the relationship between professional orientation and officer behavior. Further, an examination of the correlates of officer behavior will be presented.

4.1 Professional Orientation of Probation/Parole Officers

Table 4.1 provides the descriptive statistics for each of the six professional orientation outcome variables. Specifically, this table presents the mean rating that was given by probation and parole officers for each of the six variables. Recall that each professional orientation variable was an index ranging from one to five, with higher scores indicating a stronger adherence to the ideals of the criminal justice system (i.e., punishment, just deserts, control, rules, formal, and offense).

Table 4.1 Descriptive Statistics for Professional Orientation, by System

	Total (n=334)		Juvenile (n=111)		Adult (n=223)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Treatment vs. Punishment	2.34	.73	2.11 ^{***}	.72	2.46	.71
Welfare vs. Just Deserts	2.14	.82	1.75 ^{***}	.72	2.34	.80
Welfare vs. Control	2.70	.63	2.38 ^{***}	.59	2.86	.58
Discretion vs. Rules	3.74	.82	3.73	.81	3.74	.82
Informal vs. Formal	3.75	.78	3.80	.87	3.73	.73
Offender vs. Offense	2.66	.76	2.46 ^{***}	.82	2.76	.71

Note: Higher scores represent a stronger adherence to the ideals of the criminal justice system.

*** p<.001

Based on the results presented in the above table, probation and parole officers express a mixture of beliefs regarding their professional orientation. In some cases, the officers had a stronger focus on the ideals supported by the juvenile justice system, while in others they expressed a stronger focus on those of the criminal justice system. To illustrate, for two of the six variables, treatment versus punishment and welfare versus just deserts, officers more strongly supported the ideals of the juvenile justice system. Specifically, the PPOs emphasized a stronger focus on treatment than punishment and welfare than just deserts. In contrast, for two of the other six variables, discretion versus rules and informal versus formal, officers supported more criminal justice based philosophies. For example, PPOs had a stronger emphasis on rules over discretion, and formal over informal. It should be noted, however, that the mean rating by PPOs approximated the midpoint of the rating scale for two of the outcome variables—welfare versus control and offender versus offense—indicating that officers tended to emphasize each of these goals at relatively equal rates.

Table 4.1 also presents the mean ratings of both juvenile and adult PPOs. Compared to adult probation and parole officers, juvenile probation and parole officers tended to hold beliefs more consistent with the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system. For four of the six professional orientation outcome variables, significant differences were found between the responses of juvenile and adult PPOs. Specifically, it was found that, on average, juvenile probation officers were more likely than their adult counterparts to emphasize treatment over punishment, welfare over just deserts, welfare over control, and the offender over the offense. There were two exceptions to this trend, however. First, for the discretion vs. rules outcome variable, juvenile and adult probation

and parole officers had roughly the same mean rating. Thus, both groups believed, at relatively equal rates, that there should be more of a focus on following agency rules than on using personal discretion when handling clients' situations. Second, although it appears that the mean rating for juvenile officers was higher than their adult counterparts for the informal vs. formal outcome variable, the difference was not statistically significant. In sum, on the whole, juvenile probation officers tend to adhere to a professional orientation more consistent with the traditional philosophy of the juvenile justice system compared to their adult counterparts.

4.2 Correlates of Professional Orientation

Beyond differences between adult and juvenile PPOs, a professional orientation aligned with the traditional philosophies of the juvenile court versus those of the adult court could be based on several other characteristics. Further, as noted in Table 4.2, there are a few significant differences between the characteristics of juvenile and adult probation officers. Thus, it is necessary to consider whether the philosophical differences shown in Table 4.1 could be spurious. It is important to control for these differences in order to determine whether a true relationship exists between orientation and the system within which PPOs work. This section seeks to specify the conditions under which adherence to the traditional juvenile court philosophy varies and to determine whether the relationship between client base and professional orientation remains when controlling for other variables.

Table 4.2 Descriptive Statistics Independent Variables, by System

Independent Variable	Total		Juvenile		Adult	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Age	37.45	9.71	36.77	9.44	37.78	9.85
Male	.54	.50	.45	.50	.58	.49
White	.59	.49	.37	.48	.70*	.46
> 4 year college	.28	.45	.39***	.49	.22	.42
Job tenure	8.32	7.43	5.65	5.77	9.75***	7.83
Client contact	15.78	12.08	11.97	13.05	17.79	11.04
Role conflict	3.19	.64	3.30	.59	3.13	.66
IPS	.68	.46	.50	.50	.77***	.42
Urban	.78	.42	.77	.42	.78	.41

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

To conduct this analysis, ordinary least squares regression (OLS) was utilized. Prior to analysis, possible violations of OLS assumptions were examined in order to verify whether OLS was an appropriate statistical technique. First, in order to examine whether there was an issue with heteroskedasticity, the standardized residuals were plotted against the predicted values for each dependent variable. No pattern suggesting unequal variance appeared when residuals were plotted against the fitted values of each dependent variable, and thus heteroskedasticity was determined to not be an issue. Additionally, the linearity assumption was checked by examining the scatterplots produced and showed no indication of nonlinearity (See Appendix D). Third, histograms of the residuals for each dependent variable were plotted and compared against a normal distribution in order to check the assumption that residuals were normally distributed. For each dependent variable, it was found that the histograms of the residuals were relatively normally distributed (See Appendix D). Finally, due to the fact that several independent variables were entered into each regression model, it was important to

examine whether any of the predictors were collinear. To assess potential problems with multicollinearity, for each regression model, collinearity diagnostic tests were included. If multicollinearity is present, it would be expected to find very small tolerance values ($<.10$) and very large VIFs (greater than 10) (Menard, 1995). As shown in Appendix D, the smallest tolerance value found within the model was .48, and the largest VIF was 2.07; thus, it can be concluded that there is no significant problem with collinearity. Due to the fact that the key assumptions of OLS regressions were not violated, it was deemed appropriate to utilize this statistical technique.

As noted in the literature review, a number of correlates have been found to be related to professional orientation. However, evidence identifying which correlates are important and the direction of the relationship for such correlates have been unclear. To examine this issue, a multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine whether professional orientation was impacted by a number of correlates. Results from this analysis are presented in Table 4.3.

As shown in the table, the system in which the officer worked remained a significant predictor of officers' emphasis on treatment over punishment, even when controlling for other factors. To illustrate, based on the five-point treatment versus punishment scale, the regression model predicts that adult officers score .24 points higher than juvenile officers, controlling for other factors. Thus, above and beyond the other variables included in the model, working in the adult criminal justice system results in a stronger emphasis on punishment. Officer race, job tenure, and urban context were also significantly related to officers' orientations toward treatment over punishment. More

Table 4.3 Ordinary Least Squares Regression of Professional Orientation on System and Control Variables

	Treatment vs. Punishment		Welfare vs. Just Deserts		Welfare vs. Control		Discretion vs. Rules		Informal vs. Formal		Offender vs. Offense	
	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β
System (0=Juv., 1=Adult)	.24*	.15	.36**	.20	.43***	.32	.02	.01	.05	.03	.34**	.21
Age	-.01	-.13	.00	.05	.00	.00	.01*	.17	-.00	-.04	.01	.12
Male	.12	.08	.12	.07	.14*	.11	-.11	-.07	.02	.02	.20***	.13
White	.24*	.16	.38***	.23	.16*	.13	.03	.02	-.14	-.09	-.22***	-.14
Education	-.07	-.04	-.08	-.04	-.09	-.07	-.12	-.07	-.13	-.07	-.22***	-.13
Job Tenure	.02**	.24	.00	.02	-.00	-.01	-.00	-.02	-.01	-.08	-.01	-.08
Client contact	.00	-.01	.00	.01	.00	.08	-.00	-.01	-.00	-.01	-.00	-.02
Role conflict	-.04	-.03	-.13	-.10	.02	.02	.12	.09	-.03	-.02	-.03	-.03
IPS	-.03	-.02	.03	.02	.08	.06	.12	.07	-.01	-.01	-.11	-.07
Urban context	.23*	.13	-.10	-.05	.03	.02	.14	.07	-.07	-.04	.06	-.03
Constant	2.13***		1.94***		2.09***		2.71***		4.16		2.40***	
Equation F	4.68***		5.46***		7.13***		1.24		.51		2.38**	
R ²	.15		.17		.21		.05		.02		.08	

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

IPS=Intensive Probation Supervision

specifically, officers who were black, had less correctional experience, or worked in a non-urban agency expressed a stronger emphasis towards treatment. Conversely, officers who were white, had more correctional experience or worked within an urban agency were more orientated toward punishment. This model was significant ($F=4.68, p<.001$) and 15% of the variance in the orientation scale was explained by the independent variables.

The system in which the officer was employed also remained a significant predictor of officers' orientations towards welfare versus just deserts when included in a multivariate model. Based on the findings, when controlling for other variables, it is predicted that adult PPOs would score .36 points higher on the five point scale, indicating a stronger adherence to a just deserts philosophy. Additionally, officer race was found to significantly predict welfare versus just deserts. Specifically, black officers were found to express beliefs more aligned with the welfare orientation, while white officers tended to express beliefs more aligned with the just deserts orientation. The model was significant ($F=5.46, p <.001$) and the variables explained 17% of the variance.

Furthermore, the system within which an officer worked was still a significant predictor of welfare versus control when included in the multivariate model that controlled for other factors. Adherence to a welfare ideology was stronger among officers working within the juvenile justice system. To be specific, the model predicted that juvenile PPOs would score .43 points lower on the five point scale. As with the welfare/just deserts model, officer race was a significant predictor. Adherence to a welfare ideology was stronger among black officers, while white officers expressed more of a control orientation. An additional variable was significant in this model that was not

found to be in the previous two models: officer gender. Male officers were more likely to adhere to a control ideology, while female officers were more likely to adhere to a welfare ideology. The independent variables accounted for 21% of the variance and the model was significant ($F=7.13, p<.001$).

Finally, for the index that measured whether officers tended to focus on offender versus offense characteristics, the system in which the officer was employed was a significant predictor within the multivariate model, with adult officers placing more emphasis on the offense as opposed to the offender. Explicitly, when controlling for other variables, adult PPOs were predicted to score .34 points higher on the five point scale than their juvenile counterparts. Three additional variables were found to be significantly related: officer gender, officer race, and education. Officers who were female or who had more than a four year college degree were more likely to emphasize an offender-based focus, while officers who were male officers or had only completed a four year college degree were more likely to express an offense-based focus. Additionally, white officers were more likely to support focusing on the offender, while black officers were more likely to support focusing on the offense. The model was significant ($F=2.38, p<.01$) and the R-squared statistic was .08, indicating that only 8% of the variance in the model was explained by the variables.

The models for discretion versus rules and informal versus formal procedures were not statistically significant ($F=1.24, F=.51$, respectively). Therefore, it was not possible to predict the variation in the outcome variables. Additionally, no variables were found to predict the informal/formal outcome, with only one variable being found to predict the discretion/rules variable, age ($\beta=.01$). Specifically, it was found that older

officers tend to emphasize adherence to rules as opposed to emphasizing the use of discretion when making decisions.

In sum, the system for which the probation or parole officer worked was a significant predictor for four of the six professional orientation outcome variables: treatment versus punishment, welfare versus just deserts, welfare versus control, and offender versus offenses. The direction of the relationship was as predicted with those working within the juvenile justice system adhering more to the ideals of treatment, welfare, and offender-focused supervision. Significant relationships with other variables were sporadic across the six philosophical dimensions. A discussion of these effects in light of conceptual and practical issues as well as the findings of prior research is presented in the following chapter.

4.3 The Impact of Professional Orientation of Officer Behavior

An additional goal of this dissertation was to examine whether professional orientation predicts probation and parole officer behavior. Previous research examining the impact of professional orientation has focused on a limited definition of professional orientation (Dembo, 1972; Steiner et al, 2011). This section seeks to expand upon the current literature by exploring how the six professional orientation variables presented above impact officer behavior.

Table 4.4 presents the descriptive statistics for officer behavior. Recall that both enforcement and reward are summated index variables, with higher scores representing a stronger belief in engaging in that behavior. As shown in the table, officers support both types of intended behavior, though they more strongly support rewarding clients for good

Table 4.4 Descriptive Statistics for Officer Behavior, by System

	Total				Juvenile				Adult			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Intended Behavior												
Enforcement	3.23	.52	1.83	5.00	3.12**	.47	1.83	4.17	3.28	.54	2.17	5.00
Reward	4.39	.68	2.00	5.00	4.39	.67	2.50	5.00	4.39	.68	2.00	5.00
Actual Behavior												
Written Sanctions	9.29	10.40	.00	80.00	2.28***	3.77	.00	30.00	12.86	10.50	.00	80.00
Sanction Rate	.09	.10	.00	.50	.10	.15	.00	1.20	.09	.07	.00	.53
Revocation Hearing	2.96	4.44	.00	50.00	.71***	1.72	.00	15.00	4.09	4.94	0	50.00
Revocation Rate	.03	.05	.00	.50	.03	.07	.00	.50	.03	.04	.00	.40

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

behavior. In regards to actual behavior, both writing sanctions and pursuing revocation hearings occur at a relatively low rate, with writing sanctions being more common than pursuing a revocation hearing. In raw volume, officers issued a little more than nine written sanctions on average per month. During the same time period, they initiated an average of three revocation hearings. When converted to a rate that accounts for the number of clients an officer supervised, the average sanction rate was .09, or about one written sanction for every 11 clients supervised. Again, the revocation rate was considerably lower at .03 or one for every 33 clients.

A comparison of juvenile and adult probation and parole officers portrays minimal differences in their intended and actual behavior. Adult PPOs support enforcement to a greater extent than their juvenile counterparts, but they both equally support rewarding clients. In regards to their actual behavior, when looking solely at the frequency at which officers write sanctions or pursue revocation hearings, significant differences arise, with adult PPOs writing significantly more sanctions and pursuing more revocation hearings. However, when rates are calculated, the statistical differences disappear. The lack of significant differences could be the result of a number of things. First, it could be that the extreme skewness of the distributions of the sanction and revocation rates are obscuring any potential differences. Also, it could be that other variables are suppressing the relationship. Controlling for other variables may reveal dissimilar behaviors between agents in the two systems.

Intended behavior. In order to estimate more accurately the impact of professional orientation on officers' intended behavior, OLS regression models were calculated. Results are shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 OLS Regression of Officers' Intended Behavior on Professional Orientation and Control Variables

	Enforcement		Reward	
	B	β	B	β
Professional Orientation				
Treatment vs. Punishment	-.07	-.10	-.21**	-.22
Welfare vs. Just Deserts	.02	.03	.03	.03
Welfare vs. Control	.11	.14	-.03	-.03
Discretion vs. Rules	-.07	-.12	-.02	-.03
Informal vs. Formal	.13**	.20	-.01	-.02
Offender vs. Offense	-.00	-.00	-.11	-.12
Control Variables				
System (0=, Juvenile, 1=Adult)	.11	.11	.21*	.15
Age	.00	-.01	.01	.15
Male	-.07	-.07	-.12	-.09
White	-.08	-.08	-.08	-.05
Education	-.12	-.11	-.06	-.04
Job Tenure	-.01	-.08	-.01	-.14
Client Contact	.00	.09	.00	.02
Role Conflict	-.00	-.00	-.01	-.01
IPS	.07	.07	-.14	-.10
Urban	-.03	-.03	.15	.09
Constant	2.87***	--	5.02***	--
Equation F		2.20**		2.06*
R ²		.12		.11

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

IPS=Intensive Probation Supervision

For enforcement, only one professional orientation variable, informal vs. formal, was found to be a significant predictor. Officers who emphasized dealing with clients in a formal manner were predicted to score .13 points higher on the five point scale than those with a more informal focus. In other words, officers having a more formal professional orientation were more likely to support enforcement activities. No control variables significantly predicted enforcement. The model was significant (F=2.20, p<.01) and the R-squared statistic was .12, indicating that only 12% of the variance in the orientation scale was explained by the model.

One professional orientation variable, treatment vs. punishment, was found to be significantly related to officers' intentions to reward clients. Officers who had a more punitive professional orientation were predicted to score .21 points lower on the five point scale than those with a more treatment orientation, indicating that officers who were more treatment oriented supported rewarding clients at a higher rate. The system within which an officer worked was also found to be significantly related to reward. Interestingly, adult PPOs were predicted to score .21 point higher on the five point reward scale than juvenile PPOs. Thus, adult officers were more likely to emphasize rewarding clients than juvenile officers. The variables within the model explained 11% of the variance and the model was significant.

Actual Behavior. OLS regression models were also conducted to examine the impact of professional orientation on officers' actual behavior. Initially, the model was run using the original sanction rate and revocation rate variables. However, an examination of histograms for each dependent variable indicated that the residuals were not normally distributed (See Appendix E). As it appeared that the substantial positive skew of both dependent variables caused this violation of OLS assumptions, the logs of both sanction rate and revocation rate were computed and the models were re-run using the new outcome variables¹¹. As shown in Table 4.6, none of the professional orientation variables were found to be significantly related to either sanction rate or revocation rate. However, the system in which the officer worked was significantly related to both sanction and revocation rates. Specifically, the log sanction rate was .67 higher for adult PPOs than juvenile PPOs. For the log revocation rate, adult PPOs had a rate .85 higher

¹¹ Due to the fact that you cannot take the log of zero, for each rate variable, .0001 was added to all cases prior to taking the base 10 log.

