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Examining the stigma of sex offending in the media, the community, and the prison

By Kristen Lynn Stives

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of
Mississippi State University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology
in the Department of Sociology

Mississippi State, Mississippi

December 2018



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2018



Examining the stigma of sex offending in the media, the community, and the prison

By Kristen Lynn Stives

Approved:

David C. May (Major Professor)

Stacy H. Haynes (Committee Member)

Raymond Barranco (Committee Member)

Kecia Johnson (Committee Member)

Stacy H. Haynes (Graduate Coordinator)

Rick Travis
Dean
College of Arts & Sciences



Name: Kristen Lynn Stives

Date of Degree: December 14, 2018

Institution: Mississippi State University

Major Field: Sociology

Major Professor: David C. May

Title of Study: Examining the stigma of sex offending in the media, the community, and

the prison

Pages in Study: 216

Candidate for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The overarching goal of the current work was to explore sanctions experienced by sex offenders prior to incarceration, during incarceration, and after their release using three separate but interrelated studies. The first study analyzed how the media framed sex offenders, and how this compared to the media's portrayal of murderers. The study used a content analysis of newspaper articles published in 2007, the year after the Adam Walsh Safety and Protection Act was passed, and 2017. Open coding (the identification of categories and concepts) and axial coding (the process of relating categories and concepts) strategies were used. Findings showed that the media relied on specific categories to describe offenders, victims, and offenses, with an emphasis on sensationalized stories.

The second study was an exploratory effort to understand how sex offenders were treated in prison, whether they were subject to greater maltreatment and/or distrust than other inmates, and if certain segments of the inmate population were more accepting of sex offenders than others. The study used labeling theory to guide these efforts, with an emphasis on stigma and stigmatic shaming. The data were from 5 years of letters written



by a convicted sex offender during his incarceration. A content analysis using open coding and axial coding were used. Findings suggested that public perceptions of prison life as dangerous and violent were not consistent with the offender's lived experience.

The last study examined which areas offenders were most likely to reside and characteristics of these communities. The study drew from social disorganization theory and focused on the concept of concentrated disadvantage. The study used ArcGIS, a mapping software program, to demonstrate the areas in which sex offenders reside and the locations in which they were in violation of current housing restrictions. The study found that a proportion of sex offenders in Mississippi were in violation of housing restrictions that prevented them from living close to areas where children were most likely to be present (e.g., parks and schools).



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout my graduate career, I had the pleasure of working with phenomenal faculty members who have acted as advisors, mentors, and role models. I owe much of my success to my advisor, Dr. David May, who got me through my Masters and Doctorate degrees. He devoted countless hours throughout my education at Mississippi State University to improve my scholarly works, despite my often-tardy submissions, while serving as a mentor in life and academia. He deserves far more credit and praise than the space in this document allows.

I am also extremely grateful to my doctoral committee members, Dr. Stacy
Haynes, Dr. Raymond Barranco, and Dr. Kecia Johnson who provided words of
encouragement, advice, and guidance. Through their collective efforts, they have all
enabled me to reach my goals and endowed me with many of the skills I will use in my
future endeavors. I would also like to thank Dr. Shelley Keith who initially sparked my
interest in Criminology. Without being her Teaching Assistant, I would have likely
missed what has become the start of an interesting journey.

Finally yet importantly, I would like to thank my husband, Jeremy Weremeichik. Although I was raised with the mantra, education is the key to future success, it was Jeremy who inspired me to go to graduate school and try for my Ph.D. Without his confidence, support, and occasional scoldings for me to complete my work and stop procrastinating, this would not have been possible. Thank you for all that you do.



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Uniform Crime Report defines sex offenses as "[o]ffenses against chastity, common decency, morals, and the like. Incest, indecent exposure, and statutory rape are included. Attempts are included" (FBI, 2018, para. 20). Sex offenses can refer to a range of offenses (e.g., rape, sexual battery, statutory rape, indecent exposure) that vary according to each state's statutes. The National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) divides sex offenses into six types: rape, statutory rape, sexual assault with an object, sodomy, fondling, and incest (See Table 1 for definitions). In 2013, nearly 70,000 sex offense incidents were reported to NIBRS, and the most frequent offenses were fondling (N=29,211) and rape (N=26,252), which accounted for nearly two-thirds of all sex offenses reported (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015a). Sex offenders refer broadly to individuals convicted of illegal sexual offenses.

[INSERT TABLE 1]

Results from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) suggest that in 2015, nearly 5,000,000 violent victimizations occurred among residents in the United States aged 12 and older (Truman & Morgan, 2016). Between 2014 and 2015, there were no statistically significant increases in violent crime observed in the NCVS, but the rate of rape and sexual assault did marginally increase from 1.1 to 1.6 victimizations per 1,000 people (Truman & Morgan, 2016).



Rape and sexual assault are two of the most commonly underreported crimes. Between 2006 and 2010, an estimated 211,200 rapes and sexual assaults (65 percent of victimizations) went unreported to the police (Langton, Berzofsky, Krebs, & Smiley-McDonald, 2012). Victims often knew their offenders. Nearly one-third (28 percent) of victims who did not report their victimization failed to do so because they feared reprisal or getting the offender in trouble (Langton et al., 2012). Of the incidents reported to NIBRS, a family member committed 16.6 percent of rapes and the victim (e.g., acquaintance, friend, neighbor, employee; U.S. Department of Justice, 2015a) knew an additional 57.6 percent of the offenders.

As reviewed above, a number of data sources exist that indicate the prevalence, incidence, and demographics of those arrested for sex crimes. Nevertheless, what happens to sex offenders after arrest is less well known. The exact number of incarcerated sex offenders in state and federal jurisdictions is difficult to speculate given the limited data on the subject. As of December 31, 2015, 12.5 percent (i.e., 162,270 inmates) of all state prisoners were sentenced for rape or sexual assault (Carson, 2018). An estimated 13.3 percent of male inmates and 2.4 percent of female inmates in state correctional facilities committed both rape and murder (Carson, 2018). However, little is known about the number of sex offenders serving time in federal facilities, the types of sex offenders incarcerated, or the average length of incarceration.

Problem Statement

Despite national attention and legislation that has been devoted to protecting the public from sex offenders, relatively little research has explored how sex offenders have been perceived by the media, the community, and in prison. No research of which I am



aware, examined sex offenders in the state of Mississippi, a state with some of the most stringent sex offender restriction (Norman-Eady, 2007). To mitigate the rate of sex offenses in the United States, there have been a series of laws (e.g., Megan's Law, Jacob's Law) passed between 1994 and 2015. The aim of these laws has been to protect the public from potential harm. The laws also had a direct effect on convicted sex offenders; they limited locations where they could live and work with a goal of preventing interactions between sex offenders and youth. The current research attempted to fill existing gaps in the literature through an exploration of sex offenders in the media, the community, and in prison. Three studies comprised the current research.

The first study analyzed how the media framed sex offenders, and how these framings of sex offenders compared to the labeling of murderers in the media. Murderers were used as the control group in the study primarily because murder and sex offenses have been largely viewed as the most heinous offenses committed by humans. The study used a content analysis of newspaper articles published in 2007 and 2017. The year 2007 was the first full calendar year after the Adam Walsh Safety and Protection Act passed, which mandated states in the United States to create sex offender registries. I expected that the news coverage of sex offenders would be greater in the year proceeding the passage of this major sex offender legislation. The year 2017 represented a decade after the Adam Walsh Safety and Protection Act passed. I expected that news coverage of sex offenders would have decreased because there had been no significant legislative changes to sex offender registries since 2007. The study examined whether media framing of sex offenders differed between the two periods and whether the media framed sex offenders



and murderers differently. The study used labeling theory and the social construction of reality to guide this exploration and relied on open coding and axial coding techniques.

The second study was exploratory and sought to answer three questions: (1) How were sex offenders treated in prison? (2) What was life like while incarcerated? (3) Were certain segments of the inmate population more accepting than others of sex offenders? The data analyzed in this study came from journal entries a convicted sex offender wrote to a friend outside of prison during his incarceration from 2005 to 2010. The study used labeling theory to guide these efforts, with an emphasis on stigma and stigmatic shaming.

The last study examined residential features of the communities in which sex offenders were most likely to reside. This effort explored housing restrictions on sex offenders and the communities in which they lived, given distance restrictions from parks and schools. The data came from multiple sources, including monthly statistics from the Mississippi Sex Offender Registry. Between June 2016 and June 2017, sex offender data was collected on the 11th of each month. In addition, information for the databases came from the U.S. Census, Mississippi Pawnbrokers Association, and the Mississippi Automated Resource Information System (MARIS). The study drew on Social Disorganization Theory and focused on the concept of concentrated disadvantage.

These studies made a number of contributions to research in the area of sex offenders. No research of which I am aware has compared the media framing of sex offenders and murderers. The media have the potential to shape the public's understanding of sex offenders. The information presented to the public will therefore, likely influence the public's perception of sexual offenses. Thus, the first study allowed a better understanding of the detrimental impacts of media framing on sex offenders and



murderers to determine differences and similarities in these framings. The second study, the content analysis of a journal written by a convicted sex offender, added to current literature by examining the perspective of a sex offender during his incarceration. No research of which I am aware examined written works of a sex offender over a long duration (five years). This period was important to understand how fellow inmates housed in the facility responded to the existence of a sex offender. The study explored whether inmates' initial reactions to this individual were consistent over time or if they changed in some way over the course of incarceration. Finally, the last study used geospatial analysis that added to the existing research about locations in which sex offenders live. It was the first study to my knowledge to explore sex offenders in all of the counties in Mississippi and to use block-level data to understand the concentration of sex offenders in certain blocks compared to other blocks within an area. The findings from these studies were thus important to expand the existing literature on sex offenders.



CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Defining a Sex Offender

Sex offenders refer broadly to individuals convicted of a sexual offense. As mentioned previously, there are many types of offenses and definitions, which could lead to classifying a person as a sex offender. For example, the UCR defined rape as "...penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim" (FBI, 2014, para. 1). In this same period, the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) found that rape occurred at a rate of 40.4 incidents per 100,000 people in the population in the United States.

Many offenses are classified as sexual offenses. In Mississippi, the Mississippi Sex Offender Registry describes 20 offenses that a person could commit which would result in their registration as a sex offender. MS Code § 45-33-25, 2013 stipulated the offenses categorized as a sex offense and registrable offense. These terms referred to a variety of offenses including those related to (1) rape, (2) touching of a child, mentally defective or incapacitated person or physically helpless person for lustful purposes, (3) obscene electronic communication, and (4) the exploitation of children. Additional information about registrable offenses in the state of Mississippi is in Table 2. The offense rate for rape was slightly greater in the state of Mississippi than the national rate,



42.7 incidents per 100,000 population compared to 40.4 incidents per 100,000 for the United States (U.S. Department of Justice, 2016).

[INSERT TABLE 2]

Sex Offender Registration

Sex offenders were different from other offenders because they were the only group whose personal information was accessible to the public after their release from incarceration (U.S. House, 1996). Sex offense registries allowed government officials to track the whereabouts of known offenders with previous sexual offense convictions. The goals of registration were to prevent future offenses, increase public safety, and assist law enforcement in their investigations (Center for Sex Offender Management, 1999).

Proponents of sex offender registration argued that registration deters crime since law enforcement can monitor sex offenders and help identify circumstances in which offenses may be more likely to occur. Residents in a community also have access to public registries to protect themselves and their families. Registration information available to law enforcement can help investigators identify potential suspects who fit crime patterns (Center for Sex Offender Management, 1999).

Laws and Sanctions

The requirements of sex offender registration have undergone many revisions since Congress passed the Jacob Wetterling Crimes against Children and Sexually Violent Registration Act (hereafter referred to as the Jacob Wetterling Act) in 1994. It was a federal law, brought forth by Representative Jim Ramstad of Minnesota that mandated sex offenders in all states register with law enforcement. The Jacob Wetterling



Act was named after Jacob Wetterling, an 11-year-old male abducted and murdered in 1989 (National Criminal Justice Association, 1997). Jacob's abductor was Danny James Heinrich, a man previously connected to a kidnapping case of a 12-year-old boy. Jacob was riding his bicycle home from a convenience store with his younger brother and a friend when a man wearing a facemask, and holding a gun approached them. After the man ordered them to throw their bikes into a ditch and lay face down, the boys were asked their age. The two other children, who were not taken, were told to run away and not look back or else they would be shot (Johnson, 1989). Although initially suspected, there was not enough evidence to connect Danny James to the crime until 2016, when he cooperated with police as part of a separate plea bargain related to a child pornography charge (Ortiz, 2016).

The Jacob Wetterling Act required that individuals convicted of an offense against a minor and those convicted of sexually violent offenses had to register with law enforcement agencies (U.S. House, 1994). A sexually violent offender was defined as someone convicted of a sexually violent act with a mental irregularity or personality that made him/her more likely to commit these acts. A range of offenses was included in the definition of sexually violent acts, including kidnapping, false imprisonment, and sexual acts with a minor. The Jacob Wetterling Act applied to all persons convicted of the aforementioned offenses after their release from prison, while on parole, probation, or supervised release. However, offenders under 18 years of age were not required to register (U.S. House, 1994). The goal of the Jacob Wetterling Act was to protect the community.



When registering, certain information had to be collected from each sex offender, including information about place of residency, fingerprints, and a photograph of the offender. The offender was also required to sign a form verifying that he or she understood the requirements of registration (U.S. House, 1994). Probation officers or court officials had to provide the following information to law enforcement agencies: the person's name, identifying characteristics, criminal history, and treatment for mental or personality disorders. Conviction information and fingerprints were forwarded to the FBI from law enforcement. The information was classified as private, but law enforcement could disclose information they thought was necessary to protect the public (U.S. House, 1994).

Any changes in residence had to be reported within 10 business days to law enforcement (U.S. House, 1994). Offenders must be compliant with registration requirements for 10 years after release from prison, the start of parole, probation, or supervised released, or until a time when they no longer had a personality or mental disorder that made them likely to engage in sexually violent acts. Offenders who did not comply with the requirements were subject to consequences specific to each state (U.S. House, 1994). States were given three years to comply with the requirements of the Jacob Wetterling Act or lose 10 percent of funding from the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (U.S. House, 1994).

In 1996, Megan's Law modified the Jacob Wetterling Act. Megan's Law established that any information collected by state registration programs be released to the public (U.S. House, 1996). Megan's Law was named after Megan Kanka, a seven-year-old girl from Hamilton, New Jersey who was raped and murdered by a previously



convicted sex offender who resided in her neighborhood (Corrigan, 2006). The alleged offender, Jesse Timmendequas, lived across the street from her family with two other sex offenders. Megan was lured inside Timmendequas's residence by the prospect of seeing a puppy, and once inside, she was sexually assaulted and strangled to death.

Timmendequas's previous victims included a five-year-old female and an attempted sexual assault on a seven-year-old female. Prior to sexually assaulting Megan, he served six of ten years of a prison sentence for his sexual assault on the seven-year-old female before being released on good behavior (Goldman, 1997). Megan's Law mandated that law enforcement agencies release information about sex offenders needed to protect the public. However, information about the sex offender's victim(s) would not be released to the public and would remain private (U.S. House, 1996).

In the same year, the Senate passed the Pam Lyncher Sexual Offender Tracking and Identification Act (1996). This legislation was named after Pam Lyncher, a former flight attendant who advocated for victims' rights after she experienced a failed attempt by a convicted sex offender to kidnap and sexually assault her. The Pam Lyncher Act established a national law enforcement database about registered sex offenders (U.S. Senate, 1996). It added a new section to the Jacob Wetterling Act through the establishment of an FBI database to track convicted sexual offenders. All information collected from the state program had to be reported to the FBI. Offenders residing in states that had not yet established a registration program still had to register their address, fingerprints, and photographs with the FBI (U.S. Senate, 1996). The Pam Lyncher Act required that states enact its provisions within one year of its establishment.



The Pam Lyncher Act mandated that offenders remain on the registry for at least 10 years and offenders convicted of two or more crimes under the Jacob Wetterling Act remain on the registry for life (U.S. Senate, 1996). Individuals deemed sexually violent predators had to verify their information every 90 days. A residence had to be reported if it was considered new, meaning that offenders stayed there for 10 days or longer (U.S. Senate, 1996). Changes in residence had to be reported by the state to law enforcement and the FBI. Addresses that could not be verified by the state were required to be reported to the FBI, and if the FBI could not verify the address, the person in violation had a warrant issued for his/her arrest (U.S. Senate, 1996). Failure to register or comply resulted in penalties. If this was a first violation and the person had been convicted of one offense, they could be fined up to \$100,000 (U.S. Senate, 1996). Those who had been convicted of more than one offense could be fined up to \$100,000 and incarcerated up to one year (U.S. Senate, 1996). A second or subsequent violation would result in a fine up to \$100,000 and incarceration up to 10 years (U.S. Senate, 1996).

In 1997, additional changes were made to the Jacob Wetterling Act with the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriate Act. Previously, the Jacob Wetterling Act stipulated that the court would decide who would be considered a sexually violent predator (U.S. House, 1994), but this was amended so that the court would make a ruling after hearing recommendations from a board of experts on treating sex offenders, victim rights advocates, and law enforcement representatives (U.S. House, 1997). Definitions of what it meant to be employed and a student were also added. A person was considered employed if they worked either full-time or part-time for a period of 14 days or longer and if this work was



paid, for school or government benefit, or volunteered (U.S. House, 1997). A person was considered a student if they were enrolled either full-time or part-time in public or private school, secondary school, trade school, or a school of higher education (U.S. House, 1997).

States were expected to make the registry information available to law enforcement and participate in the national database with annual address verifications established under the Pam Lyncher Act. Registration was required in states where an offender worked or was a student, regardless of whether that individual's residency in that state (U.S. House, 1997). The definition of a sex offender was also modified to include those convicted of offenses against a minor and a sexually violent offense in a federal court (U.S. House, 1997). The Bureau of Prisons (BOP) was required to notify state organizations of sexual offenders who had been incarcerated or were on parole. Those convicted of such crimes had to provide a DNA sample to law enforcement (U.S. House, 1997). The Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriate Act also established procedures to register federal sex offenders convicted through court-martial (U.S. House, 1997).

In 1998, Congress passed the Protection of Children from Sexual Predators Act.

This legislation focused specifically on prosecution and punishment of child sexual offenders who had used forms of interstate commerce, such as mail or the computer.

Those who used mail or any other forms of interstate commerce to "...entice, encourage, offer, or solicit any person to engage in any criminal activity" who was younger than 16 years of age would be fined and/or incarcerated for up to five years (U.S. House, 1998, p. 2975). This applied to both individuals who had committed these acts and those who had



attempted to do so. In addition, individuals who used mail or interstate facilities and "...knowingly persuades, induces, entices, or coerces" persons under 18 years of age into prostitution or sexual activity would be fined and/or incarcerated up to 15 years (U.S. House, 1998, p. 2976). The definition of sexual activity was also modified so individuals could be charged with criminal offenses for the creation of child pornography. Knowing transportation of a person under 18 years of age with the intent to engage in prostitution or sexual activity was also subject to a fine and/or incarceration up to 15 years (U.S. House, 1998).

Changes were also made to the legal definition of child pornography so that it was more encompassing and included aggravated sexual abuse, sexual abuse, and abusive conduct with a minor, or the creation, possession, distribution or transportation of pornography. Penalties increased for child pornography so that individuals in possession of one or more images could be sanctioned, as opposed to previous language which stipulated three or more images (U.S. House, 1998). Service providers of electronic communication services who knowingly failed to report someone's access to child pornography could be fined by up to \$50,000 for the first offense, and subsequent offenses would result in fines up to \$100,000 (U.S. House, 1998). Additional changes were made to the length of imprisonment. The prison sentence could be doubled for those convicted of a second sexual offense, or an offense committed against a child under 12 years of age.

The Protection of Children from Sexual Predators Act (1998) made it punishable to transfer obscene material to persons under 16 years of age. Those who knowingly did so could be fined and/or incarcerated up to 10 years (U.S. House, 1998). Harsher



penalties were created for offenses against children. Offenders convicted of a sexual offense committed against a person under 14 years of age, or an act against the victim that resulted in his/her death, faced life imprisonment or the death penalty (U.S. House, 1998). The legislation also restricted prisoners' access to computer services. No financial assistance would be given to any federal programs in which inmates were allowed access to forms of electronic communication. These recommendations were based on a decision made by Congress after it was discovered that an inmate had trafficked child pornography and downloaded nearly 300 pictures of youth performing sexual acts on a computer while in prison (U.S. House, 1998).

The following decade continued to see many changes in sex offender legislation. In 2000, the Campus Sex Crimes Prevention Act was created as part of the Violence against Women's Act. It established that registered sex offenders had to notify the state in which they were employed or a student of any changes in their employment or education status. In addition, these institutions were required to communicate to the campus community about how to obtain information regarding registered offenders (U.S. House, 2000). In 2003, the Prosecutorial Remedies and Other Tools to end the Exploitation of Children Today (PROTECT) Act was passed. It was created with the intent to strengthen the prosecution of crimes against children, and it increased the minimum and maximum penalties. For example, penalties were increased for the creation and distribution of child pornography (15-30 years to 30-50 years), the use of misleading names on the internet to view harmful material (10 years to 20 years), and coercion and enticement of minors to travel to engage in pornography (10-15 years to 20-30 years; U.S. Senate, 2003).



Mandatory minimum sentences were created for kidnapping offenses and were set at a minimum of 20 years (U.S. Senate, 2003). Sanctions were also stipulated for persons who traveled to the United States, whether a citizen or non-citizen, with the intent to engage in sexual activities. Persons found engaging in this behavior could be fined and/or incarcerated for up to 30 years (U.S. Senate, 2003). New definitions were established for child, child abuse, and pattern of assault or torture. Child referred to individuals less than 18 years of age and were under the offender's control, or six years younger than the offender. Child abuse was defined as intentional infliction of bodily harm to a child or the resulting death of a child. Patterns of assault or torture were defined as two or more incidents of assault or torture (U.S. Senate, 2003). The PROTECT Act established a twostrike law so that individuals convicted of more than one criminal offense against minors, those under 17 years of age, could face life imprisonment. However, this penalty did not apply if the sexual act was consensual and not for commercial gain, or if the act was not punishable by more than a year in prison in the state in which the crime was committed (U.S. Senate, 2003). The PROTECT Act also made changes to the Jacob Wetterling Act and mandated states create websites with information about registered sex offenders and the Department of Justice create a website with links to each state's webpage (U.S. Senate, 2003).

The most notable legislation about sex offenders was passed in 2006, the Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act. Adam Walsh was a six-year-old boy abducted from a Sears store in Florida, subsequently murdered, and decapitated posthumously by a serial killer. Although his abductor, Otis Toole, confessed to the murder in 1983, he was never arrested in connection to the crime because of inconsistencies in his accounts and



missing evidence from the crime scene. The case officially closed in 2008 (Almanzar, 2008). The Adam Walsh Act established the Sex Offender Registration and Notification Act (SORNA).

Notification System

SORNA provided a list of minimum standards that had to be met for sex offender registration to protect the public; it was established as part of Title I of the Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act, hereafter referred to as the Adam Walsh Act. A sex offender was defined as an individual convicted of a sexual offense (U.S. House, 2006). The Adam Walsh Act included a greater range of applicable offenses, classified offenders, established minimum lengths of times on the registry, and means to notify the public (Harris & Lobanov-Rostovsky, 2010). In addition, it established consistent sex offender registration and notification requirements across jurisdictions. Prior to this time, sex offender registries were not uniform across states and therefore, did not include all the same information. As with previous legislation, sex offenders were required to register in response to public safety concerns (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015b).

The Adam Walsh Act required that United States territories (e.g., Guam, American Samoa, Virgin Islands, Northern Mariana Islands), the District of Columbia, and American Indian tribes recognized by the federal government create sex offender registries (U.S. House, 2006). Previously, only states were required to create a sex offender registry. With these changes, offenders were required to update information about their residence, employment, and schooling and report periodically in person to probation officers (U.S. House, 2006). After any change in status or name, offenders had three business days to inform their jurisdiction of changes; if they did not do so, they



faced a maximum sentence of one or more years in prison. This differed from the original requirement in the Jacob Wetterling Act that allowed registered sex offenders up to 10 days to report changes (U.S. House, 1994).

The Adam Walsh Act stipulated the types of information that must be included on registries, including the offender's name and aliases, address, place of employment, place of education, license plate, and vehicle description. Each jurisdiction was also required to provide a physical description of the offender, the criminal offense for which they were convicted that required registration, criminal history, and a current photograph, all of which had to be publicly available (U.S. House, 2006). Copies of the offenders' fingerprints and palm prints, DNA sample, and a copy of their driver's license or identification card were also required to be kept on file with law enforcement and the FBI, but was not available to the public (U.S. House, 2006).

Changes were made to the minimum length of time offenders must be on the registry and their classification (U.S. House, 2006). Offenders were classified into one of three tiers. Tier I was the lowest level of sex offender classification and included all offenders who were not Tier II or III. Tier I offenders remained on the registry for 15 years and had to verify their information each year (U.S. House, 2006). Tier II offenders included offenders who had committed or attempted to commit a crime against a minor carrying a possible sentence of more than one year that was similar to, or more severe than, the following offenses: sex trafficking, coercion, abusive sexual assault, or transporting a minor with the intent to participate in sexual acts (U.S. House, 2006). Tier II offenses involved a minor in child pornography, sexual acts, or prostitution. In addition, an offender could be classified as Tier II if he/she had been a Tier I offender and



committed an offense after this designation. Tier II offenders were on the registry for 25 years and verified their information every six months (U.S. House, 2006). Tier III offenders committed an act that carried a one-year prison sentence or more, and that was similar to, or more severe than, the following offenses: aggravated sexual abuse, abusive sexual contact against a minor under age 13, the kidnapping of a minor, or an offense that occurred after the designation tier II offender. Tier III offenders were required to remain on the registry for life and must verify their information every three months (U.S. House, 2006).

Laws and Sanctions after the Adam Walsh Act

Several pieces of legislation passed since the creation of the Adam Walsh Act in 2006. In 2008, the Keeping the Internet Devoid of Predators Act (KIDS Act) was enacted. It addressed the issue of Internet safety and made some changes to SORNA. Sex offenders were required to report any identifiers (e.g., email addresses or other designations) they used while on the Internet. This information was added to the sex offender registry and made available to law enforcement, but was not available to the public. This information included the use of social networking websites, web pages, or profiles that were publicly available to other users on these websites (U.S. Senate, 2008). Social networking websites were able to request that the Attorney General investigate the identity of a user and whether this was a registered offender. However, neither could release Internet identifiers of sex offenders to the public (U.S. Senate 2008).

Legislation also expanded the type of sex offenders who must register and stipulations about international travel of sex offenders. The Military Sex Offender Reporting Act passed in 2015. It added to the Adam Walsh Act by requiring that sex



offenders from military correctional facilities and those convicted of a sexual offense by court-martial to register as a sex offender (U.S. Senate, 2015). In 2015, the International Megan's Law was created; it amended SORNA to require registered sex offenders to report information about intended travel, which would be included on the sex offender registry. Offenders who did not report this information would be fined and/or face 10 years in prison (U.S. House, 2015). The United States Marshals Service's National Sex Offender Targeting Center was able to send information about the offender to their destination country, or foreign agencies within 24 hours of the registered offenders' travel. In addition, the United States Marshals Service's National Sex Offender Targeting Center had the capability to receive information about individuals who had committed sex offenses and entered the United States (U.S. House, 2015).

In addition to federal laws, many states created various restrictions that prohibited sex offenders from residing in certain locations. The most common type of residency restriction prevented sex offenders from living or being near locations where children are most often present. Sex offender restrictions preclude them from being near schools, playgrounds, or daycares (Norman-Eady, 2007). In addition to residency restrictions, offenders were required to comply with registration requirements for employment and education.

Despite a long history of legislation in this area, many states have not fully implemented the requirements of SORNA, despite the deadline of July 27, 2011 when states were supposed to have complied with the requirements of the Adam Walsh Act.

States were required to include five categories: offenses and offenders, tracking and penalizing absconders, community notification, offender appearance and verification, and



information sharing, shown in Table 3 (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017a). The United States Department of Justice (2017a) reported that 18 states, three territories, and 122 tribes have fully implemented SORNA. The remaining 32 states, District of Columbia, two territories (Puerto Rico and Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands), and five tribes have not fully implemented SORNA. Some of the states that have yet to fully implement SORNA have implemented some of requirements. For example, Arkansas has met four of the five requirements for offense appearance and verification (e.g. reporting registration information changes), but has not implemented offense-based tiers, required length of registration, or frequency of reporting (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017a).

[INSERT TABLE 3]

Mississippi is one of the 18 states that had fully complied with the requirements of the Adam Walsh Act. Mississippi required convicted sex offenders older than 14 years of age at the time of their conviction, who had temporary or permanent residence in the state, and/or employed or in school in the state, to comply with Mississippi's registration requirements. Information that was required as part of registration by the Adam Walsh Act and the requirements specific to the state of Mississippi is in Table 4. These data demonstrate that Mississippi had complied with all the requirements specified in the Adam Walsh Act. Mississippi Code § 45-33-25 provided additional details for registration requirements in Mississippi and required additional information that was not included in the Adam Walsh Act for the vast majority of categories. For example, Mississippi Code § 45-33-25 required convicted offenders to report passport and immigration information, Internet identifiers and profiles, date and place of birth, and telephone numbers at their residence and place of employment.



[INSERT TABLE 4]

In addition to the detailed information about types of information collected about sex offenders, Mississippi Code § 45-33-25 also stipulated residency restrictions. Mississippi had the most restrictive residency requirements of any state and mandated that some sex offenders stay 3,000 feet away from areas used by individuals under the age of 18 (Norman-Eady, 2007). These locations included, but were not limited to, public and nonpublic elementary and secondary schools, child care facilities or agencies, group homes, playgrounds, ballparks, or recreational facilities used by children (MS Code § 45-33-25, 2013). However, there were exceptions to this rule. Access was not restricted for minors who served time in a correctional facility and (1) were a resident in the area prior to the establishment of a school or (2) established his/her residency before July 1, 2014. Likewise, individuals were permitted in areas with restricted facilities if they established residency between July 1, 2008 and January 1, 2014 and his/her residence was at least 1,500 feet away from a child care facility or agency, group home, playgrounds, or recreational areas (MS Code § 45-33-25, 2013). Sex offenders were not permitted on school property except for offenders who were parents or guardians of a student at the school. In those cases, offenders had to receive permission by the school board or superintendent to be on school property (MS Code § 45-33-25, 2013).

Collateral Consequences of Registration

Sex offender registration has undergone many changes in the United States. A lot of attention has been devoted to sex offenders, and as a result, there were collateral consequences for sex offenders. Sex offenders were generally viewed harshly both inside and outside of prison; often they were perceived as evil or irredeemable (Gavin, 2005;



Higgins & Ireland, 2009). Certain groups were more likely to hold negative beliefs about sex offenders. Willis, Malinen, and Johnston (2013) found that females and those with lower educational attainment had more negative attitudes towards sex offenders than males and individuals with higher educational attainment. Studies also found females had a greater fear of sex offenders than do males (Beck & Travis, 2004; Levenson, Brannon, Fortney, & Baker, 2007). Characteristics of the sexual offense victim could also affect perceptions of sex offenders. Prior research found that sex offenders with child victims were viewed most negatively, even when compared to offenders with female victims (Weekes, Pelletier, & Beaudette, 1995).