Table 4.6 OLS Regression of Officers' Actual Behavior on Professional Orientation and Control Variables

	Sanction Rate		Revocation Rate	
	B	β	B	β
Professional Orientation				
Treatment vs. Punishment	-.01	-.01	.10	-.22
Welfare vs. Just Deserts	.05	.04	.03	.03
Welfare vs. Control	.04	.02	-.05	-.03
Discretion vs. Rules	-.11	-.08	-.04	-.03
Informal vs. Formal	.13	.09	.01	-.02
Offender vs. Offense	-.12	-.09	.00	-.12
Control Variables				
System (0=, Juvenile, 1=Adult)	.67***	.29	.85***	.15
Age	-.01	-.13	-.00	.15
Male	.12	.06	.31*	-.09
White	-.07	-.03	.02	-.05
Education	.04	.02	-.21	-.04
Job Tenure	.02	.16	.01	-.14
Client Contact	.00	.01	-.01	.02
Role Conflict	-.05	-.03	-.25*	-.01
IPS	.28	.12	-.03	-.10
Urban	.04	.01	.14	.09
Constant	-1.71*	--	-2.24**	--
Equation F		3.24***		4.04***
R ²		.12		.15

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

IPS=Intensive Probation Supervision

than juvenile PPOs. While no additional variables were found to be significantly related to the sanction rate, two additional variables were found to be significantly related to the revocation rate, gender and role conflict. Male officers tended to pursue more revocation hearings than females, and experiencing greater role conflict was associated with pursuing revocation hearings less often. Both models were significant and 12% of the variance was explained by the log sanction rate model while 15% of the variance was explained by the log revocation rate model.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Overview of Study

At the close of the nineteenth century, a notion that juveniles were inherently different from adults and thus needed to be treated differently in a court of law was taking hold of the American imagination (Fox, 1970b). Acceptance of this perception resulted in the creation of the first juvenile court in Cook County, IL in 1899. This court was designed to be a separate entity distinct from the criminal justice system with different goals and procedures. One of the major distinctions of the original juvenile justice system compared to the criminal justice system was its focus on doing what was in the best interest of the child as opposed to punishing the child. This focus shaped how juveniles were treated as well as how the court was conducted (Feld, 1999; Platt, 1969; Simonsen & Gordon, 1982). For example, due to the “best interest of the child” emphasis, the juvenile court was set up more as a civil proceeding as opposed to a criminal one, and juveniles were not granted any due process protections as the goal was to treat and assist, not to punish (Mack, 1909; Rendleman, 1971; Fox, 1970a). By 1945, every state had implemented its own juvenile justice system distinct from the criminal justice system (Mennel, 1973; Simmons & Gordon, 1982).

From its inception until the 1960s, the juvenile justice system remained largely unchanged. However, a number of cases involving the juvenile court began to appear before the Supreme Court as a result of waning optimism regarding the juvenile court’s

ability to treat juveniles and growing concern that the juvenile system was, in reality, punitive (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999a). Within these rulings, the Court recognized that despite the juvenile court's "best interest of the child" ideology, juveniles were being punished, sometimes even more harshly than they would be if convicted within the criminal justice system (Faust & Brantingham, 1979; Fondacaro et al., 2006; *In re Gault*, 1967; *Kent vs. United States*, 1966). Based on this recognition, the Supreme Court granted juveniles a number of due process protections thus blurring the clear cut distinction between the juvenile and criminal justice systems.

The changes that resulted to the juvenile court after the Supreme Court rulings of the 1960s and 1970s provided the groundwork for the second wave of adultification that occurred during the "get tough" era of the 1980s and 1990s (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010). As a result of public and government panic over a surge in juvenile crime, specifically violent crime, state governments passed legislation aimed at getting tougher on juvenile offenders. As noted previously, changes made to the juvenile justice system through the passage of get tough laws focused on changing the stated purpose of the juvenile justice system, making juvenile court processes more public by opening up court proceedings and reducing confidentiality, emphasizing punishment and accountability through disposition schemes that included mandatory minimum penalties and life imprisonment without the possibility of parole, and expanding the ways in which juvenile cases could be transferred to adult court (Bishop & Frazier, 1991; Bishop, Frazier, & Henretta, 1989; Bishop et al., 1996; Feld, 1987; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998; Torbet & Thomas, 1997). These get tough legislative efforts further modified the juvenile justice system to more closely resemble the adult criminal justice

system leading some to call for an end to the juvenile justice system (Ainsworth, 1990; Federle, 1990; Feld, 1991, 1997, 1999).

Despite the recommendation of some scholars to abolish the juvenile court, others have noted that the best interest of the child ideology is not dead. In support of their claim, they point to the elimination of the death penalty for offenders under age 18 in *Roper v. Simmons* (2005), declining trends in the passage of get tough legislation, implementation of laws aimed at decreasing harsh punishments for juveniles, and increased public support for rehabilitative efforts for juvenile offenders (Applegate & Davis, 2006; Benekos & Merlo, 2008; Cullen et al., 1998; Campaign for Youth Justice, 2010; Illinois Juvenile Justice Commission, 2013; Juvenile Justice Initiative, 2013; Piquero et al., 2010; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006; Torbet & Szymanski, 1998). Thus, the changes that have occurred within the juvenile justice system over the past 50 years have created uncertainty about where the juvenile justice system stands compared to the criminal justice system.

The uncertainty over whether the juvenile justice system remains exceptional, truly unique from the adult criminal justice system, provided the basis for the current research project. Specifically, the present study compared the professional orientation of juvenile and adult probation and parole officers in order to document the extent of differences between the two groups. Had I found that juvenile officers' proclivities equaled those of their adult counterparts, then the results would have lent support to the arguments of the juvenile court abolitionists. However, significant differences were found between the juvenile and adult officers signifying that despite efforts to adultify the juvenile court, juvenile probation and parole officers adhere to many of the beliefs of the

original juvenile court and do so to a greater extent than probation and parole officers who supervise adult clients. This chapter will discuss the findings from the present study and what they mean for today's juvenile justice system.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the limitations of the present study and how future research can expand upon this work as well as prior literature. Next, the chapter examines the professional orientations of probation and parole officers in the current sample, how they compare to those in other studies, and what my findings imply about the current orientation of juvenile probation and parole. The chapter then explores the correlates of professional orientation, once again addressing how they relate to prior work on correlates of professional orientation. Further, the chapter discusses the findings regarding officer behavior and how this work compares to the two prior studies that examined the topic. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the policy implications of this study's finding for juvenile and criminal justice.

5.2 Limitations and Future Directions

This dissertation produced unique insights about the nature of juvenile corrections and how it compares with those working in corrections in the criminal justice system. Prior to discussing these observations, however, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the present study. One potential limitation of the present study is that the results are likely not generalizable to probation and parole officers nationwide. Recall that the data for the current study came solely from South Carolina. Thus, it is possible that different results might be found if PPOs across various states were compared. Future research should expand the number of states or regions from which PPOs are drawn in

order to increase the representativeness of the results. An additional advantage of collecting information from PPOs in a variety of geographical locations is that it would allow for more sophisticated contextual comparisons through the use of hierarchical linear modeling (Ward & Kupchik, 2010).

Additionally, the present study was aimed at examining the adultification of juvenile corrections. However, only one segment of juvenile corrections—probation and parole—was included in the study. Thus, the results cannot be generalized to other types of juvenile correctional workers, including those working in detention centers, training schools, or other out-of-home placement facilities.¹² In order to fully examine the extent of adultification in juvenile corrections, future research should include different types of juvenile correctional workers.

While this study included a number of importation and work role variables that have also been examined in prior literature, it was found that these variables explained very little variance for each of the dependent variables. As a reminder, the highest amount of variance explained in any of the models was 21%; thus indicating that important predictor variables were omitted. Future research should address this issue by including a number of additional variables. It may be important to include additional organizational factor variables as well as court context variables and attitudinal resonance

¹² Prior research has found that differences exist between the orientations of PPOs and those working within prisons and detention facilities, with PPOs being more treatment oriented (Lieber et al., 2002; Robinson et al., 1993). For example, Robinson et al. (1993) found in their study examining the professional orientation of 332 correctional and case management staff members that correctional officers were less supportive of treatment than case management staff (i.e., parole officers). Similarly, Lieber et al. (2002) found that juvenile probation officers were less likely than either juvenile correctional officers or teachers who worked within juvenile correctional facilities to indicate a punitive orientation. These studies cannot speak to how juvenile correctional officers compare with adult guards, but they do suggest that expanding the scope of correctional personnel may be necessary to provide a complete portrait of orientations.

variables due to the fact that previous studies have found these variables to be significant predictors of professional orientation.¹³

In regards to court context, additional variables to consider include county juvenile arrest rate and program sufficiency. To date, only one study has examined the impact of court context variables, beyond urban vs. non-urban, on professional orientation (Ward & Kupchik, 2010).¹⁴ Beyond simply explaining more of the variation in officers' orientations, consideration of the availability, or perceived availability, of resources may be important for understanding differences between adult and juvenile probation and parole officers. Differential availability of resources for one subpopulation versus the other could impact how officers supervise their caseloads. As a result of the findings from Ward & Kupchik (2010) and in addition to a number of studies that have found similar court context variables to be related to sentencing in juvenile courts (i.e., Applegate et al., 2000; Britt, 2000; Dixon, 1995; Rodriguez, 2007; Sanborn, 1993; Ulmer & Johnson, 2004), it is important to include these variables in future research.

Finally, attitudinal resonance variables should be included in future research examining correlates of professional orientation. Attitudinal resonance, as defined by Ward & Kupchik (2010), refers to the worldviews, beliefs, or background ideologies that

¹³ See, e.g. (Bazemore & Dicker, 1994; Bazemore, Dicker, & Al-Gadheeb, 1994; Lambert & Hogan, 2009; Lambert et al., 2009; Liou, 1998; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). Bazemore and Dicker (1994) and Bazemore, Dicker, and Al-Gadheeb (1994) found that organizational environment was positively related to detention care workers adhering to a punitive orientation. Further, Bazemore, Dicker, & Al-Gadheeb (1994) found that organizational environment, along with two demographic indicators—age and gender— contributed disproportionately to explained variances in punitive orientation. To be specific, all of the independent variables included in their punitive/control regression model accounted for 25% of the total variation, with gender, age, and organization environment together accounting for approximately 20% of that. Conversely, Lambert & Hogan (2009), in addition to Lambert et al. (2009), found that organizational commitment was positively associated with correctional staff support for rehabilitation policies.

¹⁴ Ward & Kupchik (2010) found that the juvenile arrest rate was significantly negatively related to punitive orientation, indicating that the higher the arrest rate in the county, the less likely probation officers were to support a punitive orientation. Further, they found that officers' perceptions of program sufficiency for juvenile offenders were negatively related to punitiveness.

officers may bring to their job that are more or less independent of other personal characteristics and which likely influence officers' professional orientation as well as how they react to clients' behavior. Prior research has found attitudinal variables to be significant predictors of professional orientation. Further, it has been found that the inclusion of such variables increases the explained variance of professional orientation¹⁵. Due to the findings from previous studies, as well as the minimal variance that was explained by the present study, it is believed the future research should explore the potential impact of these types of variables.

A further limitation is that the present study utilized cross-sectional data and, therefore, cannot compare how probation and parole officers' professional orientations may have changed over time. This is of particular importance as the topic at hand is examining whether the juvenile system has been adultified, implying that it is different from what it was in earlier eras. Due to the fact that the current study has no way of knowing how officers would have answered in the past, it cannot be concluded with any certainty that their professional orientations have changed. Instead, all that can be noted is whether differences exist between the two groups at the present time. Future research should gather longitudinal data to examine possible convergence—whether juvenile officers' professional orientations are becoming more like those of adult officers—indicating adultification of juvenile corrections.

¹⁵ Ward & Kupchik (2010) include such variables in their study regarding the professional orientation of probation officers and find them to be significant predictors of orientation. Specifically, in addition to a number of court context and individual status characteristics, they included three attitudinal resonance variables: moral character, victims' rights, and offense severity. The inclusion of these variables significantly increased the explained variance of the treatment model from 11 percent to 43 percent and the punishment model from 15 percent to 25 percent. Thus, they concluded that the most consistent predictors of probation officers' orientation are attitudinal resonance variables.

A final limitation of the present study is that the two measures of actual officer behavior sanction rate and revocation rate relied solely on self-reported data. In other words, no official agency data were collected on the number of written sanctions or revocation hearings that an officer pursued. Therefore, it is possible that officers may have either overestimated or underestimated the number of sanctions that they had written or revocation hearings that they had initiated within the last month. The relatively short time frame, however—one month as opposed to six months, a year, or some other lengthy referent—should have minimized recall problems (Dillman, 2000). Nevertheless, future research employing official data could confirm the extent to which the self-reported sanction and revocation rates used here yielded valid results.

5.3 Summary of Findings

Recall that the goals of the present study were two-fold: 1) to assess whether the professional orientation of juvenile probation and parole officers differed from those of their adult counterparts and 2) to examine whether professional orientation impacted officer behavior. The findings from the present study are important as they provide some insight into whether the philosophical, legal, and structural changes that have impacted the juvenile justice system over the past fifty years have resulted in a convergence of the systems to such an extent that they may no longer be distinguished. In other words, has the juvenile justice system become completely adultified? The paragraphs below will provide a summary of the findings from the present study. A discussion of what the results imply for the future of the juvenile justice system will follow.

The current study found that juvenile PPOs largely adhere to the traditional orientation of the juvenile justice system, and they tend to do so to a greater extent than their adult counterparts. Based on the six dimensions that constituted professional orientation—treatment versus punishment, welfare versus just deserts, welfare versus control, discretion versus rules, informal versus formal, and offender versus offense—the data supported the hypothesis that the system in which the officer worked is significantly related to professional orientation. To be specific, four of the six professional orientation variables were found to be significantly different in the hypothesized direction, with juvenile probation officers adhering more strongly to the ideals of traditional juvenile justice (i.e. treatment, welfare, and offender). In other words, as hypothesized, it was found that juvenile probation and parole officers were more focused on administering treatment, on the general welfare of their clients, and on the individual needs of their clients than adult PPOs. System remained a significant predictor of these same four professional orientation variables despite controlling in multivariate models for several other correlates identified by prior research.

These findings are consistent with the two previous studies that compared the professional orientation of juvenile and adult probation officers. Sluder & Reddington (1993) and Shearer (2002) both found that differences existed in the professional orientation of juvenile and adult PPOs. Specifically, Sluder & Reddington's (1993) work showed that juvenile officers had significantly higher scores on a casework scale than their adult counterparts, implying a stronger adherence to rehabilitation. Similarly, Shearer (2002) found that juvenile probation officer trainees scored significantly lower on the law enforcement scale than adult probation officer trainees, revealing that they

were less oriented towards punishment. Thus, both studies concluded that juvenile probation officers hold more rehabilitative orientations than their adult counterparts.

It should be noted that not all of the professional orientation variables hypothesized to be significantly different between the two groups of officers were found to be so. Hypotheses five and six which examined officers' orientation toward discretion versus strict adherence to rules and informal versus formal procedures could not be supported by the data as significant differences were not found in the responses of juvenile and adult probation and parole officers. One possible explanation for this finding could be related to the many efforts that have been made by both the courts and state legislatures to reduce the use of discretion within juvenile justice. Recall that during the due process era of adultification, the rulings in a number of Supreme Court cases greatly restricted the discretionary power of the juvenile court, particularly the power of the judge (*Kent v. United States*, 1966; *In re Gault*, 1967; *In re Winship*, 1970). For instance, with its ruling in *In re Gault* (1967), the Court redefined the role of the juvenile court judge from a paternal figure who acts within the best interests of the child to that of a neutral referee between the prosecutor and defense attorney charged with making decisions based on facts. Much of the legislation passed during the "get tough" era, such as prosecutorial wavier statutes and mandatory minimum sentencing provisions, served to redirect and restrict discretion. The passage of such legislation was used by some states to address the problems of "soft" judges, who would prefer to deal with juveniles in a more lenient manner (Benekos & Merlo, 2008; Merlo & Benekos, 2010; Mole & White, 2005). More recently, a number of states have implemented zero tolerance policies in their schools as a way to combat drugs, gang-related activity, and weapons in and around

schools. The punishment for being caught with certain items typically results in expulsion from school for a designated period of time as well as referral to the juvenile justice system. By making referral mandatory, the possibility of handling matters in an informal manner by school officials or juvenile justice personnel is eliminated (Skiba, 2000).

Consistent with these trends, juvenile justice agencies also may have implemented policies limiting their probation and parole officers from exercising their discretion and processing juveniles informally in order to reduce any chances for discrimination. Therefore, even if juvenile officers personally prefer to exercise discretion when handling clients, they may be bound by the rules and regulations of both the agency and potentially state laws which limit their ability to do so. An understanding of the nature of juvenile corrections would benefit from future research exploring how agency and state policies and legislation may impact officer orientation.