Convicted sex offenders have reported problems of housing restrictions, residential instability, and problems with stable employment in connection with their conviction status (Norman-Eady, 2007). Offenders can face financial difficulty, legal barrier, and difficulty managing his/her identity because of sex offender registration and notification laws. Tewksbury and Lees (2006) examined sex offenders' experiences within the community and how they managed their identities using data from the Kentucky Sex Offender Registry and 22 interviews with convicted sex offenders in Jefferson County, KY. Participants experienced four main consequences since labeled a sex offender: employment problems, relationship problems, harassment, and stigmatization (Tewksbury & Lees, 2006). Some participants also reported that employers were unwilling to hire them because they were perceived as a risky hire (Tewksbury & Lees, 2006, p. 320). A small minority of participants had also experienced harassment (e.g., verbal; Tewksbury & Lees, 2006). Although less often reported than other consequences of sex offender laws like employment and housing, some offenders



report being physically assaulted. Levenson, D'Amora, and Hern (2007) found that 10 percent of the 239 sex offenders included in their study from the state of Connecticut were physically assaulted after re-entry into the community, which suggested that some residents could be violently resistant to allowing sex offenders to live in their community.

Convicted sex offenders were not permitted to live in certain areas, known as a spatial restriction zones (SRZ), because of their status as a sex offender. The goal of SRZ was to decrease the likelihood of future sex offenses through a decrease of access to areas children most often frequented (Grubesic, Murray, & Mack, 2008). The distance offenders could reside from these restricted areas varied by state; typically, the minimum distance was between 500 and 2,000 feet. The most common zone, for 14 states, was 1,000 to 1,500 feet (Meloy, Miller, & Curtis, 2008). Locations with large SRZ limited housing options for these offenders (Barnes, Dukes, Tewksbury, & De Troye, 2009; Chajewski & Mercado, 2009; Zandbergen & Hart, 2006; Zgoba, Levenson, & McKee, 2009). About one-third of the sex offenders in Page, Hill, and Gilbert's (2012) study reported problems finding housing outside of restricted areas. In addition, about one-fifth were denied housing by landlords because of their prior conviction (Page et al., 2012).

Given these housing restrictions, offenders often resided in areas characterized by concentrated disadvantage. Concentrated disadvantage was used as an indicator of poverty, and the extent to which residents in an area were exposed to negative social conditions (Wodtke, Harding, & Elwert, 2011). People who had been incarcerated were more likely to live in these areas than individuals who had never been incarcerated (Western & Muller, 2013). Concentrated disadvantage can be measured in a variety of ways and is often measured by creating an index (Chamberlain & Hipp, 2015; Mustaine



& Tewksbury, 2011; Socia, 2016; Wright, Kim, Chassin, Losoya, & Piquero, 2014). To create the index, multiple variables measure a single concept. Common measures included the unemployment rate, the percentage of the population in poverty, and the percentage of female-headed households in the household (Chiricos, Barrick, Bales, & Bontrager, 2007). Chamberlain and Hipp (2015) also included measures of median household income and median home value, while Socia (2016) included the percentage of non-Hispanic black residents, and Mustaine and Tewksbury (2011) included the percentage receiving public assistance. Past research found that sex offenders were more likely to live in areas of concentrated disadvantage compared to other residents in that area (Mustaine & Tewksbury; Socia, 2016).

Some research examined how sex offenders were affected by housing restrictions. The research examined the geospatial distribution of restricted areas, the locations where sex offenders were not permitted to live (Berenson & Appelbaum, 2011), and residential features (e.g., concentrated disadvantage) where sex offenders have lived (Grubesic, Murray, & Mack, 2011; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2011; Socia, 2016). According to the National Institute of Justice (2013), geographic analyses can be used to uncover crime patterns, reduce crime rates, and increase public safety.

Berenson and Appelbaum (2011) examined the effects of residence restrictions using geospatial analysis of two counties: Erie County and Schenectady County, New York. In Erie County, offenders were restricted from living in 12 percent of the total zoned areas and 89 percent of residentially zoned lots. Schenectady County was similar; sex offenders were restricted from living in 16 percent of the zoned land and almost 74 percent of residentially zoned areas (Berenson & Appelbaum, 2011). Zoning referred to



regulations on the use of land and structures. Although sex offenders were not permitted within many areas in each county, 89 percent (272 of 296) of sex offenders in Erie County lived in SRZ, and 90 percent (101 of 127) of sex offenders in Schenectady County lived in SRZ (Berenson & Appelbaum, 2011, p 242). This research suggested that sex offenders often live in areas where they are not legally allowed to live.

Grubesic et al. (2011) explored available housing and neighborhood composition in restricted and unrestricted areas where sex offenders lived in Hamilton County, Ohio. Unlike previous studies that found that sex offenders lived in areas of concentrated disadvantage (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2011), they found that non-SRZ had many favorable characteristics. Compared to SRZ, unrestricted areas had lower rates of unemployment, better infrastructure, and were occupied by individuals that were better educated and older (Grubesic et al., 2011).

Despite what we know about sex offenders and their negative label in the community, and despite a variety of anecdotal evidence that suggested sex offenders were stigmatized and labeled in prison, few researchers have examined the interactions and experiences of sex offenders with other inmates while completing their sentence. Sex offenders can be victimized by members of the inmate population through physical violence, intimidation, threats, and exclusion. Inmates who chose to fulfill their sentences within protective custody were further isolated because of the negative stigma attached to felons who opted for protective custody (Ricciardelli & Moir, 2013). As one inmate said in a previous study, "If there's something wrong [with you, that's] why you went to PC [protective custody]" (Ricciardelli & Moir, 2013, p. 373). Among sex offenders, rapists had the greatest status, followed by pedophiles and child victimizers (Vaughn & Sapp,



1989). Those with the greatest status experienced the least victimization compared to other sex offenders with less status. Therefore, child molesters often faced the harshest treatment. Sex offenders also faced difficulties in prison beyond that of other inmates such as being victimized, ostracized, or isolated (Spencer, 2009). Previous research found that negative sanctions were applied even after release from prison, as the public has strongly supported policies related to punishment and community restrictions on sex offenders (Comartin, Kernsmith, & Kernsmith, 2009).

Rate of Recidivism

Research has also examined the recidivism of sex offenders. Despite public opinion to the contrary, sex offenders generally had lower re-arrest rates compared to non-sex offenders (Langan, Schmitt, & Durose, 2003; Langevin et al., 2004; Przybylski, 2015; Sample & Bray, 2003). Over time, the likelihood of new sexual offenses also declined for sex offenders (Hanson, Harris, Letourneau, Helmus, & Thornton, 2017). Hanson et al. (2017) found in their longitudinal study of sex offenders that after 10 to 15 years, individuals convicted of sexual offenses were no more likely than other groups of offenders to commit future sexual offenses. However, findings on the recidivism rate for new sexual offenses varied because of different methodological decisions, sample sizes, and custodial settings.

Studies have also found that the re-arrest rate of sex offenders for sexual offenses was lower compared to other types of offenses, and there was a low recidivism rate for new sexual offenses (Przybylski, 2015). Langan et al. (2003) examined the recidivism rate of sex offenders who released from prisons in 15 states in 1994. In their study, sex offenders were divided into four categories: rapists, sexual assaulters, child molesters,



and statutory rapists, with many offenders falling into one or more categories. The study examined whether the 9,691 male sex offenders released in 1994 reoffended, what crimes they were rearrested for, and their recidivism rate over a three-year period following release from prison. From their sample, 5.3 percent were rearrested for another sex crime over a three-year period and another 43 percent were rearrested for other crimes (Langan et al., 2003). The study also assessed whether there were differences in recidivism for sex offenders convicted for rape, sexual assault, child molestation, and statutory rape.

Rearrest and reconviction rates were comparable between sex offenders convicted of the four offenses. For each group of offenders, the rearrest rate was between 5 percent and 5.5 percent for a new sex crime; reconviction rates were even lower (3.2 percent to 3.7 percent) (Langan et al., 2003, p. 24).

Another study that examined sex offender recidivism was conducted by Sample and Bray (2003). Using arrest data in Illinois in 1990, they looked at one, three, and five year rearrest rates for sexual offenses and non-sexual offenses. Sexual offenses accounted for about one percent (N=34,668) of all arrests made in Illinois in 1990. The rearrest rate for new sexual offenses was 2.2 percent in one year, 4.8 percent in three years, and 6.5 percent in five years after the initial arrest (Sample & Bray, 2003, p. 74). Sex offenders were more likely to be rearrested for other types of offenses: 21.3 percent in one year, 37.4 percent in three years, and 45.1 percent in five years after the initial arrest (Sample & Bray, 2003, p. 72).

While the previous studies found that rearrest and reconviction rates for sex offenders were relatively low, some longitudinal studies found somewhat higher rates of recidivism for sexual offenses (Prentky, Lee, Knight & Cerce, 1997; Langevin et al.,



2004). Prentky et al. (1997) conducted a longitudinal study of 265 male sex offenders who were previously committed to a treatment center in 1959 for individuals deemed sexually dangerous. The offenders were classified as either rapists (with victims age 16 or older) or child molesters (with victims under age 16). Over the 25-year period, 39 percent of rapists and 52 percent of child molesters were re-arrested for a new sexual offense (Pretnsky et al., 1997, p. 651).

Another study that relied on longitudinal methodology was Langevin et al. (2004). Langevin and colleagues (2004) conducted a 25-year follow-up study of 320 sex offenders seen for psychiatric evaluation between 1966 and 1974. The data on sexual offenses and other types of crime (e.g., violent, substance abuse, property, and procedural) were from a national database, hospital records, and legal databases. The first arrest or conviction for a sex offender was used as an index against which later criminal offenses were measured. Recidivism referred to convictions and charges for any offense after the initial arrest. Consistent with previous studies (Langan et al., 2003), recidivism for non-sexual offenses was greater for non-sexual offenses, by almost 16 percent. However, many offenders committed sexual offenses over the 25-year period; about three- in-five sex offenders' recidivated for a crime of a sexual nature and had been convicted of two or more sexual offenses (Langevin et al., 2004). Certain groups of sex offenders were more likely to recidivate for sexual offenses. These groups included extrafamilial offenders (those who committed offenses against a minor outside of one's family) and exhibitionists (individuals who had exposed their genitals or behaved in a manner to attract attention).



Webster, Gartner, and Doob (2006) cautioned against the findings of Langevin et al. (2004). They argued that their methodology overinflated the likelihood of recidivism because the distribution of offenses in their study did not reflect that of the larger country, it was unclear how they drew their sample, and the sample was not randomly selected. Their baseline for recidivism, first arrest, also overinflated the recidivism rate because many of the offenders were already considered recidivists prior to his/her conviction for a sex offense (Webster et al., 2006).

More recently, Tewksbury, Jennings, and Zgoba (2012) studied whether there were differences in rates of recidivism before and after the creation of SORNA. The study followed a group of offenders released before SORNA (1990-1994) and after SORNA (1996-2000) over an eight-year period. They found there were no differences in recidivism rates between offenders released before or after SORNA (Tewksbury et al., 2012). The vast majority of offenders for both groups were at low risk of re-offense; only a small proportion were classified as high-risk. High risk offenders were arrested more often than low-risk offenders, were more likely to recidivate for sexual offenses, and were more likely to recidivate sooner than low risk offenders (Tewksbury et al., 2012).

The implementation of sex offender treatment also reduced re-arrest rates. Past research found that sex offenders who finished cognitive-behavioral programs were less likely to recidivate than sex offenders who had not undergone treatment (Aytes, Olsen, Zakrajsek, Murray, & Ireson, 2001; Lösel & Schmucker 2005). Cognitive behavioral programs required a person to change their thoughts and beliefs in order to change how they behave. Many offenders initially tried to deny their offenses and this technique



encouraged accountability (Moster, Wnuk, & Jeglic, 2008). Overall, sex offenders had a low rate of recidivism compared to other types of offenders.

Sex Offenders in the Media

Despite the low rate of recidivism for sex offenders, there remains a lot of fear and uncertainty surrounding sexual crimes. Sensational news stories about sex offenders could increase fear of these offenders (Wright, 2003). One of the most sensational news stories about sex offenders involved Jaycee Dugard, a female kidnapped at age 11. Jaycee was held captive by her assailant for 18 years and repeatedly impregnated. News stories about sex offenders and their victims are most prevalent when there was a well-known case (Fox, 2013). Nevertheless, relatively little research has explicitly examined how sex offenders were portrayed in the media. The research that does exist suggests that the media often relied on stereotypes to portray offenders (Harper & Hogue, 2015).

Research by Galeste, Fradella, and Vogel (2012) explored whether certain myths about sex offenders were prevalent in news stories. Using a sample of articles collected through a national search, they found that sex offenders were often portrayed as compulsive, specialists, homogenous, and incurable (Galeste et al., 2012). Increased news coverage also occurred when there was a high-profile murder. The way the media framed an offender differed based on an individual's sex. Easteal, Bartels, Nelson, and Holland (2015) examined how females who had killed were framed. They found that news coverage discussed the offender's actions around ideas of femininity and womanhood, and whether this individual was good or bad (Easteal et al., 2015). The media used these ideas to construct news stories about murderers.



Sex Offender Summary

Past research examined how often sex offenders and murderers individually were portrayed in the media, but no research of which I am aware compared these two groups of offenders. The current study attempted to fill that gap through an exploration of how sex offenders were portrayed compared to murderers. The goal of the study was to understand how the media portrayed sex offenders and murderers (e.g., incurable or repeat offenders) and whether these portrayals had changed over time. The study used labeling theory as a framework to guide this project and tested whether the type of offender affected media portrayals.

Defining a Murderer

To understand how the media framed murder, it was important to define this term. Murder and non-negligent manslaughter were included under the term of homicide. Homicide is the deliberate killing of a human being by another individual (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017b). Between 1950 and 2010, the homicide rate per 100,000 people fluctuated. Homicide peaked in 1992; there were 9.3 homicides per 100,000 people. Between 1992 and 2010, there was a general decline in the homicide rate reaching 4.8 homicides per 100,000 people in 2010 (Cooper & Smith, 2011). Since 2014, there had been an increase in the homicide rate in the United States (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017a). Between 2014 and 2015, the homicide rate increased 6.2 percent. It continued to increase between 2015 and 2016 by 5.2 percent, and preliminary reports for 2016 to 2017 showed an additional 1.5 percent increase in homicides (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017a).



In terms of who are victims and offenders of homicide, Cooper and Smith (2011) described the demographic characteristics of homicide victims and offenders. Between 1980 and 2008, the majority of homicide victims were black males (77 percent). The rate of victimization of blacks was six times greater than that of whites. One-third of victims were under the age of 25 (Cooper & Smith, 2011, p. 3). Offenders in this same period, were also predominantly black, the vast majority were males (90 percent), and about half were under the age of 25 (49 percent). The rate of offending for blacks was eight times greater than that of whites (Cooper & Smith, 2011, p. 3). The type of homicide most likely to affect males and females differed. Females were more likely to be the victim of intimate killings and sex-related homicides, while males were much more likely to be the victim in drug, and gang-related homicides (Cooper & Smith, 2011, p. 10). The vast majority of homicides were intraracial, meaning crime between people of the same race. Intraracial crime accounted for 84 percent of homicides between whites, and 93 percent of homicides between blacks (Cooper & Smith, 2011, p. 13).

Given these trends, if the media accurately portrayed homicides, they should reflect these findings. Accurate representations of homicides would have included cases in which the majority of victims and offenders were black and male, and offenders and victims were under the age of 25. Representations of homicide should also reflect the differences between the types of homicides females and males were most likely to experience. Finally, cases presented by the media should reflect the intraracial nature of homicides.

Murderers in the Media

Anecdotal and empirical evidence suggest that the media shape our understandings of crime, offenders, and victims. Offenders may be vilified by the media and depicted in a manner that implies he/she is evil (Surette, 2015). Offenders are often viewed as distinct from individuals with typical moral behavior. The imagery can sometimes imply that offenders lack emotions (Liens et al., 2000). The vilification of offenders is especially common when the alleged criminal had cognitive impairments (van Poojen & van de Veer, 2010). Offenders who had a mental illness were perceived as more dangerous and unstable compared to offenders without a mental illness.

Previous research examined what news stories received the most media coverage and the frameworks most often utilized. The majority of research relied on content analyses to understand media coverage of homicides and determine whether it reflected actual crime rates (Lundman, 2003; Paulsen, 2003) or characteristics of crimes that affected news coverage (Buckler & Travis, 2005; Cermak, 1998; Lundman, Douglass, & Hanson, 2004; Pritchard & Hughes, 1997; Soothill, Peelo, Francis, Pearson, & Ackerley, 2002). Stories that were newsworthy were described more often in the media than those that were not considered newsworthy (Pritchard & Hughes, 1997). Newsworthy crimes were often sensational events, focusing on exceptional events or prototypical victims. These may also focus on incidents of deviance and socially significant events (Hong, 2008).

A focus on certain types of homicides, however, has the potential to lead to a moral panic. A moral panic is a societal response that is disproportionate to the actual threat. It also refers to exclamations of public concern (Hunt, 1997). Homicide coverage



often includes key elements of moral panics, including a suitable target, offender, and the belief that crime is a societal issue (Cohen, 2002). When deciding what homicides to include in a newspaper edition, journalists and editors must decide if they are going to write about a homicide, and in how much detail. Journalists and newspaper editors have discretion in choosing which stories to cover, and sometimes, this is based on their understanding of who reads the newspaper (Buckler & Travis, 2005). In terms of news coverage of homicides, many homicides were never reported in the newspaper (Peelo, Francis, Soothill, Pearson, & Ackerley, 2004), thus potentially distorting the public's knowledge of homicide and the most common victim-offender dichotomies.

Pritchard and Hughes (1997) examined which crimes were covered most often in newspapers and the reason for selecting these stories. Using a sample of homicides reported in two Milwaukee newspapers and interviews with five reporters, they tested four forms of deviance: statistical, status, cultural, and normative. Statistical deviance referred to something that is unusual. Status deviance was when a person or group was different from common perceptions. Cultural deviance included behavior that may be considered unusual. Normative deviance referred to violated norms such as committing crime. Stories considered newsworthy were those that involved offenders who were white and male, and victims who were female, under the age of 18, or over the age of 62. Thus, they found that status deviance and cultural deviance most often explained newsworthiness (Pritchard & Hughes, 1997).

Soothill et al. (2002), however, disagreed with the findings of Pritchard and Hughes (1997), particularly the finding that statistical deviance was not very important in newsworthiness. Soothill et al. (2002) argued that unusual cases often dominate news



coverage. In their study of a popular British newspaper, *The Times*, from 1977 to 1999, they found that a select number of cases made up the majority of homicides included. They called these often-covered crimes mega-cases. Homicides considered normal or common were often less likely to be used as front-page news (Lin & Phillips, 2014).

A limitation of previous research was the inability of researchers to assess the intersectionality of race and gender. Lundman's (2003) research sought to address this gap in the literature. To understand the decisions about homicide newsworthiness, data were used from police homicide records in Columbus, Ohio and linked with newspaper articles published locally using the offender's name. Lundman (2003) found that articles that featured most often and prominently in the newspaper were those that reflected commonly held race and gender beliefs. Significantly, more attention was devoted to cases where the victim was a white female rather than a black female, regardless of the race of the offender. Cases in which the offender was a black male and the victim was a white male received significantly more attention than the reverse (i.e. white, male offender and black, male victim; Lundman, 2003). Lundman's (2003) findings have been partially confirmed in subsequent research.

Gruenewald, Pizarro, and Chermak (2009) found that cultural depictions of race and gender affected newsworthiness. They examined victim and offender characteristics that were most important in the decisions to write about a homicide. They matched cases in the Newark Police Department Homicide Squad with articles published in the newspaper, *The Star-Ledger*, between 1997 and 2005. Gruenewald et al. (2009) expanded on Lundman's (2003) dichotomization of race by examining newsworthiness of homicides involving people who were white, black, or Hispanic. Incidents that involved a



Hispanic offender were significantly more likely than incidents with a black offender to be considered newsworthy. Intraracial crimes among Hispanics were significantly more likely to be considered newsworthy when the incident involved male on male violence. As in Lundman's (2003) study, crimes involving black females as the victim were less frequently mentioned.

Neighborhood context was another important aspect to consider when examining news coverage and exploring whether the news is reflective of the demographics in a particular area. Often individuals used measures of race and class to assess neighborhood characteristics because it can be difficult to determine which areas could be dangerous (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004). To understand newsworthiness and the offenders and victims that were most often included, Petersen (2016) used multiple sources to gather data on homicides committed in 2007 in Los Angeles County, California. Unlike much of the previous literature that focused on one city (Buckler & Travis, 2005; Lundman et al., 2004; Paulsen, 2003; Schildkraut & Donley, 2011; Soothill et al., 2002), this study covered a larger geographic area. This study extended previous research in understanding the media representation of Hispanics in the news (Gruenewald et al., 2009). Articles were matched on official homicide records using information about the offender, victim, and offense from six local newspapers. Victims killed in or near lower income neighborhoods, with predominantly black or Hispanic residents, were less likely to receive news coverage (Petersen, 2016).

Contrary to much of the previous research, Schildkraut and Donley (2011) argued that there was no easy way to define events that were or were not newsworthy given the differences in journalists' access to homicide records and unwillingness of families



affected by crimes to come forward. To assess what makes a story newsworthy, information about each homicide in Baltimore in 2010 was retrieved from the Baltimore Police Department and matched in a local newspaper, *The Baltimore Sun*, using the victim's name. None of the demographic variables were significant predictors of being a newsworthy story including the victim's age, gender, and race. However, the circumstances surrounding the individual's death affected whether the media was likely to focus on these incidents (Schildkraut & Donley, 2011). Details about the victims and the offense often shaped crime coverage. The odds of a homicide being included in the media increased when victims were characterized as vulnerable (Gruenewald, Chermak, & Pizzaro, 2013; Lin & Phillips, 2014) and offenses were particularly heinous (Gruenewald et al., 2013).

It is important to understand what types of homicides are most likely to be covered in the news, but it is also important to assess whether media coverage is an accurate representation of the actual rates of violent crime. Paulsen (2003) examined the differences between homicides in Houston, Texas and the newspaper coverage of the homicides. The data on homicides were retrieved from official police reports from 1986 to 1994 and were matched with articles in *The Houston Chronicle*. Most (69%) of the homicides were covered in the newspaper (Paulsen, 2003, p. 297). Homicides with multiple victims or offenders and female victims, were the most likely to receive news coverage. The location, or prominence, of the story in the newspaper also differed depending on the characteristics of the offender and victim. White victims, female victims, and crimes with multiple victims significantly increased the prominence of the article (Paulsen, 2003).



Similar findings were found in Buckler and Travis (2005)'s study. They used data from the Houston police department and newspaper articles published in *The Houston Chronicle* between 2001 and 2004. They found that incidents of female victimization, multiple victims, and strangers were significant predictors of coverage when related to the length of an article, article prominence, and the use of photographs (Buckler & Travis, 2005). Certain methods or motives of murder were also more likely to be included in the news, such as those that involved robbery, and the use of weapons (Buckler & Travis, 2005).

Research into newsworthy homicides predominantly used samples of newspapers with a majority white readership to understand why some homicides were included and other homicides were not. Lundman et al. (2004) extended previous studies through the exploration of homicides in a black newspaper in Columbus, Ohio from 1984 to 1994. As with studies of white newspapers, uncommon murders were reported more frequently than types that were common. Homicides that involved a male offender and female victim were commonly reported and suggested that this was a frequent occurrence (Lundman, Douglass, & Hanson, 2004). The newspaper articles differed, however, in terms of attention devoted to interracial homicides. The sample did not focus on the theme of black male offenders and white female victims found in much of the previously reviewed research (Lundman et al., 2004).

A lot of the research devoted to understanding homicides in the news used samples from the United States, but a few studies examined homicide in other countries. Peelo et al. (2004) studied homicide portrayals in England and Wales between 1993 and 1996 with data from official records from the Home Office database and matched cases



in three national newspapers. Of the nearly 2,700 homicide cases during this period, the vast majority were classified as murders, about 10 percent were termed manslaughter, and seven cases were called infanticide. As with previous studies, not all homicides were reported in the newspaper. Between the three newspapers, about 40 percent of all homicides were covered at least once, and all three newspapers covered 14 percent of all homicides (Peelo et al., 2004, p. 261). The most significant predictor of homicide reporting was a victim's age. Homicides that involved victims aged 22 and younger were most likely to be reported. Consistent with previous research, homicides with female victims were significantly more likely to be reported than those with male victims (Lundman, 2003; Lundman et al., 2004; Paulsen, 2003; Pritchard & Hughes, 1997), and multiple victims were significantly more likely to be reported than one victim (Paulsen, 2003).

Much of the research has focused on characteristics of the victim that were most likely to affect newspaper coverage. Peelo et al. (2004), however, examined offender characteristics and offense circumstances to understand reporting rates. As with the victim's age, the offender's age was a significant predictor of newspaper coverage. Homicides were more likely to be included in the newspaper if the offender was between ages 14 and 23. The relationship between the offender and victim was also a significant predictor of newspaper coverage. Crimes that were most likely to be included involved a police offender or work colleague as the victim, or incidents that occurred between a prostitute and a client (Peelo et al., 2004). The circumstances of the crime were another significant predictor of newspaper coverage; about 70 percent of homicides involved a sexual attack or mutilation (Peelo et al., 2004, p. 269). Cases that involved sexual acts

increased the prominence of news coverage (Lin & Phillips, 2014). Often the cases painted a picture of crime that was not reflective of crime statistics.

Much research has been devoted to understanding the characteristics of victims, offenders, and offenses that were most likely to garner media attention. Only one study of which I am aware, however, explicitly examined the frameworks used in newspaper articles about homicides. Leone (2016) examined representations of stranger and non-stranger homicides in three Canadian newspapers from 2009 to 2013. Articles were obtained using key words "degree murder" and/or "domestic homicide" and focused on six homicide cases. Three main frames were used to discuss homicide cases including those depicting the offender as evil, through psychological terms, and the use of experts in the mental health field who argued against the likelihood of successful rehabilitation (Leone, 2016).

Given that only one study has looked at the media framing used in homicide newspaper articles, further research is needed in this area. Leone (2016) analyzed a small sample of cases in Canadian newspapers but no research of which I am aware has yet to analyze media framing of homicide in the United States. Research is needed to explore the descriptive language of the offenders, victims, and offenses. For example, it is important to understand whether victims are described in terms of their innocence or offenders described in terms of their culpability. The current research project seeks to address this gap. For the present study, news coverage of homicide serves as a control group and will be compared to news coverage of sex offenders as the experimental group. Both murderers and sex offenders have committed offenses for which they have been



classified; however, only sex offenders receive a state mandated label (Maddan & Pazzani, 2017).

Given the current literature about media descriptions of sex offenders and a much smaller body of literature about media descriptions of murders, I expected to find that the descriptions of the two types of offenders used by the media would vary markedly. I expected that media descriptors of sex offenders would use terms such as those found in Galeste et al. (2012)'s study that sex offenders were often portrayed as compulsive, specialists, homogenous, and incurable. Anecdotal evidence suggested that depictions of murderers commonly used would include terms such as evil, cold-hearted, heartless, angry, enraged, violent, history of violence, and mental illness. Thus, I expected to find that sex offenders would be portrayed as largely evil, while murderers would be portrayed as angry, violent, or mentally ill. No study of which I am aware compared the two types of offenders.



CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Social Construction of Reality

A number of social scientists have explored the theory, social construction of reality (Berger & Luckman, 1966; Goffman, 1963; Goffman, 1974). This theory focuses on the organization of societal systems and how these systems are reproduced over time. Different aspects of society are reproduced throughout history because of individuals who take on the role of an actor. Each actor can gain and extend their knowledge, pass it on to other people, and change their behavior or mindset dependent on the social situations. This theory first gained traction through the works of Berger and Luckman (1966).

Reality is created rather than fixed; this is one of the central tenets of Berger and Luckman's (1966) work. Reality is socially constructed, meaning that a person's perspective and their interactions are shaped in their daily lives and through the lives of people around them. Through cognitive thought, action, interpretation, and interaction with other people and objects, reality is created. *The Social Construction of Reality* by Berger and Luckmann (1966) has its roots in the work of Weber. Weber maintained that legitimizing beliefs allows individuals in power to exert their will on others. If the dominant group's ideology were to be legitimized, people who were not in power likely would accept a particular reality as fact, rather than as a reality that was created and could



be changed (Weber, 1978). In other words, if the dominant ideology became accepted as the standard by which actions were judged, people would be less likely to question this system, and therefore try to change it.

According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), everyday life was often taken for granted because it was comprised of patterns. These patterns were created through repetition, which becomes meaningful in everyday life. Once these patterns have been established, it allows a person to go about a task without having to engage in complex decision-making each time they are about to do something (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Within these patterns are core concepts that people began to accept as truth, or reality. As a result, individuals can take on roles by different actors in interaction with other people. Therefore, reality is in flux, and can change at any time. However, individuals may not always be aware how reality can change because circumstances and actors change. Social realities are created by generations of individuals, and therefore, can be passed on to future generations. Therefore, the social reality of a future generation may be similar to the social reality of a past generation. For example, a grandchild may have many of the same ideas as a grandparent as to how something should be done based on what has been done in the past.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) contend that reality is an ongoing, changing process. It starts with the process of externalization when institutions are created, followed by objectification when institutions are taken for granted and seen as a part of the everyday structure of society. People then internalize the meanings of these institutions and interact with their environment in a meaningful way (Knoblauch & Wilke, 2006). This is consistent with concepts discussed by Goffman (1963). Goffman



(1963) suggests that actions can be considered either appropriate or inappropriate according to a specific group of people. People communicate through both verbal and non-verbal exchanges in which two or more individuals must share commonalities to convey messages to one another.

Goffman (1963) argues that interactions can be either focused or unfocused.

Focused interactions refers to situations in which multiple people are engaged in communication, while unfocused interactions is communication that occurs between two or more individuals through brief non-verbal communication such as a passing glance.

The groups in which a person belongs provide a frame of reference to understand whether actions are acceptable or unacceptable. According to Goffman (1974), frames allow people to make sense out of events within their lives and within the context of the world.

Frames classify experiences and influence an individual's future actions and behavior.

Gergen (1985) discussed the four concepts that underlie social constructionism.

First, social constructionism encourages people to challenge the basis of their knowledge (Gergen 1985). As an example, he argues that there are different ways to understand gender instead of just the classifications, man and woman. The second component of social constructionism is that knowledge has to be understood in connection to history (Gergen, 1985). To understand the basis of knowledge, a person must take into consideration the institutions (e.g., social, economic) that have shaped and sustained ideas. Next, ideas either decline, as they are evaluated, or are accepted, and become knowledge (Dixson, 2001). Finally, what eventually becomes reality is dependent on interactions with other people, without whom patterns of behavior could not be established (Gergen, 1985).



According to Fowler (1991), one-way that reality can be created is through the media, and more specifically, reality created through the news.

"News is a representation of the world in language; because language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented; and so inevitably news, like every discourse, constructively patterns that of which is speaks" (Fowler, 1991, p. 3).

Given that the news is a way for people to communicate their experiences, it is often an outlet for people to understand and interpret facts. Therefore, people are interpreting and internalizing only a limited portion of the information.

In today's society, reality is created by individual interactions and through mass media. The media is a resource that shapes how people think, behave, and interact with other people. The media relies on framing to affect an individual's understanding of reality (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992). Frames function to organize and create meaning (Gitlin, 1980). However, there may be competing realities. Berger and Luckmann (1966) argued that the dominant group, which had an interest in maintaining order according to its best interests, might not accept other forms of reality.

Social Construction of Reality and Crime

The media was, and remains, key for producing and disseminating information about crime. The news often emphasized violent and sensational crimes that affected individuals' understanding of crime, its frequency, and the offenders. Dowler, Fleming and Muzzatti (2006) describe how the types of crimes covered in the news affected people's fears, and how the news stories that were covered were usually repetitive in



nature so that one case may covered in multiple news articles or the news focused on a type of crime that was least likely to occur.

Prior research has examined different mediums of content including television (Baranauskas & Drakulich, 2018; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Entman, 1990; Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon & Wright, 1996), and newspapers (Cheit 2003; Collins, 2013) to understand the messages that viewers are receiving about crime, such as who is most likely to commit crime, and who is at the greatest risk of victimization. Research suggests that media frames of minorities are more often negative compared to whites (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Entman, 1990) and minorities may be framed by the media in a way that suggests they are at fault for their victimization (Collins, 2013). Entman (1990) found that television news, in particular, was more likely to have shown images of blacks suspected of a crime in handcuffs or a mugshot than were whites suspected of a crime. Similar depictions of a non-white offender, particular blacks and Hispanics, have been shown on crime dramas (Oliver, 1994). Meanwhile, research by Dixon and Linz (2000) found that whites were more often depicted as victims or criminal justice officials than were nonwhites.

The media play an essential role in shaping the public's perception of crime. Few individuals relative to the entire population have personal experience with crime (e.g., offenses or victimization) so their perceptions are largely shaped by the information they receive secondhand through media. However, the realities presented by the media may be distorted or inaccurate compared to official crime statistics (Chermak & Chapman, 2007). Crime is a prominent topic covered by the media across formats. Graber (1980) found that one-fourth of daily news coverage was about crime. The attention the media devotes to crime coverage may suggest to media consumers that crime was committed at a greater



rate than official statistics show and that the likelihood of victimization was greater than in reality (Reiner, Livingston, & Allen, 2003). Crimes most likely to be covered were also violent (Grosholz & Kubrin, 2007).

The manner in which the news media covers crime varies by the demographic characteristics of the victims and offenders. As mentioned previously, blacks and Hispanics were more likely to be depicted as offenders, while whites were more likely to be depicted as victims (Dixon & Linz, 2000). Even though the majority of crime is intraracial and committed by people of all races (Morgan, 2017), news coverage commonly uses narratives of minority offenders and white victims. The coverage of gender in the media is mixed. Sorenson, Manz, and Berk (1998) found that homicides involving female victims were mentioned extensively in the news. However, Gruenewald et al.'s (2009) findings somewhat contradict; black female victims were included less often in the news than were intraracial crimes between black males. Official statistics indicate that males were victimized more frequently than females for all offenses besides rape and sexual assault (Truman & Morgan, 2016).

When it comes to individuals' understanding of sex offending and sex offenders, the media rely on sensational information to frame individuals (Wright, 2003). Given that the media depict uncommon crimes, many sex offenders were never mentioned in the newspaper. Cheit (2003) found that more than half of individuals charged with child molestation in Rhode Island never appeared in the newspaper. The cases against a sex offender were more likely to be covered in the news when they were first-degree charges, had multiple victims, involved the use of violence, or if the offender was a stranger.

Galeste et al. (2012) found in their study of sex offenders in newspapers that the media



used one of four frames to talk about sex offenders. Sex offenders most commonly were framed as (1) compulsive, being unable to control their actions, (2) specialists, committing the same type of crime, (3) homogenous, all sex offenders were discussed in similar ways as if each type of sex offense was synonymous with one type, and (4) incurable, or not benefitting from treatment (Galeste et al., 2012).

Social Construction of Reality Summary

Social construction of reality argues that what people perceive as reality, may be just one of many realities, because knowledge is created in society. Knowledge is continually created, modified, and advanced, and must be understood within the context of history, such as what has been done in the past, in the present, and what will be done in the future. Although ideas from Berger and Luckman (1966) have been studied in a variety of subject areas (e.g., economics, criminology, psychology), to my knowledge, there have been no explicit tests of the theory. Concepts from this work though, have been used to understand the basis of knowledge, including the role the media plays in shaping individuals' understanding of crime. In the current research, the ideas of social constructionism were used to assess how depictions of sex offenders in newspapers shaped individual's perceptions (realities) of sex offenders. Specifically, this research examined if there were particular frames (e.g., nonwhite offender, white victims) in newspaper articles used to talk about sex offenders and their victims.

Labeling Theory

To understand how identity shapes individuals' interactions, it was important to understand the meanings that they ascribe to themselves. The labels with which they



identify can affect a person's image of themselves, and these labels affect their interactions with other people (Vold, Bernard, & Snipes, 2011). The concept of a label and its meaning originated from labeling theory. This theory was rooted in Symbolic interaction theory. Symbolic interaction theory, created in the 1930s, focused on how people constructed and maintained personal identities. It explained the ways in which a person reacted to a label and how this affected their future behavior (Vold, et al., 2011). Symbolic interaction theory had also been used to explain why some people chose to conform in certain situations, while others responded with deviant or unlawful behavior. Labeling theory can be traced to prominent theorists such as Frank Tannenbaum, Charles Lemert, Howard Becker, Erving Goffman, and John Braithwaite. A review of the literature around the history of labeling theory is presented in the following section.

Tannenbaum (1938) is often viewed as one of the first labeling theorists. He explained that the process of becoming criminal occurred through an eight-step progression. The steps included, "tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious" (Tannenbaum, 1938, p. 259). When a person was tagged, they were separated from their existing social group and construed as criminal. The criminal label could deter others from associating with this individual and the isolation, in combination with reminders of their ascribed label, could cause this person to identify and act on this label. The person was isolated from conventional others, so they might try to form attachments with other individuals who had similar labels (Tannenbaum, 1938).

Since the work of Tannenbaum (1938), there have been major expansions of labeling theory. In 1951, Lemert expanded Tannenbaum's (1938) theory and described



how a person became associated with the acts that defined them. He also added two new terms, primary deviance and secondary deviance. Lemert (1951) postulated that deviant actions only garnered attention when norm violation became a means to assign status. Deviations were not important unless they become standards for conveying social status (Lemert, 1951, p. 75). Primary deviance refers to a situation in which an individual engaged in a criminal act or violated a social norm but did not receive the label, criminal. A person was not labeled if they were able to rationalize their actions, and a one-time occurrence rarely resulted in a strong societal reaction. However, repeat occurrences and a strong societal response can jeopardize the individual's existing labels and their future label.

Lemert (1951) argued that the process from primary to secondary deviance varied depending on the nature of the individual's crime and societal responses. Deviant acts that were repeated, highly visible, and elicited a severe reaction from others were most likely to result in a disruption of existing roles and the creation of a deviant label (Lemert, 1951). The initial step, primary deviance, occurred when a person engaged in a criminal act. Next, there was some social response to their action, but it typically did not result in labeling. Despite the reaction, the individual could choose to engage in crime again. In response, this elicited an even stronger reaction from people in society. This process repeated again with increasing hostilities that eventually led to formal action to label this person. The person who was labeled increased their deviance in reaction to the label. Eventually, secondary deviance occurred when a person accepted his/her label and adjusted to the expectations associated with the label (Lemert, 1951). When people commit crime, their non-criminal peers often sanction them. While one offense can be



overlooked, repeat criminal offenses eventually may come to define an individual.

Secondary deviance was sometimes visible to others through a person's clothes, speech, or mannerisms (Lemert, 1951).

Becker provided further expansions of the theory by his discussion of deviance as a master status. A person who had broken the rules of a group was called an outsider. The concept of the outsider referred to the label applied to the individual by others, rather than the quality of the act (Becker, 1997). Becker refined Lemert's (1951) term, secondary deviance, as a person's master status. The master status was the most important status an individual had and was more salient than any other status. An example of a master status was a criminal, which was assigned by others or through self-labeling. Before a master status was acquired, a person had to be caught committing a deviant act and labeled according to his/her behavior (Becker, 1988). However, not all rule violations would result in a label and not all rule following would prevent labeling (Becker, 1997). By this, Becker meant that some individuals were labeled, despite never committing the act for which they were labeled. Deviant acts were treated differently depending on who committed the act and who felt victimized (Becker, 1997, p. 12). Once caught and labeled, the person had fewer opportunities for social participation because of the attributes associated with this label. The attributes of the label shaped how others treated the individual. Eventually, the person could start to perceive himself or herself as other do, and the label becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy in which expectations become reality (Becker, 1988). This individual may start acting in accordance with their master status.

Goffman (1986) gave a new term to Tannenbaum's (1938) original definition of tagging and called it stigma. He conceived stigma as negative attributes that came to



define a person. There were three main types of stigma, those related to character flaws, race, and physical deformities (Goffman, 1986). Character flaws were when a person acted dishonestly or was unnaturally passionate or domineering. Racial stigma were the negative perceptions associated with certain groups of individuals. Physical deformities were bodily imperfections (Goffman, 1986). Stigma, or shameful characteristics, which defined a person, come to epitomize a person's character and the associated imagery. Individuals differed in the extent to which they accepted these stigmas as factual, and some people may be unaware of their stigma. However, for others, they might identify with the characteristics of the stigma. These individuals could experience self-loathing and disgust. They could also become socially isolated, experience discrimination, or develop negative perceptions about themselves (Goffman, 1986).

The next major expansion of the theory was by Braithwaite (1989). Previous theorists focused on how individuals were labeled a criminal, but Braithwaite was the first to conceptualize how a person could remove this label. Braithwaite (1989) focused on two types of shaming, disintegrative and reintegrative. Disintegrative shaming occurred when a person committed a crime, he or she was sanctioned or labeled, and no effort was made on the part of the society to reintegrate this person. This type of shaming divides the community and creates a group of outcasts (Braithwaite, 1989, p. 55). As outcasts, theses individuals associate primarily with other outcasts, and since delinquent behavior was often a social activity, this provided opportunities to engage in crime. Conversely, reintegrative shaming was the process of accepting a person back into society after the community had expressed its disapproval. Shaming referred to social



disapproval and usually took the form of gossip; it was most effective when used by those who are important to a person (Braithwaite, 1989).

In the United States, disintegrative shaming was typically used to punish wrongdoings, but this often only pushed the individual further from law-abiding society. The process of reintegrative shaming, common in countries like Japan and Australia, involved punishing a person for their actions but then accepting them back into the community. This process was most effectively done through informal sanctions imposed by relatives and friends compared to the state (Braithwaite, 1989, p. 69). Reintegrative shaming allowed a community to shame the offender but maintain their attachments to family and friends. Expressions of shame reinforced morals that were important to a society, and punishment was necessary when an individual had a lapse in conscience (Braithwaite, 1989).

Many of the restrictions Braithwaite (1989) discussed in his theory were included in modified labeling theory. Link, Cullen, Stunning, Shrout, and Dohrenwend (1989) used this variation of labeling theory to suggest that stigmatized individuals would have different opportunities. People with stigma may be aware of their status to different degrees and perceive societal discrimination to different levels. Labeling was a five step process that involved societal establishment of stigma, the recognition of what it means to be stigmatized, the person's response to the stigma, limiting their own opportunities to avoid possible consequences, and further social isolation (Link et al., 1989). According to this theory, the isolation that sex offenders face is partially due to their own withdrawal from society, in combination with societal responses.



Much of the recent research had used concepts from labeling theory and reintegrative shaming theory (RST), but few have explicitly tested the theory. The first major test of the theory was conducted by Hay (2001). Hay (2001) examined the relationship between sanctions imposed on adolescents by parents for delinquent behavior. Hay (2001) found a strong relationship between parent-child interdependency as predicted by RST. Parents who had a close relationship with their child sanctioned their child in a way that reinforced their bond. Partial support was found for the effect of shaming on reintegration. Specifically, shaming was negatively related to future delinquency but unlike RST, it was negatively related to future delinquency regardless of the level of integration (Hay, 2001). Braithwaite's (1989) theory has since been used to test a variety of issues including adolescent delinquency (Losoncz & Tyson, 2007; Ttofi & Farrington, 2008), drunk driving (Dansie, 2011), and white-collar crime (Murphy & Harris, 2007).

Labeling Theory and Sex Offenders

Empirical tests of labeling theory were mixed at best, and few studies of the impact of labeling theory on sex offenders have been conducted. McAlinden (2005) argued that the majority of practices towards sex offenders were disintegrative.

Disintegrative shaming practices further isolated offenders from the community and may inadvertently increase recidivism (Edwards & Hensley, 2001). Only two studies of which I am aware explicitly tested facets of labeling theory using sex offender samples. Both studies are described below.

Robbers (2009) examined the effect of informal and formal sanctions imposed on sex offenders in Virginia. Of the offenders contacted, 42 percent (N=153) completed a



mailed survey questionnaire and an additional 39 percent completed telephone interviews, while nine wrote anonymous letters. Participants were asked to respond to open-ended questions about how their sex offense conviction had affected their life, experiences with correctional programming, and community life. The most common negative experience occurred in their place of employment and personal lives (Robbers, 2009). Half of respondents had lost a job because of being a sex offender and had experienced strained relationships with their children or other relatives. Negative treatment also included forms of harassment, feelings of isolation, and depression (Robbers, 2009).

Mingus and Burchfield (2012) also tested labeling theory among sex offenders. They used modified labeling theory to assess whether sex offenders perceived discrimination because of their criminal label, and how this affected their behavior. Surveys were completed by 150 sex offenders enrolled in sex offender treatment programs in the state of Illinois. The vast majority (94 percent) of participants believed they experienced discrimination because of being a sex offender (Mingus & Burchfield, 2012). Coping strategies to deal with the discrimination included being more secretive, obtaining more education, and withdrawing from social settings. The more a sex offender perceived discrimination, the more likely they were to withdraw or become secretive. Mingus and Burchfield (2012) found support for modified labeling theory because offenders chose to withdraw from social interactions.

Labeling Theory Summary

Labeling theory as a theoretical framework could be used to understand feelings of otherness and isolation experienced by people who have been labeled. The attitude of



the community towards the offender is of interest when understanding the informal consequences of labeling. The absence of strong attachment to conventional society like family and friends may affect how a person sees themselves and others. Labeling theory is particularly advantageous in examining sex offenders because it describes how an individual is transformed from a deviant into a criminal through the process of primary and secondary deviance. Those who embraced their stigma may be more likely to recidivate, and even among those who do not reoffend, they may never fully reintegrate back into society.

Social Disorganization Theory

Another important theoretical perspective that is relevant to the area of sex offender registration is Social Disorganization Theory. The origins of Social Disorganization Theory can be traced to the Chicago School and the School of Human Ecology. The original meaning of ecology was the relationship between plants and animals to their environment. Ecologists studied the interdependencies between organisms and their habitat (Vold, Bernard, and Snipes, 2002). Humans were organized in similar ways, as each person struggled for survival in an interdependent community (Vold et al., 2002). Park (1952) used this idea from ecology to understand how humans were organized in society. Other notable Social Disorganization theorists included Burgess, Shaw and McKay, and Bursik and Grasmick.

Social Disorganization Theory was rooted in the Chicago School, known for its emphasis on place as a physical location and a concept that differentiates between groups (Orum, 1998). Place as a physical feature has five main features. These features include specific geographic coordinates, a defined physical boundary, the "place" takes up a



small area, it is controlled by a person or a group, and has a specific function that is fulfills (Eck & Guerette, 2012). Park (1952) compared the organization of the city to plant and animal communities. In the city, different groups of people occupied the same area, and have different demands on the environment. However, unlike plants and animals, humans have an indirect relationship with their physical environment mediated through cooperation with other humans (Park, 1952, p. 156). The city was organized based on competition between individuals; that resulted in an equilibrium achieved on the division of labor (Park, 1952). Relationships in the city were predicated on territorial, economic, and cultural order. Territorial order means that relationships were affected by physical proximity to other individuals. Economic order referred the system of trade for goods and services. Cultural order was the establishment of communication and the creation of traditions, and beliefs (Park, 1952).

Park and Burgess' research focused on the concept of place and emphasized field research and ethnography to understand the city and residential concerns. Park's (1952) research was concerned with place as an abstract idea. In Chicago, there was much conflict because of groups competing for the same resources (Orum, 1998). Movement of new immigrants into an area resulted in conflicts between new and older residents.

Burgess focused on place as a physical entity; particularly, his work on the concentric zone model. In this model, crime was most heavily concentrated in the center of the city and decreased as people moved away from the city center. The city was made up of five zones including the central business zone, zone of transition, working class zone, residential zone, and commuter zone (Orum, 1998). The zone in transition experienced



the highest levels of social disorganizations, despite changes in the composition of the population.

The next expansion of the theory was by a student of Park and Burgess. Thrasher (1936) examined the ecological processes that affected the crime rate and the creation of gangs. He found that gangs were an extension of childhood playgroups (Hagedorn, 2010). Most gangs were randomly created, rather, males from the neighborhood started to gather because of similar interests or attitudes (Thrasher, 1936). Gangs developed in response to limited opportunities in society, such as family disintegration, corruption, and unemployment, and offered an escape from boredom (Thrasher, 1936). However, gang membership was not fixed as connections were severed when families move in and out of the area. Gang boundaries were defined by physical features in the city of Chicago including rivers, canals, railroad tracks, and business streets. The gangs existed in areas that were disorganized and outside the control of government officials (Thrasher, 1936).

The work of Park and Burgess influenced the later research in Social Disorganization Theory by Shaw and McKay. In this theory, Shaw and McKay (1942) were interested in understanding why the zone in transition had higher levels of crime compared to other areas. The zone in transition was the area between the central business district and the working zone. Shaw and McKay (1942) explored whether the crime rate in an area was dependent on the people who lived in the area or whether there were other factors that affected the crime rate, regardless of who lived there. They assessed whether rapid change led to higher rates of delinquency and social disorganization (Kubrin, 2010). Shaw and McKay (1942) found that areas with high crime rates continued to have high crime rates, regardless of who lived there. These locations also experienced high rates of



social problems like delinquency, truancy, sexually transmitted diseases, and mental disorders. Socially disorganized areas were more likely to experience poverty, residential instability, and racial heterogeneity (Sampson, 2011). The zone in transition was theorized to have the highest crime rates and the fewest social controls (Snodgrass, 1976).

Through mapping areas in Chicago, Shaw and McKay (1942) determined that areas with high crime rates continued to experience these trends in later generations. Shaw and McKay (1966) later tested the idea of social disorganization using the case study of Stanley. Stanley grew up in a neighborhood that was impoverished and had high rates of racial heterogeneity and residential instability. Stanley's neighborhood lacked any system of informal social control and he was unhindered from engaging in crime even at a young age (Shaw & McKay, 1966).

By the 1970s, Social Disorganization Theory was largely forgotten. However, it was revitalized by Kornhauser (1978) in her review of various theoretical predictors of delinquency. Her critical work assessed what theories could be validated and what theories should be rejected. She was the first to define social disorganization. She defined it as "... the inability of a community to realize the common values of its residents and maintain effective social controls" (Kornhauser, 1978, p.120). She criticized Social Disorganization Theory as being tautological because the theory argues that social disorganization caused social disorganization. Social disorganization is a phenomenon that weakens social controls and the ability of people to regulate behavior in a particular area.



The most well known early formal test of Social Disorganization Theory was not until Sampson and Groves (1989). Drawing from data in the British Crime Survey (BCS), they found that residential instability, racial heterogeneity, socioeconomic status, and family disruption affected personal and property victimization. In contrast, socially organized neighborhoods had established friendship networks, organization participation, and types of informal social control (Sampson & Groves, 1989). Subsequent studies also yielded support for these findings (Lowenkamp, Cullen, & Pratt, 2003; Veysey & Messner, 2000).

Other critics of Social Disorganization Theory argued that the idea of an "organized community" is biased because all communities differ in their organization (Bursik, 1988). The term social disorganization implied a value judgement (Kubrin, 2010). In addition, Social Disorganization Theory was a macro theory of community characteristics but was applied to the micro level (Bursik, 1988). Kubrin (2010) argued that Shaw and McKay never tested their theory; they mapped differences in areas but did not use any statistical analyses to test the premises of their theory, and they used census tracks to measure neighborhoods despite the fact that the people in the area may not conceptualize these areas as their neighborhood. The data were also biased, since they came from official court records and were cross-sectional (Kubrin, 2010).

To address some of the criticisms mentioned above, the Systemic Model was created by Bursik and Grasmick (1993). The systemic model predominately focused on the measure of informal social control. Informal social control was "...the effort of the community to regulate itself and the behavior of residents and visitors to the neighborhood" (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993, p. 15). The model focused on how social



institutions operated as sources of formal and informal control. Neighborhoods, however, were not always organized through strong social ties (Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush, 2001). In some neighborhoods, residents had relatively little interaction and low social capital. Morenoff et al. (2001) argued that the systemic model does not examine the efforts of individuals to prevent deviance. Through their study, they found that areas with low collective efficacy had higher rates of crime, and this finding persisted over time, despite changes in the population of an area (Morenoff et al., 2001). Wilkinson (2007) further criticized the model and argued that strong ties were not always preventative because local ties may not engage in law-abiding behavior.

The most recent addition to Social Disorganization Theory was the concept of collective efficacy. Collective efficacy was the idea that social control required effort on the part of people in the community to monitor youth's behavior. This model considered the structure of a neighborhood (e.g., concentrated disadvantage, residential mobility, and racial heterogeneity), neighborhood ties (e.g., organizational participation, local ties), and individual characteristics. The collective efficacy model emphasized shared beliefs, rather than formal ties, to prevent crime (Sampson, 2002). Key concepts include social cohesion/trust and shared expectations.

Studies in the United States assessed the impact of collective efficacy on the advice parents tell their children about the use of violence. Johnson, Finigan, Bradshaw, Haynie, and Cheng (2011) found that higher levels of collective efficacy were negatively associated with parental support for violence. Parents in areas with high levels of collective efficacy were less likely to tell their child that violence was an appropriate way to solve a problem (Johnson et al., 2011). These findings echoed Kilewer's (2013) study



of caregiver advice to their children on how to handle problems at school. Families residing in areas with higher collective efficacy were less likely to tell their children to use violence to solve problems (Kilewer, 2013). Collective efficacy has also been used to test the rate of violent crime.

Internationally, the idea of collective efficacy has been tested in countries like Australia (Mazerolle, Wickes, and MacBroom, 2010) and Sweden (Sampson, 2012). Both studies found that the theory was applicable to areas outside the United States. Collective efficacy affected the rate of violent crime in Sweden; the higher the collective efficacy in an area, the lower the violent crime rate (Sampson, 2012). Informal control and collective efficacy negatively affected concentrated disadvantage. The level of collective efficacy remained constant over time, even though the residential composition changed (Sampson, 2012).

Social Disorganization Theory and Sex Offenders

Research has examined the role of social disorganization and neighborhood characteristics in areas where sex offenders are most likely to reside (Hipp, Turner, & Jannetta, 2010; Koncur, 2011). Koncur (2011) found partial support for the presence of social disorganization in areas where sex offenders live. In his study, there was a moderate correlation between areas that were socially disorganized and the presence of sex offenders classified as tier three. Sex offenders were most often geographically concentrated in areas that were socially isolated (Koncur, 2011). Hipp et al.'s (2010) study echoed these findings. Their study of sex offenders released on parole in California found that sex offenders often moved to locations characterized by a greater concentrated



disadvantage and residential instability. Sex offenders, particularly whites and Hispanics, were more likely to move to a socially disorganized neighborhood (Hipp et al., 2010).

Moderate support was found using Social Disorganization Theory to understand sex offending and the prevention of future offenses (Crain, 2008; Tewksbury, Mustaine, & Covington, 2010). Tewksbury et al. (2010) contend that Social Disorganization Theory was better able to explain sex offenses committed against adults than sex offenses committed against children (Tewksbury et al., 2010). Craun (2010) tested whether Social Disorganization Theory could be used to explain the prevention of future sex offenses by increasing neighborhood awareness. Sex offenders typically resided in areas that had higher levels of social disorganization which could affect awareness. Two groups were used; a test group who lived within one-tenth of a mile of registered sex offenders, and a control group, which lived at least one mile from registered sex offenders. Nearly onethird (31 percent) of those in the test group reported that a registered sex offender lived in their neighborhood compared to two percent of the control group (Craun, 2010, p. 426). Neighborhood awareness was correlated with residents who knew about Megan's Law, residents who were knowledgeable about crimes in their community, and knowledge of the number of sex offenders who lived within one-tenth of a mile from their residence. Residents who knew about Megan's Law and crimes in their neighborhood were often knowledgeable about sex offenders in the area (Craun, 2010). In terms of Social Disorganization Theory, however, only one neighborhood variable affected awareness. Residents were more aware of offenders when there was a greater percentage of Hispanic immigrants in their neighborhood (Craun, 2010). Additional research is needed to further understand the merits of Social Disorganization Theory.



Social Disorganization Summary

Social Disorganization Theory has been used to explain neighborhood characteristics that affect crime. Research has found that criminal offenders in general and sex offenders in particular, may concentrate in areas characterized as socially disorganized. Explicit tests of Social Disorganization Theory are few in number, because most research in the area of social disorganization has been devoted to understanding components of social disorganization such as residential instability, concentrated disadvantage, and racial heterogeneity. Thus, understanding where sex offenders are living in Mississippi will increase the understanding of the impact of social disorganization on sex offenders' and their residential choices.



CHAPTER IV

COMPARING MEDIA COVERAGE OF SEX OFFENDERS AND MURDERERS THROUGH THE LENS OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

The goal of the current study was to understand how sex offenses and homicides were portrayed in newspapers. This goal was achieved through the identification of sex offenses and homicides reported in *The New York Times* in the years 2007 and 2017. The study compared differences in news coverage and media framing between the two years for both groups.

The following research questions were used to guide this exploration:

- 1. How did the newspaper stories frame sex offenders?
- 2. How did the newspaper stories portray victims of sex offenses?
- 3. How did the newspaper stories frame murderers?
- 4. How did the newspaper stories portray homicide victims?
- 5. Did the newspaper stories use similar framing techniques for sex offenders and murderers?
- 6. Did framing techniques for sex offenders and murderers, respectively, differ between 2007 and 2017?

Operationalization of Variables

The purpose of the study was to understand differences in the framing of sex offenders and murderers in newspapers. There are specific framing techniques used by



the media to talk about crime. When news articles talk about offenders, the majority were black or Hispanic (Dixon & Linz, 2000). This gives the impression that most crime was committed by minorities. Most news coverage focuses on crimes committed by males, and in the limited research that exists on how female murderers were portrayed, there is an emphasis on the female's attributes and whether that individual is adhering or deviating from traditional ideas of femininity or womanhood (Easteal et al., 2015). In order words, females who commit murder do not adhere to traditional notions associated with being a female such as being gentle or nurturing. In most news coverage, victims are either white (Dixon & Linz, 2000) or depicted as vulnerable (Gruenewald et al., 2009). When examining the intersectionality of race and gender, black female victims were the least likely to be discussed in the media compared to all other victims (e.g., white female, white male, black male).

For this study, a sex offender is an individual convicted of illegal sexual offenses. Sex offenses referred to a range of offenses, which varied according to each state's statutes. Sex offenses included crimes that involved rape, statutory rape, sexual assault with an object, sodomy, and incest (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015a). Like sex offenders, murderers can be operationalized in different ways. For the present study, murderers referred to individuals who were convicted of homicide. Homicide was defined as the deliberate killing of a human being by another individual (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017c). It included first-degree murder, second-degree murder, and manslaughter.



Research Methods

To analyze the data in question, a qualitative content analysis was used. The way I approached the data was to use a directed content analysis. Directed content analyses are a more structured approach than a conventional content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2015). In a directed content analysis, the research uses information from previous research and literature to form the basis of the analysis. Based on previous research, the investigator would expect to find themes consistent with what others have found. Therefore, the goal of the current analyses was to validate and extend a theoretical framework, in this case, the social construction of reality and labeling theory. The analysis also relied on open coding and axial coding techniques. Open coding techniques allowed data to be segmented into one-word or short sequences of words that captured different concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Axial coding techniques were then used after identifying different categories. Axial coding techniques refer to the process of refining categories into smaller themes and then identifying and linking any relationship between the categories (Flick, 2014). These techniques allowed for the examination of framing of sex offenders and murderers in newspaper articles.

No research of which I am aware has compared media portrayal of sex offenders with that of murderers. The study used both inductive and deductive reasoning to understand media content. Manifest coding, which includes surface level content such as themes in the data, was used to examine offender and victim characteristics. Gender, race, and age are three themes that emerged in the data because they were often mentioned. The next step was to use latent coding, which is used to look at the deeper meaning of the content. In this case, latent coding was used to understand the meaning in



the text of the newspaper article, such as the implications of a sex offense committed by a male or female. Newspaper articles were analyzed using MaxQDA 10 software. With MaxQDA, users can upload, organize, visualize, and quantify data. Newspaper articles were downloaded from *The New York Times* archive, copied into Word documents, and uploaded into the program for analysis.

Data

To understand media depictions of sex offenders and murderers by mainstream newspapers in the United States, a content analysis was employed. The depiction of sex offenders and murderers in the media was analyzed using data from *The New York Times* archives. *The New York Times* was selected for several reasons. *The New York Times* is one of the top three most widely circulated newspapers (print and electronic editions) in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2017). *The New York Times* covers a wide expanse of information about crimes throughout the United States and it has an archive of current and past editions of the newspaper articles available to the public for viewing purposes.

The data were derived from the years 2007 (January 1, 2007 to December 31, 2007) and 2017 (January 1, 2017 to December 31, 2017). The year 2007 was intentionally selected because the Adam Walsh Child Safety and Protection Act was enacted in 2006. This Act mandated that all states include the same criteria (e.g., name and aliases, address of residence) on the Internet about sex offenders. Consequently, a spike in news coverage about sex offenders could have resulted in the following year. The year 2017 was selected as a point of comparison because it represented ten years



after Adam's Law passed. It was also the year following the last legislative change to sex offender laws with the creation of the International Megan's Law in 2016.