Beyond the system in which the officers worked, five other correlates included in the multivariate analyses were found to be significantly related to at least one of the professional orientation variables. Race, job tenure, and urban context were found to be significantly related to an orientation toward treatment versus punishment. Specifically, white officers, officers with more job tenure, and officers working within an urban context were found to adhere to a more punitive orientation than their counterparts. These findings are largely consistent with prior research (Jackson & Amen, 1996; Liou, 1998; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Toch & Klofas, 1982; Van Voorhis et al., 1991; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989; Whitehead, Lindquist, & Klofas, 1987).

This study also went beyond simply examining correlates of the treatment versus punishment professional orientation dichotomy to include examining how the same correlates impact other professional orientation dimensions that distinguish the original juvenile justice system from the criminal justice system. Table 5.1 presents a summary of the findings for the correlates of professional orientation. As shown in the table, very few of the correlates were found to be significant predictors of any of the professional orientation variables. Thus, there is a large degree of consensus between those who provide intensive supervision and those who do not and officers working in urban versus non-urban areas. There are also no significant cleavages across different ages or levels of contact with clients, education, job tenure, or role conflict. One explanation of this finding could be that there is simply a great deal of consistency among the officers. This could be due to agency hiring and training procedures that are aimed at targeting individuals with certain beliefs or training individuals to accept a certain set of principles. Further, it could simply be that probation and parole officers, despite their individual and work role experiences, have a cohesive view of what it means to be a probation officer.

A different perspective on the findings would argue that important variables that explain variation in professional orientation were simply not included in the present study. As noted in the limitations section, the variation explained by any of the models was low thus important predictor variables were likely excluded. For example, a belief in the broad concept of “redeemability”—that offenders can change for the better—may be a useful attitudinal resonance variable. Redeemability has been linked to less punitive attitudes among the general public (Maruna & King, 2009). Had officers been asked whether they believed their clients could be turned away from crime and go on to lead

Table 5.1 Summary of Correlates of Professional Orientation

	Punishment vs. Treatment	Just Deserts vs. Welfare	Control vs. Welfare	Rules vs. Discretion	Formal vs. Informal	Offender vs. Offense
Adult System	+	+	+	ns	ns	+
Age	ns	ns	ns	+	ns	ns
Male	ns	ns	+	ns	ns	+
White	+	+	+	ns	ns	-
Education	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	-
Job Tenure	+	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Client contact	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Role conflict	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
IPS	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Urban Context	+	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns

+ Significant positive relationship
- Significant negative relationship
ns Relationship not significant

productive lives, more variation in orientations might have been explained. Thus, to reiterate, future studies should include a number of other correlates in order to further explore predictors of professional orientation.

Although the majority of the variables included in the models failed to predict professional orientation, two correlates besides the system in which officers worked were found to significantly impact more than one dimension of juvenile versus adult orientation: gender and race. Male officers were found to emphasize control over welfare and emphasize a more offense-focused orientation than female officers. Thus, male officers appear to be slightly more orientated toward criminal justice ideologies, a finding consistent with similar orientations assessed by the prior literature (Bazemore & Dicker, 1994; Bazemore et al., 1994; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2008; Walters, 1992; Ward & Kupchik, 2010; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1992). Further, white officers were found to be significantly more likely to emphasize just deserts and control as opposed to welfare.

A final goal of the present study was to explore whether professional orientation impacted officer behavior. It was found that professional orientation, on the whole, failed to significantly predict either officers' intended or actual behavior. In regards to intended behavior, two exceptions presented themselves. First, it was found that officers who adhered to a more punitive professional orientation were less likely to support rewarding clients for good behavior. This finding is consistent with those from Steiner et al.'s (2011) study that found that officers who scored higher on the assistance scale were more likely to support rewarding clients. Second, officers who supported dealing with clients in a more formal manner were more likely to support enforcement activities. This

finding makes sense given that support for enforcement is likely to involve supporting actions that require officers to take formal action against a client.

No professional orientation variables were found to be significantly related to officers' actual behavior. This finding is not completely unusual. Steiner et al. (2010) also found that none of their professional orientation variables were significant predictors of issuing written sanctions. Steiner et al. (2010) did, however, find that officers who held more authoritative attitudes were more likely to pursue a revocation hearing for offender non-compliance. The inability of professional orientation to predict officer's actual behavior could be a result of how actual behavior was measured. It could be that reliance on self-report data could have been an inaccurate measure of actual behavior as self-report measures often provide erroneous information due to individuals either over or under-reporting behavior. As noted above, future research would benefit from collecting official indicators of officer behavior.

In addition to the findings on the impact of professional orientation on officer behavior, a few other noteworthy relationships were found between the control variables and the officer behavior outcomes. The most significant of those findings is that the system in which the officer worked was positively and significantly related to three of the four behavior outcomes: reward, sanction rate, and revocation rate. Officers working within the adult system were more likely to support rewarding clients for good behavior, but they also tended to issue more written sanctions and pursue more revocation hearings. While it may seem counterintuitive to find that adult officers are more likely to support rewarding clients while at the same time being more likely to formally punish them, reward and enforcement behaviors, whether intended or actual, can occur independently

of one another. Thus, it could be that if data had been collected on how often officers actually reward their clients, it may have also been found that adult officers were more likely to reward their clients than juvenile officers. Another explanation could be that probation and parole officers simply have a disconnect between what they think they should do and what they actually do. This disconnect could be due to an individual's misperception of their own behavior or it could be that agency policies and directives are guiding officer behavior. Therefore, while adult officers may more strongly believe in rewarding clients than juvenile officers, the policies in place within the adult probation and parole agency may require officers to issue more written sanctions and pursue more revocation hearings than those policies within the juvenile probation and parole agency. A final explanation could be that adult officers are simply more proactive than juvenile officers. In other words, it may be that adult officers are simply more likely to take the necessary steps to handle their clients' behavior, whether that be in an assistive, rewarding manner or in a punitive, enforcement manner.

While no other correlates besides system were significant for sanction rate, two additional correlates were found to be significantly related to revocation rate. Males pursued revocation hearings at a significantly higher rate than female officers. Additionally, officers experiencing more role conflict tended to pursue fewer revocation hearings. This finding suggests that due to officers' conflict regarding their roles as a probation or parole officer, they choose inaction over action.

5.4 Implications for Juvenile Justice Policy

The above paragraphs have presented an overview of the study's main findings. This section explains how these findings inform the debate regarding the uniqueness of the juvenile justice system and whether it ought to remain as an organization of special jurisdiction or else be abolished. In other words, it addresses whether the juvenile probation and parole system has been adultified to the extent that it mirrors its adult counterpart and thus no longer serves its original purpose thereby supporting the argument for abolition.

Prior research has examined the convergence of the juvenile and criminal justice systems; however, the focus of this research has largely been on the juvenile and criminal courts. This examination has led some scholars to call for the abolition of the juvenile court (see Ainsworth, 1991, 1995; Federle, 1990; Feld, 1993, 1998, 1999, 2000). Specifically, Barry Feld (1997), the most noted supporter of the abolition of the juvenile court, argued nearly two decades ago that “the forgoing jurisdictional, jurisprudential, and procedural changes have transformed the juvenile court from its original mode as a social service agency into a deficient second-rate criminal court that provides youth with neither positive treatment nor criminal procedural justice” (p. 90). In other words, Feld (1998) believes that the current juvenile justice system is providing juveniles the worst of both worlds; they are receiving punitive dispositions along with receiving fewer procedural safeguards than guaranteed in criminal courts.

Further, abolitionists have questioned the need for a separate juvenile court as they believe that there has been a substantive and procedural convergence between the two courts that have virtually voided all conceptual and operational differences in how

juveniles and adults are processed and treated (see Ainsworth, 1991, 1995; Federle, 1990; Feld, 1993, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000). This argument is not without merit as the two waves of adultification did increase the similarities between the two courts. In particular, with the due process revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, juveniles were granted almost all of the same due process protections guaranteed to adults, with the exception of a right to a jury trial and the right to bail. Rosenberg (1993) argues that, as a result of the Supreme Court's granting of a number of due process rights to juveniles along with their rulings diluting many of the constitutional protections guaranteed to adults, there are no longer substantial due process distinctions between the juvenile and adult systems.

Additionally, the "get tough" era further eroded differences between the two systems by implementing a number of policies aimed at increasing the punishments that juveniles can receive (Feld, 1999; Merlo, Benekos, & Cook, 1997; Merlo et al., 1999). For example, during this time, mandatory minimum laws were passed, confidentiality of juvenile proceedings and records were reduced, and transfer laws were enacted to make it easier to waive a juvenile to adult court (Feld, 1999; Fritsch & Hemmens, 1995; Merlo et al., 1997; Sanborn & Salerno, 2005; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999b; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006; Torbet et al., 1996; Torbet & Thomas, 1997). Thus, the ideals of treatment, confidentiality, and acting within the best interests of the child diminished compared with those of punishment and accountability, ideals typical of the adult criminal court.

While the abolition of the juvenile justice system has been debated for several decades now due to increased similarity with the adult system, the focus of the debate has solely been on the juvenile court. The juvenile justice system, however, consists of more than just the juvenile court. Therefore, in order to make an informed decision on whether

the juvenile justice system should be retained, it is important to examine whether all of the entities involved in the juvenile justice system have transformed to mirror those of their criminal counterpart. In other words, before deciding to abolish the juvenile justice system based solely on the similarities between it and the adult court, other components of the system should also be examined to see if similar results are found.

The findings from the present study can provide some insight into whether another juvenile justice entity, juvenile probation and parole, has been adultified. Recall that the goal of the present study was to examine whether the professional orientation of juvenile probation and parole officers are different from those of their adult counterparts, and to explore whether professional orientation impacted officer behavior. If it were to be found that there were no differences in the professional orientations of the two groups of officers, then it could be argued that the attitudes among officers working in both systems have converged to the point of there being no point for two separate systems. However, if significant differences were to be found in the orientation of juvenile and adult officers then support for retention of the juvenile justice system would be provided. The results of the present study support the latter position.

The findings from the present study lend support for the retention of the juvenile justice system. Specifically, despite the numerous changes that have occurred within the juvenile justice system that have resulted in the blurring of lines between the two systems leading some to call for the abolition of the juvenile justice system, the results suggest that the system has not been wholly adultified. In fact, it appears that many of the traditional ideals of the juvenile court are still adhered to by those working within juvenile corrections. Juvenile probation and parole officers are still more focused on

emphasizing treatment, ensuring the welfare of their clients, and focusing on the needs of the offender than their adult counterparts who tend to emphasize punishment, just deserts, control, and be offense-focused. Whether juvenile officers choose to work in the juvenile system due to their beliefs regarding juvenile defendants or whether they obtain their beliefs through experiences on the job, the fact remains that the ideals of the original juvenile justice system remain despite all the reforms that could have adultified the system. Therefore, the differences in professional orientation of juvenile and adult probation officers provides some support for retaining two distinct systems.

Further support for retention of the juvenile justice system is provided when examining the findings for officer behavior. While minimal support was found for the hypothesis that professional orientation would be related to officer behavior, the results clearly showed that the system in which the officer worked was associated with officer behavior. Specifically, it was found that juvenile officers were less likely to issue written sanctions or to pursue revocation hearings than adult officers. Thus, while holding attitudes consistent with the original juvenile justice system did not impact officer behavior, working within the juvenile justice system did. This lends support for retaining the juvenile justice system as the frequency of punishment occurs at a lesser rate within the juvenile justice system than the adult system. Based on the findings, it can be argued that real differences continue to exist between the juvenile and adult system, at least when focusing on the nature of corrections. Therefore, the argument for merging the systems due to their essential equivalency is greatly weakened. It is likely that this misperception is the product of scholars focusing solely on the courts and not examining the entire system.

The findings are also relevant to several arguments that have been extended against abolition. In *Roper v. Simmons* (2005), Justice Kennedy identifies three general differences between juveniles and adults which he believes justifies the abolition of the death penalty for juveniles under age 18. These three general differences include juveniles' lack of maturity and underdeveloped sense of responsibility, juveniles' susceptibility to negative influences such as peer pressure, and juveniles' lack of a fully formed character. Building off of Justice Kennedy's opinion, some scholars have argued that these same justifications apply to the debate pertaining to the retention of the juvenile justice system. For example, Rosenberg (1993) believes that trying juveniles in adult courts will minimize the focus on their immaturity and vulnerability when considering culpability and determining appropriate sentences. She questions whether the legislatures would be willing to consider youthfulness as a mitigating factor, as suggested by abolitionists (see Ainsworth, 1991, 1995; Feld, 1993, 1998, 1999, 2000). She goes on to point out that once children are tried as adults, they would then be subjected to the jurisdiction of the adult correctional facilities as opposed to youth service agencies. In offering this criticism, Rosenberg (1993) is implying that differences exist between juvenile and adult corrections. However, she fails to test this assumption. The findings from the present study confirm Rosenberg's (1993) assumption that juveniles would be treated differently if placed under adult corrections. Based on the findings, if the juvenile justice system were to be abolished and juveniles were thus tried under the same system as adults, it appears as if juveniles would be exposed to more punishment than they currently receive, and those supervising them would be driven to greater concern for just desert and control over individual welfare. In sum, due to the fact that juvenile officers

continue to adhere to a number of ideals consistent with the juvenile court as well as behave in a different manner than adult probation officers, there is justification for the systems to remain distinct entities.

5.5 Conclusions

While the juvenile justice system represents just one component of the criminal justice system, its impact is not inconsequential. In 2010, approximately 1.4 million delinquency cases were handed by juvenile courts. Of the 1.4 million cases that were referred to the courts, nearly 67% resulted in some type of court supervision, with the majority receiving probation (Puzzanchera & Robson, 2014). Due to the substantial number of juveniles who are involved with the juvenile justice system, it is essential to continue to evaluate and critique its practices and effectiveness.

Critiques by abolitionists and retentionists alike have identified a number of challenges the juvenile justice system faces. One challenge involves deciding the appropriate role that immaturity plays in handling juveniles. The Supreme Court has recently eliminated a number of punishments previously available to juveniles, such as the death penalty and life without the possibility of parole, based on the argument that youths have diminished culpability (*Graham v. Florida*, 2010; *Miller v. Alabama*, 2012; *Roper vs. Simmons*, 2005). However, approximately one percent of delinquency cases continue to be waived to the adult court where questions regarding the juveniles' immaturity are often ignored (Puzzanchera & Robson, 2014). Thus, the question remains at what times should immaturity be considered and at what times should it be ignored. Further, concerns regarding immaturity must be balanced with concerns of crime control

and community protection as well the implementation and effectiveness of evidence based practices. In other words, the juvenile justice system must work to develop appropriate processing and supervision plans that allow for the consideration of the juvenile's maturity without jeopardizing public safety. This will likely involve extensive research regarding effective practices.

Despite the challenges faced by the juvenile justice system, the best approach to dealing with juvenile offenders may be to build on the strengths of the system and work towards developing programs that align with the beliefs to which many juvenile officers continue to adhere. However, as noted by Bishop (2006) there is a lack of systematic research on the contemporary juvenile justice, particularly in terms of its philosophical orientation. Bishop (2006) asserts that “criminologists would do well to address more research attention to the contemporary juvenile court and juvenile correctional system, particularly to assess the balance between rehabilitation and punishment in policy and practice” (p.661). The findings from the present study have provided an important contribution to documenting where juvenile justice currently stands. Future research should continue to systematically explore issues related to juvenile justice in order to help illuminate the true nature of the system.

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APPENDIX A – STUDIES EXAMINING THE PROFESSIONAL
ORIENTATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE PERSONNEL

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Kassebaum, Ward, & Wilner (1964)	3,083 staff members of the CA DOC	Authoritarian orientation Pessimism regarding treatment outcome Preferred social distance Preference on severity of penalties	Education Job Status (Position) Inmate characteristics: age, criminal history, prison behavior	Job differences are significant and reflect the characteristically observed distinction between uniformed custody staff and mental health treatment staff (higher job status, less authoritarian orientation) Education was also significantly related to authoritarian attitude (more educated, lower authoritarian attitude)
Dembo (1972)	94 parole officers in NY	Punishment orientation Reintegrative orientation	Ethnicity Location of early life Place of longest residence Educational background Employment background Father's occupation Political orientation Cases preferred to supervise Job dissatisfactions Control attitudes Type of part time employment Excess hours worked # Absconder visits made # motor vehicle license referrals # technical parole violations # recommendations to return technical violator to prison	Parole officers who have high reintegrative scores are liberal, prefer to supervise difficult cases or have no supervision preferences, are dissatisfied with job factors limiting direct client contact of failures, and have low control attitudes Officers with low reintegrative scores tend to be conservative, prefer to supervise low-risk cases, are dissatisfied with the political factors, long hours, difficult cases, and constant crises situations encountered in their work, and possess high control attitudes Significant relationship between high reintegrative scores and low technical violations
Jacobs (1978)	929 prison guards in IL	Theories of imprisonment	N/A	46% of guards considered "rehabilitation" the purpose of imprisonment 26% believed punishment is the main reason for putting the offender in prison

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Jacobs & Kraft (1978)	231 prison guards in IL	Inmate orientation Job orientation Staff orientation Job commitment	Race Length of employment Age	Black officers showed less empathy for the prisoners than their white colleagues Blacks and whites both listed rehabilitation as the main justification of prison Significantly higher % of blacks mentioned punishment as the primary purpose of imprisonment Relatively more black guards express a punitive orientation
Hepburn & Albonetti (1980)	336 treatment and custody personnel within 6 correctional facilities in MO	Punitiveness Job satisfaction Role Conflict	Role conflict Security level Staff position	Role conflict is higher among staff in a minimum security facility than medium or maximum Role conflict is higher among treatment staff than custody staff Punitiveness is significantly affected by both role conflict and staff position
Poole & Regoli (1980)	144 prison guards from maximum security prison in Midwest state	Custody orientation (guards commitment to control of inmates) Disciplinary reports	Education Correctional experience Role stress	Role stress, education, and correctional experience directly affect commitment to custodial functions With disciplinary reports as the D.V., direct effects with correctional experience (-) and custody orientation (+)
Shamir & Drory (1981)	370 prison guards from 4 maximum security prisons	Belief about the prison, the prisoners, and the guards role	Job tenure Position/Rank Role conflict Job satisfaction Criminals in the community Contact with prisoners Guard's personal distress	Guards generally hold positive beliefs about the prisoners and their potential, but are aware of the risks involved in becoming too close Study lends support to the claim that guards' attitudes reflect a mixture of reformative and punitive beliefs with a tendency toward reformative end of the dimension Criminals in the guards' community, contact with prisoners, rank, and role conflict impact the guard's belief of his role.