The data came from an exhaustive search of *The New York Times* archives using key word searches. To gather a sample of newspaper articles about sex offenders, the key words "sex offender" and "sex crime" were used. An initial search of the term "sex offender" yielded 124 articles for 2007. Upon reviewing the articles identified by using these key words, articles that did not appear to be about a sex offender or sex offense were excluded from the sample. For example, one article talked about the sexual orientation of a victim of robbery, while another focused on a murder trial of members of the Mafia. Book reviews, magazine articles, and opinion pieces were also not included in the analysis. After review of the articles for relevancy, 33 were retained for analyses. A total of 51 articles published in 2017 were found using the search term "sex offender," of which 11 articles were relevant. The key word "sex crime" yielded 522 articles in 2007, of which 47 were relevant. In 2017, the key word "sex crime" generated 417 articles, and 51 were useable in the current study.

Articles in 2007 were also excluded from the sample if they were unavailable through *The New York Times* archive due to broken Internet links (N=38). An additional 12 articles in 2007 and two articles in 2017 were excluded because a duplicate copy had been drawn using the keywords "sex offender" and "sex crime." The final sample of articles about sex offenders was 80 articles in 2007 and 62 articles in 2017.

The sample of newspaper articles about murderers was collected using two key words "degree murder" (based on Leone, 2016) and "homicide," based on the intuitive nature of the word for this research effort. An initial search of "degree murder" yielded



414 articles in 2007 and 268 articles in 2017. An initial search for "homicide" derived 428 articles in 2007 and 308 in 2017. I then went through each of the articles to (a) remove any article that did not describe a murder/homicide, or include descriptors to describe the alleged perpetrator and (b) to remove any article that appeared in both article sets.

In 2007, there were 121 articles generated from the key word search "degree murder" and 53 articles using the key word "homicide." In 2017, there were 85 relevant articles using the term "degree murder" that were relevant to the current study and 72 articles using the term "homicide" that met the search criteria. Articles were excluded if the article was not about a murder or murderer, the publication date was outside the date restrictions (January 1, 2007 to December 31, 2007 or January 1, 2017 to December 31, 2017), or it was an opinion piece or book review. For example, a search of the term "degree murder" in 2007 yielded an article called "Happiness 101" which was about a college course in psychology focused on how to make a person happier. This article was not relevant to the current study and was excluded. Another article published January 7, 2007, was about a historian who had died of natural causes in her home. This article was also excluded from analysis. Another publication was a book review published December 6, 2007 about the memoirs of a Jewish male; it was also excluded from the final sample of articles. Additionally, seven articles were excluded that had been found using the search terms "sex offender" or "sex crime." The final sample for 2007 articles about murderers included 119 articles using the term "degree murder" and 48 articles using the key word "homicide."



Coding

The basis of the coding used in the analysis was derived from codes created by Galeste et al. (2012) in their analysis of sex offender myths in the media. In their study, they had five main variables: details about the newspaper, victim, offense, policy, and sex offender myths. The coding schema used in the current study was then refined using deductive coding. Deductive coding is a form of coding in which the researcher expects the presence of particular codes, given that many of these appear in previous research. During the coding process for the current study, there were 12 main categories created, 41 subcategories, and 2 additional themes (see Table 5). The main categories that emerged from analyses pertained to the geographic region, recidivism, community reaction, legislation, DNA evidence/forensic investigation, denial of injury/innocence, mental illness/mental health, the relationship between offender and victim, consequences facing sex offenders, and variables related to the offense, offender, and victim. All topics of which have been covered to some extent in the literature. These categories were used for the articles about sex offenders and murderers, the reference group. Each of the categories and themes are described in detail below. Articles were analyzed from *The* New York Times using MAXQDA10 software.

[Insert Table 5]

Findings

The largest category of sex offender articles was offender variables (see Table 5). Offender variables referred to any information about an offender including the offender's previous or current employment, race, gender, age, positive descriptions, and negative descriptions. In 2007, 18.7% of the news articles were offender variables compared to



26.8% in 2017. The three subcategories with the most coded segments in both 2007 and 2017 were the offender's gender, age, and previous or current employment. The smallest subcategory, race, was covered in 2.3% of the articles in 2007 and 1% in 2017. Offenders in the articles for 2007 and 2017 were overwhelming male, over the age of 30, and white-collar workers (e.g., politicians, priests).

Many of the articles published in *The New York Times* in 2007 and 2017 included information about different criminal offenses. The category "offense variables" was the second largest category and made up 16.9% of articles in 2007 and 24% in 2017. Subcategories included whether the lawyer was present or the defendant was compelled to confess, the offender's criminal history, sentence length if convicted, failure to report crime, how the defendant pleaded (guilty or not guilty), details about the offense, and types of offenses. Types of offenses varied widely and included charges such as rape, statutory rape, sexual assault, sexual battery, molestation, kidnapping, child pornography, and murder in 2007. In 2017, there were no articles about sexual battery or kidnapping. There were, however, some topics not addressed in articles from 2007, including sex trafficking, child abuse and neglect, aggravated indecent assault, and child sexual abuse.

The most sensational coverage of sex offender cases was captured in the subcategory offense details, which included made up 13% of the articles in 2007 and 23.9% in 2017. Fourteen of the 22 articles in 2007 were about the same case. An article on May 16, 2007, described the circumstances that led up to offenses.

"Mr. Braunstein is accused of dressing in a firefighter's turnout coat and a helmet with a plastic visor that he bought on the Internet, and setting off smoke bombs to



trick the woman, a former co-worker in the fashion press, into letting him into her Chelsea apartment in October 2005".

Another case was discussed in two of the 22 articles in 2007. The case was about a 29-year-old previously convicted male sex offender who posed as a child to gain entrance to schools. In some cases, such as the one described above, multiple offenders and victims were involved. In 2017, two articles were about a former Congressman accused of having an inappropriate online relationship with a 15-year old female.

According to an article on May 19th, 2017,

"[He] pleaded guilty to a felony on Friday, crying openly as he admitted to conduct that he knew was 'as morally wrong as it was unlawful'. The plea agreement ended a federal investigation into a series of sexually explicit pictures and messages that Mr. Weiner sent last year to a 15-year-old girl in North Carolina."

The third largest category was victim variables. Victim variables refer to information about a victim. This category was included in 16.5% of articles in 2007 and 29.7% in 2017. Subcategories included positive descriptions, signs of struggle, not believing or minimizing the victimization, the victim's race, age, and gender. The subcategories with the most coded segments for both 2007 and 2017 were the victim's gender and age. In 2007 and 2017, the majority of victims were female in newspaper articles. One-fourth of the articles with gender information in 2007 (N=23,) were about male victims, but less than 10 percent (N=4) of the articles in 2017 were about male victims.



Of the 2007 articles about sex offenders that were included in the analysis, 89 included the location pertaining to the content of the article. The majority of the geographic locations were written in the heading of the newspaper article. About 9% of articles in 2007 had geographic location. Of those 86 articles in the United States, 23 were broadly listed as the New York Region, five were listed as the United States, and 58 articles were about locations throughout the United States. The remaining three articles were about Europe, specifically Italy and England. In comparison, 8.6% of articles had this information in 2017. Nearly two-thirds of which were about areas in the United States. The remaining were about Australia and countries in Asia, Europe, and South America.

A tactic used by the defense and prosecution included an emphasis on the offender's mental health. These discussions of mental health were captured in the category mental illness/health, which was included in 7.6% of articles in 2007 and .3% in 2017. There were three subcategories of mental illness/health: psychological evaluation, no mental illness, and mental illness. The most prevalent subcategory was mental illness in 2007, which comprised 64% of the articles on mental illness. Twelve of the articles in 2007 were about the same case: a male who broke into a former co-worker's home. In an article about the case on May 24, 2007, the lawyers for the defendant argued that he had untreated paranoid schizophrenia, and could not be held responsible for his actions.

In contrast to claims of mental illness, prosecutors often argued against the defense that the sex offender on trial was not mentally ill. The category, no mentally illness was included in 20% of the articles that mentioned mental health. Eight of the articles were about the case mentioned previously. A psychologist brought in as a witness



for the prosecution was quoted as saying on May 19th, 2007, "The results of one psychological test that Mr. Braunstein took, the MMPI-2, were so 'off the chart' '...if it was valid, it would be one of the most severe forms of schizophrenia ever observed in the world". The defendant as well admitted in his diary that he was not mentally ill. If an offender's mental state was questioned, this could lead to possible stigma, which may be compounded if convicted of sexual offenses.

The next category was community reaction. Community reaction referred to responses, both positive and negative, expressed by members of the public towards sex offenders, sex offenses, and sex offender legislation. Subcategories included keeping sex offender restrictions, wanting/needing closure for a sex offender case, sex offender rights, anger towards sex offenders, fear of sex offenders/crime, and disagreement with a sex offender conviction. Interestingly, all articles coded for this category were published in 2007; no articles from 2017 were captured in the category community reaction or any of its secondary themes. In 2007, the largest subcategory was disagreement with a conviction; this subcategory made up 28.8% of the sample.

The second largest subcategory of community reaction was about people who expressed support for current legislation. An article published April 7, 2007 about Miami, Florida discussed how sex offenders were unable to find housing based on current restrictions. The County Commissioner agreed with the legislation since his main concern is the victims, who are often children. Support was also voiced in articles from court officials who endorsed legislation protecting minors from incestuous relationships.

The relationship between the offender and the victim was not always known or reported in articles. The relationship was addressed in 3.3% of articles in 2007 and .3% in



2017. The relationship between the offender and victim was either explicitly stated or inferred by the writer. The relationship varied widely; some of subcategories that emerged included relationships between family members, between correctional officers and person in custody, between inmates, between strangers, between school employees and students, and between co-workers. Co-workers was the largest category in 2007 and included 25% of articles in 2007 and 0% in 2017. The next most prominent subcategory in 2007 and the most prominent subcategory in 2017 concerned crimes between strangers in 2007. In 2007, there were seven coded segments from seven articles where the perpetrator and victim were strangers, and two coded segments from two articles in 2017. In all cases in 2007 and 2017, the victim was female, and the offender was male. On April 16, 2007, one of the cases was described,

"The attack began about 11:30 p.m. on Friday, after the woman... entered an elevator in her building, on Hamilton Terrace near West 141st Street. A man got on the elevator with her, and when they reached her floor he forced his way into her apartment and attacked her, the police said".

Other cases described how a person in a position of authority engaged in an act with someone in their care or custody. Less than one-sixth articles (12.5%) in 2007 and less than one-tenth of articles in 2017 described an inappropriate relationship between those in varying power dynamics. Of the articles in 2007 on sex offending, 12.5% were about the relationship between a school employee and a student in 2007, and 12.5% in 2007 were about relationships between correctional staff and people in custody. No newspaper articles in 2017 focused on the relationship between students and teachers.



The next main category was consequences facing offenders. This category referred to laws that sex offenders must abide by including sex offender registration and probation mandates. It also referred to challenges sex offenders may encounter in their daily lives among general society. One of the biggest challenges that offenders faced was difficulty-finding housing. One-fifth of articles discussing restrictions on sex offenders mentioned housing. A newspaper article on April 7, 2007 reported five sex offenders were living under a highway bridge in Miami because they had been unable to procure housing elsewhere. Most states have created laws that prohibit sex offenders from living in certain locations such as schools and parks. However, not all offenders comply with these laws. An article about New York City on January 29, 2007 reported that 85 percent of sex offenders live within a few blocks of schools, areas that they are legally not allowed to reside.

In addition to housing restrictions, people convicted of sexual offenses may be required to register as a sex offender in their state. The subcategory registration as a sex offender included five coded segments from five articles in 2007 and three coded segments from two articles in 2017. Depending on the type of offense, a person may be required to register as a sex offender for an extended period. After conviction, punishments for sex offenses may include registering as a sex offender, in addition to additional sanctions.

The category, legislation, was discussed in 2.6% of articles in 2007 and 1.6% in 2017. Coded segments about sex offender legislation referred to existing and proposed laws including federal and state laws. Articles in 2007 discussed the creation of new laws in states like Connecticut, Florida, New York, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. Unlike the



articles in 2007 that focused on state specific legislation, articles in 2017 discussed federal legislation such as the Sexual Assault Reform Act in 2001, Crimes Act 2007, and the International Megan's Law. Only one of the articles about legislation addressed a new law; the majority were about existing legislation.

Newspaper articles about sex offenders also discussed DNA evidence. In some cases, before a suspect was brought into custody or a sentence was rendered, investigators relied on DNA evidence or forensic investigation. In 2007, 2.1% of articles covered this topic compared to 1.6% in 2017. DNA evidence can be used to prove a person's guilt or to exonerate someone who was innocent. On August 15, 2007, an article was published about a man being found innocent. "...Anthony Capozzi, spent 22 years in prison for two of those rapes before being exonerated in April by newly discovered DNA evidence linking Mr. Sanchez to the attacks." DNA evidence was also used to solve cold cases. On May 24, 2007, an article was published about a man who after eight years was found guilty. "...convicted of raping a woman in 1999 after a sample of his DNA, taken in an unrelated case, matched a sample from the crime". DNA evidence can also be used to substantiate the claims of victims.

The second smallest category was recidivism of sex offenders. Less than one% of articles in 2007 discussed recidivism compared to 1.85 in 2017. This category was divided into phrases that espoused high recidivism rates and low recidivism rates for sex offenders. Quotes about high recidivism rates were best represented by an article published February 5, 2007 "...citing Department of Justice figures that sexual offenders have the highest recidivism rate of any felons". Both years had articles that cited and challenged high recidivism rates of sex offenders. In an article published July 19, 2007,



the high recidivism rate of sex offenders was challenged. "The public perception is that all of these guys will re-offend, and we know that just isn't true".

The smallest category was denial of injury or innocence. This category referred to statements by the press and quotes in the articles that either denied any wrongdoing or provided justifications for a person's actions. This category was included in .6% of article sin 2007 and .3% in 2017. In one-third of those articles in 2007, there were claims that the sexual acts were consensual between the accused and the victim. In articles in 2007 and 2017, lawyers argued that the defendant was innocent or had been slandered or coerced to confess. On June 8, 2007, an article described the events that led up to a defendant's confession that her lawyer says she did not commit. Her guilty confession was recorded and replayed for jurors during her trial. However, her lawyer said,

"During the three hours before the tape was made, he said, Ms. Bedessie was coerced and intimidated in various ways. He [a police officer] said she was told that, if she confessed, she would be given counseling and released and that the alternative was to be imprisoned at Rikers Island, where she would be brutalized by the other inmates".

Murderer Depiction

The same categories used to understand how sex offenders were depicted in the newspaper articles were used to understand how murderers were depicted in the medium (see Table 6). As mentioned previously, there were 12 main categories. The categories included geographic region, recidivism, community reaction, legislation, DNA evidence/forensic investigation, denial of injury/innocence, mental illness/mental health,



the relationship between offender and victim, consequences facing offenders, and variables related to the offense, offender, and victim. The majority of articles included in 2007 and 2017 were about murderers in the United States.

[Insert Table 6]

The largest category was offense variables. Of the articles in 2007, 32.6% included at least one mention of an offender variable, and 30.2% in 2017. The articles were further condensed into 11 subcategories of offense variables. The subcategories included the type of offense (e.g., first-degree murder, homicide, sexual assault), weapon use (the weapon used in an offense), the location of the offense, and the offender's motive, among others.

The offenses in 2007 and 2017 varied widely. This subcategory, type of offense was discussed in 40.8% of articles in 2007 and 32.8% of articles in 2017. The most frequently mentioned offenses were first-degree murder (2007: N=34, 13.7%; 2017: N=20, 10%) and second-degree murder (2007: N=70, 28.1%; 2017: N=23, 11.6%). Other offenses that garnered medium attention were homicide (2007: N=12, 4.8%, 2017: N=33, 16.8%), manslaughter (2007: N=9, 3.6%; 2017: N=9, 4.5%), criminally negligent homicide (2007: N=5, 2%; 2017: N=6, 3%), and involuntary manslaughter (2007: N=0, 0%; 2017: N=5, 2.5%).

The second largest subcategory of offense variables in 2007 and 2017 was weapon use. Weapons were discussed in 16.1% of articles on 2007 compared to 13% of articles in 2017. In 2007 and 2017, the most frequently mentioned weapon was a gun (2007: N=45, 45.9%; 2017: N=45, 57%). Some articles specified the type of gun such as a 9-millimeter handgun, a Colt revolver, semiautomatic pistol and rifle, handgun, and



AK-47. In 2007, knives were the second most common types of weapon (N=19, 8.4%). In 2017, the second most common types of weapon was a vehicle (N=81, 10.1%), followed by knives (N=7, 8.9%).

In addition to describing the criminal offense and weapons, articles also commonly discussed the length of sentence an offender received for their crime(s). Mentions of sentence length were discussed in 9.3% of articles in 2007 and 9.1% of articles in 2017. The sentences that were mentioned in the articles were often lengthy and punitive. Almost half (N=26, 45.6%) of the articles in 2007 and approximately one-third (N=34, 61.8%) of the articles in 2017 specified prison sentences of 15 years or longer. The next most frequent sentence lengths was life in prison for 2007 (N=8, 14%) and 2017 (N=13, 23.6%). The third most frequent sentence in 2017 was the death penalty (N=6, 10.9%).

The location of the offense varied greatly between articles, and sometimes referred to where the crime took place (e.g., house, business, outdoors). This category was included in 9.9% of articles in 2007 and 8.3% of articles in 2017. The majority of articles specified public locations where an offense took place (2007: N=40, 65.6%; 2017: N=40, 80%). Some of the locations in 2007 included outside a church, on the street, the subway station, a nightclub, and a restaurant. Offenses took placed in similar locations in 2017 – these locations included a bar, on the street, a car dealership, a bus stop, and a restaurant.

Hardly any newspaper articles discussed the use of video footage, in addition to witnesses and DNA evidence. In 2007, .003% of articles mentioned video footage of an incident and in 2017, 6.1% of articles mentioned video footage. Video footage came from



a variety of sources such as body cameras on police officers, surveillance videos, and cell phone recordings. Video footage can be helpful in determining guilt; however, there may be limitations to the use of this technology. An article on June 5, 2017 described how the body camera on a police officer captured some footage but not all the events that took place.

The second largest category was victim variables, which made up 27.5% of the news in 2007 and 29.1% in 2017. As with the offender variables, the victim's gender and age were the most frequently presented information. The majority of victims in 2007 (N=162, 79%) and 2017 (N=146, 77.7%) were male. Ages of victims ranged from a newborn to 76 years of age in 2007 and one to 77 years of age in 2017. Less than one-sixth (N=24, 12.8%) of the victims were minors. The third largest subcategory was employment in 2007, though in 2017, it was positive descriptions of the victim. Positive descriptions included 83 coded segments from 41 documents in 2017 compared to 17 coded segments from 15 articles in 2007. The victim's personality, education, and achievements were touted. An article on December 17, 2017, described a victim "as bubbly and vivacious". Positive descriptions of the victim were also included in an article on August 12, 2017. "She was literally loved everywhere she went. Her smile and charm could get her into events and past police cordons. Her smile filled your heart, her humor and hilarious observations could put you on the floor".

More information specific to the offender was captured under the category offender variable, which was used in 32.6% of articles in 2007 and 30.25 in 2017. The largest subcategories for both years were the offender's gender, and age. In 2007, the next largest subcategories were the offender's previous or current employment and



positive descriptions of the offender. In contrast, 2017 articles had many negative descriptions of the offender. In 2007, there were 205 coded segments about an offender's gender and in 2017, there were 188 coded segments. The vast majority of offenders were male. Age was coded 160 times in 2007 and 122 times in 2017. In 2007, offenders' ages varied from 13 to 72 and in 2017, the age range was 15 to 64 years of age. The majority of offenders were in their twenties when they committed their most recent crime. Many articles in 2017 also focused on the offender's previous or current employment. This subcategory had 52 coded segments from 48 documents in 2007 and in 2017, 55 coded segments from 52 documents. Professions included police officers, bounty hunter, forklift operator, military veterans, and party promoter, amongst others.

In 2007, more newspaper articles included positive descriptions of offenders than in 2017 when murderers often were negatively portrayed in newspaper articles. In 2007, 3.3 of the articles had positive descriptions. For example, an article on January 29, 2007, included a quote from a man who used to work with the offender.

"I think he has power, you know. I always felt that with Paul,' Langley
Danowitz, a physical training client of Mr. Cortez's at the New York Sports Club,
said yesterday. 'He's almost kind of a person that might be kind of like a guru.'
Ms. Danowitz, 64, who has visited and corresponded with Mr. Cortez in jail,
added: 'He's kind of a leader. That's what I always sensed about him, that he had
that kind of a powerful aura in a very good way.'"

In 2007, there were a greater number positive than negatives. The following was an example of a negative portrayal of an offender taken from an article published on March 27, 2017.



"Last week, with total presence of mind, he acted on his plan, randomly selecting a beloved New Yorker solely on the basis of his skin color, and stabbing him repeatedly and publicly on a Midtown street corner,' Mr. Vance said. 'James Jackson wanted to kill black men, planned to kill black men, and then did kill a black man.'"

In addition to racist descriptions, some offenders were portrayed as unstable, directionless, and troubled. An offender was described on May 28, 2017 in an article "'He had a very bad temper,' he said. 'If you didn't think like he thought, he'd get upset with you'".

In 2007, 6.9% of articles included the location. There majority of articles with the geographic location were written about murderers in the United States. The remaining articles were about Australia, and countries in Europe, South America, and Asia. In 2017, 5.9% of articles were about locations in the United States. The remaining five articles were about locations in Europe and Africa.

In the majority of articles in 2007, the victims knew the offender (N=69, 76.1 percent). However, only a slight majority of articles from 2017 were about offenders who knew or were acquainted with their victims (N=31, 51.7%). The category relationship between offender and victim had 90 coded segments from 86 documents in 2007 and 57 coded segments from 54 documents in 2017. In 2017 as well, the largest subcategory was intimate partners had seven coded segments from seven documents. Many of codes were about a victim's fiancé or husband/wife who had been accused of a crime. The largest sub-category for strangers for 2007 and 2017 was interactions between the police and civilians. Violent interactions were the basis of this subcategory. In 2007, articles more



commonly focused on the killing of police officers by civilians. However, in 2017, articles more commonly focused on the killing of civilians by police officers. For example on June1 5th, 2017, an article was published about a shooting of a civilian driver.

"Body-camera video in the homicide trial of a former Milwaukee police officer showed the officer running after a man, Sylville K. Smith, then firing two gunshots at him, the final shot coming just after Mr. Smith tossed his own gun over a chain-link fence and as he was on the ground."

The sample of articles included quotes and key phrases from members of the community about offenders and offenses. The category community reaction was found in 1.7% of articles in 2007 and 3.8% in 2017. The largest subcategories in 2017 were anger at the police and anger at the offender. Neither of these categories in 2007 were emphasized. There was only one coded segment from one document for anger at the police. In 2017, however, anger at the police had 12 coded segments from 11 documents. Residents of the community and politicians voiced their frustration and anger that the police may be operating outside of the law. Police officers may be able to get away with crimes that ordinary citizens cannot. A defendant's family member had this to say after the officer who killed her brother was acquitted, "I don't care if you're white or black," she said. 'This fight, to me, is about law enforcement having a free rein to shoot and kill people." This sentiment from the United States was echoed in the Philippines. According to the deputy director of the Human Rights Watch in Asia, "Philippine police have good reason to believe that they can literally get away with murder". He further argued that the new administration has brought about "the breakdown of rule of law". As new



administrations come into power, countries may see change in existing laws or the creation of new laws.

Citizens may disagree with the conviction of an offender. Disagreement with a conviction was the largest subcategory of community reaction in 2007. It included six coded segments from five documents. Five of the codes were about disagreements with the sentencing of police officers. An article on February 28, 2007 included a statement made by the president of the New Jersey State Troopers. "It sends a message to everyone in law enforcement that despite the rules that are in place, if you make an honest but tragic mistake, you will be fighting for your freedom just for trying to do your job". Similar statements were in other articles that questioned the sentencing of police officers.

When it came to determining guilt or innocence, there were many types of evidence presented in court. In murder cases, DNA and forensic investigations can determine whether an individual was guilty. The category DNA/forensic investigation included 13 coded segments from 11 documents in 2007 and 18 coded segments from 12 documents in 2017. In 2007, articles mentioned DNA testing on blood, hair, fingerprints, and semen. Only one article in 2007 talked about how DNA can prove a person's innocence. The majority of the articles in 2007 talked about evidence can prove a person's guilt. DNA can be taken from the crime scene or the victim. In 2017, articles specified that DNA was taken from a wide array of locations including shell casings from the murder weapon, a vehicle, the victim's body, and articles of clothing.

The eighth category, mental illness/health, included eight coded segments from seven documents in 2007 and 14 coded segments from nine documents in 2017. The largest subcategory for both years was mental illness. This subcategory referred to an



individual's mental wellbeing and the psychological disorders they may possess. Only one type of mental illnesses was referenced in both years of articles, schizophrenia. An offender's mental illness may have an impact on their behavior. A lawyer for a defendant was quoted as saying on November 20, 2017 "The ultimate question is whether she knew or understood that what she did was wrong". Mental illness may be a tactic used to mitigate guilt by the defense. Even in cases where the offender was described as mentally ill or having mental health problems, crimes were still committed against individuals that an offender knew.

In some cases, a person on trial may try to deny their culpability. The category denial of injury/innocence referred to offenders who do not believe they have caused harm to a victim or who maintain their innocence, regardless of the evidence presented against them. This category included four coded segments from four articles in 2007 and six coded segments from six documents in 2017. Most representative of this category was a defense lawyer who tried to mitigate the incident. On May 8th, 2017, the lawyer,

"...portrayed the crash as an accident, which she all but blamed on Mr. Knarr. In her 90-minute summation to the jury on Thursday, Ms. Coleman asserted that Mr.

West had had the right of way and that Mr. Knarr had failed to yield."

Arguments about an offender's innocence were not always successful, nor were arguments that offender has a mental illness or health problem.

The next category was legislation, which was discussed in 0.1% of articles in and .02% in 2017. In the United States, each state has jurisdiction to pass laws governing the behavior of people within the state. The category legislation included information about laws that resonated in a particular state. For example, an article from November 8, 2007



talks about how Albany, New York increased the penalty for weapon possessions and offenses committed against police officers.

The consequences that an offender may face after an offense were narrowly presented in 2017 and do not appear in 2007 articles. In 2017, .2% of the articles included mentions of sex offender registration. Half of which were about how offenders convicted of sexual offenses were required to register as sex offenders. Although some of the articles in the study included information about offenders who had criminal histories, none of the articles in 2007 and 2017 explicitly mentioned recidivism, the smallest category.

Discussion

The study set out to understand how the media framed sex offenders and murderers through an exploration of newspaper articles published in *The New York Times*. It used articles from the newspaper's archive to understand whether media framing was different for sex offenders and murderers, and whether media framing changed over time. Sex offender and murderer frames in 2007 and 2017 in *The New York Times* were analyzed using concepts from labeling theory and the social construction of reality. This research sought to answer how the media portrayed sex offenders, murderers, and their respective victims. In addition, the study explored whether similar framing techniques were used for each type of offender and whether framing differed between 2007 and 2017.

The first question was how newspaper stories framed sex offenders. The most commonly used categories to describe sex offenders were the victim's gender, age, and employment. The media often include the frames, gender and race, for crime coverage so



the common inclusion of the offender's gender was consistent with previous literature (Entman, 1990, Lundman, 2003; Morgan, 2017). The vast majority of offenders in the newspaper articles (N=107, 93%) were male. However, the limited discussion of race differs greatly from previous research, which finds this is a common criterion (Dixon & Linz, 2000). The present study also found that that the majority of articles were about sex offenders that were over the age of 30. Offenders ranged in age from 14 to 96 years old. The average age of offenders was 36 years old in 2007 and 49 years old in 2017. The articles in 2007 were reflective of official statistics that show an average age of sex offenders is in their early 30s (Greenfield, 1997). However, newspaper portrayals in 2017 had a much older average age of offenders, which is not representative of official statistics.

Newspaper articles also commonly included information about the offender's current or previous employment. No research of which I am aware has examined sex offenders' previous employment. Rather, research tends to focus on the types of jobs that these offenders can find after labeled a sex offender and the difficulties they face finding employment (Norman-Eady, 2007; Robbers, 2009, Tewksbury & Lees, 2006).

Overwhelmingly, sex offenders in the 2007 (N=49, 67%) and 2017 (N=16, 76.2%) articles held, or previously had held, white-collar jobs. A variety of white-collar jobs was mentioned in the newspaper articles, including congressional representative, fashion writer, teacher's aide, and priest. Blue-collar positions included police officers, factory workers, and Disney World employees, among others.

The next question was concerned with how newspaper articles portrayed victims of sex offense. Victims of sex offenders were described using similar narratives as sex



offenders. The most commonly used categories in the discussion of victims of sex offense were gender and age. The majority of victims were female in both 2007 (N=61, 75 percent) and 2017 (N=36, 87.8 percent) articles. Both years were consistent with existing literature that finds the majority of sex offense victims are female (Greenfield, 1999) or are portrayed in the media as female (Gruenewald et al., 2009). The age of the victims ranged from 2 months to 88 years old. The average age of victims in 2007 articles was 17 years old and 16 years old in 2017 articles. This depiction is somewhat accurate of official statistics. The median age of sex offense victims varies by the types of offense. The median age of a victim of sexual assault was 13 years old but the median age of a victim of rape was 22 years old (Greenfield, 1997). Therefore, there is some variation in representation of victims by age in the media.

The study also explored the frames used by the media about murderers. There were 986 codes generated for offender murderers, including 473 codes in 2007 and 513 codes in 2017. The most common categories were the offender's gender, age, and previous or current employment. The least common categories were positive descriptions of the offender and their race. The majority of murderers in newspaper articles were male. In 2007 articles, there were 156 articles about male murderers (86.2%) compared to 147 articles in 2017 (92.5%). Both years are consistent with official statistics that reflect malls commit the vast majority of all murders (Cooper & Smith, 2011). The age of murderers for both article years ranged from 13 to 72 years old. The average age of murderers was 31 years old in 2007 and 32 years old in 2017. The representation of a murderer is their 30s is older than official statistics show. Nearly half of murderers were 25 years or younger (Cooper & Smith, 2011). The third most common category to



describe murderers was their current or past employment, discussed in 11% of articles in 2007 and 10.7% in 2017. The majority of offenders currently or previously held blue-collar positions. Examples of these blue-collar jobs included police officers, state troopers, security guards, and a yoga teacher. Demographic trends of murderers focusing on the variables, race, gender, and age, and employment were rarely examined in research.

In addition to understanding how the media framed murderers, I examined how murder victims were depicted. There were 1,102 coded segments from 2007 and 2017 articles. When it comes to newspaper articles presenting information about murder victims, three categories were commonly used: the victim's gender, age, and positive description. Victims were predominantly female for both years. This depiction was not representative of official statistics. In official statistics, the majority (77%) of victims were male, which is a rate 3 times higher than the female victimization rate (Cooper & Smith, 2011, p. 3). The victim's age ranged from newborns, less than 2 months, to 77 years old. The average age was 27 years old in 2007 and 30 years old in 2017. About one-third of offenders in official statistics were under 25 years of age (Cooper & Smith, 2011).