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Toch & Klofas (1982)	832 correctional officers in 4 maximum security prisons	Alienation Job enrichment Custody orientaiton	Prison location Seniority Age	The more urbanized the officer, the more alienated they felt and the higher their level of discontent Officers with more seniority felt more alienated than those with less seniority Rural prison guards were the most enrichment orientated and inmate orientated The most urban prison showed more custody orientation Younger officers were more custodial orientated and human service orientation increased with age of officer
Cullen, Golden, & Cullen (1983)	434 people (public, lawyer, judges, correctional administrators, legislators, guards, and inmates)	Support for "child saving"	Age Sex Education Income	Total sample expressed a predominately favorable attitude towards rehabilitation of juvenile offenders though the idea of punishing such offenders also receives support Inmates, correctional administrators, judges, and lawyers were found to be significantly different from the public in their greater support for child saving and rehabilitation Attitudes of legislatures and guards converge with the public The most educated and females are more favorable to child saving and less punitive in their attitudes Support for juvenile rehabilitation was negative indicating that support for rehabilitation decreases as a person increases in age

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Jurik (1985)	179 line level correctional officers in a western state	Officer attitudes toward inmates	Age Education Race Gender Unit security level Seniority Frequency of contact with inmates Interest in human service Interest in security Length of employment	Organizational and individual level effects are of approximately equal importance in predicting officers' attitudes toward inmates Minority officers hold more positive orientations toward inmates, while education and gender exert no impact Older officers appear to be more optimistic toward inmates Officer's primary reason for taking the job is also a significant predictor of orientation towards inmate Months employed and increased security status are negatively associated with attitudes
Klofas (1986)	832 correctional officers working in maximum security facilities in NY	Professional orientation (counseling role, punitive orientation, social distance, corruption for authority)	Urbanization Race Age	Results suggest that most officers in all settings see their role as multi-dimensional and not limited to rigidly defined custodial duties
Whitehead, Lindquist, & Klofas (1987)	366 correctional officers and probation/parole officers in AL	Professional orientation (counseling role, punitive orientation, social distance, corruption for authority)	Race Age Sex	Blacks scored lower on punitive orientation than whites, but higher on social distance
Farnworth, Frazier, & Neuberger (1988)	772 juvenile justice personnel in Florida	Correctional orientation (just deserts vs. rehabilitation)	Functional roles Education level Academic specialization Age Job tenure Specialization in juvenile work	Functional role significant predictor of orientation

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Cullen, Lutze, Link, & Wolfe (1989)	155 correctional officers in a southern correctional system	Support for custody Support for rehabilitation	Work Related Variables: Role problems Dangerousness Work stress Supervisory support Correctional experience Levels of security Shift Individual Characteristics: Gender Race Level of Education Age become CO	Data generally reinforce the conclusion that officers do not embrace an exclusively custodial orientation toward offenders Supportive custodial attitudes were related exclusively to work conditions: Role problems, supervisory support and night shift are positively related to custody Supportive rehabilitative attitudes were significantly related to work and individual characteristics; Officers on night shift are significantly less likely to support treatment; Black officers and officers who become a PO at a later age are more likely to support treatment
Harris, Clear, & Baird (1989)	223 probation officers from TX, MN, and WI	Correctional philosophies: reform, rehabilitation, restrain, reintegration	N/A	Concern for authority among community supervision officers has increased Authority is now a more meaningful concept in supervision than either assistance or treatment
Whitehead & Lindquist (1989)	258 line correctional officers in AL	Professional orientation (Social distance, counseling role, punitive orientation, concern with corruption of authority)	Seniority Entry age Day shift Night shift Race Education Security status Job satisfaction Stress Role conflict Participation in decision-making	Concerning social distance, white Cos and Cos who entered correctional employment at a later age expressed preference for less social distance, while black officers and officer who entered employment at an earlier age preferred greater distance Concerning punitiveness, black officers expressed less preference for harsh conditions than whites

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Burton, Ju, Dunaway, & Wolfe (1991)	49 Bermuda correctional officers	Correctional orientation (support for custody and support for rehabilitation)	Gender Education Race Age Income Years of correctional officer experience Years at current institution Officer rank	Bermuda prison guards tend to not support a custodial or punitive orientation toward inmates and rehabilitation appears to be very important Officers' education, income, and rank significantly affected attitudes toward rehabilitation Income was found to be significant with regard to support for a custody orientation
Sluder, Shearer, & Potts (1991)	159 probation officers	Probation officer work strategies (casework, resource brokerage, law enforcement)	Gender Race Age Length of employment Educational background Work assignment Caseload size Military service Career goals Age became PO	Findings suggest there is greater support for helping offenders on probation than there is simply controlling their behavior Officers age and number of years employed was negatively correlated with law enforcement work strategy Officers age was positively correlated with casework strategy while length of employment was negatively correlated Work orientation was significantly correlated with option to carry a gun: those who supported provisions for arming POs expressed much higher levels of agreement with law enforcement work strategy
Van Voorhis, Cullen, Link, & Wolfe (1991)	155 correctional officers in a southern correctional system	Correctional orientation (custody scale vs. rehabilitation scale)	Sex Race Age Correctional experience Education College graduate Maximum security assignment Work shift	Both importation and work role-prisonization variables impact worker orientation Black officer and older officers s were more likely to be orientated to the notion of rehabilitation Workers on the night shift were significantly more likely to express a custody orientation Years on the job was negatively related to a rehabilitation focus

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Walters (1992)	196 correctional officers employed in three Midwestern prisons	Custody orientation (rehabilitation vs. custody)	Gender	Female COs had significantly lower scores on the custody orientation scale than male officers
Whitehead & Lindquist (1992)	108 line probation and parole officers in Alabama	Professional orientation (counseling roles, punitive orientation, distance, corruption authority)	Age Education Gender Seniority Job satisfaction Participation in decision-making Role conflict Job stress Caseload Hours of client contact	Probation and parole officers were very pro-rehabilitation and very opposed to punishment Male officers and officers with larger caseloads tended to be more punitive, while officers reporting greater hours of client contact and greater role conflict tended to be less punitive Officers reporting greater job stress reported a more favorable attitude toward rehabilitation Officers reporting greater participation in decision-making reported more favorable attitudes toward rehabilitation, a less punitive orientation, and less fear of corruption of authority
Clear & Latessa (1993)	3 intensive supervision programs in GA and OH	Correctional orientation (authority/assistance) Supervision tasks (support/control)	Age Sex Education level Education area Years in probation Organizational philosophy Site Correctional orientation	GA program more oriented toward control; OH more oriented toward rehabilitation Authority and site have significant effects on the selection of control tasks; Site has significant effect on selection of support tasks

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Cullen, Latessa, Burton, & Lombardo (1993)	375 prison wardens from federal and state prisons across the U.S.	Correctional orientation (Support for rehabilitation by goals. Amenability to treatment, general views, and ideal activities)	<p>Importation Variables: Race Years of Education</p> <p>Prisonization Variables: Size Age Classification Gender of housed inmates Fed. Vs. State</p> <p>Career Variables: Years in corrections Months at current institution Military experience Been a CO Worked in treatment position</p> <p>Context variable: Region</p>	<p>Wardens place a priority on custodial/prison order concerns but see rehabilitation as an important, if secondary, function of imprisonment and more specifically of their institution</p> <p>Years in corrections and time at current institution appear to heighten support for treatment and custody</p> <p>Support for rehabilitation was lessened by the number of inmates housed in the warden’s facility and by administering a male prison</p> <p>Wardens managing a state prison were more favorable toward rehabilitation and less supportive of custody</p> <p>Being a warden of a prison located in the South was in the direction of diminishing a treatment orientation</p>
Robinson, Porporino, & Simourd (1993)	332 correctional and case management staff from five region of the Federal Correctional Service of Canada	Rehabilitation orientation	<p>Job satisfaction Growth need strength Job involvement Career salience Human service orientation Attitudes toward correctional occupations Interest in security Social desirability</p>	<p>Correctional officers were found to be less supportive of rehabilitation than case management staff</p> <p>Support for rehab: total sample Attitudes toward correctional occupations, human service orientation, education , career salience and growth need strength are significantly related to support for rehabilitation</p> <p>Among correctional staff, favorable attitudes towards the field of corrections, showing an interest in career development, preferring work that involves people, and desiring work that provides outlets for personal growth are positive predictors of support for rehabilitation</p>

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Sluder & Reddington (1993)	206 juvenile and adult probation officers in large southwestern state	Probation officer work strategies (casework, resource brokerage, law enforcement) – separate scale for each	# years spent in probation work Age became PO Agency size (Total # POs) Face-to-face contact (hours) Caseload Work assignment Gender Race Education Political orientation	Juvenile officers had significantly higher score on casework scale than did adult POs No significant difference between juvenile and adult on either RB or LE scale Being male, working in a larger agency, and having more face to face contact with probationers were significantly related to support for law enforcement orientation Being non-white, a juvenile PO, and from a smaller agency were significantly related to support for a casework orientation
Arthur (1994)	175 black correctional officers from min-, med-, and max- GA prisons	Rehabilitation Retribution Deterrence	Gender Age Income Class Education Marital status Length of service Public perception of PO role Job satisfaction Perception of war on drugs Support for capital punishment Opinions about imposed sentences	Majority of Cos supported each of the correctional ideologies Support for rehabilitation: Job satisfaction, officers rating of government efforts in the WOD, perception of the courts, perceptions of PO role, and social class were statistically significant Support for Retribution: Higher income officers and those who gave positive ratings to governments effort on WOD were more likely to support retribution Younger officers were also more likely to support retribution Support for Deterrence Job satisfaction, age, and role perception are significantly related to deterrence

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Bazemore & Dicker (1994)	109 juvenile detention care workers in two facilities in a southeastern state	Punishment control index Treatment/services index	Age Gender Race Education Job Tenure Shift Rank Organization environment Job involvement Job stress Role conflict Perception of danger Job security	Findings indicate a strong support among detention workers for a treatment/services orientation, but at the same time they reveal strong support for control/punishment emphasis Punitive orientation appears to be more a function of organizational environment, age, and gender Organizational environment (detention center) is positively related to punishment/control orientation Older workers and females were less likely to adopt a punitive stance Regarding treatment, occupational characteristics assumed primary importance in accounting for variation, whereas neither demographics nor differences in organizational environment played any role Perception of job security and concern about personal safety were negatively related to support for treatment Job involvement was positively correlated with treatment
Bazemore, Dicker, & Al-Gadheeb (1994)	109 juvenile detention care workers in two facilities in a southeastern state	Punishment/control index	Race Gender Age Education Rank Tenure Rehabilitation motivation Organizational environment Job stress	Demographic indicators and organizational environment contribute disproportionately to explained variances in punitive orientation

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Bazemore, Dicker, & Nyhan (1994)	109 detention workers from two centers	Punishment/control index	Job stress Job involvement Role conflict Organizational commitment Organizational trust Trust in supervisor Site	Workers in the center where reform was implemented were significantly less likely to express approval for a punitive response
Jackson & Ammen (1996)	851 correctional officers in TX	TDCSCALES: Attitudes toward treatment programs Klofas and Toch: Counseling roles Social distance Concern with corruption of authority Punitive orientation	Gender Ethnicity Rank Education Marital status Age Seniority	African American officers were more supportive of extended vocational, academic, college, religious, and medical services for inmates than Caucasian officers Caucasian officers trusted inmates less, felt that the prison environment should be harsher and more punitive, and that they were less likely to view their roles as including counseling than the African American officers
Fulton, Stichman, Travis, & Latessa (1997)	72 probation officers 61 regular and 11 IPS	Subjective role scale (what they do) Strategy scale (how they do it)	Gender Position (IPS or Regular) Site Age Level of education (excluded due to lack of variation) # of years as officer	IPS officers had a stronger focus on treatment and services than regular officers Only significant relationship was between position and the attitude scale
Robinson, Porporino, & Simourd (1997)	213 correctional officers in Canada	Correctional orientation (custody scale and rehabilitation scale)	Education Age Job tenure Gender	Correctional officers with higher levels of education were generally less likely to emphasize the custodial function of corrections

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Liou (1998)	109 civil service detention workers in 2 regional metropolitan detention centers in a southeastern state	Turnover intention Professional orientation (Treatment vs. punishment)	Age Gender Education Years of service Job satisfaction Job security	Workers' professional attitudes were influenced by some personal and job variables and the workers' turnover intention was correlated positively with the punitive orientation and gender (female), but negatively correlated with the perceived job security and job satisfaction
Farkas (1999)	125 local correctional officers employed at two local correctional male institutions in a midwestern state	Klofas and Toch correctional officer orientation Counseling roles Social distance Concern with corruption of authority Punitive orientation	Gender Race Age Correctional entry age Education Shift Time at facility	Majority of officers in the sample did not express a punitive attitude and actually expressed a strong support for rehabilitation Individual characteristics associated with counseling and rehabilitation include age and gender; associated with punitive include gender Work variables associated with counseling include seniority, shift, job satisfaction, role conflict; associated with punitive orientation include shift, job satisfaction, and role conflict
Gordon (1999a)	80 institutional staff at juvenile correctional facility	Punishment scale Rehabilitation scale Delinquency scale	Position Age Education Gender # months employed Race	Custodial staff are more likely to find merit in punishment and less likely to endorse rehabilitative ideals Females are more likely to disagree with punishment as a means to reduce crime

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Gordon (1999b)	153 correctional staff from three juvenile institutions	Attitudes toward punitiveness Attitudes toward delinquency Attitudes toward treatment of youth	Facility (open vs. closed security) Age Gender Race Education Length at current position	Majority of staff from the open-security disagrees with attitude toward delinquency and punishment scales and agree with the staff philosophy scale Conversely, 73% of the class security staff support the notion that harsh punishment is a way to reduce crime Facility that an officer is employed is significantly related to attitudes toward punitiveness, delinquency and treatment of youth Level of education is significantly related to an officer's attitude toward punishment
Hemmens & Stohr (2000)	222 correctional officers at medium security prison in a Western state	Role orientation (human service vs. hack)	Gender Age Race Education level Military service Years of service Position	Women had a greater affinity for the human service aspect of the correctional role than men (15 of 29 items) Younger officers had a greater pro hack orientation than older officers (2 or 29) Prior military experience more likely to adopt pro-hack orientation (7 of 29)

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Maahs & Pratt (2001)	19 studies (6,427 individual cases) on correctional officers	Attitudes toward treatment	Importation variables: Age Race Gender Education Deprivation variables: Security level of facility Shift Perceptions of dangerousness Management variables: Role conflict Supervisory support Peer support	Among importation variables, age and race have moderate mean effect sizes on treatment. Working night shift is the only deprivation variable that has a moderate effect on treatment orientation Within management perspective, role conflict has a negative mean effect size estimate, suggesting the officers experiencing more role conflict are less likely to hold attitudes favorable to rehabilitation

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Sundt & Cullen (2002)	232 prison chaplains (national sample)	Correctional orientation (rehabilitative vs. custody/punishment)	Sex Race Education Religious affiliation Age Hellfire orientation Religious forgiveness Sense of calling to chaplaincy Fundamentalism Work in maximum security prison Work in women's prison Work in juvenile facility Work in federal prison Years experience as chaplain Employed by prison Job satisfaction Role conflict Role ambiguity Perception of dangerousness Social context (Region)	Chaplains held complex views about the purpose of prisons Most said main purpose of incarceration was incapacitation, but rehabilitation was also strongly supported and custodial orientation was largely rejected Significant predictors of chaplains' support for rehabilitative orientation include having a hellfire orientation, being catholic, and working in a prison for juveniles Significant predictors of chaplains' support for custody orientation include age, perception of dangerousness, security level, work in male prison, hellfire orientation, belief in religious forgiveness, call to chaplaincy