Newspaper articles also included positive descriptions of murder victims. There were 100 coded segments for this subcategory. Many of these segments were of other individual's espousing the positive qualities about the victim. On March 12, 2007, a neighbor described the offender by saying "There are some people, very few people, who have a sunshine disposition. That's Arthur." Positive descriptions of the victim were in newspaper articles in 2007 and 2017. On October 26, 2017, a friend of the victim was



quoted as saying, "He befriended anyone who talked to him who wanted to be his friend because he was that cool a person." Statements about the victim were from family members, friends, co-workers, and teachers, among others. Positive statements were about the individual's work ethic, personality, profession, and relationships with other people.

The fifth research question inquired whether newspaper stories used similar framing techniques for sex offenders and murderers. Overall, articles about sex offenders and murderers relied on similar framing techniques to construct a narrative (see Table 7). There were 12 main categories created during the coding process and 11 of these categories were in articles about both sex offenders and murderers. Recidivism was never discussed in articles about murderers. The three most common categories were the offender variables, victim variables, and offense variables. There were, however, disparities in articles on sex offenders and murderers for several categories. The relationship between the offender and the victim was discussed almost four times as often as in sex offender articles. There was more of an emphasis in sex offender articles for the category consequences facing an offender (e.g., housing restrictions, sex offender registration). This is consistent with previous literature that found sex offenders have difficulty finding employment (Tewksbury & Lees, 2006) and housing outside of spatial restriction zones (Berenson & Appelbaum, 2011; Zgoba et al., 2008). Articles about sex offenders were also more likely than articles about murderers to discuss legislation. This is likely due to the number of legislative changes that have been made to sex offender laws over recent decades (e.g., Jacob's Law, Megan's Law, and Pam Lyncher Act). Articles about sex offenders also sometimes included a discussion of recidivism, unlike



articles about murderers, which did not discuss the likelihood of recidivism. Given that the majority of convicted murderers will be released from prison, there is also the likelihood that a person will reoffend, though this was not mentioned at all in the newspaper articles. In contrast, Roberts, Zgoba, and Shahidullah (2007) found that the recidivism rate of murderers varied according to the type of offender. More than one-third of offenders who committed felony homicides recidivated compared to less than ten percent of domestic violence homicide offenders (Roberts et al., 2007).

[Insert Table 7]

The last research question explored was whether framing techniques for sex offenders and murderers, respectively, differed between 2007 and 2017 (see Table 8). Overall, articles in 2007 about sex offenders had more coded segments than articles in 2017. The largest differences between the years were in the categories mental illness/health and community reaction. Mental health was mentioned in 7.6% of articles in 2007 and 0.3% of articles in 2017. A large disparity also existed for the category community reaction. Slightly more than 5 percent of articles were about community reactions in 2007 but zero in 2017; this could be attributed to a number of reasons including a focus on more sensational stories in 2007 compared to 2017, the intentions of the article's author, limitations on newspaper space, or access to community resources.

[Insert Table 8]

The similarities and differences between murderers in the two years is in Table 8. The categories used to describe murderers in 2007 and 2017 had similar numbers of coded segments. Offender variables, offense variables, and victim variables are the most commonly used category for both years. There were a greater number of coded segments



for community reaction in 2017 (N=77, 3.8%) than there was for 2007 (N=32, 1.7%). Meanwhile, the relationship between the offender and the victim was is 4.8% of articles in 2007 and 3% of articles in 2017.

Lastly, although not an initial focus on this study, the study found that in both 2007 and 2017, certain articles were covered multiple times over a long duration. For example, in 2007, a prominent story circulated repeatedly about Mr. Braunstein, a man who broke into his former co-workers home wearing a firefighters' uniform and held her captive for 13 hours. Other articles that received considerable attention in 2017 were about Bill Cosby, Roy Moore, and Harvey Weinstein. Given that many of the articles were about the same individuals, it was difficult to gage using just one medium whether other newspapers included a wider variety of topics pertaining to sex offenders and murderers. Overall, the findings from the current study are consistent with past research that found sensational news stories are most often considered newsworthy (Prichard & Hughes, 1997). Sensational material is presented to the public as objective fact, rather than a story meant to garner interest and increase readership.



CHAPTER V

IN PRISON, THE GOOD ARE MADE BAD AND THE BAD ARE MADE WORSE

Research Goals and Objectives

The goal of the current study was to understand how sex offenders were treated in prison. The study used labeling theory as a framework to guide this exploration and focused specifically on the concepts of stigma and stigmatic shaming. This goal was achieved through an exploratory research project that analyzed the interactions and experiences of one individual convicted as a sex offender and sentenced to five years in a federal prison. The experiences and interactions during the duration of incarceration were documented through journal entries mailed to a close friend outside of prison.

The following research questions were used to guide this study:

- 1. How was a sex offender treated in prison?
- 2. What was life like while incarcerated?
- 3. Were certain segments of the inmate population more accepting of a sex offender than others?

Operationalization of Variables

Given that the purpose of the study was to understand how sex offenders were treated in prison, it was important to define this term. The term "sex offender" applied to a person convicted of sexual offenses or who had committed sexual acts. The offender in question was sentenced in Mississippi. Mississippi's definition of a sex offender included



20 categories of registrable offenses. Of interest to the current study is the crime for which the present offender was incarcerated: "possession of images of child pornography through interstate commerce by means of a computer."

Research Methods

To analyze the data in question, a directed content analysis was used. A directed content analysis is a structured approach (Hsieh & Shannon, 2015), in this case grounded in labeling theory. The study used open coding and axial coding techniques. An open coding technique allowed the coder to segment data in one word or a short sequence in relationship to a concept (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). After using open coding, axial coding techniques were used. Axial coding refers to refining categories and assessing relationships that exist between categories (Flick, 2014). These techniques were used to explore the collection of journal entries.

Initially, all journal entries were read through once to gain an understanding of the types of experiences described by the offender in question. The journal entries were read a second time and any mention of sex offenders, sex offender treatment; interactions between offenders, or life in prison were noted. Any words, sentences, or paragraphs that adhered to labeling, sex offenders, or prison life were written down in a Word document. Each entry had a date and included the month, day, and year. Each entry also specified whether information referred to the individual writing the journal or other inmates or correctional staff in the prison. The entries were hand coded according to main categories and subcategories.



Data

The data in the study came from five years (2005-2010) of journal entries from a convicted sex offender in Mississippi. The journal entries were written throughout the duration of incarceration and mailed to a close friend for safekeeping. The offender was an elderly white male with a doctorate degree. He was born in 1937 and died in 2015; at the time of his conviction, he was 68 years of age. This individual was convicted for possession of child pornography images acquired using a computer. The conviction resulted in a sentence of 58 months in a low security federal prison.

The vast majority of the written documents were journal entries. In total, he wrote 1,298 journal entries, which consisted of 2,171 pages of text. The length of each entry varied, with the shortest entry being half a page long and the longest entry being 12 ½ pages. The average length of the journal entry also varied each year, ranging from an average page length of 1.05 pages in 2010 to 2.09 pages in 2007 (see Table 9 for more detail). However, he also wrote some letters to friends and family members. Among the collections of journal entries and letters were 18 letters: eight in 2006, two in 2007, six in 2008, and two in 2009. The letters consisted of 14.5 pages of text. The small number of letters and large number of journal entries can be explained by his writings on April 18, 2006. An article published in *USA Today* described how to cope with the consequences of time on the human psyche. "Starting a journal is recommended. Ta da! I've got that one nailed. Unfortunately I have tailed off on writing letters to friends and relatives — another suggestion."

[INSERT TABLE 9]



Journal entries that mentioned his or other suspected sex offenders' interactions or news about sex offenders were coded for content, in addition to activities he engaged in as part of his life in prison. Of the 1,298 journal entries, 209 (16.1%) included at least one coded segment that referred to sex offenders. All names are pseudonyms, used to protect the identity of the persons discussed in the journal entries.

Coding

The content analysis examined patterns, attitudes, and values of the offender and those he interacted with throughout his incarceration. Coding took place line by line, and words or sequences of words that mentioned interactions between inmates, perceptions of sex offenders, perceptions of sex offenses, threats, and stigma were recorded. Preliminary results from the first year of incarceration guided the following years. The main categories that emerged during the preliminary coding processing included the type of threat the offender faced (e.g., verbal, physical), and race relations between inmates. During subsequent coding, additional categories were created based on common categories that appeared in the journal entries.

Findings

For this research, there were three primary research questions. First, I wanted to know how a sex offender was treated in prison. Next, I wanted to know what kinds of treatment a sex offender experienced in prison. Specifically, I wanted to know if the journal writer experienced greater maltreatment and/or distrust than other inmates. Finally, I wanted to know whether certain segments of the inmate population were more



accepting of a sex offender than were others. The results of the analyses are presented below.

Life in Prison

The vast majority of the journal entries talked about what life was like inside the prison. As seen in Table 10, there were 759 coded words or sentences about life in prison. The category, "life in prison" included eight subcategories, including food, work, housing, exercise, reading, health, gang presence, and contraband. Although the majority of entries focused on the average day in prison, some entries focused on the challenges he faced while incarcerated. He described in his entries the interactions he had with other inmates and staff and the threats he and other suspected sex offenders faced because of their crime. Quotes that exemplified these categories are presented herein.

[Insert Table 10]

Food

Most discussion of food was about the type of food that was served, the times of meals, and the quality of the food in the correctional facility, both available in the cafeteria and through the commissary. Between 2005 and 2010, there were 165 coded entries of food (see Table 11 for an example of a weekly menu). On November 21, 2005, "John" (a pseudonym given to the writer of the letters) wrote, "Meals are not heart healthy and are loaded with carbs and sugar. The drinks consist of Kool-Ade (sic) – also loaded with sugar." As a diabetic, the writer was often concerned with how the food available in prison would affect his sugar levels, which he tried to maintain.

[INSERT TABLE 11]



At times, the meals he described resembled meals served outside of prison, particularly on holidays. Federally recognized and unofficial holidays affected the type and quality of food served. Holidays included Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, Labor Day, Squirrel Day (which celebrated the opening of hunting season for squirrels), Cinco de Mayo, Super Bowl Sunday, and Fourth of July. On Super Bowl Sunday, November 4, 2007, he wrote, "We were given a bean burrito, Buffalo wings (actually drumsticks and the part of the wing closest to the body of the chicken), carrot sticks, and a really good Sara Lee cheese strudel (sic)." November 24, 2005, he wrote,

"They went all out for Thanksgiving dinner. I got a pile of turkey breast meat, dressing w/ (sic) gravy, mashed potatoes, salad, slaw, bread, and two pieces of pie, apple and pineapple I think. They always bring around tons of food- enough for two people at least."

Other times, the meals were described with little enthusiasm, most notably at breakfast. On February 17, 2006, he described his usual morning routine. "Get up around 6:00, skip the food service breakfast which consists of the boiled rice passing itself off as oatmeal together with something else I can't eat – pancakes or French toast with syrup." Earlier that year, he expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of the food available. On January 1, 2006, he wrote, "…supper was back to the faux crab in some sort of tomato cream sauce. I think I will plan on Ramen noodles on crab days in the future."

Sometimes the quality and types of food available was attributed to budget cuts in the prison. On May 3, 2008, a journal entry discussed how finances had affected food service.



"I think we are already feeling the budget crunch here. It is showing up in food service in particular. We are no longer getting napkins. Sweetner (sic) is no longer being provided. Salt and pepper packets have disappeared. We haven't been served jelly for breakfast in a coon's age. Only the cheapest foods are served; rice, usually twice a day and sometimes three times; cabbage, boiled carrots, spinach, and every kind of beans you can think of. Last evening we had bean burritos served with refried beans, and 'zesty bean soup'".

Many of the meals during the typical week consisted of similar types of food such as chicken, beans, and rice.

Work

While imprisoned, inmates can sometimes get jobs doing various tasks around the prison. During incarceration, John had four jobs: performing maintenance as an orderly, picking up litter around the exterior areas of the prison, janitorial (only lasted one day), and working in food service. On February 6, 2006, he described his first job as an orderly.

"The work done by the orderlies isn't too difficult, just time consuming. They take out the trash, mop, wax, and buff the floors, clean and disinfect the showers, shut down the common area at 9:00 unit time by upending the card tables, covering the pool tables and running a dust mop."

In addition to maintaining the physical appearance of the prison facilities, orderlies were responsible for moving furniture in and out of cells as inmates in the units changed. On February 10, 2006, he wrote, "A truckload of bedding awaited us for unloading. Then after everything was inside we carried mattresses and pillows upstairs to



the cells." John only had his job as an orderly for a little over a month before he was reassigned. On March 13, 2006, he described how he found out that he was no longer an orderly.

"I started on my job cleaning the T.V. rooms but there was another guy in the Spanish language T.V. room hard at work. I assumed that we had both been given the job but then one of the other orderlies told me I was on the change-out sheet. Sure enough there I was. My job has been changed from Ord. EI to CCS 001 which means that I walk around the compound with a bucket in my gloved hands picking up any stray litter which has managed to hit their ground."

He often commented on how the amount of work he was expected to do differed greatly between being an orderly and his job picking up litter. In comparison to the number of inmates assigned to be orderlies, few were assigned to pick up litter. When he described his work, his tone was often sarcastic. On June 14, 2006, he explained,

"I spent another day in hard labor walking around the compound desperately searching for litter. I noticed that no one works past the 9:00 move. The two of us still out in orange vests just stood or sat in the sun and watched the guards go by."

In his last full year of incarceration, he was given a job in food service. On November 18, 2009, he described his typical routine: "My job in food service consists of several hours of sitting around doing nothing followed by twenty to thirty minutes of frantic activity cleaning the dining area." All of the jobs he held while incarcerated were described as involving little effort, and mainly waiting for something to happen.



Housing

A third category of life in prison was housing, including the quality of housing, the layout of a prison cell (see Figure 1.1), and problems he experienced in different areas of the prison. Most of 2005, he lived in a one-person cell in the special housing unit. He self-surrendered to prison on November 21. On November 22, 2005, he described the orientation of his cell.

"My day is spent inside my cell. It is a room about 7' across and 11 1/2' long. At one end is the cell door, and next to it is the combination stainless steel sink/toilet. The sink is operated by push buttons which allow the water to run only as long as they are depressed.

The other end of the room is the window end. The window is a long rectangle, long end up, dominated by thick steel rectangular bars welded to the heavy steel frame. The glass is opaque- light comes in but you can't see out."

The layout of his cell changed depending on whether he was in a one-person, two-person, or six-person cell. After more than a month in the special population unit, he was transferred into a two-person cell among the general prison population. On January 19, 2006, he outlined the layout of the new cell,

"'Jim' and I have the cell- all two-man cells in the far-right hand corner from the entry onto the concourse. The cell appears to be wider by about 2 feet but as the bed extends from one wall to the other it is just an optical illusion- it is the same size as the SHU [Special Housing Unit] cells. In ours we have a porcelain sink and toilet, a composition wood desk with two drawers and a composite wood



wardrobe, if you can call it that, consisting of a cabinet with one shelf and below that two drawers. It is not in the best shape."

He often wrote about the temperature in his cell, even throughout his move to different locations in the prison. Thinking back to his time in solitary confinement, he reflected on the temperature in the prison cells he occupied. On December 18, 2006, he wrote,

"The BOP doesn't keep the units as cold as the SHU. I had to wear a blanket around my shoulders all the time I was in there a year ago. Still, it is cold. The inmates came in from outside and put on their coats and sweats just to stay warm."

The third unit he was assigned to, on February 6, 2005, he recorded the conditions of the new cell and unit.

"The cell had to be cleaned thoroughly and everything put away. It lacks the amenities of Allen 2. There are no tiles on the floor- just bare cement. There is no seat on the toilet and it is extremely difficult to flush. The light switch is outside posing a problem if the door is locked before we turn it off. The showers have no doors, just barred gates like those in the SHU- at least they don't lock us in the shower."

Nearing the end of incarceration, he reflected on the overall conditions of the facility. On March 24, 2009, he wrote, "...physical conditions aren't that bad. The cells are cramped but at least each of us has an assigned bunk. We each have a chair that we can sit it."

Although the journal entries often were negative about the temperature inside the unit, he was positive in terms of the availability of items for each inmate.



Exercise

John often described in his entries the amount of time he tried to devote to exercise and the weather conditions when he exercised. There were 74 coded segments for exercise. The journal entries exclusively discussed walking on a track in the prison.

On December 23, 2005, he talked about the length of the track. "I did go for a walk at 10:00. It was good to work off the tension. The track is exactly 1/3 mile or counting paces 1030 full paces to the mile. It took about 15 minutes to do it." On December 8, 2006, he wrote, "A light breeze was blowing but not enough to make the wind chill unbearable. It actually turned out to be a nice day for walk. There were very few people on the track making it even more enjoyable". Each coded segment about exercise was similar. Again, on July 3, 2009, he talked about going for a walk in the morning, which was part of his routine.

"The rec yard was open at breakfast and the temperature was relatively mild. I cut my walk short because it was starting to get uncomfortable even at 8:00. Still, I got in two miles in 35 minutes which was enough to get the blood flowing and clear out the old arteries."

His exercise routine started as a way of maintaining his health while incarcerated.

Health

Throughout the journal entries, there were many mentions of John's health, the physicians, and the medical services he or other inmates used. The writer was clinically diagnosed with diabetes prior to his incarceration and this was a concern during his prison sentence. He mentioned his blood sugar throughout his journal entries. On November 6, 2006, he noted, "...two call outs to medical, one at 6:05 and the other at



7:30. The first was for my weekly blood sugar check which turned out well- 88! The 7:30 call out was to check my T.B. test." In another entry on November 30, 2006, he mentioned additional health concerns. "The Dr. took my blood pressure which was an alarming 180/100. He prescribed two high blood pressure medications along with my cholesterol and rosacea pills and an 81 mg aspirin." John regularly had prescriptions refilled. Inmates were given set times when they could go pick up their prescriptions from the dispensary. On March 27, 2008, he described the usual routine to get prescriptions. "Normally prescriptions turned in early in the morning are filled and ready for pick up at the supper time pile line or at the evening pill line."

Besides physicians, John used the services of other medical personnel employed by the prison including physician assistants, dentists, and optometrists. Medical visits and exams may be scheduled by the patient or the prison. Having diabetes increased the frequency of required visits. On July 20, 2007, he recorded, "A visit to the optometrist. Everyone with diabetes is required to see the eye doctor...The examination was thorough. The diabetes has not affected my eyes." On January 5, 2007, he had his first visit to the dentist.

"My appointment to have my teeth cleaned was at 10:00 so I didn't have to wait long to be called for that. Unfortunately, the prison authorities failed to get a medical history or give me a dental exam when I first got here. So, I had the exam and my teeth cleaning will be rescheduled."

Some inmates had their medical history available when they entered a facility; however, John did not bring any paperwork or his prescriptions when his incarceration began. He



underwent new health screenings for his physical fitness, medications, and glasses prescription.

Reading

There were 110 coded segments for reading in the journal entries. The author subscribed to a variety of magazines and newspapers during incarceration, some of which included *USA Today*, *Coin World*, *The Economist*, *Dallas Morning News*, *Newsweek*, *Smithsonian Magazine*, and *National Geographic*. Many of the articles he discussed in his journal entries were about prison and overcrowding. Coded segments were about overcrowding in the United States and in specific states. John included a summary of an article published in *USA Today* on June 8, 2009 about the problem of overcrowding in local, state, and federal prisons. An article published in *The Economist* on August 24, 2009 also discussed overcrowding in California.

"A court order calling for the state to reduce the number of prisoners to a figure equal to 137% capacity has been much in the news lately. What this means is that 27,000 prisoners will have to be released early..."

Many of the articles he discussed in his journal entries were about the restrictions offenders faced after incarceration. On July 24, 2007, he talked about an article published in *USA Today*. It outlined restrictions including getting a driver's license, student or government grants, certain types of employment, the right to vote, and jury duty. He also included articles that talked about the difficulties sex offenders faced after incarceration. On November 20, 2007, an article in *USA Today* commented how many former offenders were homeless which presented a problem to law enforcement since these individuals could not easily be located. Offenders may be unable to live in many locations because of



their status as sex offenders. As supported by previous literature, housing restrictions limit the availability of locations where sex offenders can live (Barnes et al., 2009; Chajewski & Mercado, 2009; Zandbergen & Hart, 2006; Zgoba et al., 2009).

Gang Presence in Prison

The predominant gang that was involved in incidents with sex offenders was the Dirty White Boys (DWB). Other gangs were mentioned infrequently in the journal, and these gangs included Hispanic gangs and the Aryan Brotherhood. Nowhere in his journal entries or letters does the author mention black gangs. In his first mention of gang presence in prison, he talked about the appearance of some of the members. On December 14, 2005, he noted, "You really can't help but like these guys in spite of the fact that their tattoos identify them as gang members and that most are here for selling crack or cocaine."

Areas of the prison were often identified based on the presence of a gang. Gangs controlled certain locations in the prison including sections of the cafeteria and the residential areas. On January 6, 2006, John talked about how he was sitting at a table along the wall in the cafeteria when he was approached by another inmate.

"[A] middle aged slightly balding man sitting with me informed me in a non-threatening way that this was a family table as were the other largely empty tables along the side wall. He gave me the name of his family- lords of something. I chose to thank him for the information and asked if I should move. He told me that was not necessary so I finished my meal and left. Message received."

Unlike interactions with other gangs, the Dirty White Boys often focused their attention on suspected sex offenders in prison. On May 29, 2007, he described the agenda



of the DWB. "Rumor has it that the DWB were meeting to plan the removal or the chomos (sic) from the compound by forcing them to turn themselves into the SHU." The members of the gang often acted according to the chain of command, with the lowest ranking members carrying out orders. On July 13, 2007, John jotted,

"The preferred method among the DWB is to get someone else to do the intimidation usually by telling one of their cohorts that if they attack a chomo [child molester] and get transferred to a medium that the DWB as a whole will look out for them by providing monetary help from the outside."

All members of the gang mentioned in the journal entries engaged in behavior that made sex offenders feel unwelcome. The shower area in one of the units was controlled by the DWB. Members of the gang tried to regulate who could use the showers and when. On January 23, 2009, John disclosed,

"The DWB has issued a directive concerning the use of the upstairs showers by undesirables. Jack who lives directly across the commons was told to pass a message to the effect that all SOs [sex offenders] are to stay out of the showers anytime a DWB is using them."

Contraband

A large variety of items, including food, extra clothing, altered clothing, extra bedding, and shelves, were banned from inmates' cells and considered "contraband" in the prison. Correctional officers and staff routinely confiscated contraband from inmates. Some of these items were listed in an entry on November 1, 2006,

"Any food taken from the dining hall save one piece of fruit is considered contraband; that's the rule. We take salt and pepper packets, sweetener, bread,



carrot sticks, celery, etc. wrapped up in a napkin and secreted in a pocket to provide ourselves with late evening snacks."

Food was often taken out of the dining area and back to the unit. On May 31, 2009, he discussed the typical routine of taking food.

"...the first thing that most of the recipients of a tray do is carefully unwrap the tray to preserve the Saran wrap. Then they make bundles of veggies small enough to conceal in a pocket or a sock top. The idea is to take the veggies back to the units where they can be cooked and added to rice or Raman soups together with mackerel from the commissary to make a meal. Others simply trade the veggies for stamps or for non-kosher meats brought out of the kitchen by food service workers."

When items were confiscated, this was often referred to as a shakedown. Shakedowns occurred periodically and pertained to an assortment of items that staff was actively looking for. One such shakedown occurred on November 30, 2006, "...the shakedown was for the purpose of confiscating extra blankets, sheets, pillows which intrepid entrepreneurs manage to smuggle out of the laundry and sell for ten or twenty stamps." Items that were not stored in approved locations may also be confiscated. On October 22, 2008, the counselor in the cellblock confiscated many of the inmate's items. "...a pair of socks and a pair of boxer shorts on the rail upstairs, a coat hanging on the back of a chair, a shirt hanging on the coat rack, a couple of bowls left on top of a locker."

Often when shakedowns occurred, inmates had to leave their units and go outside to the recreational area. "He [a correctional officer] initiated a shakedown and was going



from cell to cell confiscating contraband including books and magazines. The inmates were kicked out of the unit at 9:00 and were told to go to the rec yard." Inmates often went about replacing any lost items shortly after shakedowns occurred.

Perceptions of Life in Prison versus Reality

Eight subcategories exemplified life in prison including food, work, housing, exercise, reading, health, gang presence, and contraband. Food made up the largest category of life in prison. He discussed food 165 times in his journal entries. Consistent with previous research, food quality is one of the most important aspects of life in prison (Weatherburn, 1982). It is a way for some inmates to maintain a semblance of normal life, such as holiday meals or gatherings with other inmates. John often described meals that he would eat outside of incarceration. Generally, he had a positive experience with the meals that were served in prison. However, the public often has a negative image of food and nutrition in prison. The public perceives that inmates are served food that is not nutritional and as one article describes, "scant, joyless, and unsavory" (Fassler & Brown, 2017).

Public perceptions of prison and the realities of prison differ markedly (Crank, 2010; May, Wood, and Eades, 2008). The public perceives prison and the labor that inmates perform while incarcerated as being more punitive than inmates themselves perceive. When John wrote about his work experiences in prison, his tone was often sarcastic. The jobs he was assigned required little effort and he spent more time waiting for his shift to end than actually working. Although prison may be described as a period when an individual reflects through "hard labor," this was not the reality of life in prison.



Throughout his incarceration, John never described the prison or the individual cells as being overcrowded. Organizations such as Penal Reform International (2018) have published that overcrowding is a problem facing prisons in 115 countries. However, in his journal entries, John mentioned how at some periods, there were fewer inmates in cells than beds available. Although the population in each cell was described as being in flux, with new inmates entering the prison and others leaving, the journal entries never mentioned overcrowding.

John's entries about exercise were about maintaining his physical health by walking 5 miles each day. His routine differed from common assumptions about inmates' exercise habits, such as the perception that inmates are weight lifting while incarcerated. Prison films have relied on imagery of the physical differences between inmates and people outside of prison as a way of othering incarcerated men and women (Cecil, 2017). However, John does not fit the stereotype of most inmates as an elderly white male.

The journal entries about health varied between Johns' requests to seek medical treatment and required testing and vaccinations administered in the prison. The majority of coded statements and words about health were in regards to diabetes and checking his blood sugar. There were 102 coded entries about health. The media and some research suggest that healthcare in prisons is poor. Wilper and colleagues (2009) found that access to healthcare and the quality of healthcare were poor for U.S. prisoners. The study found that among inmates with a persistent disease, one in five state inmates, and one in six federal inmates had not had a medical examination (Wilper et al. 2009). The problems with the health system were not in Johns' journal; inmates routinely had access to medical personnel, treatment, and medication.



Prison is often portrayed as a violent institution where inmates may be raped or under constant threat from gangs (Cecil, 2017). John talked about gangs in prison but not to the extent of violence that is portrayed in the media. The Dirty White Boys were the most frequently mentioned gang in Johns' journal entries. This particular gang targeted sex offenders and relied primarily on verbal threats and exclusion. According to a report published by the Anti-Defamation League (n.d.), the Dirty White Boys are a large gang composed of white males that exists in the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Only a few members of the Dirty White Boys were mentioned by name or alias in the journal entries, and the way the gang is portrayed in the journal does not suggest that gang members made up the majority of the inmate population.

Interactions in Prison

Inmate Race Relations

Throughout the journal entries, the writer recorded how the race of other inmates affected their interaction with him. In his journal entries, he wrote about 38 interactions with whites, 23 interactions with blacks, and 12 interactions with Hispanics. Most of the interactions between John and whites were negative; most of his interactions with blacks were positive, and his interactions with Hispanics were largely neutral.

Most of the entries about whites discussed how he, as a sex offender, was isolated and ignored. Instances of this behavior occurred towards him and other offenders suspected of sex offenses. On February 3, 2007, he mentioned, "They [white inmates] avoid eye contract by obviously looking away when coming toward me. They don't acknowledge any kind of greeting." On June 13, 2008, he wrote, "Most of the whites are non-judgmental but don't go out of their way to be friendly for fear of being ostracized



themselves." He was ignored by white inmates in multiple areas in the prison. On January 20, 2006, he noted, "I still sense the hostility of many of the whites. They won't look me in the eye or acknowledge my presence while waiting at mail call or laundry distribution for instance."

Interactions with black inmates were often described as positive. "It seems like there is a movement by the black inmates to speak in friendly terms to me" (January 26, 2006). Again, this was exemplified in instances in which black inmates would come to his cell to check in on him. Areas that were primarily occupied by blacks acted as a safe place for suspected sex offenders. On September 14, 2008, he wrote, "I feel much more comfortable eating on the "black" side of the chow hall. There are about ten or us who are incarcerated on SO charges and we usually sit together and so far we haven't been challenged."

Unlike whites or blacks who either isolated or interacted with the journal writer, Hispanics did not pick a side, and most Hispanic inmates were described as neutral. As he expressed on January 23, 2006, the "...Hispanics are noncommittal," meaning that many of these individuals were unwilling to take sides for or against him. The journal entries described how Hispanic inmates tended to associate with mainly other Hispanics. There was only one instance in which he wrote of another suspected sex offender who was purposely excluded from an area that was primarily Hispanic. On January 24, 2010, he referred to the exclusion of another white inmate from Hispanic T.V. room, which was suspected to be a result of pressure by other white inmates. "The Hispanics had voted to exclude him. He also learned that the impetus for the expulsion came not from within the Hispanic community but from pressure put on them by the DWB."



Inmate Interactions

Two predominant types of interactions were included in the letters, playing canasta with other inmates and working with inmates on different courses and goals they had. On January 12, 2007, he described mentoring another inmate who happened to be working towards his bachelor's degree. "'Paul' came down to visit. I thought it was to talk about his Western Civilization course, but instead he wanted to bounce an idea off me regarding a project he would like to initiate once he leaves prison behind." At the end of 2007, he still worked with the same inmate on his college courses. On December 12, 2007, he wrote, "My afternoon was spent at the rec yard working with 'Paul' on his next to last lesson in his correspondence course in Western Civ. We spent an hour and a half talking about The Middle Ages."

In one entry, he talked about how his age likely affected the way other inmates interacted with him. On June 6, 2008, he referred to his relationship with one of the other inmates who was younger than he was. "I really think he is looking for father figures. He is extremely insecure and looking for an anchor. I also think he genuinely likes us and looks up to us and respects us." He was called, "Pops," which reflects his age in comparison to the younger inmate population.

In addition to mentoring inmates, he most often talked about playing cards with other inmates, many of whom were suspected sex offenders. Some of the games he played included Texas hold'em and canasta. On December 16, 2007, he talked about one such game. "Sunday has become a day I look forward to because it is the day 'Jim,' 'Jack,' and I have set aside for our canasta games. We meet after brunch at the rec yard and play until 3:00." Towards the end of his incarceration, he had regular canasta games



with a set group of inmates. As inmates were released or transferred to new facilities over the length of his incarceration, the people he interacted with varied year to year. The same dynamic occurred with his interactions with staff and correctional officers employed in the prison.

Staff-Inmate Interactions

Interactions with staff varied day to day and according to the prison personnel. Most of the interactions recorded between the journal writer, persons known to the writer, and the prison personnel were positive events. A minority of the journal entries described negative events. Although most of the interactions were positive, the description of these interactions was brief compared to the detailed accounts of negative interactions with correctional officers. Interactions with correctional officers and administrative personnel were in different locations in the prison including the special housing unit, general housing, recreation areas, and administrative offices.

The actions of the correctional officers often were described in positive ways. For example, on January 13, 2007, "The football playoffs are being intensely watched by the inmates. Count is as 9:00 which would be during the game so the CO called for the count at 8:30 during the halftime so no one would have to miss the play." On March 31, 2007, he described one of the correctional officers stationed to his unit.

"Tattoo man [correctional officer] is the exact opposite of the skinheads. He is probably the best CO here and in fact has his picture posted in the vestibule of the waiting room as CO of the year. He is the personification of professionalism as CO. He refers to inmates as 'gentlemen' or 'fellows'. He never uses profanity in addressing us and always puts his orders to us as polite requests."



Despite the overall positive interactions between inmates and correctional officers, a portion of the journal entries detailed negative encounters. After release from solitary confinement following the initial intake process, John was transferred to a unit with the general population. Upon his arrival on December 6, 2006, he wrote, "...unit manager was surly... He groused that I came without any papers, that I had not been issued an ID card, letting me know that it was a terrible inconvenience that I was making him handle his job." In addition to monitoring inmates' day-to-day behavior, cells and inmates were subject to random inspections by correctional officers. On September 25, 2006, regarding his interactions with a correctional officer inspecting his locker inside his cell, he penned,

"He [the correctional officer] then became very serious and acting as though he was doing me a great favor told me that having money was a serious violation, a code 303. He opened a little wallet sized book of the codes and pointed at it and told me that he wasn't going to write me up about it but I was lucky that one of the hard-ass guards would probably have done so resulting in my going to SHU and possibly having points added to my total perhaps resulting in the loss of good time and transfer to a medium."

Despite this interaction with the correctional officer, nothing came about from the incident. During inspections, correctional officers would sometimes comment on the nature of his crime. On November 13, 2008, he wrote of an encounter with an officer who strip-searched him while he was working.

"He [the correctional officer] made no effort to go through my pockets but continued to badger me about my crime. [Correctional Officer] 'Why did you do



that?' [John] 'I wish I knew' [Correctional Officer] 'Is it a sickness' [John] 'I don't know' All of this was in a hostile tone accompanied by a bullying attitude. [Correctional Officer] 'If it was my little girl, I'd have to kill you. Think of what it does to them and their parents."

In three subsequent journal entries written in 2008, he described similar incidents with the same correctional officer. All individuals involved in these incidents were known or suspected sex offenders.

Another category to emerge in the interaction between inmates and staff was how knowledgeable staff were of the way sex offenders were treated in the prison. This category was exemplified early on in his incarceration when talking to a correctional officer. He mentioned in an entry on January 18, 2006 how a guard believed that other inmates would avoid him or direct unwanted comments. Suspected or known sex offenders were not welcome in certain areas of the prison. On June 8, 2006, he discusses the restrictions with a correctional officer including his reluctance to use the TV room because he was unwelcomed. The warden was also aware of the restrictions that sex offenders experienced. On February 13, 2008, the warden summarized these restrictions in a conversation with John and another suspected sex offender, "...stay out of the TV rooms, do not make use of the game tables in the commons, stay out of the east side of the chow hall, keep to your cell as much as possible."

The final category to emerge from interactions with staff was interactions predicated by John's criminal offense. Both correctional officers and the counselor in the prison suggested that he should not disclose the nature of his offense to other inmates to



mitigate any negative responses to his presence in the prison. On December 8, 2005, he wrote how the counselor advised him to think of an alias crime.

"I told him I had no criminal alias but later after he talked about the possibility of harassment because of the nature of my crime. I understood what he was getting at and told him income tax evasion. That seemed to please him. However, I told him that when I first got here and Hollywood [a correctional officer] asked what I was in for that I had blurted it out without thinking. He left me with the distinct impression that this was not a good thing"

Correctional officers, meanwhile, thought he should disclose the actual crime he committed. On January 5, 2009, he wrote, how one correctional officer thought his situation would improve in prison if paperwork specifying his crime was made public. John disagreed, saying, "I don't think so. In many...peoples' minds there is no difference in the crime I was convicted of and actual molestation". As suggested in the literature, sex offenders face difficulties both while incarcerated and upon re-entry into the community. In prison, sex offenders may experience violence, threats, or exclusion because of being a sex offender (Ricciardelli & Moir, 2013).

Contact with Outside World

Infrequently, John mentioned talking on the phone, receiving letters to friends and family members, or visits by people he knows. Inmates got a certain number of minutes each month to use. On December 4, 2005, he mentioned, "In the compound- when I will eventually be- you can make 300 minutes of calls a month at 23 cents per minute or \$69 worth. However during November & December the Feds graciously give you another 100 mins." In addition to telephone calls, inmates could have visitors, as long as they have



been approved. After being incarcerated for three months, his first visitor was approved. Visitors were not restricted to a certain number of days for visits either. On October 30, 2006, he wrote, "Visits are encouraged by the BOP although they don't always follow the rule that prisoners are to be incarcerated within 500 miles of their homes. But for those with families close enough there is no limit on the number of visits that can be made during the visiting days Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays."

The length of time that passed between John and his friends and family without them speaking varied. One of the longer durations between speaking with a loved one was written in an entry on July 14, 2007, "After a year and a half I finally get to talk to my middle nephew, Brian." Rarely did he discuss visitors. October 4, 2008 was one of the few days he mentioned having a visitor. His entry was brief and talked predominately about catching up on things he had missed while incarcerated.

Sex Offenders

Threats toward Sex Offenders

There were three main types of threats lobbied against sex offenders, verbal, relational, and physical. Most of the threats directed towards John occurred during the first year of incarceration and the frequency of threats mentioned in the journal entries declined thereafter. He wrote how many other suspected sex offenders experienced threats and harassment over a longer period, some of whom the journal writer knew personally.

Most verbal threats discussed in his journal entries described how white inmates would talk about what they would do to child molesters, frequently referred to as chomos, which was mentioned in 16 different journal entries. On July 13, 2007, he wrote, "A new



one, DWB...placed in Eva II has been talking big about ridding the compound of all the cho-mos (sic). His preferred method is stabbing". A few days later, an inmate verbally threatened another suspected sex offender. On July 17, 2007, he said, "The tormentor told Tucker to stand elsewhere because he doesn't like standing next to cho-mos (sic). When Tucker protested the guy told him that if he didn't move he might have to rough him up".

Certain areas of the prison were more likely to elicit these responses, including the classrooms, white T.V. room, and upstairs shower. On November 26, 2008, he discussed how his experience in the classroom differed. "When 'Jack' Sloan was in the class some of its members gave him a hard time by constantly talking about chomos. So far there has been none of that in my class." John emphasized how he personally was not the target of these threats; instead, they were at other inmates. On May 13, 2009, he described how "...Junior, Donald Harris by name, who is leading spokesman for the skinheads had previously let it be known that any cho-mo (sic) who came in to take a shower while he was so engaged would suffer a severe beating."

Relational aggression took various forms, including exclusion and rumors. There were 20 different instances when John mentioned being excluded. On February 20, 2006, he explained how other inmates who performed the same job as him ignored him. 'Todd simply ignores me and refuses to acknowledge my existence in non-work-related situations." Inmates were also most likely to ignore him when there were other people present. He referred to a white inmate on April 25 2009, "He usually ignores me or turns his head aside whenever he passes by the cell; although he will speak to me if no one else is around."



The rumors were sometimes spread using a central bulletin board in the prison. John was the subject of several of these rumors, which were most frequent in 2006. In a journal entry on January 6, 2006, he talked about "...a hand printed note stating my name and cell number together with a statement that I was a child molester and collector of child pornography. The message had been posted on a bulletin board." Another inmate experienced a similar incident. On December 22, 2007, he mentioned how there was a "document posted on the bulletin board at the rec yard...It is a direct copy of some guy's charges. He is from Mississippi and was charged with two counts of sexual battery and one of fondling." John also heard rumors from other inmates about his suspected crimes. In an entry on January 26, 2006, he wrote, "Apparently I am supposed to have taken pictures of children and posted them on the Internet according to one unknown source who supposedly got it from a staff member who had gotten his information from a site on the web".

The least common type of threat described in the journal entries was physical violence. There were three instances described in his journal in which physical violence occurred, none of which happened to John. While the letters described the occurrences among inmates, there was no mention of how the correctional staff reacted to the violence. The first instance of physical violence involved Johns' cellmate in an entry dated May 18, 2006.

"He [a white inmate] literally got in 'Jim's' face continuing to rant, and then pushed him. 'Jim' put up his arms to defend himself knocking Massey's arms away. Massey: 'Don't you touch me mother fucker; don't you touch me'. He then lunged at 'Jim' again putting his hands around his throat and trying to choke him.



'Jim' fell back hitting the back of his head against the steel upper bunk as he did so. 'Jim' immediately got up grappling with Massey. Both of them still had their glasses on which went flying."

The second account of physical violence was from August 6, 2007 in which another sex offender was involved in an altercation in a classroom.

"The guy immediately told Tucker in a tone which could only be interpreted as hostile that he had better move his chair. Tucker made no response whereupon the guy slapped him hard enough to knock off his glasses and send him sprawling to the floor right in front of me. The assailant went back to his chair and sat down."

Another instance of physical violence took place in the hallway of the housing unit. This last incident also involved a white offender and a sex offender as the target of the attack.

"As Lenny was walking in front of Chesney's cell, Chesney hit Lenny in the side of the head. Lenny says he doesn't know whether he was slapped or just punched, he didn't see the blow coming. The next thing he knew Chesney had his hands around his throat and was in his face yelling at him. 'Jake' came around the corner and saw Lenny forced down up on one knee by Chesney who had grabbed him by the hair and was still yelling at him."

Treatment of Sex Offenders outside Prison

The concerns mentioned by John coincided with much of the previous literature on the restrictions sex offenders face outside of prison. Sex offenders can have difficulties reintegrating into society. They may be subject to harassment or stigmatization, and face challenges to finding stable housing and employment (Tewksbury & Lees, 2006). There are variety of restrictions on sex offenders like



housing, travel, employment, and technology limits. One of the most prominent subcategories in the treatment of sex offenders outside of prison was housing restrictions. Six months into incarceration, John began to worry about where he would live. On April 11, 2006, he wrote, "My house is near a park and a school. Will my probation officer permit me to live there? If not what do I do? I will have no choice but to sell. Where do I go?"

Housing restrictions were a concern for other sex offenders as well. On October 26, 2006, John described the concerns of another sex offender he met while incarcerated, "Steve' is also in denial when it comes to returning to his old home place. He cannot live within 100 miles of Texarkana after he completes his sentence unless his probation officer and the courts decide otherwise." Certain areas are off limits as reported in one Dallas newspaper on October 6, 2007. The following quote was verbatim in the journal from the article.

"Many if not most of the suburbs of Dallas where the middle class and upper class tend to congregate are engaged in a frenzy of activity to limit where those on the registry might live. In these suburbs the standard set is that sex offenders cannot live within 1000 feet of a school, playground, or any other areas where children might congregate. In the case of most towns this leaves only a very limited area where sex offenders can live. Farmers Branch includes 97% of its incorporated area within the restricted area.

Not only do the towns involve themselves in this activity but real estate developers are doing the same thing. New housing developments claim that they will be predator free and will refuse the presence of anyone on the registry. Other



agents refer registry and guarantee that they will list only residences in predator free areas."

Being in violation of housing restrictions resulted in having parole revoked or return to prison. News from a formerly incarcerated sex offender reflected these violations. A previous inmate described the consequences he faced for his violation of housing restrictions.

"He explained the reason for his arrest and one week confinement as being the result of having moved to Ft. Smith from Eldorado without having given the required 10 days' notice of his move. He also stated that he had to leave Ft. Smith because there is no place inside the city limits that is more than 2,000 square feet from a school, park or day care center."

Another restriction that sex offenders may experience is travel restrictions. John mentioned fearing that he would not be able to visit certain countries based on his felony conviction. On April 11, 2006, he wrote, "Will there be restrictions on travel when probation is over? Will the fact of being a convicted felon keep me out of some countries? I hear that this is the case with Canada and Britain." Later that same year, he reiterated these concerns. On November 21, 2006, he wrote, "My biggest worry there is that as a convicted felon I will not be admitted to some countries." A friend of John assured him that he would still be able to travel internationally. On August 14, 2008, he was hopeful about moving to another country,

"I just talked to 'Walker.' He had some good news for me about Costa Rica.

Unlike Canada, Australia, Britain, and Ireland, a felony conviction does not exclude me from entry into the country. With a letter from local law enforcement



stating that I have had no problems within the past two years from the date of the letter I could be admitted to the country and be granted the right to establish permanent residence."

Additional restrictions for sex offenders included restrictions on employment opportunities and limitations on the types of technology they can own. 'Steve,' a convicted sex offender, faced difficulty-finding employment after prison in September 2008 because "he is a level 3 SO under the Arkansas system of classification." 'Steve' also could not "...have a computer, internet access, or an IPhone." The laws and subsequent restrictions protect the public and limit an offender contact with children. On certain holidays, like Halloween, sex offenders experienced additional limitations. On November 3, 2008, John noted that a local newspaper had run an article about restrictions placed on sex offenders during Halloween.

He wrote, "All 168 SOs in Shreveport were required to be at home with the blinds drawn. No outside lights could be on. Four two man teams of police and probation would visit each SO at least once during the course of the evening, more often for more serious offenders."

Tracking sex offenders occurred in various forms such as the use of different types of technology, and the advent of sex offender registries. After reading an article in a local newspaper, he described how some states required sex offenders to carry a driver's license that identified him/her as a sex offender. He also wrote on June 11, 2006,

"...some states are considering requiring all sex offenders wear an ankle bracelet containing a GPS device capable of tracking the wearer within 30 feet. The inmate would also be required to wear a pager and carry a cellphone so that if he



moves into restricted territory he could be paged and required to give an explanation."

Information about sex offenders was publicly available through sex offender registries created in 1996. On May 20, 2006, he expressed concerns that his information would be available online, "I will have to be on my guard for the rest of my time and in prison- and after given the government's determination to make my whereabouts easily available via the internet along with my crime and my picture". As he later wrote on October 6, 2007, "... having your name and address posted on the internet- the equivalent of wearing a scarlet letter."

Discussion

Irwin and Cressey's (1962) importation model argued that an inmate's experiences in prison were affected by the characteristics an inmate possesses prior to incarceration. An inmate's behavior in prison was affected by their unique perspective, which developed from previous experiences and their innate characteristics. The importation model differs from the deprivation model in that inmates were not removed from their prior experiences. Clemmer's (1940) deprivation model argued that inmates were shaped by the prison, which was isolated from general society. The deprivation model supports the idea of prisonization, through which inmates adapted to the culture and norms that exist inside prison.

Of the two models used to explain an inmate's experience in prison, deprivation and importation, the importation model was most applicable to the experiences of the journal writer. Consistent with the importation models, key factors that affected John's



prison experience were related to his traits and experiences prior to incarceration. Some of these factors included his age, education, health, and income.

When John entered prison in 2005, he was 68 years old, much older than the average inmate in the facility where he was serving out his sentence. The age difference between John and other inmates ascribed him certain status, such as acquiring the nickname 'Pop(s).' On November 25, 2007, he wrote about how other inmates in the prison were looking out for his best interests. "So far so good on the harassment level. Bill stopped by and said he had a talk with Cole [DWB] and told him that he didn't want anything to happen to me, or Pop as he always calls me." John also became a mentor to younger inmates. On June 6, 2008, he wrote, "Jeff latched onto Jim and me while we were living in Eva I."

Coupled with John's age was his educational background. John was highly educated and held a doctorate in history. Other inmates who were aware of his educational background would sometimes ask him for help with their own educational pursuits. He acted as a mentor and teacher to two particular inmates who pursued college degrees. October 4, 2006 was the first time he mentioned helping another inmate. "I was approached today by a fellow inmate named Paul concerning tutoring in Western Civ." He continued to tutor this inmate from the end of 2006 and throughout most of 2007. On June 26, 2007, he wrote, "Cell 136 [his cell] is becoming a school room." Other inmates also asked him for favors. On November 25, 2006, he mentioned, "Today one of the Hispanics approached me about teaching him English." John's education continued to play a role in his interactions with other inmates throughout his incarceration.



John's health was another example that affected his life in prison. As a diabetic prior to entering prison, he was often concerned with his health. Throughout his incarceration, he paid attention to food he should and should not eat. On January 17, 2006, he commented on the drinks available during meals. "To drink we get 'juice' with lunch and supper. Again one sip will make you a diabetic." Two months prior on November 21, 2005, he noted, "Meals are not heart healthy and are loaded with carbs and sugar. The drinks consist of Kool-Ade (sic) - also loaded with sugar." His concerns with his health, and more specifically his blood sugar, likely affected his commitment to staying in shape while incarcerated. John tried to walk five miles each day. His daily exercise allowed him to meet other inmates in the prison. On December 1, 2009, he described how he met another inmate, "...I met him in the rec yard. He also walks in the mornings and stopped me a few weeks ago to introduce himself and walk with me on our rounds." His commitment to staying in good health was prominent in his journal entries.

Finally, John's income and previous work experience likely affected his interactions with other inmates and how he felt about employment in prison. While incarcerated, John received one-fourth of his pension. This amount was substantially greater than the sum of money available to most inmates. John discussed in his journal entries how many of the inmates earned money for the commissary through the jobs they held in prison. Although he worked and earned some money while incarcerated, he did not perceive the work to be challenging. On February 2, 2006, he wrote about his first job as an orderly, "...the head orderly just mumbled a bit and told me that if he needed me for anything he would come get me. I don't think I will be very busy for the next few



days." Although the jobs he held while in prison were specific to the institution, his view of these positions was likely affected by his previous work experiences.

Although John's journals went into detail about his prison experience, and included daily information about his life in prison, the biggest takeaway from John's letters is that the social construction of life in prison, as portrayed by the media to the larger society, was not John's lived experience. The media often use violent frames to talk about life in prison (Cecil, 2015). The majority of people only have these images of prison to rely on since many prisons are located in rural areas and many will never visit, work, or be incarcerated at one of these institutions. Given that the media have increased their focus on crime and justice, many people believe they are knowledgeable about crime and incarceration (Cecil, 2015).

The belief that prison life is fraught with danger and the constant threat of violence was not consistent with John's lived experience. Instead, his concerns in prison were largely focused on his physical health, food in prison, and nutrition. Overall, his interactions with other inmates and staff were positive experiences. There was only one physical threat in the five years he was in prison. The majority of negative experiences resulted from relational aggression from young, white inmates who were a part of a gang. While the images presented in the media suggest there are tense race relations in prison, this was not John's experience. As an older white male, the most positive experiences he had were with inmates of different races, particularly blacks. John's life while incarcerated is an important distinction between lived experience and the social construction of reality in the media which would have viewers believe that prison is a



violent, dangerous institution in which inmates' lives are completely different from the daily lives of most media consumers outside of prison.



CHAPTER VI

DOWN ON YOUR LUCK: EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF MANDATORY REGISTRATION ON HOUSING AMONG SEX OFFENDERS

Research Goals and Objectives

The goal of the third study was to understand the characteristics of the communities in which sex offenders reside. The idea of concentrated disadvantage refers to high levels of economic deprivations (e.g., income, unemployment) and low levels of social organization and collective efficacy (e.g., monitoring people in a community). Concentrated disadvantage is the idea that the poor conditions that exist within certain locations (e.g., high poverty rate) increase the crime rate in that area. Previous research by Mustaine and Tewksbury (2011) determined that sex offenders in Orlando, Florida were more likely to reside in areas of concentrated disadvantage. Mustaine and Tewksbury (2011) operationalized concentrated disadvantage as high neighborhood rates of (1) families below the poverty level, (2) families receiving public assistance, (3) percentage unemployment, and (4) percentage of female headed households with children (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2011, p. 52). No research to date has explored whether this finding holds true in other areas in the South, including Mississippi.

The current study will explore what proportion of sex offenders are in violation of housing restrictions. Additionally, this study examined the impact of a number of variables (e.g., the offender's gender, race, current age, age at conviction, whether or not



they committed their offense against a child, whether or not the offender was a recidivist, and whether or not the offender had been found non-compliant with the conditions of their parole) on whether or not sex offenders were residing in areas where they cannot legally reside—in close proximity to parks, schools, and childcare centers.

Description of the Data

The data for the current study came from several sources. First, publicly available addresses for sex offenders located in Mississippi were recorded each month over a 12-month period from the Mississippi Sex Offender Registry to allow for a comparison of their residences over the course of a year. The addresses were collected on the 11th of each month to allow for a month-to-month comparison. Data were also drawn from the American Community Survey from the Census to understand characteristics of each county.

Sex offenders in Mississippi are required to live a certain distance away from schools and parks. Therefore, addresses of schools in Mississippi assess how many offenders were living in restricted zones. Data about public schools in Mississippi was from the U.S. Department of Education website and addresses of private schools in Mississippi was from from the Mississippi Association of Independent Schools, the Association of Christian Schools International, and the website, Private School Review. Records of parks and their address by accessing County Park and recreation websites for each county in Mississippi and performing web searches of cities mentioned on the sex offender registry in each county for reference to parks and/or recreational facilities in those counties. A database of park locations with their street addresses was created to calculate buffer zones and mapping variables for the parks portion of the study.



Operationalization of Variables

Sex offenders are any individual listed on the Mississippi Sex Offender Registry between June 2016 and June 2017. Sex offenses refer to any of the 20 registrable offenses that are included in Mississippi Code 45-33-25 and any crime for which a person was required to register in another state. Monthly location was operationalized using the street, county, and zip code available for offenders each month.

There were six dependent variables in the current study. These included whether an offender lived (1) within 1,500 feet of a school, (2) within 1,500 feet of a park, or (3) within 1,500 feet of either a school or a park. The study also examined whether an offender lived (4) within 3,000 feet a school, (5) within 3,000 feet of park, or (6) within 3,000 feet of either a school or a park.

Four county-level variables (unemployment rate, percent of female-headed households, percent of the population living below poverty, and percent of the population with less than a high school degree) were summed into an additive scale to measure the concept relative disadvantage, with higher scores on the scale indicating higher levels of disadvantage. The median household income of the county in which the sex offender resided was a separate, stand-alone measure of disadvantage, with lower median household incomes representing higher levels of relative disadvantage. This was a measure apart from the additive scale because it was not coded in the same way. All of these data were from 2010 county-level census data for Mississippi.

To provide an additional measure of concentrated disadvantage, two measures of the location of pawnshops were used. The first variable was a count of the number of pawnshops in each county. The second variable measured the distance to the closest



pawnshop (in miles) for every sex offender in the database. Data about pawnshop locations came from the Mississippi Pawnbrokers Associations, managed by the Department of Banking and Consumer Finance.

A number of demographic and contextual variables were also included as control variables. These variables included the sex offender's gender (Male=1, Female =0), their race (White=1, non-White=0), their current age (a continuous variable ranging from 20 to 99), the offender's age at time of conviction (1=30 and above, 0=29 and below), whether or not the offense they committed was against a child (Yes=1, No=0), whether they had been previously convicted of a sex crime (1=Yes, 0=No), and whether or not they have been compliant with the conditions of their parole since their release from prison (1=Yes, 0=No).

Methods

To understand the areas in which sex offenders in Mississippi reside, a conceptual map was created. The maps were created using ESRI GIS, a mapping software that allows users to understand the spatial distribution of data. GIS can be used to merge databases that share geography using a spatial join feature in the program. Data can be integrated from multiple datasets such as locations where sex offenders reside, pawnshops, parks, and schools. Each of these locations was collected and compiled in separate databases in Excel files and was then overlaid in GIS. Layering is when multiple layers of information can be added to a map. Within the program, the user can select which layers will be visible. The user can make all layers of a map visible or view each layer individually, while the other layers were hidden.



In the current study, to create a map of Mississippi, several layers were created before uploading the databases containing the locations of the schools, parks, sex offenders, and pawnshops. In GIS, layers to create the map can be added using the search tool, Living Atlas, which has maps of different locations (e.g., countries, states, counties) and terrains for example. To create a map of Mississippi, a few maps were layered, including a map of the state of Mississippi, a layer that has United States counties, and cities within the United States. After creating the map of Mississippi, the four databases of parks, schools, pawnshops, and sex offender locations were uploaded into GIS. The GIS program then attempted to match the address (street, city, county, zip code, and state) to locations on the map. The program then displayed the number of locations that had an exact match, that matched more than one location, or that did not match any locations. The program then allowed the researcher to go through each of the locations that matched in multiple locations or did not match and select which location that point should be. Some of the addresses for parks initially could not be matched. To reduce the number of parks that could not be mapped, geographical coordinates (longitude and latitude) used in lieu of the physical address and zip code. The program was able to match 6,712 addresses (98%). The match rate needed for a statistically reliable pattern is 85 percent according to a study by Ratcliffe (2004).

To understand the spatial distribution of sex offenders and their proximity to pawnshops, schools, and parks, several functions were performed. First, buffer zones were constructed at specific distances around parks and schools so that the number of sex offenders who were in violation of legislative restrictions could be counted. Two buffer zones were created using ArcGIS around both parks and schools: one at 1,500 feet and



one at 3,000 feet. A feature of the program allows the user to create a zone from any location by inputting a value. The buffer zone at 1,500 feet was created because sex offenders in Mississippi are prohibited from living within 1,500 feet of a location where children are likely to be present (e.g., schools and parks). The buffer zone at 3,000 feet was created because the most serious offenders are not supposed to be within 3,000 feet of a location where children are likely to be present.

The buffer zones allowed the researcher to conduct hot spot analysis, which visually displays clustering around these zones. The buffer zones were created from the physical address of schools and parks. These zones indicate the boundaries that sex offenders were not supposed to violate in all directions from the central point around which the zone was drawn. One of the limitations of the buffer zones created in the current study, however, is that they were created based on one central location, as opposed to the entire area that a park or school may encompass. Thus, the prevalence of sex offenders residing illegally in buffer zones uncovered in this study is likely a conservative estimate of violators, as the buffer zone is calculated from the central address of a location and does not take into account the entire tract of land a school or park is on. Consequently, many schools and parks did not have any sex offenders residing in their buffer zone because the edges of the school campus or park extended 1,500 feet from the center of campus/the park where the address was plotted. The distance between pawnshops and sex offenders was also calculated in GIS. This function provides the distance a sex offender resides from the closest pawnshop in feet and meters.

Several maps were created using GIS. The maps provide a visual representation of the number of sex offenders in the state, and areas in which sex offenders clustered.



The maps also demonstrate whether sex offenders live in areas that are within those buffer zones to schools and parks. Maps were also created to show parks, schools, and pawnshops as individual layers or with all of the layers visible in GIS.

Findings

Descriptive information for the sample is included in Table 1 (see below). The majority of sex offenders in the state of Mississippi were male (N=6815, 97.2 percent) and white (N=3621, 51.6 percent). The remaining sex offenders listed in the Mississippi Sex Offender Registry were black (N=3281, 46.8 percent), Asian (N=1, 0 percent), Native American/Alaskan Native (N=64, 0.9 percent), and other (N=45, 0.6 percent). The majority of sex offenders on the registry were currently 30 years and older (N=6169, 94.7 percent). More specifically, 51 percent of sex offenders were currently 50 years or older. At the time of conviction, more sex offenders were 30 years and older (N=3732, 53.2 percent) than were 29 years of age or younger (N=3281, 46.8 percent). The majority of sex offenders on the registry were convicted of child offenses (N=4092, 58.4 percent). Since their first conviction, the vast majority of sex offenders have not re-offended (N=6014, 85.5 percent).

Table 12 also includes information about the offender's compliance status, whether they have checked in with law enforcement agents at required times, as required by their parole. In Mississippi, most sex offenders were in compliance (N=6810, 96.8 percent). The remaining offenders were classified as absconders on the Mississippi Sex Offender Registry. Finally, when examining the distance of sex offenders to pawnshops in the state of Mississippi, roughly one-third (N=2350, 34.9 percent) of offenders lived



less than one mile from the closest pawnshop. Nearly one-fourth of offenders (N=1564, 23.2 percent) lived between 1.001 to 3.999 miles to the nearest pawnshop.

[Insert Table 12]

Table 13 includes county level estimates of the four variables used to create the index of relative disadvantage, each county's score on the index of relative disadvantage, and the median household income and the number of pawnshops located in each of the 82 counties in Mississippi. The county with the highest percentage of female-headed households was Jefferson County where females head 28.3 percent of households. The county with the lowest percent of female-headed households was Tishomingo, with 11 percent. The highest unemployment rate was in Quitman County (26.1 percent) while the lowest unemployment rate was in Smith County (3.9 percent). The percent of poverty differed by slightly more than 30 percent between the county with the highest percent of poverty- Claiborne (41.2 percent) - and the county with the lowest percent of poverty-Rankin (9.6 percent). There was slightly more than a 20 percent difference in the percentage of people with less than a high school degree between the county with the highest percentage of individuals with less than a high school degree- Noxubee county (31 percent)- and county with the lowest percentage- Lamar (7.9 percent). The county with the highest median household income was Madison County (\$65,219) and the county with the lowest median household income was Holmes County (\$28,000). The index of relative disadvantage showed that Humphreys county had the highest relative disadvantage score (133.00) while Rankin county had the lowest score (38.10). The last variable to measure relative disadvantage was the number of pawnshops. The county with



the greatest number of pawnshops was Harrison (N=51). Ten of the 82 counties did not have any pawnshops located within their county borders.

[Insert Table 13]

A number of figures are included in the current research to demonstrate areas where sex offenders are not supposed to live according to state legislation. Figure 1.3 displays the location of parks throughout Mississippi and Figure 1.4 shows the locations of parks in relation to sex offenders living in Mississippi. To get a better idea of which areas are restricted for sex offenders, Figure 1.7 displays a map of restricted zones comprised of parks, public schools, private schools, and daycares. To understand residential features of communities in which sex offenders occupy, two maps were created. The first, Figure 1.5, displays the location of pawnshops in Mississippi and Figure 1.6 shows the locations of pawnshops in relation to sex offenders' home address. A greater number of pawnshops tend to be located in more populous counties, which coincide with a greater concentration of sex offenders (e.g., Hinds County). These locales also have fewer areas in which sex offenders can legally reside without being in violation of housing restrictions.