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Leiber, Schwarze, Mack, & Farnworth (2002)	253 juvenile justice personnel in IA	Punitiveness	Role in juvenile justice (Probation, CO, teacher) Functional role Education level Specialization in SS Gender Age Biblical literalness Religiosity Attribution of blame (family, individual, society)	Probation officers were less likely than correctional officers and teachers who worked in correctional facilities to indicate a punitive orientation Increases in education reduced adherence to punishment orientation Bivariate correlations (significant findings) Specialization in social science, biblical literalness, and blame individual or family
Shearer (2002)	158 juvenile and adult probation trainees in a Midwestern state	Probation officer work strategies: Casework, resource brokerage, law enforcement)	Work assignment (Juvenile or adult) Age Gender Education	There was a significant difference between juvenile trainee and adult trainee samples on law enforcement scale; Juvenile probation officer trainees scored significantly lower In the total group of trainees, age was significantly negatively correlated with law enforcement
Devaney (2005)	691 probation officers from nine agencies from local, state, and federal jurisdictions	Officer orientation: control or assistance	Gender Race Time in the job Religiosity Political ideology Organizational climate	Female officers, minority officers, less religious officers and officers with a liberal ideology were found to have higher assistance scores

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Blevins, Cullen, & Sundt (2007)	195 juvenile correctional officers in Ohio	Support for rehabilitation Support for punishment	Importation Variables: Age Years of formal education Race Gender Political ideology Prisonization Variables: Experience in juvenile corrections Perceptions of dangerousness Role conflict Supervisory support Job title	Respondents appear to support both custody and rehabilitation Individual characteristics were more important in predicting support for custody than work-related variables
Lopez & Russell (2008)	100 juvenile probation officers in a southwestern state	Rehabilitation orientation	Gender Education level Age Race Type of probation work Employment length Cultural competency Perceptions of social support	Importation variables were not predictive of rehabilitation orientation Work /role model and the perception variable sets predicted rehabilitation orientation Type of work (diversion), social support and cultural competency were positively associated with rehabilitation orientation
Tewksbury & Mustaine (2008)	554 corrections employees in KY	Rehabilitation Retribution Incapacitation Specific deterrence General deterrence	Gender Education Experience Race Age entered corrections Position (Administration, Programs, Support)	All five ideologies are perceived as somewhat important, with rehabilitation receiving the strongest support

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Lambert & Hogan (2009)	160 employees at Midwestern private correctional institution	Support for treatment	Gender Age Tenure Position Education level Race Perceived dangerousness Role stress Supervision Job variety Work-on-family conflict Family-on-work conflict Integration Instrument communication Input into decision-making Organizational commitment	Job variety, integration, and organizational commitment had positive associations with support for treatment of inmates, while work-on-family conflict had an inverse relationship Correctional officers were less supportive of treatment than noncustodial staff
Lambert et al. (2009)	272 staff members at high security prison	Support for rehabilitation Support for punishment	Job stress Job involvement Job satisfaction Organizational commitment Gender Age Position Tenure Education Race	Job involvement, organizational commitment, age, and education positively influenced correctional staff support for rehabilitation policies Custodial position positively influenced correctional staff support for punishment policies while education had the inverse effect.

Table A.1: Studies Examining the Professional Orientation of Criminal and Juvenile Justice Personnel

Author(s)/Year	Sample Description	Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Findings
Lambert et al. (2010)	160 correctional employees at private Midwestern max-security prison	Support for rehabilitation Support for punishment	Emotional exhaustion Depersonalization Burnout ineffectiveness Position Supervisory status Gender Educational level Race Age Tenure Years in criminal justice	Depersonalization is positively related to support for punishment and negatively related to support for treatment Ineffectiveness leads to a lower support for treatment whereas emotional exhaustion leads to a higher support for treatment
Ward & Kupchik (2010)	494 juvenile court probation officers in 4 states	Treatment index Punishment index	Nonurban County juvenile arrest rate Program sufficiency Age Race Female Children Job tenure Moral character Victims' rights Offense severity	Treatment and punishment ideologies appear to be flexible, overlapping goals that appeal to officers according to their congruence with other personal convictions
Antonio & Young (2011)	799 prison staff employees in PA	Apathy fore inmate rehabilitation Treatment orientation	Tenure Age Sex Race Education Job category Prison location Sex of inmates housed Security level Prison size	Respondent characteristics including tenure and job category were stronger predictors of staff apathy and a treatment orientation perspective than were environment factors associated with the prisons

APPENDIX B – PRE-NOTICE E-MAIL BY AGENCY, E-MAILS TO
SAMPLE AND SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES

March 26th, 2014

Dear County Directors (please ensure those who supervise a caseload receive this message):

Our agency has been assisting Ms. Riane Miller and Dr. Brandon Applegate from the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of South Carolina with a research study that examines and compares the orientation of juvenile probation and parole officers to adult officers. The study supports DJJ's' mission and the information could be valuable for recruiting and selecting case workers.

You may recall receiving a link from Ms. Miller by email last week which directed you to the online survey. If you need it again, please email Ms. Miller at millern@email.sc.edu. You were selected to participate because you were identified as currently having a caseload of clients. Your answers are confidential and private. DJJ will not have access to your response. The information DJJ will receive at the conclusion of the study will be in aggregate form (e.g., 20% agreed with the statement).

Your responses will have no effect on your employment status with DJJ. We are requesting that you complete and submit your survey by Friday April 25, 2014. We are hoping for a 100% response rate!

Thank you for your assistance in this survey.

Lesa

March 21st, 2014

Good afternoon,

Our agency will be assisting Ms. Riane Miller and Dr. Brandon Applegate from the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of South Carolina with a research study that examines and compares the orientation of juvenile probation officers to adult probation officers. The study supports SCDPPPS' mission and the information could be valuable for recruiting and selecting agents.

You will be receiving a link from Ms. Miller on Tuesday March 25, 2014 which will direct you to the online survey. You were selected to participate because you were identified as currently having a caseload. Your answers are confidential and private. SCDPPPS will not have access to your response. The information SCDPPPS will receive at the conclusion of the study will be in aggregate form (e.g., 20% agreed with the statement).

Your responses will have no effect on your employment status with SCDPPPS. We are requesting that you completed and submit your survey by **Friday April 25, 2014**. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact either me via phone or e-mail. We are hoping for a 100% response rate!

I hope you have a great weekend!

-Saskia

March 20th, 2014

Dear Mr./Ms. [LastName],

We are writing to request your participation in a research study that we are currently conducting at the University of South Carolina. This study has been reviewed and approved by administrators at the Department of Juvenile Justice.

We are asking case managers at DJJ to complete a brief survey about their experiences and opinions on supervising clients. If you are not currently supervising an active caseload, please take a moment to reply to this email and let us know. Otherwise, we would greatly appreciate it if you would click on the link below and take a few minutes to share your views.

Click here to begin survey: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx>

Sincerely,

Riane Miller Bolin
University of South Carolina

March 25th, 2014

Dear Mr./Ms. [LastName],

We are writing to request your participation in a research study that we are currently conducting at the University of South Carolina. This study has been reviewed and approved by administrators at the Department of Probation, Parole and Pardon Services.

We are asking probation and parole agents at PPP to complete a brief survey about their experiences and opinions on supervising clients. If you are not currently supervising an active caseload, please take a moment to reply to this email and let us know. Otherwise, we would greatly appreciate it if you would click on the link below and take a few minutes to share your views.

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx>

Sincerely,

Riane Miller Bolin
University of South Carolina

March 31st, 2014

Dear Mr./Ms. [LastName],

Last week, we sent you an email about a study being conducted by the University of South Carolina regarding your experiences and opinions on supervising probation and parole clients. Your participation and responses are very important to us.

To the best of our knowledge, your questionnaire has not yet been completed. If you have already logged onto the website and completed the survey please accept our sincere gratitude. If not, please do so today. Please click on the link below to begin the survey.

As we are sure you know, your response is very important to the success of this research project. Participating in the study is voluntary and all of your responses will be kept confidential. We would greatly appreciate it if you would take a few minutes to respond.

CLICK HERE TO BEGIN SURVEY: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/asp>

Sincerely,

Riane Miller Bolin
University of South Carolina

April 8th, 2014

Dear Mr./Ms. [LastName],

Last week, we sent you an email about a study being conducted by the University of South Carolina regarding your experiences and opinions on supervising probation and parole clients. Your participation and responses are very important to us.

To the best of our knowledge, your questionnaire has not yet been completed. If you have already logged onto the website and completed the survey please accept our sincere gratitude. If not, please do so today. Please click on the link below to begin the survey.

Click here to begin survey: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx>

As we are sure you know, your response is very important to the success of this research project. Participating in the study is voluntary and all of your responses will be kept confidential. We would greatly appreciate it if you would take a few minutes to respond.

Sincerely,
Riane Miller Bolin
University of South Carolina

April 14th, 2014

Dear Mr./Ms. [LastName],

During the last couple weeks we sent you two e-mails about a survey we are conducting at the University of South Carolina. Many case managers have filled out and submitted their surveys, but, to the best of our knowledge, as of today we have not had any response from you.

In order for this study to provide accurate information, we need to hear from all types of case managers involved in probation and parole supervision, including you, if you are willing to complete the questionnaire.

Our study is drawing to a close. We are contacting you one final time in case our earlier communications did not reach you. Please click on the link below to fill out and submit the survey as soon as possible. The due date to submit your survey responses is **Wednesday, April 30th**. Everything you tell us will be kept completely confidential; only the compiled results will be reported.

We appreciate your willingness to consider our request to be a part of this study. Your help will be greatly appreciated.

Click here to begin the survey: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx>

Sincerely,

Riane Miller Bolin
University of South Carolina

P.S. If you would prefer to receive a hard copy of the questionnaire, please send me your postal mailing address at millern@email.sc.edu, and I will send one to you right away.

April 21st, 2014

Dear Mr./Ms. [LastName],

During the last couple weeks we sent you two e-mails about a survey we are conducting at the University of South Carolina. Many agents have filled out and submitted their surveys, but, to the best of our knowledge, as of today we have not had any response from you.

In order for this study to provide accurate information, we need to hear from all types of agents involved in probation and parole supervision, including you, if you are willing to complete the questionnaire.

Our study is drawing to a close. We are contacting you one final time in case our earlier communications did not reach you. Please click on the link below to fill out and submit the survey as soon as possible. The due date to submit your survey responses is **Wednesday, April 30th**. Everything you tell us will be kept completely confidential; only the compiled results will be reported.

We appreciate your willingness to consider our request to be a part of this study. Your help will be greatly appreciated.

Click here to begin the survey: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx>

Sincerely,
Riane Miller Bolin

P.S. If you would prefer to receive a hard copy of the questionnaire, please send me your postal mailing address at millern@email.sc.edu, and I will send one to you right away.

April 29th, 2014

Good morning everyone!

As you know our agency has been assisting Ms. Riane Miller and Dr. Brandon Applegate from the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of South Carolina with a research study. As of yesterday records show that you have completed the survey. We are requesting that you complete and submit your survey by **Wednesday April 30, 2014**.

Your answers will be confidential and private. SCDPPPS will not have access to your response. The information SCDPPPS will receive at the conclusion of the study will be in aggregate form (e.g., 20% agreed with the statement). *Your responses will have no effect on your employment status with SCDPPPS.*

You should have already received a link from Ms. Miller which will direct you to the online survey. If you no longer have the link to the survey please contact Ms. Miller at millern@email.sc.edu. Additionally if you believe you are receiving this email in error because you have already completed the survey, please contact Ms. Miller to determine where the discrepancy is occurring.

Once again, we are requesting that you complete and submit your survey by **Wednesday April 30, 2014**. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact either me via phone or e-mail. We are hoping for a 100% response rate!

I hope you are having a great week!

-Saskia

South Carolina Probation and Parole Survey

Consent Form

Introduction and Purpose

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by the University of South Carolina. This study is partially supported by a SPARC Graduate Research Fellowship from the Office of the Vice President for Research at the University of South Carolina. The purpose of the study is to examine the professional orientation of juvenile and adult probation officers. This form explains what you will be asked to do if you decide to participate in this study. Please read it carefully and feel free to ask any questions you like before you make a decision about participating.

Description of Study Procedures

This study involves completing a series of questions. On the following pages, we ask you about your impressions of your job and work with correctional clients. We anticipate that completing this survey will take 15 to 20 minutes of your time.

Risks of Participation

There are no known risks associated with participating in this research except a slight risk of breach of confidentiality, which remains despite steps that will be taken to protect your privacy.

Benefits of Participation

Taking part in this study is not likely to benefit you personally. However, this research will help us to better understand the professional orientation of probation officers. The insights provided can inform effective supervision policies.

Costs

There will be no costs to you for participating in this study.

Confidentiality of Records

Participation is completely confidential. A code number has been assigned to each participant. This number will be used on project records rather than your name, and no one other than the researchers will be able to link your information with your identity. Study records/data will be stored in locked file cabinets and protected computer files at the University of South Carolina. The results of the study may be published or presented at professional meetings, but individual answers or identities will not be revealed.

Contact Persons

For more information concerning this research, or if you believe you may have suffered a research related injury, you should contact Riane Bolin at (803)777-3075 or email millern@email.sc.edu or Dr. Brandon Applegate at (803) 777-7065 or email applegate@sc.edu.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact: Thomas Coggins, Director, Office of Research Compliance, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208, Phone - (803) 777-7095, Fax - (803) 576-5589, E-Mail - tcoggins@mailbox.sc.edu.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free not to participate or to withdraw at any time, for whatever reason, without negative consequences. In the event that you do withdraw from this study, the information you have already provided will be kept fully confidential.

Consent

I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study, and I understand that I may withdraw at any time without negative consequences.

SECTION I: We would like to begin by asking you some general questions about your job as a probation/parole agent. All answers are confidential and will not be shared with your supervisor or with any other personnel at the Department of Probation, Parole, and Pardon Services.

1. Do you currently have a caseload of clients that you supervise?

- Yes
- No

2. In which county of South Carolina do you currently work?

3. How many of the clients on your current caseload are on intensive supervision?

4. How many of the clients on your current caseload are on regular supervision?

5. In what year did you first start work as a probation/parole agent?

6. On average, how many hours do you spend each week in face-to-face contact with clients?

7. On average, how many clients do you have on your caseload at any given time?

8. The next set of questions deals with some potential conflicts you may experience as a probation/parole agent. Please indicate how much you personally agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The rules that we are supposed to follow never seem to be very clear	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When a problem comes up, the people I work with seldom agree on how hit should be handled	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I often receive an assignment without the resources to complete it	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I often have to violate a rule or policy in order to carry out supervision duties	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There are so many people telling us what to do here that you never can be sure of who is the real boss	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I often receive conflicting requests	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Probation/parole agents know what their fellow agents are doing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The rules and regulations are clear enough here that I know specifically what I can and cannot do on my job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Those who are in charge do not really understand what the average agent has to face each day	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I try to meet the expectations of my agency at all times	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

SECTION II: Now, we would like to ask you about your thoughts regarding your role as a probation/parole agent. For each statement below, you can mark either end of the continuum or somewhere in between.

9. As an agent, your primary obligation is to

Rehabilitate clients	←	===	→	Enforce supervisory conditions
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

10. Violations of supervision conditions should be dealt with

Formally	←	===	→	Informally
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

11. Case supervision should be designed to focus on

Client's best interest	←	===	→	Handing out deserved punishment
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

12. The most important criteria to consider when developing a case plan is

Offense related criteria	←	===	→	Client related criteria
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

13. As an agent, it is your duty to make sure clients

Receive treatment	←	===	→	Pay for their crimes
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

14. Which best describes your role as an agent

Police officer	←	===	→	Social worker
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

15. The most effective way to handle clients is to

Treat everyone the same under a single set of rules	←	===	→	Handing out deserved punishment
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

16. Your most appropriate role with clients is as

Advocate	←	===	→	Supervisor
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. The most essential part of an agent's job is

Counseling	←	===	→	Enforcing
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

18. Your primary function as an agent is

Enforcement	←	===	→	Intervention
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

19. Terms of probation/parole should be developed around the

Client	←	===	→	Offense
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

20. The most important aspect of your job is

Intervention	←	===	→	Surveillance
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

21. The primary goal of probation/parole is

Rehabilitation	←	===	→	Punishment
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

22. Your function as an agent most closely approximates

Law enforcement	←	===	→	Social work
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

23. As an agent, your decision making is largely based on

Personal discretion	←	===	→	Agency rules
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

24. The most important aspect of your job is

Monitoring client compliance	←	===	→	Counseling clients
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

25. The most effective way to change behavior is through

Positive reinforcement	←	===	→	Punitive sanctions
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

26. The most appropriate way to handle a situation in which a client violates his/her probation/parole is to

Use your discretion	←	===	→	Follow agency rules
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

27. When a client violates his/her probation/parole, the best way to handle the situation is to

Handle it formally	←	===	→	Report a technical violation
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

28. As an agent, you evaluate clients based on

Client related criteria	←	===	→	Offense related criteria
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Section III: Next, we would like to ask you about your supervision duties as a probation/parole agent. Please indicate how often you personally believe the following tasks should be performed.

29. How often should an agent...

	Always	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Make unannounced home visits	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tests their clients for alcohol/drugs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Perform record checks	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Make checks on who their clients have been hanging out with	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Make unannounced work/school visits	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Conduct searches	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Praise clients for good behavior	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reward clients for completing supervision goals	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

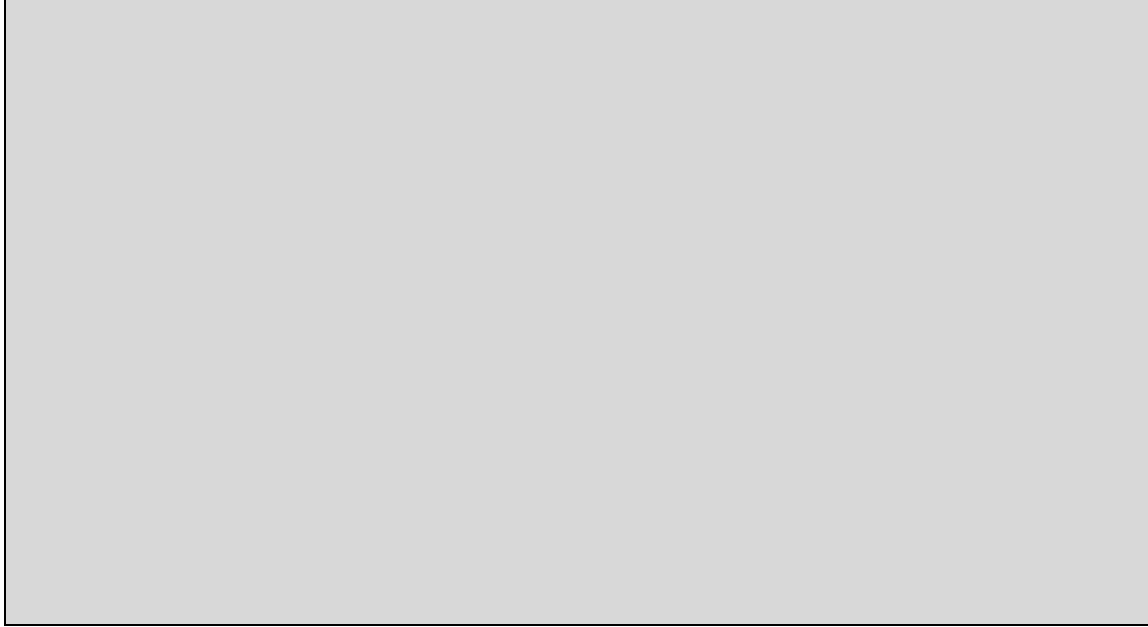
30. How many written sanctions did you issue last month?

31. How many revocation hearings did you pursue last month?

32. Managing clients' compliance can take different forms. On the scale below, please show how important is it in your work that your clients...

	Extremely important			Moderately important				Not at all important		
	<=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=>
Know about the punishment that will follow if they don't do what you want	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Recognize your authority as a probation/parole agent to tell them what to do	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Believe you know more than they do	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Respect you for being fair	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Think about the good things they will miss out on by disobeying you	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Know there are consequences for failing to follow your directions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Believe you have the right to tell them what to do	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Think you know a lot about doing your job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Understand that you know things about them personally	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Know there are good rewards you can give out when clients do what you want	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Know you can penalize those who do not cooperate	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Know you have the authority, considering your position, to expect your requests will be obeyed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Accept you have the competence and good judgment about things to know what is best	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Because of the way you get along with clients, they want to do what will get your respect and admiration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Understand you can give special help and benefits to those who cooperate with you	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

33. Thinking back to the last time you had to get a client to do something he or she did not want to do, how did you get them to do it?



SECTION IV: Finally, we would like to ask you a few questions about yourself. We will use this information only to compare your answers with others. They will not be used to identify you.

34. In what year were you born?

35. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

36. What race do you consider yourself?

- White
- Black
- Hispanic
- Asian
- Native American
- Pacific Islander
- Other (Please specify)

37. What is your highest level of education that you have completed?

- Less than college
- Graduated with a 2-year college degree
- Graduated with a 4-year college degree
- Attended graduate school but did not graduate
- Completed a graduate degree

38. What was your major in college?

39. Please indicate how much you personally agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I felt adequately prepared by my education when I began my job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I frequently think about quitting my current job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I keep up with the academic literature on “what works” in probation and parole	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I utilize evidence-based practices when they are available to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Regularly evaluating the effectiveness of probation and parole practices and programs is important	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

END OF SURVEY

Thank you for your participation in this study!

APPENDIX C – BIVARIATE ANALYSES

Table C.1 Relationship between System and Professional Orientation

	Treatment vs. Punishment		Welfare vs. Just Deserts		Welfare vs. Control		Discretion vs. Rules		Informal vs. Formal		Offender vs. Offense	
	Mean (SD)	F-value	Mean (SD)	F-Value	Mean (SD)	F-Value	Mean (SD)	F-value	Mean (SD)	F-value	Mean (SD)	F-value
Juvenile	2.11 (.72)	17.09 ^{***}	1.75 (.72)	42.59 ^{***}	2.38 (.59)	50.32 ^{***}	3.73 (.81)	.01	3.80 (.87)	.56	2.46 (.82)	11.63 ^{***}
Adult	2.46 (.71)		2.34 (.80)		2.86 (.63)		3.74 (.82)		3.73 (.73)		2.76 (.71)	

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

Table C.2 Bivariate Correlations for Professional Orientation

	Treatment vs. Punishment	Welfare vs. Just Deserts	Welfare vs. Control	Discretion vs. Rule	Informal vs. Formal	Offender vs. Offense
System	.22***	.34***	.36***	.00	-.04	.19***
Age	.01	.05	.02	.16**	-.10	.07
Male	.13*	.14*	.22***	-.07	.01	.15**
White	.25***	.32***	.26***	-.02	-.07	-.04
Education	-.12*	-.15**	-.15**	-.01	-.02	-.11
Job tenure	.18***	.14*	.09	.11*	-.10	.06
Client contact	.05	.11	.14**	-.00	-.03	.04
Role conflict	-.08	-.16**	-.01	.10	.03	.00
IPS	.06	.11*	.15**	.02	-.06	.00
Urban context	.09	-.2	.05	-.01	-.01	-.00

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

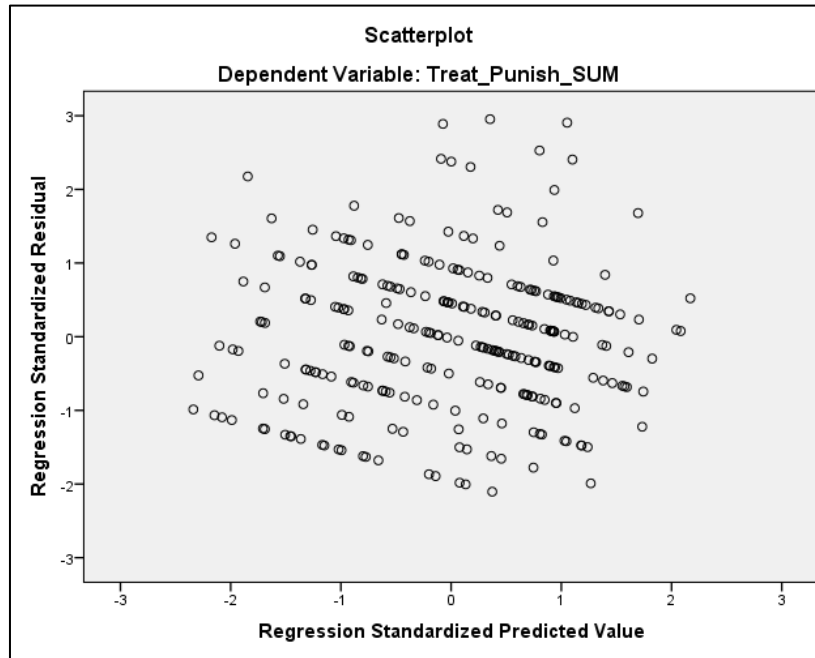
Table C.3 Bivariate Correlations for Officer Behavior

	Enforcement	Reward	Sanction Rate	Revocation Rate
Professional Orientation				
Treatment vs. Punishment	.08	-.22***	-.03	.07
Welfare vs. Just Deserts	.07	-.16**	-.05	.11
Welfare vs. Control	.20	-.17**	.03	.13*
Discretion vs. Rules	-.04	-.04	-.01	-.09
Informal vs. Formal	.17**	-.02	.12*	.01
Offender vs. Offense	.06	-.19***	-.14*	.02
Control Variables				
System (0=, Juvenile, 1=Adult)	.15**	.00	-.04	-.22
Age	-.09	.01	.00	-.00
Male	.04	-.10	.05	.07
White	.04	-.04	.04	.06
Education	-.12*	.02	-.03	-.04
Job Tenure	-.07	-.10	.07	.05
Client Contact	.14*	.01	.02	-.04
Role Conflict	-.01	-.05	.01	-.03
IPS	.12*	-.09	.04	.05
Urban	-.01	.08	-.02	-.04

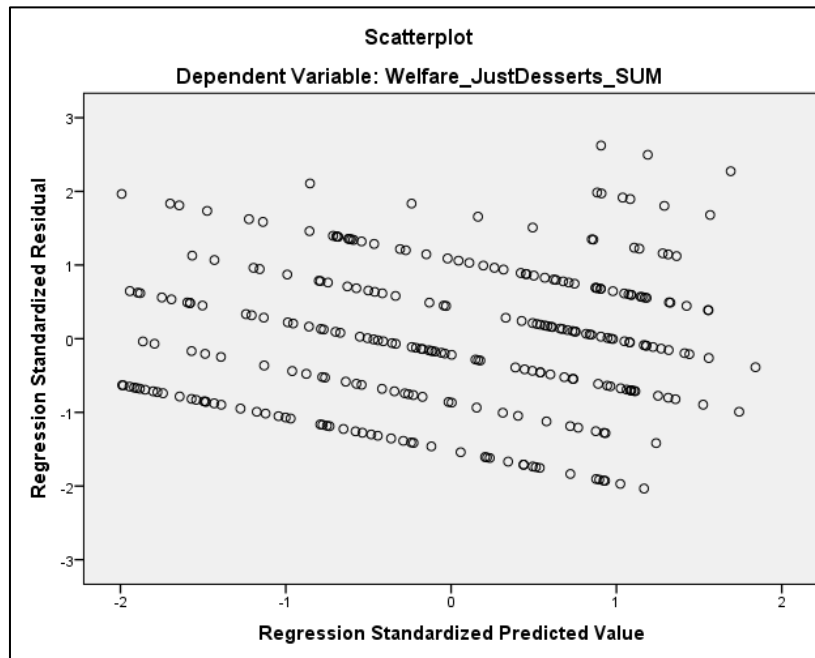
***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