Descriptive statistics for the dependent variables are presented in Table 14. Most sex offenders in Mississippi did not live within 3,000 feet of a school or park, and even fewer lived within 1500 feet of a school or park. About one-fifth of the sample (N=1214, 17.7 percent) of sex offenders lived within 1,500 feet of a school. When this buffer zone was expanded to 3,000 feet, the number of sex offenders in this zone increased. Nearly one-third (N=1988, 29 percent) of sex offenders lived within 3,000 feet of a school. In comparison to school buffer zones, fewer sex offenders lived within buffer zones



generated for parks. Only 3.2 percent of offenders (N=221) in Mississippi lived within 1,500 feet of a park/recreation area. When the buffer zone was expanded to 3,000 feet, only 8.6 percent (N=587) of sex offenders lived within that zone. Finally, when the criteria was whether the sex offenders lived within 1,500 or 3,000 feet of a park or a school, the proportion increased above and beyond that found for either the park or the school individually. One-fifth of sex offenders (N=1330, 19.8 percent) lived within 1,500 feet of either a school or a park and nearly one-third of sex offenders (N=2141, 31.8 percent) lived within 3,000 feet of either a school or a park.

[Insert Table 14]

The results of the bivariate correlation analysis examining the associations between the independent variables are included in Table 15. The results indicate that there was a weak negative relationship between gender and race (r= -0.086, p<.001), suggesting that male sex offenders were significantly more likely to be black than their female counterparts. There was also a weak positive relationship between gender and age (r= 0.011, p<.001), recidivism (r= 0.051, p<.001), and compliance (p= 0.043, p<.001), suggesting that males were more likely to be older, have recidivated, and to have been compliant with conditions of their parole.

The race of the sex offender had a statistically significant correlation with a number of variables as well. White sex offenders were significantly more likely than non-white offenders to be older at present (r = 0.046, p < .001), older at the time of their conviction (r = 0.194, p < .001), have committed a sex crime against a child (r = 0.114, p < .001), been in compliance with the conditions of their parole (r = 0.185, p < .001), lived in counties with higher median household incomes (r = 0.169, p < .001), and live a greater



distance from a pawnshop (r=0.136, p<.001). Whites were significantly less likely than their nonwhite counterparts to live in counties that scored high on the relative disadvantage index (r=-0.242, p<.001),

Both the offender's current age and their age at conviction had little association with the other variables included in the model. Individuals that were oldest at the time the data were collected were significantly older than their counterparts at the time of their conviction (r=0.224, p<.001) while offenders that were older at the time of their conviction were significantly more likely than their counterparts to be child offenders (r=0.104, p<.001) and to be in compliance with the conditions of their parole (r=0.059, p<.001). Offenders that were older at the time of their conviction were significantly less likely to live in counties that scored higher on the index of relative disadvantage (r=0.048, p<.001). Additionally, offenders that had committed an offense against a child were significantly more likely than those that had not to have been compliant with the conditions of their parole (r=0.211, p<.001).

Additionally, there was a weak negative relationship between recidivism and compliance (r= 0.358, p<.001); offenders that had previously committed sex crimes were significantly more likely than their counterparts to have violated the conditions of their parole. Individuals who had remained compliant with the conditions of their parole were significantly more likely than their counterparts to live in counties with higher median household incomes (r= 0.060, p<.001) and lower levels of relative disadvantage (r=-0.077, p<.001). Finally, and intuitively, individuals living in counties with higher scores on the relative disadvantage index were significantly more likely to live in counties with lower levels of median household income (r=-0.812, p<.001), and live closer to



pawnshops than their counterparts (r=-0.043, p<.001) from counties with lower scores on the relative disadvantage index.

As seen in Table 15, most of the independent variables were either not correlated or were weakly correlated; only one association (the relationship between the median household income and the relative disadvantage index) was strong enough (-0.812) to suggest a multicollinearity problem. Given that both measures were included as proxies of social disorganization, I chose to leave both variables in the subsequent regression models.

[Insert Table 15]

The results of the bivariate correlation analyses examining the association between the measures of whether or not offenders lived within the buffer zones around schools and parks are presented in Table 16. There was no statistically significant relationship (p<.001) between four of the dependent variables (whether or not the offender lived with 1500 or 3000 feet of a school and whether or not the offender lived within 1500 or 3000 feet of a park) and the 10 independent variables. Combining the buffer zones (e.g., creating variables that measured whether or not the offenders lived within 1,500 feet of a school *or* park and whether or not the offenders lived within 3,000 feet of a school *or* park) did yield some associations between the dependent and independent variables, yielding weak negative relationships with race, compliance, median household income, miles from a pawnshop, and the index of relative disadvantage. White offenders were significantly less likely than nonwhite offenders to reside within the 1,500-foot buffer zone of a school/park. Offenders within this zone were more likely to not be non-compliant and live further away from pawnshops than their



counterparts. There was also a positive relationship between living within this zone and recidivism. Offenders who lived within 1,500 feet of a park or school were more likely to have recidivated than offenders who lived outside this zone. Offenders that lived in counties that scored higher on the relative disadvantage index and had lower median household incomes were significantly more likely than their counterparts to live within 1500 feet of a school/park. Additionally, those offenders that lived closest to a pawnshop were significantly less likely than their counterparts to live within 1500 feet of a school/park. With the exception of two variables, the correlations between the independent variables and the buffer zone variable remained the same when the distance increased to 3,000 feet of a park/school. When the distance was increased, gender had a statistically significant positive relationship with the buffer zone violation (r=0.046, p<.001) and the relationship between recidivism and the buffer zone violation became non-significant. Thus, males were significantly more likely than females to live in the buffer zone at 3,000 feet but not at 1,500 feet.

[Insert Table 16]

The results of the hierarchical logistic regression analysis regressing whether or not the sex offender lived in the buffer zones around either a school or a park (in other words, did they violate the buffer zone of either entity) are included in Table

17. Hierarchical logistic regression was selected as the method for analysis because it allows researchers to understand nested data. The data points used in this study were not independent of one another because many of the offenders share some common variance since many live in the same county. In the current study, the outcomes of offenders were



nested within counties in Mississippi. Regression analyses are appropriate because it allows concurrent testing of county-level effects on the two dependent variables.

The first model in Table 17 examined predictors of whether or not the offender lived within 1,500 feet of either a park or school while the second model examined whether or not the individual lived within 3,000 feet of either a park or school. In Model 1 (1,500 feet model), only two variables had a statistically significant impact on whether or not the offender lived within 1,500 feet of either a school or a park. The coefficient for race (-0.549) corresponds to an odds ratio of 0.577. This implies that the odds of living within 1,500 feet of a school or park are 42.3 percent lower for whites (versus non-whites). The coefficient for miles from pawnshop (-0.877) corresponds to an odds ratio of 0.416. This implies that the odds of living within 1,500 feet of a school or park are 58.4 percent lower for every mile a person lives from a pawnshop.

In Model 2 (3,000 feet model), three variables had a statistically significant impact on whether or not the offender lived within 3,000 feet of a school or park. The coefficient for race (-0.807) corresponds to an odds ratio of 0.446. This implies that the odds of living within 3,000 feet of a school or park are 55.4 percent lower for whites (versus nonwhites). The coefficient for the age at conviction (0.010) corresponds to an odds ratio of 0.943. This implies that the odds of living with 3,000 feet of a school or park are 5.7 percent lower for offenders over 30 years at the time of conviction (compared to offenders' aged 29 or less). The coefficient for miles from pawnshop (-1.043) corresponds to an odds ratio of 0.352. This implies that the odds of living within 3,000 feet of a school or park are 64.8 percent lower for every mile a person lives from a pawnshop.



[Insert Table 17]

Discussion

In the current study, I was interested in understanding which communities sex offenders were most likely to reside. I examined what proportion of sex offenders were in violation of housing restrictions. I also looked at whether certain variables (e.g., gender, race, current age, age at conviction, whether or not they committed their offense against a child, whether or not the offender was a recidivist, and whether or not the offender had been found non-compliant with the conditions of their parole) affected whether or not sex offenders were more likely to live in areas where they cannot legally reside. Several datasets were created to explore the features of these communities including the location of parks, pawnshops, public schools, private schools, and childcare centers in Mississippi. Data from the 2010 Census were acquired to create a scale of relative deprivation. Using the Mississippi Sex Offender Registry, data about sex offender locations were collected monthly.

The current study found that the majority of sex offenders in Mississippi were white, currently over the age of 30, and complied with rules that required them to check in with their parole officer. Of the sex offenders on the Mississippi Sex Offender Registry, 14.5% had committed another sex crime since they initially had registered as a sex offender. This finding can be interpreted in one of two ways. In comparison to research, that has examined three-year recidivism rates, this is a high rate of recidivism. Prior research of this period found recidivism rates to be 5.3% (Langan et al., 2003) and 4.8% for new sex offenses (Sample & Bray, 2003). However, many of the sex offenders included on the registry have been listed for more than three years and in some cases,



decades. Therefore, the recidivism rate captured in the current study has not been calculated to account for the number of years that each offender has spent on the registry before committing another offense. If the current overall rate of recidivism was compared to a longitudinal study, 14.5% recidivism would be low. Longitudinal recidivism studies have found rates of new sexual offenses to be 39 percent for people previously convicted of rape and 52 percent for people previously convicted of child molestation (Pretnsky et al., 1997, p. 651). To gain a better understanding of the recidivism rate at different intervals of time (3, 5, or 10 years), future research will needs to be conducted to understand the true recidivism rate of sex offenders in Mississippi. In comparison to other types of offenders, though, violent offenders' recidivate at lower rates than property or drug offenders (Alper, Durose, & Markman, 2018).

The main purpose of the study was to assess where sex offenders lived in the state of Mississippi and whether they were in violation of sex offender restrictions. Mississippi Code § 45-33-25 dictates residence restrictions for sex offenders such as having to live a certain distance away from schools, parks, or daycare facilities. Mississippi is a state with some of the most restrictive housing conditions; some sex offenders cannot live within 3,000 feet of any area used by youth (Norman-Eady, 2007).

In this study, I first examined the areas in which sex offenders most often resided in Mississippi. The majority of sex offenders lived outside of the buffer zones created for this study, 1,500 feet from parks or schools, and 3,000 feet from parks or schools. Four-fifths of sex offenders (80.2 percent) lived more than 1,500 feet from a school or park. This number declined when the buffer zone increased to 3,000 feet. Almost 70 percent of sex offenders (68.2 percent) lived more than 3,000 feet from a school or park. A minority



of sex offenders, however, did live within these buffer zones and were in violation of residency restrictions. Nearly one-fifth of sex offenders (19.8 percent) lived within 1,500 feet of a school or park, and nearly one-third (31.8 percent) lived within 3,000 feet of a school or park. In comparison to other studies, a low percentage of sex offenders were living in spatial restriction zones.

Although no previous research of which I am aware has attempted to understand spatial restriction zones for an entire state, prior research has examined individual counties to determine sex offender compliance with housing restrictions. In Erie County, New York, 89% of sex offenders lived in spatial restriction zones and in Schenectady County, New York, 90% of sex offenders lived in spatial restriction zones (Berenson & Appelbaum, 2011, p. 242). In these counties, the vast majority of residential areas were within spatial restriction zones. Zgoba et al. (2008) also examined the number of sex offenders who would be in violation of spatial restriction zones (1,000 and 2,500 feet) in Camden County, New Jersey prior to the passage of housing restrictions on sex offenders. Zgoba and colleagues (2008) found the majority of sex offenders lived within 2,500 feet from schools (71%) and daycares (80%). Although some counties in Mississippi do have a greater concentration of offenders living in spatial restriction zones, the state as a whole has a lower percentage of sex offenders living in restricted areas. However, future research needs to explore the number of sex offenders in violation of housing restrictions in each county.

Figure 1.2 graphically displays the locations of sex offenders in Mississippi. It also shows their level of compliance such as offenders who live outside of 1,500 and 3,000 foot restrictions zones, those who are in violation of either 1,500 or 3,000 foot



restriction zones but not both, and those who are in violation of both 1,500 and 3,000 foot restriction zones. Sex offenders tend to be concentrated in similar areas within each county. Some locations, such as Jackson, for example, have a large number of sex offenders who are heavily concentrated in one location. As of June 2017, (the most current date of residence used in the study) there were over 7,000 sex offenders in Mississippi.

The study then examined which variables affected a sex offender's likelihood of living within 1,500 and 3,000 feet of parks and schools. For both models shown in Table 17, an offender's race and their location to pawnshops were predictors of living within the buffer zones. No research of which I am aware has examined pawnshops as a residential feature of neighborhoods where sex offenders may reside so this a residential feature that warrants further studies. The odds of living within either buffer zone were lower for whites compared to non-whites. The odds of living within either buffer zone were also lower for every mile a person lived from a pawnshop. In model 2, the age at conviction was also a statistically significant predictor or living within the 3,000-foot buffer zone. The odds of living within 3,000 feet of a school or park were lower for offenders who were 30 years or older at the time of their conviction. No prior research to my knowledge has examined the impact of age at conviction on the likelihood of living within a spatial restriction zones. Future research is needed to understand mediating factors that could affect home ownership such as education, marital status, or having children.



CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

This study was an exploratory effort to understand sanctions experienced by sex offenders prior to incarceration, during incarceration, and after their release using three separate but interrelated studies. It contributes to the literature through the exploration of individual and county level variables using unique data (e.g., letters from a convicted sex offender) and datasets (e.g., the creation of the sex offender database for the state of Mississippi). The study is also the first to my knowledge to explore how the media in comparison to murderers frame sex offenders. These studies contributed to the existing literature and should provide a platform for research on sex offenders in the state of Mississippi going forward.

Sex offenders are one of the most vilified groups of offenders. When people think about sex offenders, there are typically two assumptions that come to mind. First, there is a belief that sex offenders pose a greater threat than other types of offenders. Second, there is the idea that sex offenders do not benefit from treatment and they will reoffend (Sample & Bray, 2003). These ideas can lead to a moral panic in which people respond disproportionately to a given threat (Cohen, 2002; Hunt, 1997), in this case sex offenders. For example, there are those who take the stance "Not in My Backyard," which represents a person or a community's opposition to an undesirable element or person in



their neighborhood. Those taking this stance are often verbally and sometimes violently, opposed to sex offenders moving into their neighborhood. This can lead to additional stigma, and sometimes victimization, of sex offenders that relocate into the community upon release from prison.

The media portray sex offenders in ways that greatly differ from reality. Within newspapers, sex offenders are framed as compulsive, homogenous, specialists and incurable (Galeste et al., 2012). Given the dynamic role, that the media plays in society today, their portrayal of sex offenders may have a significant impact on individual's perceptions in society. Research finds that the average American is connected to three social media websites (e.g., YouTube, Twitter, Snapchat) and many visit these sites daily (Smith & Anderson, 2018). The interconnectedness of today's world allows for almost instantaneous transmission of information, which often shapes an individual's reality (Fowler, 1991). Consequently, because public reality is shaped by a variety of sources, it is important to take into consideration how those messages have affected the perceptions and beliefs of the public.

The overarching purpose of this research was to understand how sex offenders were treated before, during, and after incarceration. This goal was achieved through the undertaking of three separate but interrelated studies that examined perceptions of sex offenders, daily life of an incarcerated sex offender, and the restrictions offenders experienced after being labeling a sex offender. These studies examined the portrayal of sex offenders in the media, the interactions of a sex offender with other inmates while incarcerated, and the predictors of residential locations of sex offenders in Mississippi.



The first study in this dissertation examined differences in media coverage and the ways in which sex offenders and murderers were framed in print media. Using *The New York Times*, a sample of articles was gathered using four key words, "sex crime," "sex offense," "homicide" and "degree murder" in the years 2007 and 2017. The study attempted to answer six research questions:

- 1. How did the newspaper stories frame sex offenders?
- 2. How did the newspaper stories portray victims of sex offenses?
- 3. How did the newspaper stories frame murderers?
- 4. How did the newspaper stories portray homicide victims?
- 5. Did the newspaper stories use similar framing techniques for sex offenders and murderers?
- 6. Did framing techniques for sex offenders and murderers, respectively, differ between 2007 and 2017?

The study found that newspaper stories relied on specific categories to describe offenders and victims for both the articles about murderers and sex offenders. Newspaper articles from *The New York Times* predominantly focused on the offender and victim's gender, age, and employment. Articles were often sensational and focused on a few particular newsworthy stories (e.g., the offender who dressed as a firefighter and assaulted a co-worker).

For sex offender articles, newspapers tended to publish the greater amount of information about offender variables, which referred to any information about an offender such as their gender, race, age, employment, and any descriptions of the offender. The study found that sex offenders in articles for 2007 and 2017 were majority



male, over the age of 30, and white collared workers. Similarly, the majority of murderers for both years were male, and over the age of 30. Murderers for 2007 and 2017, however, were more likely to be blue-collar workers. No research of which I am aware has found occupation to be a framework used by the media to understand crime.

Articles about sex offenders and murderers primarily focused on male offenders, which is consistent with previous literature (Lundman et al., 2004). Inconsistent with previous literature, however, was the fact that race was rarely mentioned in the news articles, and, in actuality, was the least common framing technique to describe both sex offenders and murderers. Race is one of the most common framing techniques to depict offenders used in television and newspaper discussions of crime. Specifically, blacks and Hispanics are most likely to be depicted as offenders according to previous research (Dixon & Linz, 200; Entman, 1990; Oliver, 1994). There were several positive statements about sex offenders in the current research that were not in the extant literature. More positive statements were expressed about sex offender than murders. There were 41 positive descriptions of sex offenders; however, the vast majority were made in 2007 (N=38) and hardly any in 2017 (N=3). In comparison, no murderers were coded for positive descriptions. The number of positive statements about victims also differed depending on whether the offender was a murderer or sex offender. There were three positive descriptions of victims in sex offender articles for both years. In comparison, there were 100 coded segments of positive descriptions for murder victims; this could be attributed in part to the finality of being a murder victim, whereas the majority of sex offender victims survive their trauma.



Newspapers also portrayed offenders through the lens of guilt or innocence. Articles about murderers predominately focused on details of the crime such as the motive, type of offense, and the use of a weapon. There was a greater emphasis on murderer's criminal history than sex offenders. Research conducted over a 12-year period (1990-2002) found that the majority of violent offenders had prior arrests and slightly more than half of violent felons had been previously convicted (Reaves, 2006). However, there was no discussion of recidivism in news articles about murderers. The vast majority of people in prison will be released, and yet no articles addressed this fact. Nearly one-third of felony homicide offenders committed additional crimes after release from prison (Roberts et al., 2007). To some extent, sex offender and murderers in the media are framed in similar ways since the focus is on demographics (gender and age), although relatively few articles talked about race.

The second study was a content analysis of journal entries written by a convicted sex offender, and examined what life was like while he was imprisoned, how he was treated while in prison, and if certain segments of the inmate population were more accepting of a sex offender than other inmates. The journal entries offered a limited view into how sex offenders are treated in prison. Of the total number of journal entries, 209 (16.1 percent) contained a minimum of one coded segment that talked about sex offenders. This may speak to the salience of the sex offender label since it was not the most defining feature. Another possibility, though, is that the journal writer downplayed how his status as a sex offender affected his life in prison because his writing was mailed to a friend who could read what he wrote. To avoid embarrassment, or to reduce the



worries of his friend about his well-being, may have caused the writer to exclude information about what it means to be a sex offender in prison.

The vast majority of journal entries was about life in prison, rather than focused on the hardships of being a sex offender. Some of the most prominent subcategories included food and work in prison. Of the entries coded as being about sex offenders, the responses from other inmates and staff members varied. Overall, interactions between staff and sex offenders were positive. Whites and older inmates had more positive perceptions of correctional staff than non-whites and younger inmates (Hemmens & Marquart, 2000). John was older and white and did have positive impressions of correctional staff. Correctional officers and other staff members of the prison were often described as working with inmates in a professional capacity, without bias. However, the positive interactions with staff members were described in less detail than negative interactions between staff and inmates. A few correctional officers were described as being hostile towards sex offenders. This was exemplified by an interaction with one of the correctional officer written on November 13, 2008.

"He [the correctional officer] made no effort to go through my pockets but continued to badger me about my crime. [Correctional Officer] 'Why did you do that?' ['John'] 'I wish I knew' [Correctional Officer] 'Is it a sickness' ['John'] 'I don't know' All of this was in a hostile tone accompanied by a bullying attitude. [Correctional Officer] 'If it was my little girl, I'd have to kill you. Think of what it does to them and their parents'".

Interactions with other inmates also varied. The vast majority of interactions were either neutral or positive. Research into prison victimization found the odds of being



physically assaulted while in prison were significantly higher for whites than blacks (Wooldredge & Steiner, 2012). As a white offender, the odds of being victimized were higher than many other races in the same federal prison, but John never mentioned personally being attacked while incarcerated. The journal entries described how sex offenders and those suspected of similar crimes often associated with each other while incarcerated. One such example was his weekly canasta games he played with other inmates. The majority of inmates were not openly hostile or friendly towards suspected sex offenders.

Additionally, the journal entries provided information about a topic heretofore ignored in the literature around sex offenders: race relations in prison, such as how those relations were different for sex offenders than other inmates. The journal entries of the sex offender included in this dissertation suggested that interactions with black inmates were overwhelming coded as positive or neutral. The majority of interactions with Hispanic inmates were coded as neutral. Overall, the Hispanic population were not involved in the affairs of other inmates documented in the journal entries. Meanwhile, interactions with black inmates were described positively, as neither exclusionary or with any mention of hostility towards the writer or other suspected sex offenders. On December 12, 2005, he wrote, "The older blacks especially pay absolutely no attention to race. They treat everybody as they should be treated- as human beings". However, interactions with white inmates, particularly those in the gang, the Dirty White Boys, were coded more negatively. On January 27, 2006, 'John' wrote,

"[another inmate] 'Andy' came by to check on us this evening and let us know he had a talk with 'Spencer', the spokesman for the whites I guess you could call



him. The talk was brought on when someone posted an article about the conviction of the man who murdered the ex-priest who had molested over 100 altar boys during a long career during which the church moved him from parish to parish in spite of the prison. Anyway the posted article attracted a crowd of whites who were cracking jokes and one suggested sliding it under our door."

The journal entries highlighted the differences in interactions between inmates identified as white, black, and Hispanic. These differences were pronounced in the journal entries; however, to my knowledge, no research has examined how race affects interpersonal relations in prison. Additional research is needed to understand how race affects interactions between inmates in prison.

In the final study, I examined whether sex offenders lived in areas of concentrated disadvantage and spatial restriction zones. The study also examined characteristics of the communities in which sex offenders lived. The study used social disorganization theory to examine neighborhood characteristics including concentrated disadvantage. The data were quantified and analyzed using SPSS. However, to visualize the areas in which sex offenders lived and neighborhood features, I used a geospatial-mapping program to plot the locations of sex offenders' residences in Mississippi. Residence information was from the Mississippi Sex Offender Registry website.

The current study found that the majority of sex offenders in Mississippi were white, currently over the age of 30, complied with their probation, and had not committed another sexual offense. Among sex offenders, 14.5% had been reconvicted of another sex crime. The current study found that there are certain predictors that increase the odds a sex offender will live in a spatial restriction zone. The odds of living within the 1,500-



foot buffer zone of a school or park were lower for whites compared to non-whites, and for every mile, a person lived from a pawnshop. These variables remained significant predictors of living outside the 3,000 foot buffer zone of a school or park as well. In addition, the age at conviction affected the odds of living within this buffer zone.

The majority of sex offenders also complied with housing restrictions.

Approximately 70% of the 7,000 sex offenders in Mississippi, at the time of data collection, lived more than 3,000 feet from a school or a park. This percentage increases further to 80%, when examining the number of offenders who lived more than 1,500 feet from a school or park. The number of sex offenders who have adhered to spatial restriction zones is much greater in the present study than other research that has examined spatial restriction zones. Berenson and Appelbaum (2011) found that 89% and 90% of sex offenders, respectively, in two counties in New York lived in spatial restriction zones. In other words, only 10% and 11%, respectively, of sex offenders lived in areas where they were legally allowed to live. The statistics in Mississippi are promising overall. There is very likely variation in the rate of compliance in Mississippi when comparing counties, though, since some regions are more heavily populated than others are. This is an additional component that will be addressed in future research.

Overarching Themes

In general, there were several overarching themes across the studies in this research. The first theme is the gendering of sex offenders. In both the media study, and the geographic analysis of sex offender residences, the vast majority of the sex offenders were male. While this theme mirrors arrest statistics for sex offenses (where 9 in 10 arrests for sex offenses are male arrests), it also emphasizes the importance of



understanding why males are so disproportionately represented in media depictions of sex offenders and so disproportionately found on sex offender registries. Future research should seek to explore why both males are so likely to appear, and females are so unlikely to appear, in these offenses.

A second underlying them across the three studies was race. Each study presented findings that contradict widely held notions about race and the criminal justice system. Although the majority of sex offenders in Mississippi were white, blacks were disproportionately represented on the registry; this contradicts the widely held notion that sex offenders are primarily old, white males. Whereas the media are likely to emphasize racialized themes in many criminal justice stories, race was deemphasized (or even ignored) in the newspaper accounts of sex offenders in this study. Finally, John's interactions with black inmates were uniformly positive, a notion that contradicts widely held assumptions that prisons are racially divided and interactions between races are both dangerous and primarily hostile. Thus, the impact of race in the area of sex offending appears to be a fertile area for future exploration by scholars interested in both race and sex offenders.

The final underlying them, alluded to above, centers on how the findings from the studies presented here contradict widely held notions that are fueled by media depictions of sex offenders. The media portray the sex offender as often living in violation of registration conditions; less than one in three sex offenders fit this stereotype. The media portray sex offenders as older, white males that may or may not know their victim, and largely prey on children; both the sex offender registry and the newspaper stories analyzed here contradict that notion. Thus, it appears the additional research in the area



of media portrayals of sex offenders is not only a good idea, it is essential to better inform both the scholarly community and the public about the reality of sex offenses.

Limitations

There were several limitations for each of the studies discussed above. The first study examined how sex offenders were portrayed in *The New York* Times compared to murderers. No research to my knowledge has compared sex offenders and murderers; therefore, selecting the search terms that would yield the most articles relevant to the study was based primarily on intuition since it could not be substantiated by prior research. The original years that were going to be used to gather the articles were 2007 and 2016. The year 2016 was not used in the final analysis, however; instead, 2017 was used. This change was due primarily to a large number of broken website links on *The* New York Times archives that prevented me from viewing and, ultimately, downloading those articles. It must also be acknowledged that although *The New York Times* is one of the most widely circulated newspapers (Pew Research Center, 2017); the majority of articles that pertained to the media study were in the United States. More specifically, the majority of articles were about offenses that took place in the northeast. Given that these articles did not cover a wide expanse, the findings from this study are limited in the ability to generalize findings from the content analysis. Only one researcher also performed coding so the code system does not have inter-coder reliability.

The content analysis of letters was also not without limitations. First, it must be acknowledged that the data comes from the viewpoint of one individual. The letter writer was also an atypical inmate since he was an older, white male, with an advanced college degree. Furthermore, the author knew officers might read his letters; this knowledge



likely made his portrayals of officers and conditions more positive than it would have been had he knew his letters were only going to be read by his friend. The views he expressed may not be representative of the typical experience of any inmate or an inmate who committed a sex crime because of the marked differences of the writer's age and advanced degrees. The writer was also incarcerated in a low-security federal prison, which is not generalizable to inmates incarcerated in state prisons or maximum-security facilities. To gain a better understanding of how sex offenders are treated in prison, a more representative sample is needed. Research should examine how the inmate's race, gender, age, length of incarceration, and criminal offense affects an inmate's experiences in prison.

Like the content analysis of the newspaper articles, only one researcher coded the second study; therefore, the code system that was created may change with the addition of other coders. Codes were generated based on the ideas of labeling theory and any common categories that were repeated more than twice in the letters. While the journals and letters appear to be straightforward, there are slight nuances that the coder likely has not perceived since the perception of the reader and writer differs. Because the journal writer passed away prior to receiving the collection of letters and journal entries, I cannot get clarification from the writer on some of his written work. While there are benefits of a unique sample of letters that likely will not be replicated in the same manner, there are also pitfalls. This is the first study to my knowledge that has relied on a collection of journal entries and writings to understand what life are like for sex offenders while incarcerated.



The final study examined individual and contextual factors that predicted whether sex offenders were more or less likely to be in violation of housing restrictions (e.g., near parks or schools). When uploading the database of sex offenders in ArcMap's, the program tries to match the location in the database to the locations on a map. When imported into ArcMap's, a number of cases were not matched or there were more than one match for that location. A user can manually match the locations that the program did not automatically match; the user selects through the possible locations for that point in cases where there were more than one-matched locations. This can lead to errors as many locations had multiple possible addresses and no clear indication on the map of the location of that feature. A small number of sex offenders (less than one percent of the sample) were not imported into the program due to a problem when the data was being imported into ArcGIS from excel files. The accuracy of the buffer zones may also be called into question. ArcGIS maps each location the sex offenders cannot reside on a single, central point, typically the address of a location. However, this does not capture the fact that some locations have large parcels of land and sex offenders may be in violation of housing restrictions at any location surrounding the property, as opposed to just the central point.

There is also a shortcoming for the variable pawnshop. The data about pawnshops came from one source, and while the data contained the physical address, town, state, and zip code, it did not include the county. Some counties in Mississippi have towns that border more than one county. Therefore, the accuracy of the pawnshop count and the distance to the nearest pawnshop can be called into question. To strengthen this variable, additional sources such as the Yellow pages can be used to validate existing addresses in



the database. The measure of relative disadvantage also had some limitations. This measure solely captures the economic deprivation that can exist in a community but it does not capture measures of collective efficacy or levels of trust or cohesion that are necessary to build a strong model to test the idea of concentrated disadvantage.

Future Research

A number of research projects and supplementary data can be used to strengthen the findings from the three studies. Given the limitations that accompany using one newspaper, future research should consider using a large database or pull articles from multiple newspapers and create their own database. The first study found that the media generally use the same criteria to describe sex offenders and murderers. However, upon closer examination, there were some differences in the level of detail that was provided for each type of offender. Future research should broaden the search terms for both sex offenders and murderers, perhaps to the different types of sex offenses (e.g., child molestation, rape) or murders (e.g., homicide, first-degree or second-degree manslaughter) in order to get a more representative sample of articles. Another way to understand the messages that the media disseminates can be through video analysis of television shows or movies, or an audio analysis of radio programs or podcasts, which discuss offenders.

From the content analysis of letters, several findings emerged. One in particular that has the greatest potential for future research is the finding that interactions between the letter writer and black offenders were overwhelmingly positive. Future research is needed to further explore race relations that exist within prison, and examine whether these relationship differ between the type of facility, the age of sex offender, the type of



offense committed by the sex offender, and the type of offense committed by people they come in contact with. Surveying current inmates or previous inmates is one possible method to gather this information. Future research is also needed to understand how gender affects interactions of sex offenders with other inmates while incarcerated.

Specifically, the study should examine whether female inmates are more accepting of a suspected sex offender and what connotations does being a female sex offender have.

The final study using ArcGIS can be strengthened by adding more variables that capture concentrated disadvantage. Measures of collective efficacy and neighborhood cohesion would strengthen studies of concentrated disadvantage. The locations in which sex offenders cannot reside could also be more detailed so that, instead of creating buffer zones or using Euclidean distance to calculate how far away a sex offender lived from a school, park, or either location, parcels could be used instead. Therefore, the buffer zones based on these features would likely increase the areas in which sex offenders are not supposed to reside. Future research should also explore the impact of residential mobility on concentrated disadvantage in Mississippi. Residential mobility can be captured by creating a count variable for the number of times a sex offender moves within a given period. Residential mobility can be compared to the average number of housing moves by non-offenders in the community to understand whether sex offenders have higher rates of residential mobility compared to the average number of moves in the general population.