APPENDIX D –OLS ASSUMPTIONS DIAGNOSTICS FOR
PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATION OUTCOME MODELS

Distribution of Residuals and Predicted Values



**Figure D.1 Scatterplot for Treatment vs. Punishment
Dependent Variable**



**Figure D.2 Scatterplot for Welfare vs. Just Deserts
Dependent Variable**

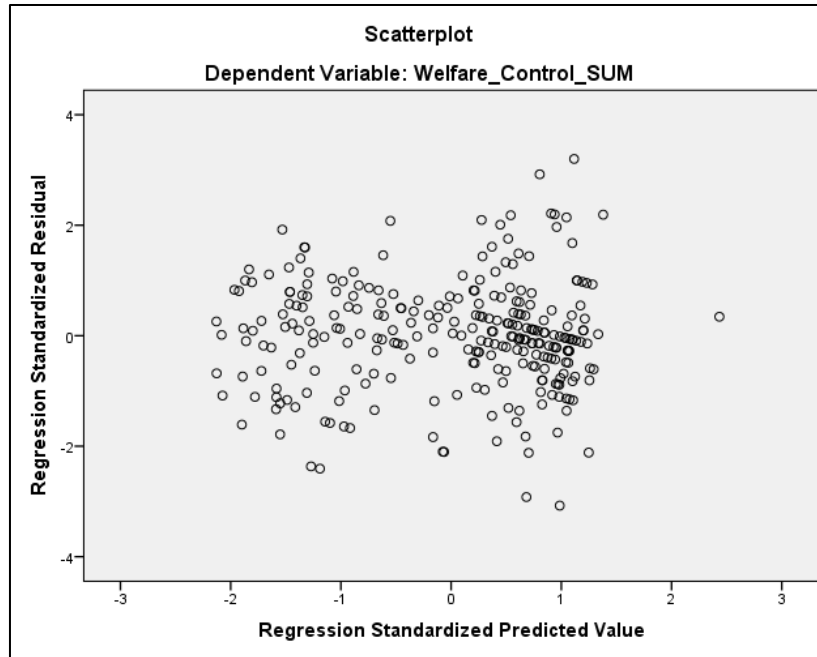


Figure D.3 Scatterplot for Welfare vs. Control Dependent Variable

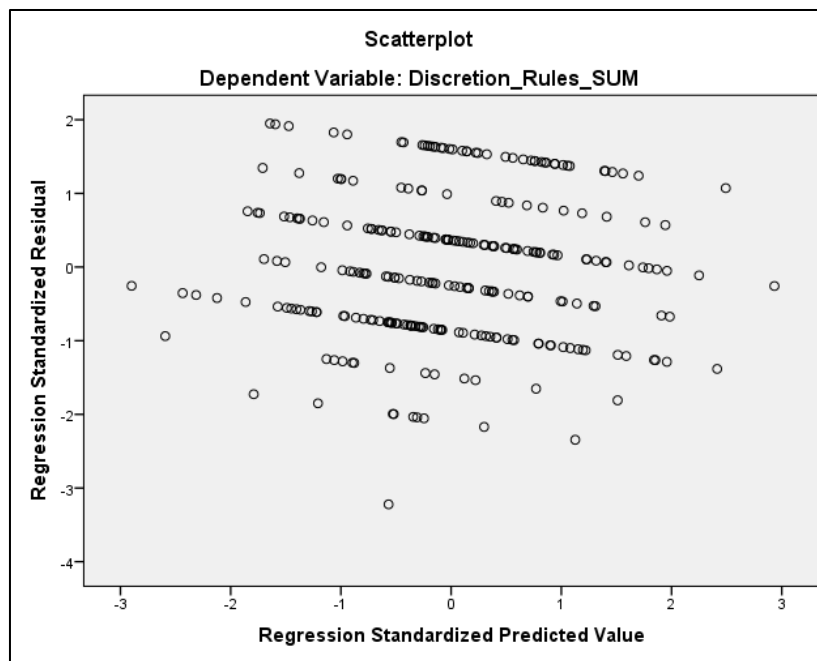


Figure D.4 Scatterplot for Discretion vs. Rules Dependent Variable

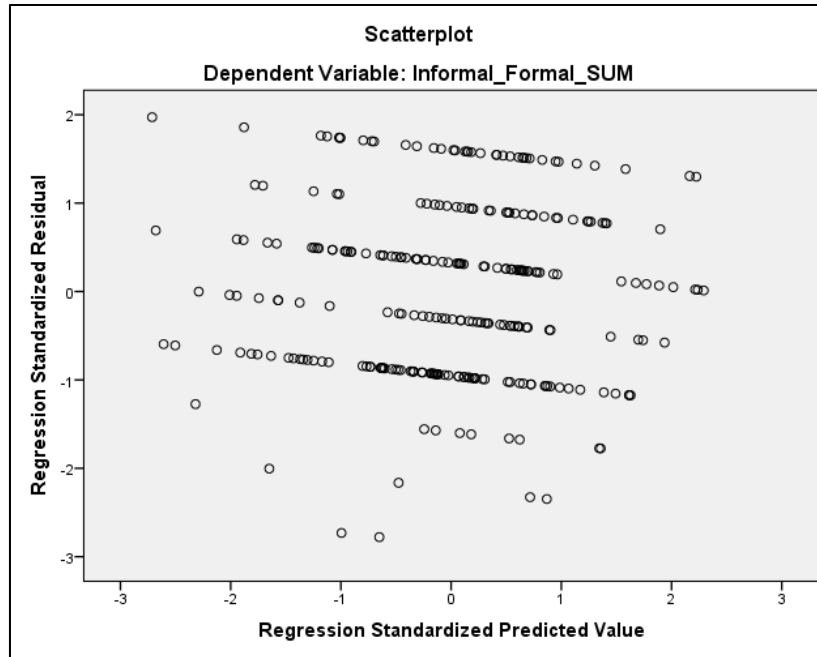


Figure D.5 Scatterplot for Informal vs. Formal Dependent Variable

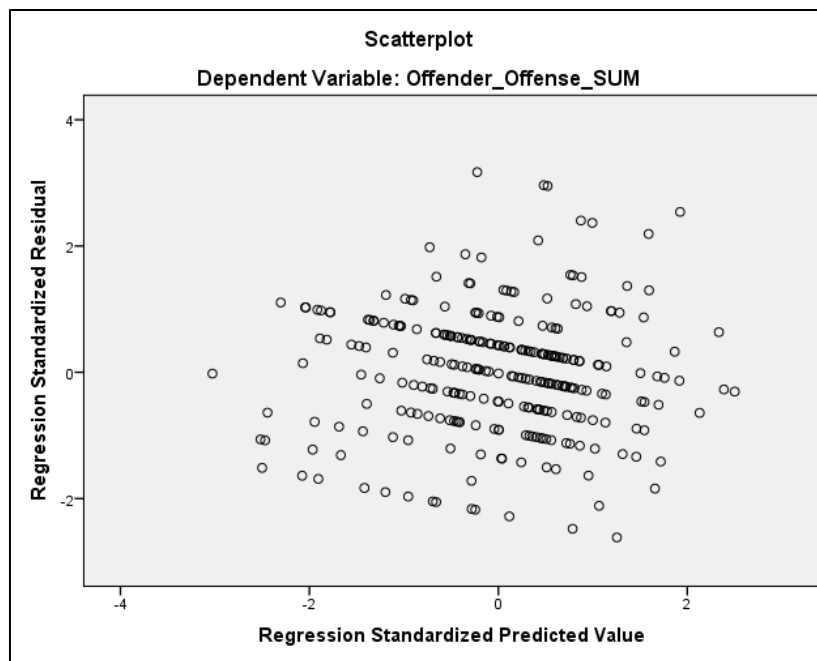
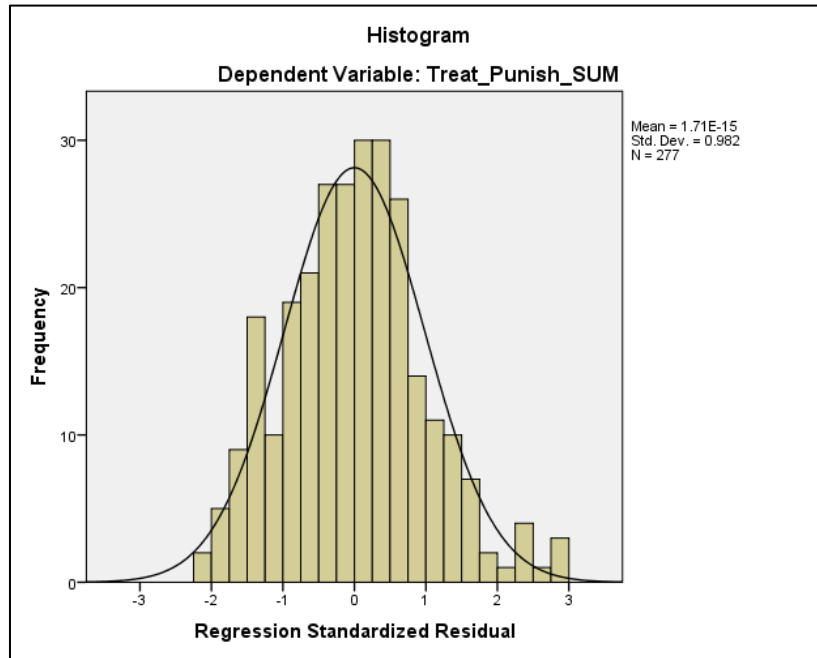
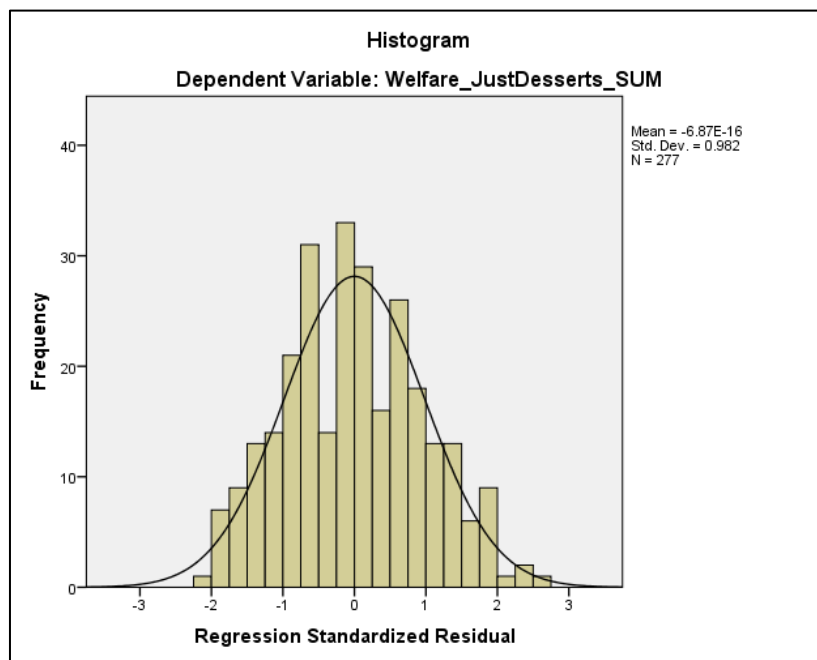


Figure D.6 Scatterplot for Offender vs. Offense Dependent Variable

Distribution of Residuals



**Figure D.7 Histogram for Treatment vs. Punishment
Dependent Variable**



**Figure D.8 Histogram for Welfare vs. Just Deserts
Dependent Variable**

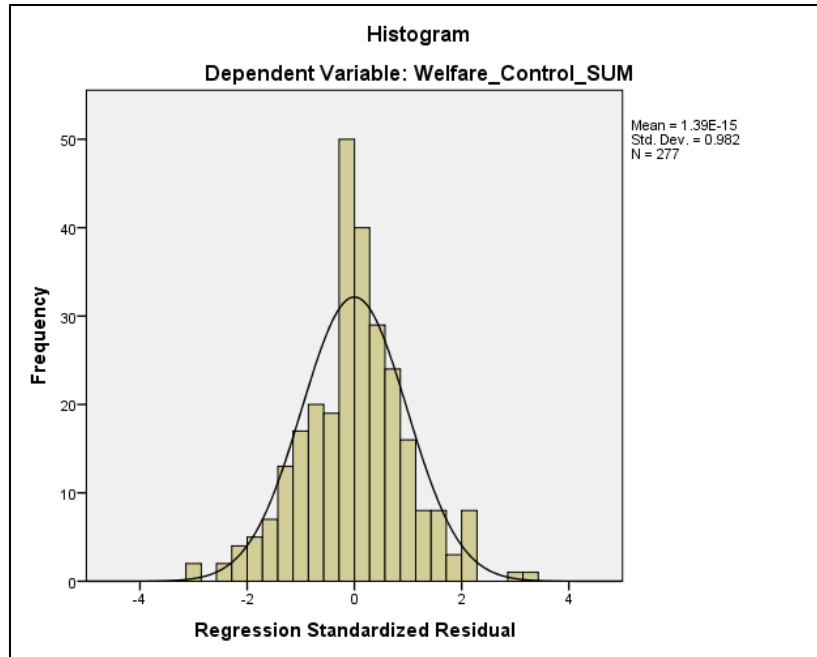


Figure D.9 Histogram for Welfare vs. Control Dependent Variable

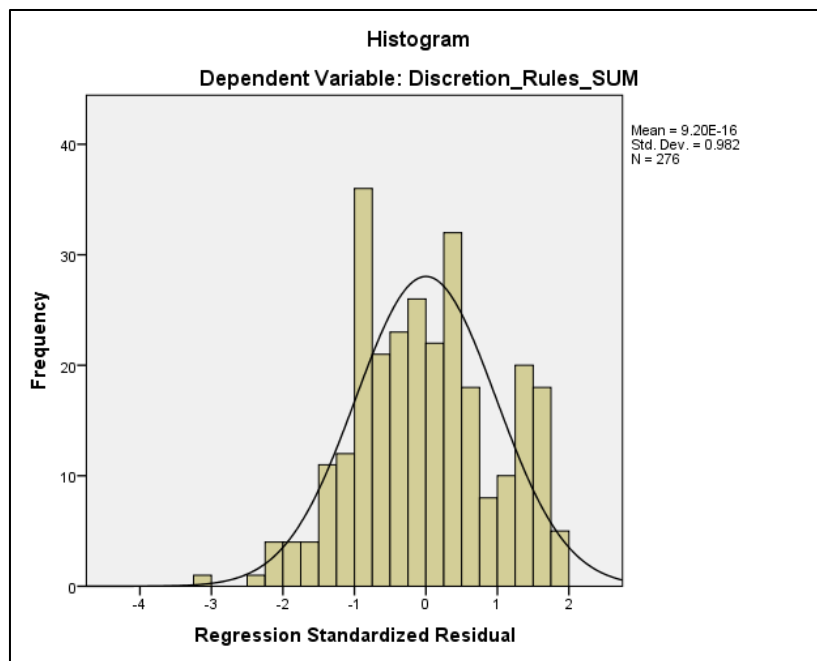


Figure D.10 Histogram for Discretion vs. Rules Dependent Variable

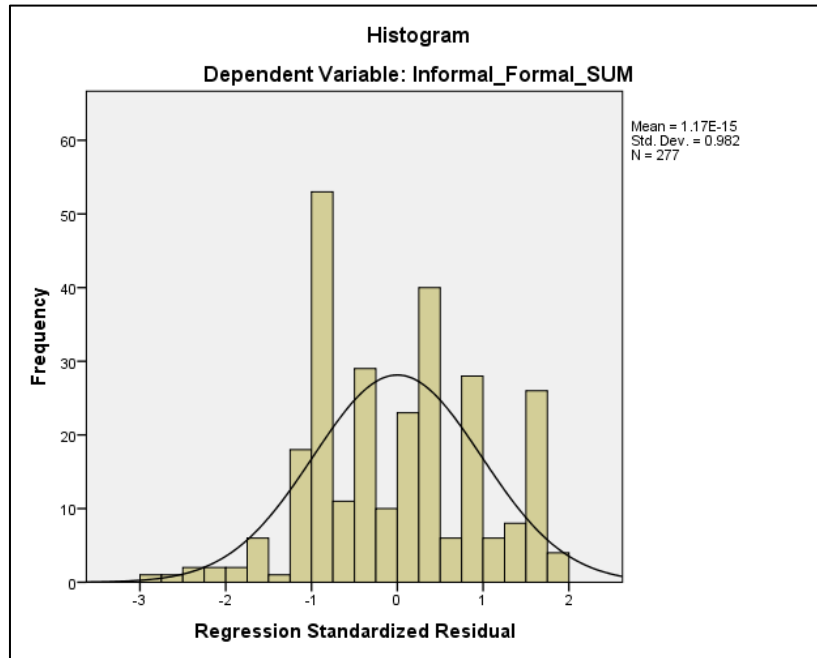


Figure D.11 Histogram for Informal vs. Formal Dependent Variable

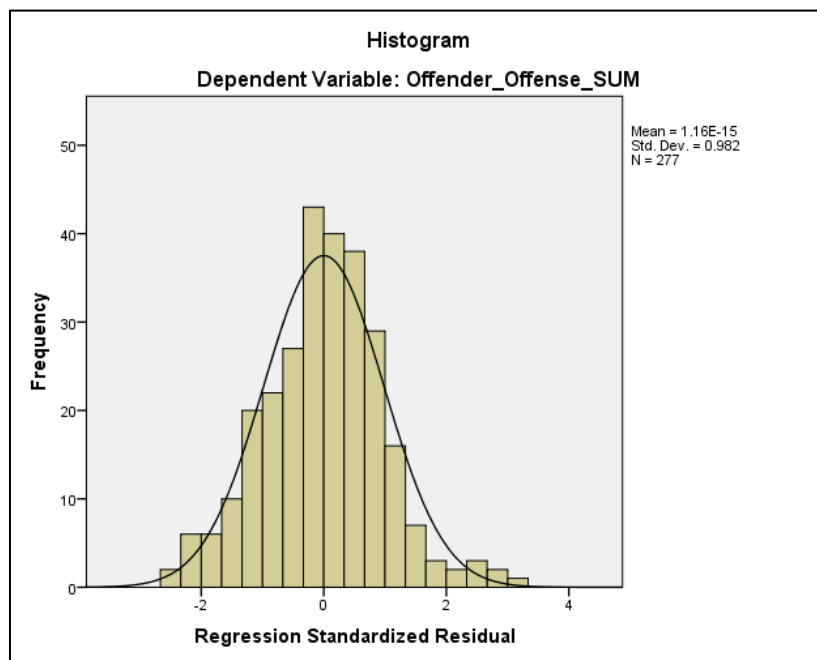


Figure D.12 Histogram for Offender vs. Offense Dependent Variable

Collinearity Diagnostics

Table D.1. Collinearity Diagnostics for Professional Orientation Dependent Variables

Variable	Treatment vs. Punishment		Welfare vs. Just Deserts		Welfare vs. Control	
	Tolerance value	VIF	Tolerance value	VIF	Tolerance value	VIF
System	.78	1.29	.78	1.29	.78	1.29
Age	.52	1.93	.52	1.93	.52	1.93
Gender	.93	1.08	.93	1.08	.93	1.08
Race	.77	1.29	.77	1.29	.77	1.29
Education	.82	1.22	.82	1.22	.82	1.22
Job Tenure	.48	2.07	.48	2.07	.48	2.07
Client Contact	.93	1.07	.93	1.07	.93	1.07
Role Conflict	.94	1.07	.94	1.07	.94	1.07
IPS	.90	1.11	.90	1.11	.90	1.11
Urban Context	.95	1.05	.95	1.05	.95	1.05

Table D.1. Collinearity Diagnostics for Professional Orientation Dependent Variables Cont.

Variable	Discretion vs. Rules		Informal vs. Formal		Offender vs. Offense	
	Tolerance value	VIF	Tolerance value	VIF	Tolerance value	VIF
System	.78	1.29	.78	1.29	.78	1.29
Age	.52	1.93	.52	1.93	.52	1.93
Gender	.93	1.07	.93	1.08	.93	1.08
Race	.78	1.29	.77	1.29	.77	1.29
Education	.82	1.22	.82	1.22	.82	1.22
Job Tenure	.49	2.06	.48	2.07	.48	2.07
Client Contact	.93	1.08	.93	1.07	.93	1.07
Role Conflict	.94	1.07	.94	1.07	.94	1.07
IPS	.90	1.11	.90	1.11	.90	1.11
Urban Context	.95	1.05	.95	1.05	.95	1.05

APPENDIX E - OLS ASSUMPTIONS DIAGNOSTICS FOR OFFICER
BEHAVIOR OUTCOME MODELS

Distribution of Residuals and Predicted Values

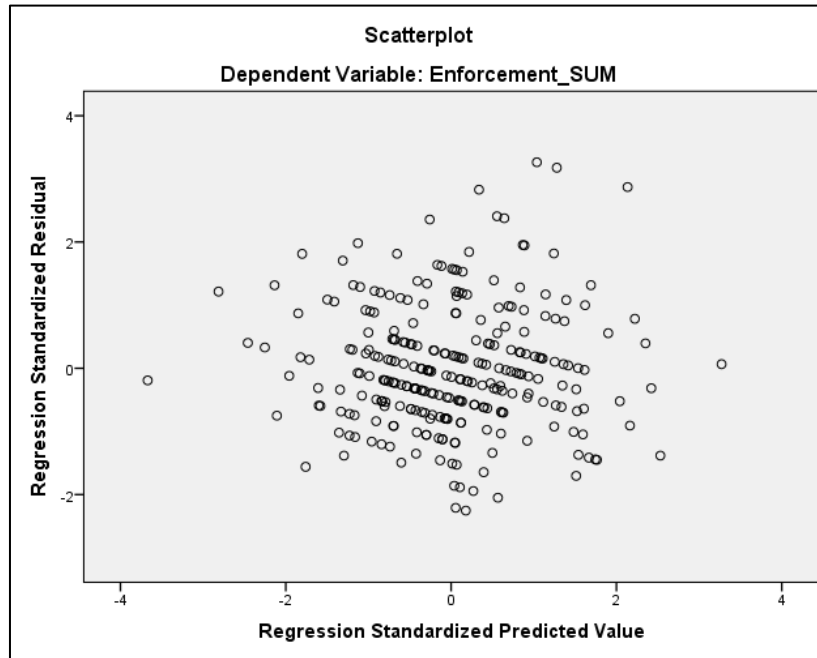


Figure E.1 Scatterplot for Enforcement Dependent Variable

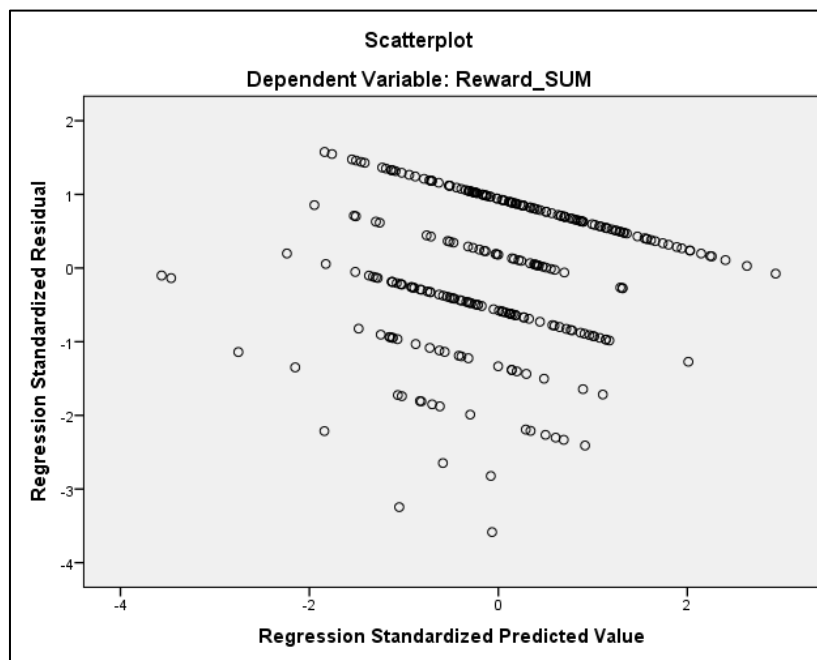


Figure E.2 Scatterplot for Reward Dependent Variable

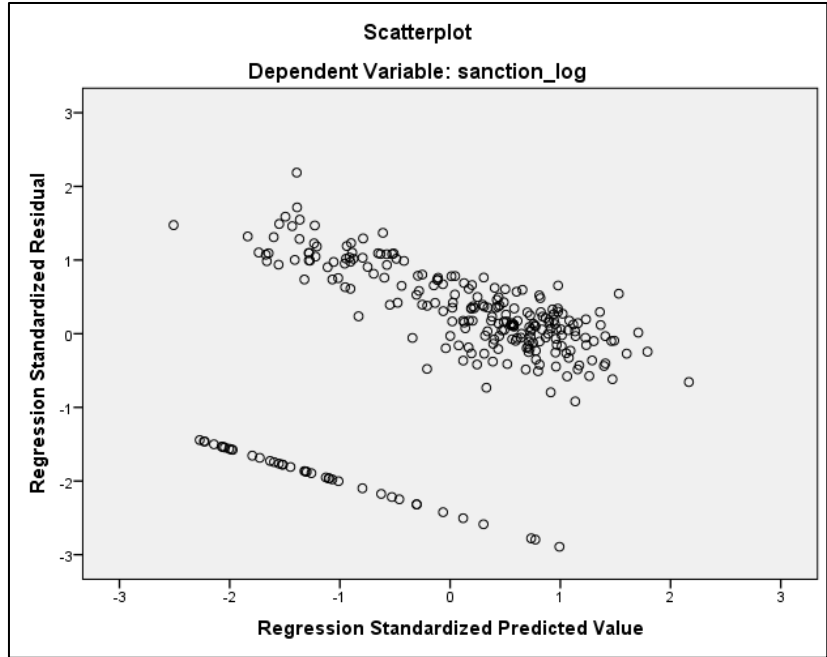


Figure E.3 Scatterplot for Sanction Rate Dependent Variable

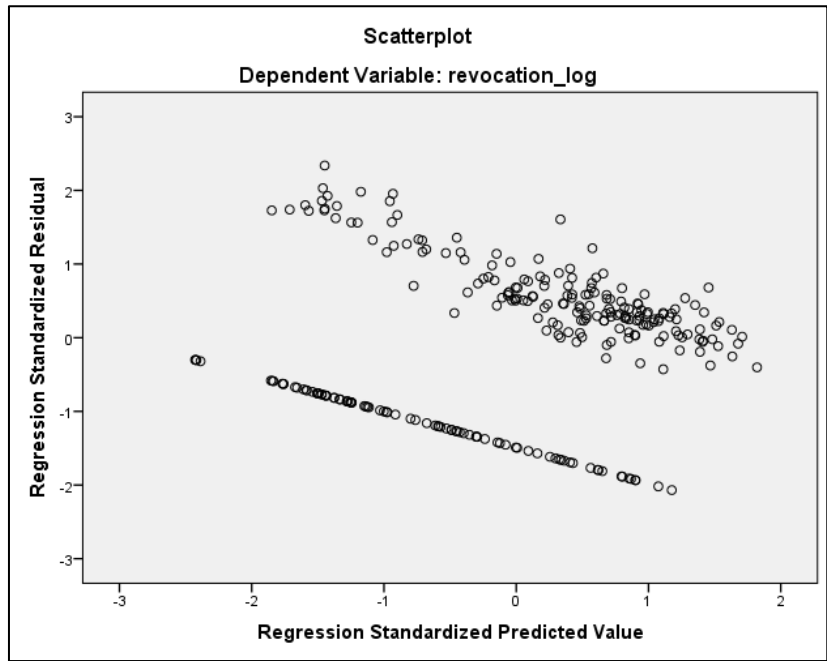


Figure E.4 Scatterplot for Revocation Rate Dependent Variable

Distribution of Residuals

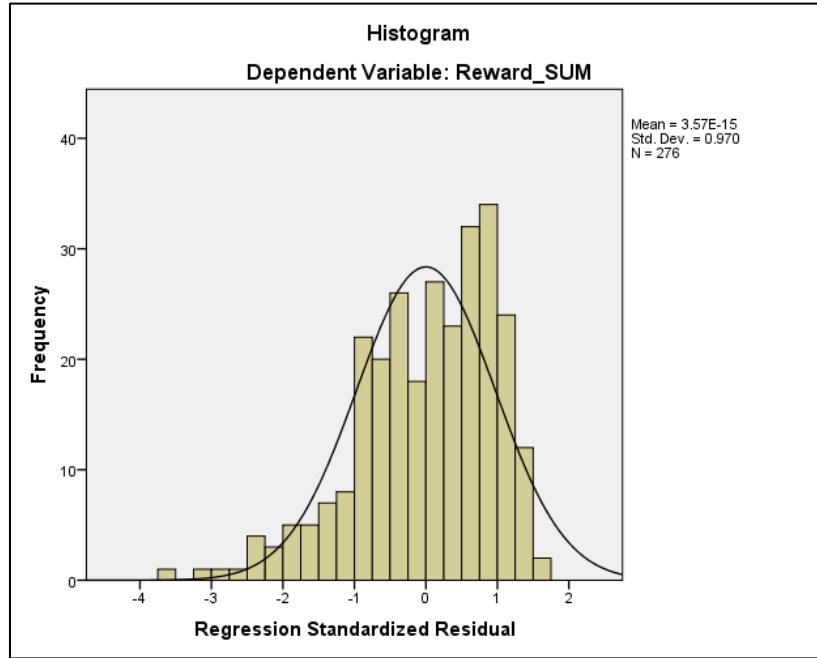


Figure E.5 Histogram for Enforcement Dependent Variable

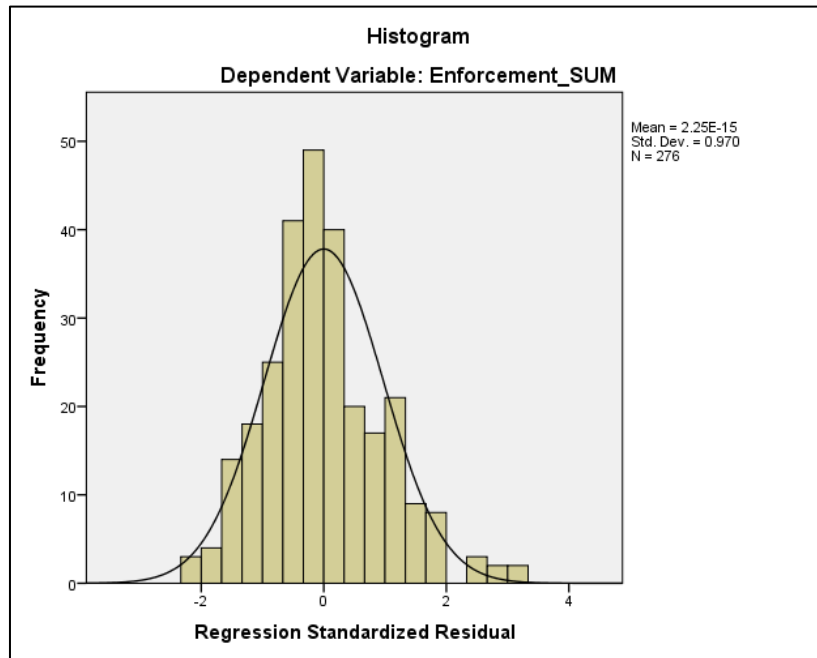


Figure E.6 Histogram for Reward Dependent Variable

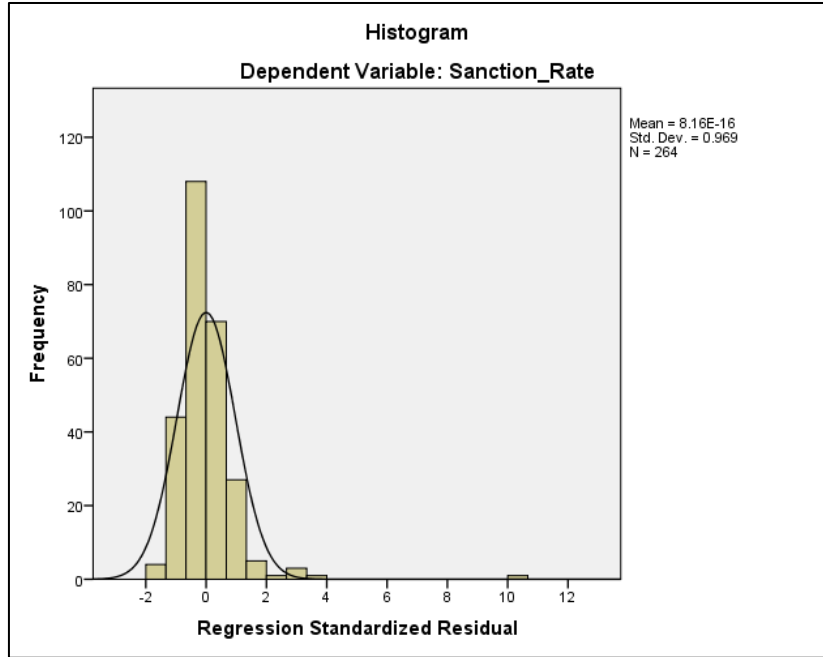


Figure E.7 Histogram for Sanction Rate Dependent Variable

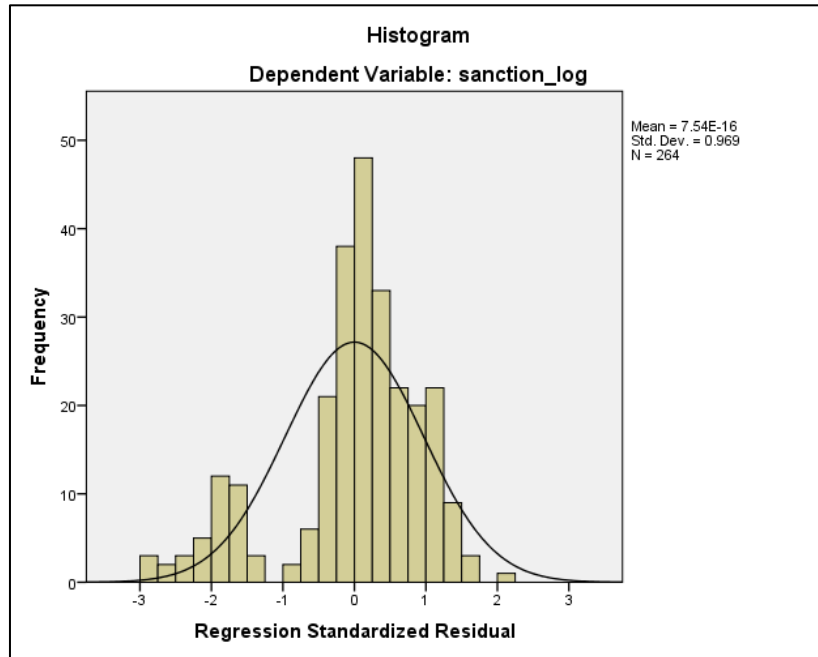


Figure E.8 Histogram for Logged Sanction Rate Dependent Variable

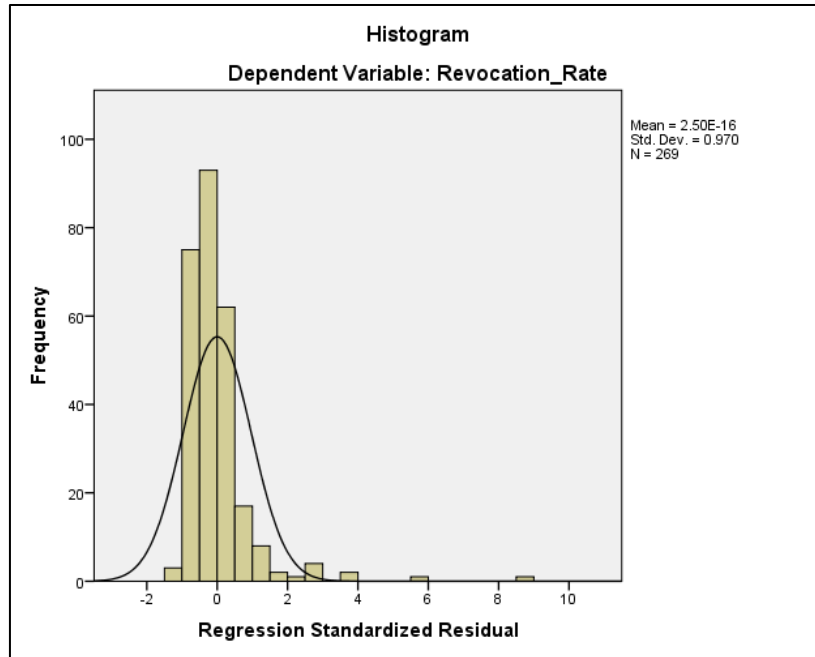


Figure E.9 Histogram for Revocation Rate Dependent Variable

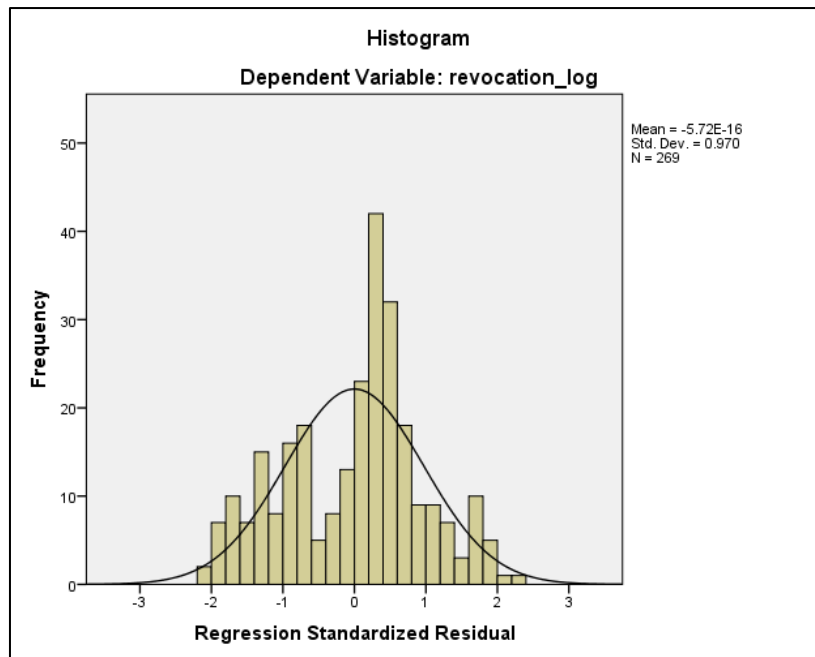


Figure E.10 Histogram for Logged Revocation Rate Dependent Variable

Collinearity Diagnostics

Table E.1 Collinearity Diagnostics for Officer Behavior

Variable	Enforcement		Reward		Sanction Rate		Revocation Rate	
	Tolerance value	VIF	Tolerance value	VIF	Tolerance value	VIF	Tolerance value	VIF
Treatment vs Punishment	.46	2.19	.46	2.19	.45	2.20	.45	2.21
Welfare vs. Just Deserts	.47	2.11	.47	2.10	.47	2.14	.46	2.15
Welfare vs. Control	.53	1.90	.53	1.90	.52	1.91	.52	1.91
Discretion vs. Rules	.87	1.15	.87	1.15	.86	1.16	.87	1.15
Informal vs. Formal	.88	1.14	.88	1.14	.86	1.16	.87	1.15
Offender vs. Offense System	.77	1.29	.77	1.29	.77	1.30	.77	1.31
Age	.70	1.43	.70	1.43	.70	1.43	.70	1.44
Gender	.49	2.02	.49	2.02	.49	2.03	.49	2.03
Race	.90	1.11	.90	1.11	.90	1.11	.90	1.11
Education	.70	1.43	.70	1.43	.69	1.45	.70	1.44
Job Tenure	.80	1.25	.80	1.25	.80	1.25	.80	1.25
Client Contact	.46	2.20	.46	2.20	.46	2.20	.46	2.19
Role Conflict	.92	1.09	.92	1.09	.90	1.11	.90	1.11
IPS	.91	1.10	.91	1.10	.90	1.11	.90	1.11
Urban Context	.88	1.13	.88	1.13	.87	1.15	.87	1.15
	.89	1.12	.89	1.12	.88	1.14	.88	1.14