In general, the findings from these studies could be furthered with an in-depth analysis of different types of offenders. Research should explore different types of sex offenders (e.g., rapists, pedophiles), given that a prior study found different rates of recidivism for different types of offenders. The types of offenders can also be mapped



using geospatial software to understand whether certain types are more likely to be in spatial restriction zones and reasons for this difference in comparison to other types. It is also important to take into consideration, for all future studies, the sex offenders' age and educational background, since these likely play a role in the likelihood of recidivism, housing locations, and societal perceptions of offenders. Some research has examined perceptions of sex offenders using convenience samples but samples that are more representative are needed to understand how society views sex offenders, and to what extent, the media plays in shaping their perceptions.



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Table 7.1 NIBRS Definitions of Sex Offenses

Sex Offenses	Definitions
Rape	"carnal knowledge of a person, without the consent
	of the victim, including instances where the victim is
	incapable of giving consent because of his/her age or
	because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or
	physical incapacity".
Statutory Rape	"nonforcible sexual intercourse with a person who is
• 1	under the statutory age of consent."
Sexual assault with an object	"to use an object or instrument to unlawfully
J	penetrate, however slightly, the genital or anal opening
	of the body of another person, without the consent of
	the victim, including instances where the victim is
	incapable of giving consent because of his/her age or
	because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or
	physical incapacity."
Sodomy	"oral or anal sexual intercourse with another person,
2	without the consent of the victim, including instances
	where the victim is incapable of giving consent because
	of his/her age or because of his/her temporary or
	permanent mental or physical incapacity."
Fondling	"the touching of the private body parts of another
C	person for the purpose of sexual gratification, without
	the consent of the victim, including instances where the
	victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her
	age or because of his/her temporary or permanent
	mental or physical incapacity."
Incest	"nonforcible sexual intercourse between persons
	who are related to each other within the degrees
	wherein marriage is prohibited by law."

U.S. Department of Justice. (2015a). Sex offenses reported via NIBRS in 2013. Retrieved from https://ucr.fbi.gov/nibrs-sex-offenses-study-2013



Table 7.2 Definitions of Sex Offenses in Mississippi

Section	Offenses
97-3-53	Kidnapping a victim under 18
97-3-65	Relating to rape
97-3-71	Rape and assault, intent to ravish
97-3-95	Relating to sexual battery
97-5-5	Enticing a child for concealment, prostitution, or marriage
97-5-23	Relating to the touching of a child, mentally defective, or incapacitated person or physically helpless person for lustful purposes
97-5-27	Relating to the dissemination of sexually oriented material to children
97-5-33	Relating to the exploitation of children
97-5-41	Relating to the carnal knowledge of a stepchild, adopted child, or child of a cohabitating partner
97-29-3	Relating to sexual intercourse between a teacher and student
97-29-59	Relating to unnatural intercourse
43-47-18	Relating to the sexual abuse of a vulnerable person
97-3-54.1(1)c	Relating to procuring sexual servitude of a minor
97-3-54.3	Relating to aiding, abetting, or conspiring to violate a minor
97-29-61(2)	Relating to voyeurism when the victim is a child under 16
97-29-63	Relating to filming another without permission where there is an expectation of privacy
97-29-45(1)	Relating to obscene electronic communication
97-3-104	Relating to the crime of sexual activity between law enforcement, correctional, or custodial personnel and prisoners
97-5-39(1)	Relating to the contribution to the neglect or delinquency of a child, felonious abuse or battery of a child
97-1-7	Attempts to commit any of the aforementioned offenses; any other offense resulting in a conviction in another jurisdiction which, if
	committed in this state, would be deemed to be such a crime; offense
	resulting in conviction in another jurisdiction which requires
	registration; conspiracy to commit, accessory to commission the above offenses; capital murder with one of the above offenses
D ' ' ' CC	•

Registration of Sex Offenders. 45 Miss. Code Ann. § 45-33-25, 2013.



Sex Offender Registration and Notification Act (SORNA) Requirements

Offenses and Offenders Included

Required state, tribe, territory, federal and military offenses

- Required juvenile offenses
- Retroactively apply requirements
- Required early registry removal standards

Tracking and Penalizing Absconders

- Requisite criminal penalty for failure to register
- Notification to originating jurisdiction when offender fails to appear for registration
- Investigation procedures for suspected absconders

Community Notification

- Maintain public registry website, post required information
- Immediate notification of changes in offender information on the public website
- Email notification system alerting public when offenders relocate into or out of a particular ZIP code or geographic radius

Offender Appearance and Verification

- Required if convicted, incarcerated, residing, working, or attending school in the state
- Register before release from prison or immediately after sentencing or relocating to state
- Offense-based tiering and required duration of registration and frequency of reporting
 - Immediate reporting of registration information changes
- 21-day advance notice of international travel

Information Sharing

- Collect all identification and location information in registry
- Provide registration information to law enforcement and prosecution agencies within the jurisdiction
 - Immediate notification of changes in offenders' information to any affected jurisdiction
- Immediate notification to NCIC/NSOR of all new and updated information
- U.S. Department of Justice (2017b). Sex Offender Registration and Notification Act state and territory implementation progress check. Retrieved from https://www.smart.gov/sorna.htm



A comparison of Mississippi Sex Offender Registration Requirements with those of the Adam Walsh Act

Adam Walsh Act	Mississippi	Mississippi Code 45-33-25
	Compliance	
Name and aliases	Yes, adds to	Name and former name that has been legally changed; aliases,
	the definition	nicknames, ethnic or tribal names
Social security number	Yes, adds to	Social security number or purported social security number
	the definition	
Address for each residence	Yes, adds to	Addresses in and out of state that the offender resides for 7 or more
offender resides	the definition	days, or between 10pm and 6am for 7 or more days; anticipated future
		address; if the residency is a motor vehicle, trailer, mobile home or
		manufactured home, identification number, license tag, registration
		number, a description and frequently location is required; if residence
		is a vessel or houseboat, provide the hull identification number, serial
		number, name of vessel or boat, registration number, a description,
		and frequent location is required
Name and address for place of	Yes, adds to	Date, place, and address of employment including as a volunteer,
employment	the definition	unpaid intern, transient, or day laborer
Name and address for place	Yes, adds to	Public or private schools (secondary schools, trade school,
where offender is a student	the definition	professional institution, or higher education) where offender is
		employed, carries on a vocation, is enrolled as a student, and will
		enroll as a student
License plate	Yes, adds to	License tags number for vehicles owned or operated, whether for
	the definition	work or personal use
Description of vehicles owned	Yes, adds to	Make, model, color of vehicles owned or operated, whether for work,
or operated	the definition	personal use, and locations where vehicle is frequently kept
Physical description of the	Yes, adds to	Age, race, sex, height, weight, hair, eye colors, and other identifying
offender	the definition	factors
Criminal offense for which	Yes, adds to	Description of offense(s) for which registration is required; copy of
registration was required	the definition	convicting or sentencing order requiring registration

Adam Walsh Act	Mississippi	Mississippi Code 45-33-25
	Compliance	
Criminal history (date of all	Yes, adds to	Offense history; crime in which charged, arrested, or convicted; date
arrests and convictions; parole,	the definition	and place of conviction, adjudication or acquittal by reason of insanity;
probation, and supervised		parole, probation, and supervised released status, outstanding warrants
release status, registration status,		
outstanding warrants)		
Current photograph	λes	Photograph
Copy of fingerprints and palm	λ	Fingerprints and palm prints
prints		
DNA sample	SәД	Biological sample
Photocopy of a valid driver's	λ es	Driver's license, state or other jurisdiction card number
license or identification card		
		Date and place of birth and purported date and place of birth
		Every online identity, screen name or user name used, created, or
		registered
		Professional licensing for an occupation or trade
		Passport and immigration documents
		Telephone numbers including permanent and temporary residence,
		cell phone and employment numbers, landlines or cell phones
		Telephone numbers including permanent and temporary residence,
		cell phone and employment numbers, landlines or cell phones



Table 7.5 Newspaper analysis of sex offender articles in *The New York Times*

Variables	2007	%	2017	%	Total	%
Offender Variables	256	26.0	103	26.8	359	26.3
-Previous/Current Employment	43	16.8	21	20.4	64	17.8
-Negative Description	33	12.9	6	5.8	39	10.9
-Positive Description	38	14.8	3	2.9	41	11.4
-Offender Gender	73	28.5	42	40.8	115	32.0
-Offender Age	54	21.1	21	20.4	75	20.9
-Offender Race	6	2.3	1	1.0	7	1.9
-Criminal History	9	3.5	2	1.9	11	3.1
Offense Variables	231	23.5	92	24.0	323	23.6
-Lawyer not Present	5	2.2	0	0.0	5	1.5
-Sentence Length	28	12.1	9	9.8	37	11.5
-Failure to Report Crime	9	3.9	0	0.0	9	2.8
-How Did the Defendant Plead?	28	12.1	6	6.5	34	10.5
-Guilty	17	7.4	4	4.3	21	6.5
-Not Guilty	11	4.8	2	2.2	13	4.0
-Details of the offense	30	13.0	22	23.9	52	16.1
-Types of Offense	103	44.6	55	59.8	158	48.9
Victim Variables	162	16.5	114	0.0	276	20.2
-Positive Description	2	1.2	1	0.9	3	1.1
-Signs of Struggle	5	3.1	0	0.0	5	1.8
-Minimizing Victimization	5	3.1	17	14.9	22	8.0
-Victim Gender	81	50.0	47	41.2	128	46.4
-Victim Age	64	39.5	37	32.5	101	36.6
-Victim Race	5	3.1	4	3.5	9	3.3
Geographic Region	89	9.1	33	8.6	122	8.9
Mental Illness/Health	75	7.6	1	0.3	76	5.6
-Psychological Evaluation	4	5.3	0	0.0	4	5.3
-No Mental Illness	15	20.0	0	0.0	15	19.7
-Mental Illness	48	64.0	0	0.0	48	63.2
Community Reaction	52	5.3	0	0.0	52	3.8
-Supports Current legislation	10	19.2	0	0.0	10	19.2
-Want/Need Closure on a Case	5	9.6	0	0.0	5	9.6
-Offender Rights	4	7.7	0	0.0	4	7.7
-Anger towards Offender	5	9.6	0	0.0	5	9.6
-Fear of Offender/Crime	5	9.6	0	0.0	5	9.6
-Disagreement with Conviction	15	28.8	0	0.0	15	28.8



Table. 7.5 (continued)

Variables	2007	%	2017	%	Total	%
Relationship Between Offender and Victim	32	3.3	11	0.3	43	3.1
-Known to Victim	19	59.4	5	45.5	24	55.8
-Family Member	3	9.4	2	18.2	5	11.6
-Officer/Person in Custody	4	12.5	2	18.2	6	14.0
-School Employee/Student	4	12.5	1	9.1	5	11.6
-Co-Worker	8	25.0	0	0.0	8	18.6
-Stranger	7	21.9	2	18.2	9	20.9
Consequences Facing Offender	29	3.0	11	2.9	40	2.9
-Probation/Supervision	2	6.9	0	0.0	2	5.0
-Sex Crime Notification Laws	3	10.3	1	9.1	4	10.0
-Registration as a Sex Offender	5	17.2	3	27.3	8	20.0
-Housing	6	20.7	0	0.0	6	15.0
Legislation	26	2.6	6	1.6	32	2.3
DNA/Forensic Investigation	21	2.1	5	1.6	26	1.9
Recidivism	4	0.4	7	1.8	11	0.8
-High Recidivism	2	50.0	3	42.9	5	45.5
-Low Recidivism	2	50.0	2	28.6	4	36.4
Denial of Injury/Innocence	6	0.6	1	0.3	7	0.5



Table 7.6 Newspaper analysis of murderer articles in *The New York Times*

Variables	2007	%	2017	%	Total	%
Offense Variables	615	32.6	606	30.2	1221	31.4
-Lawyer not Present	0	0.0	4	0.7	4	0.3
-Sentence Length	57	9.3	55	9.1	112	9.2
-Failure to Report Crime	7	1.1	2	0.3	9	0.7
-How Did the Defendant Plead	43	7.0	31	5.1	74	6.1
-Guilty	19	44.2	12	2.0	31	41.9
-Not guilty	23	53.5	19	3.1	42	56.8
-Details of the Offense	44	7.2	47	7.8	91	7.5
-Types of Offense	249	40.5	199	32.8	448	36.7
-Charging the Suspect	2	0.3	18	3.0	20	1.6
-Motive	50	8.1	40	6.6	90	7.4
-Weapon	99	16.1	79	13.0	178	14.6
-Video of Offense/Offender	2	0.3	37	6.1	39	3.2
-Offense Location	61	9.9	50	8.3	111	9.1
Victim Variables	519	27.5	583	29.1	1102	28.3
-Employment	53	10.2	23	3.9	76	6.9
-Positive Description	17	3.3	83	14.2	100	9.1
-Mental Illness	0	0.0	6	1.0	6	0.5
-Intoxicated	0	0.0	8	1.4	8	0.7
-Victim Gender	205	39.5	188	32.2	393	35.7
-Victim Age	166	32.0	153	26.2	319	28.9
-Victim Race	3	0.6	24	4.1	27	2.5
-Multiple victims	30	5.8	43	7.4	73	6.6
Offender Variables	473	25.1	513	25.6	986	25.3
-Previous/Current Employment	52	11.0	55	10.7	107	10.9
-Negative Description	13	2.7	70	13.6	83	8.4
-Positive Description	21	4.4	16	3.1	37	3.8
-Offender Gender	181	38.3	159	31.0	340	34.5
-Offender Age	160	33.8	122	23.8	282	28.6
-Offender Race	6	1.3	18	3.5	24	2.4
-Criminal History	29	6.1	44	8.6	73	7.4
Geographic Region	131	6.9	119	5.9	250	6.4
Relationship Between Offender and Victim	90	4.8	57	3.0	147	3.8
-Known to Victim	69	76.7	31	51.7	100	68.0
-Family Member	24	34.8	5	16.1	29	29.0
-Lovers	22	31.9	7	22.6	29	-29.0
-Journalist/Subject	0	0.0	3	9.7	3	3.0
-Strangers	21	23.3	29	48.3	50	50.0
-Police Officer/Civilian	20	95.2	26	89.7	46	92.0
Community Reaction	32	1.7	77	3.8	109	2.8
-Supports Current Legislation	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
-Want/Need Closure on a Case	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
-Offender Rights	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
-Anger towards Offender	0	0.0	9	11.7	9	8.3
-Fear of Offender/Crime	1	3.1	0	0.0	1	0.9
-Disagreement with Conviction	6	18.8	5	6.5	11	10.1
-Protection against Crime	0	0.0	8	10.4	8	7.3
-Anger towards Police/Laws	1	3.1	12	15.6	13	11.9
-Upset over Loss	4	12.5	8	10.4	12	11.0



Table 7.6 (continued)

DNA/Forensic Investigation	13	0.7	18	0.9	31	0.8
Mental Illness/Health	8	0.4	14	0.7	22	0.6
-Psychological Evaluation	0	0.0	2	14.3	2	9.1
-Mental Illness	6	75.0	9	64.3	15	68.2
-No Mental Illness	1	12.5	0	0.0	1	4.5
Denial of Injury/Innocence	4	0.2	6	0.3	10	0.3
Legislation	2	0.1	5	0.2	7	0.2
Consequences facing sex offender	0	0.0	4	0.2	4	0.1
-Probation/Supervision	0	0.0	1	25.0	1	25.0
-Registration as a Sex Offender	0	0.0	2	50.0	2	50.0
Recidivism	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0



Table 7.7 A comparison of categories describing sex offenders and murderers

Categories	Sex Offender Total	Murderer Total
Offender Variables	359	986
Offense Variables	323	1221
Victim Variables	276	1102
Mental Illness/Health	76	22
Community Reaction	52	109
Relationship between Offender and Victim	43	147
Consequences Facing Offender	40	4
Legislation	32	7
DNA/Forensic Investigation	26	31
Recidivism	11	0
Denial of Injury/Innocence	7	10
Geographic Region	122	250



Table 7.8 A comparison of categories describing sex offenders and murderers by year

Sex Offender	2007	2017
Offender Variables	256	103
Offense Variables	231	92
Victim Variables	162	114
Mental Illness/Health	75	1
Community Reaction	52	0
Relationship Between Offender and Victim	32	11
Consequences Facing Offender	29	11
Legislation	26	6
DNA/Forensic Investigation	21	5
Recidivism	4	7
Denial of Injury/Innocence	6	1
Geographic Region	89	33
Murderer	2007	2017
Offender Variables	473	513
Offense Variables	615	606
Victim Variables	519	583
Mental Illness/Health	8	14
Community Reaction	32	77
Relationship Between Offender and Victim	90	57
Consequences Facing Offender	0	4
Legislation	2	5
DNA/Forensic Investigation	13	18
Recidivism	0	0
Denial of Injury/Innocence	4	6
Geographic Region	131	119



Table 7.9 Journal entries during incarceration

Year	Journal	Total Length	Avg. Length	Minimum	Maximum
	Entries (N)	of Pages	of Entry	Page Length	Page Length
2005	41.0	58.95	1.44	0.33	6.50
2006	244.0	383.53	1.57	0.50	4.00
2007	289.0	603.14	2.09	0.50	12.5
2008	362.0	577.27	1.60	0.25	5.667
2009	339.0	524.51	1.55	0.50	4.00
2010	23.0	24.20	1.05	0.667	2.25



Table 7.10 Coding categories

Categories	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Life in Prison	22	155	171	201	200	10	759
Food	7	29	43	51	34	1	165
Work	0	35	17	43	44	1	140
Housing	4	7	12	1	4	0	28
Exercise	1	20	15	19	18	1	74
Health	2	10	45	27	17	1	102
Reading	7	22	19	28	30	4	110
Gang presence	1	4	14	15	34	2	70
Contraband	0	28	6	17	19	0	70
Interactions in Prison	13	106	82	82	53	5	341
Inmate race relations	1	45	8	5	1	0	60
Inmate interactions	4	26	26	19	24	3	102
Staff-inmate interactions	8	22	48	58	26	2	164
Contact with Outside World	1	13	13	14	2	1	44
Sex Offenders	0	18	14	12	18	1	63
Threats towards sex	0	3	5	5	14	0	27
offenders							
Sex offender treatment outside of prison	0	15	9	7	4	1	36



Calendar of Meals

للاستشارات	Table 7.11 Calenc	Calendar of Meals					
ارة	MENU-REGUALR SUNDAY	MONDAY	WEEKLY CALENDAR TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	FROM: 12/03/2006 Thursday	THRU: 12/09/2006 FRIDAY	WEEK 2: Saturday
المنك	PASTRIES ASST DRY CEREAL 2% MILK COFFEE SUGAR SUBS ASSORTED DRINK	HOT GRITS PASTRIES ASST 2% MILK COFFEE SUGAR SUBS ASSORTED DRINK	CREAM OF RICE BREAKFAST BURRITO HOT TOAST 2% MILK SUGAR SUBS COFFEE ASSORTED DRINK	DRY CEREAL SCRAMBLED EGG GRL HAM SLICE*** BOILED POTATOE BISCUITS MARGARINE PAT 2% MILK SUGAR SUBS COFFEE	HOT FARINA PASTRIES ASST HOT TOAST 2% MILK SUGAR SUBS COFFEE ASSORTED DRINK	DRY CEREAL PASTRIES ASST HOT TOAST MARGARINE PAT 2% MILK SUGAR SUBS COFFEE ASSORTED DRINK	PASTRES ASST DRY CEREAL 2% MILK SUGAR PACKETS SUGAR SUBS COFFEE ASSORTED DRINK
	FRUIT ASSORTED HOT CEREAL EGG ORDER/BOIL GRL BOLOGNA HOMEFRIED POTATOES BISCUITS MARGARINE FAT JELLY COFFEE 2% MILK SUGAR SUBS ASSORTED DRINK	SOUP DEJOUR BAKED BEANS MACARONI & CHEESE GREEN BEANS TARTER SAUCE SALAR BAR YELLOW CAKE W/FROSTING ASSORTED DRINK	SOUP DEJOUR SLOPPY JOE VEGGIE BURGER^ FRENCH FRY/BAKED SALAD DRESSING HAMBURGER BUN SALAR BAR FRUIT ASSORTED ASSORTED DRINK	TURKEY CLUB SAND LETTUCE/TOMA TO/ONI CHESSE SANDWICH^ POTATO CHIPS CONDIMENTS COOKIES ASSORTED DRINK	SOUP DEJOUR CHILI FRIES VEG CASSEROLE^ CHEESE SAUCE SAVORY ONIONS JALOPENO PEPPERS SALSA SALSA SALSA COOKUE SUGAR ASSORTED DRINK	SOUP DEJOUR TUNA SALAD SLICE CHEESE HAMBURGER BUN POTATO WEDGES ONION SLCE SWT REL PICK SALAD BAR ASSORTED DESSERTS CHOCOLATE CAKE	HOT CEREAL EGG SCRAMBLE/BOIL HASH BROWNS BISCUITS GRL BOLOGNA SALAD DRESSING JELLY COFFEE 2% MILK SUGAR PACKET
	CHICKEN JAMBALAYA VEG BOILED EGGS STE GREEN BEANS COLESLAW ASSORTED BREADS SALAR BAR ASSORTED DRINK ASSORTED DRINK ASSORTED DRINK ASSORTED DRINK ASSORTED DRINK	BEEF STEW VEG PATTY^ STEAM RICE ASSORTED BREADS MARGARINE PAT SALAR BAR FRUIT ASSORTED ASSORTED DRINK	CHICKEN STIR FRY VEG CASSEROLE^ STEAM RICE MIXED VEG BREAD/ROLL MARGARINE PAT SALAR BAR COOKIE SUGAR ASSORTED DRINK	CH/BN BURRITO VEG CASSEROLE^ SPANISH RICE REFRIED BEANS ASSORTED BREADS SALSA SALAR BAR ASSORTED DRINK	BAKED HAM** VEGGIE BURGER^ BKD SWEET POTATO WHEAT BREAD GREEN MUSTARD SALAR BAR WHITE CAKE W/ BUTTERCREAM FROST ASSORTED DRINK	BAKED PORK CHOP** VEG CASSEROLE^ BEANS AND RICE^ GREEN BEANS BREAD/ROLL MARGARINE PAT SALAR BAR FRUIT ASSORTED ASSORTED DRINK	CHICKEN GUMBO VEGGIE BURGER^ STEAM RICE WHOLE KERNEL CORN BREAD/ROLL SALAR BAR SALAD DRESSING ASSORTED DRINK

*INDICATES PORK PRODUCT
**INDICATES ALTERNATE FORM
^HEART HEALTHY ALTERNATIVE
MENUS ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE

Table 7.12 Descriptives

Variables		
Gender		
Male	6815	97.2
Female	199	2.8
Race		
White	3621	51.6
Black	3281	46.8
Asian	1	0
Native American/Alaskan Native	64	.9
Other	45	.6
Current Age		
12-19 years	0	0
20-29 years	345	5.3
30-39 years	1236	19.0
40-49 years	1609	24.7
50 and older	3324	51.0
Missing	519	7.4
Under 30 years	345	5.3
Over 30 years	6169	94.7
Age at Conviction		
12-19 years	465	6.6
20-29 years	2816	40.2
30-39 years	1918	27.3
40-49 years	1133	16.2
50 and older	681	9.7
Under 30 years	3281	46.8
Over 30 years	3732	53.2
Child Offenses		
Yes	4092	58.4
No	2919	41.6
Recidivism		
Yes	1019	14.5
No	6014	85.5
Compliance		
Yes	6810	96.8
No	222	3.2
Distance to Pawnshops		
Less than 1 miles	2350	34.9
1.001 to 3.999 miles	1564	23.2
4.000 to 6.999 miles	1027	15.3
7.000 to 9.9999 miles	751	11.2
10.000 miles and above	1041	15.5
Mean Distance to Pawnshops	4.727	



Table 7.13 Measures of Concentrated Disadvantage

Adams 22.2 10.1 30.4 19.2 \$31,283 \$81.9 Alcorn 13.9 7.7 19.9 18.6 \$38,892 60.10 Amite 15.7 9.6 22.3 23.4 \$50,992 71.00 Attala 118.9 11.4 24.4 23.1 \$33,018 77.8 Benton 17.0 13.8 22.7 22.8 \$36,302 77.3 Benton 17.0 9.7 26.3 25.4 \$31,141 78.40 Calhoun 17.0 9.7 26.3 25.4 \$31,141 78.40 Carroll 14.9 8.9 17.4 19.2 \$40,278 60.40 Chickasaw 19.7 10.9 27.2 27.1 \$31,048 84.90 Choctaw 15.5 13.3 24.5 28.5 \$32,953 81.80 Claike 17.3 10.6 19.2 19.8 \$36,441 66.90 Clarke 17.3 10.6	Counties	% Female- Headed	Unemployment Rate	% Poverty	Less than HS	Median Household	Index of Relative Disadvantage	# of Pawn
Alcorn 13.9	Adams	Households	10.1	20.4	Degree	Income	81.9	shops 6
Amite 15.7 9.6 22.3 23.4 \$50,592 71.00 Attala 18.9 11.4 24.4 23.1 \$33,018 77.8 Benton 17.0 13.8 22.7 23.8 \$36,302 77.3 Bolivar 26.9 33.1 15.1 25.2 \$55,327 100.30 Calhoun 17.0 9.7 26.3 25.4 \$31,141 78.40 Carroll 14.9 8.9 17.4 19.2 \$40,278 60.40 Chickassw 19.7 10.9 27.2 27.1 \$31,048 84.90 Choctaw 15.5 13.3 24.5 28.5 \$32,053 81.80 Clarke 17.3 10.6 19.2 19.8 \$36,441 66.90 Clay 24.2 13.8 26.0 21.2 \$33,142 85.20 Coahoma 30.2 21.1 35.2 22.5 \$28,217 109.00 Copiah 20.7 14.7 </td <td>Alcorn</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>,</td> <td>60.10</td> <td>7</td>	Alcorn					,	60.10	7
Attala 18.9 11.4 24.4 23.1 \$33,018 77.8 Benton 17.0 13.8 22.7 23.8 \$36,302 77.3 Bolivar 26.9 33.1 15.1 25.2 \$55,327 100.30 Carboul 17.0 9.7 26.3 25.4 \$31,141 78.40 Carroll 14.9 8.9 17.4 19.2 \$40,278 60.40 Chickassaw 19.7 10.9 27.2 27.1 \$31,048 84.90 Choctaw 15.5 13.3 24.5 28.5 \$32,953 81.80 Claibome 26.6 20.9 41.2 22.4 \$25,000 111.10 Clarke 17.3 10.6 19.2 19.8 \$36,441 66.90 Clarke 17.3 10.6 19.2 19.8 \$36,441 66.90 Clarke 17.3 13.8 26.0 21.2 \$33,142 85.20 Coahoma 30.2 <td< td=""><td>Amite</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>71.00</td><td>2</td></td<>	Amite						71.00	2
Benton 17.0 13.8 22.7 23.8 \$33,010 77.3	Attala					,	77.8	2
Bolivar 26.9 33.1 15.1 25.2 85.5.327 100.30								0
Calhoun 17.0 9.7 26.3 25.4 \$31,141 78.40 Carroll 14.9 8.9 17.4 19.2 \$40,278 60.40 Chickasaw 19.7 10.9 27.2 27.1 \$31,048 84.90 Choctaw 15.5 13.3 24.5 28.5 \$32,953 81.80 Claire 17.3 10.6 19.2 19.8 \$36,441 66.90 Clarke 17.3 10.6 19.2 19.8 \$36,441 66.90 Clary 24.2 13.8 26.0 21.2 \$33,142 85.20 Cahroma 30.2 21.1 35.2 22.5 \$28,217 109.00 Copiah 20.7 14.7 28.1 22.1 \$34,738 85.60 Coyington 18.1 13.1 25.8 20.6 \$31,684 77.60 DeSoto 15.1 6.7 10.0 10.8 \$60,111 42.60 Forrest 18.5								5
Carroll 14.9 8.9 17.4 19.2 \$40,278 60.40						,		3
Chickasaw 19.7 10.9 27.2 27.1 \$31,048 84.90								0
Choctaw				17.4		,		2
Claiborne 15.5 15.3 24.3 28.5 \$52,935 Clarke 17.3 10.6 19.2 19.8 \$36,441 66.90 Clay 24.2 13.8 26.0 21.2 \$33,142 85.20 Coahoma 30.2 21.1 35.2 22.5 \$28,217 109.00 Copiah 20.7 14.7 28.1 22.1 \$34,738 85.60 Covington 18.1 13.1 25.8 20.6 \$31,684 77.60 DeSoto 15.1 6.7 10.0 10.8 \$60,111 42.60 Forrest 18.5 12.5 27.3 13.8 \$37,017 72.10 Franklin 14.8 10.0 18.7 15.8 \$40,081 59.30 George 11.1 8.8 17.9 19.7 \$47,313 57.50 Grened 13.3 10.4 18.0 24.8 \$40,069 66.50 Grened 13.3 8.8 18.		19.7	10.9	27.2	27.1	\$31,048		2
Clarke 17.3 10.6 19.2 19.8 \$36,441 66.90 Clay 24.2 13.8 26.0 21.2 \$33,142 85.20 Coahoma 30.2 21.1 35.2 22.5 \$28,217 109.00 Copiah 20.7 14.7 28.1 22.1 \$34,738 85.60 Covington 18.1 13.1 25.8 20.6 \$31,684 77.60 DeSoto 15.1 6.7 10.0 10.8 \$60,111 42.60 Forrest 18.5 12.5 27.3 13.8 \$37,017 72.10 Franklin 14.8 10.0 18.7 15.8 \$40,081 \$9.30 George 11.1 8.8 17.9 19.7 \$47,313 57.50 Greene 13.3 10.4 18.0 24.8 \$40,069 66.50 Grenada 20.6 9.6 24.1 22.7 \$33,026 77.00 Hancock 13.3 8.8 18.5 15.7 \$46,542 56.30 Harrison 17.2 9.6 21.0 13.6 \$43,095 61.40 Hinds 25.4 10.5 25.5 13.7 \$38,773 75.10 Holmes 32.6 18.9 45.0 25.6 \$20,800 122.10 Humphreys 30.7 25.1 42.5 34.7 \$23,442 133.00 Issaquena 19.3 10.7 40.4 33.5 \$24,306 103.90 Iswanba 11.8 7.2 20.2 24.2 \$35,380 63.40 Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jasper 18.2 6.5 22.1 16.8 \$34,993 63.60 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$33,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$33,899 65.90			13.3			,		2
Clay		26.6		41.2	22.4	\$25,000		1
Coahoma 30.2 21.1 35.2 22.5 \$33,142 109.00 Copiah 20.7 14.7 28.1 22.1 \$34,738 85.60 Covington 18.1 13.1 25.8 20.6 \$31,684 77.60 DeSoto 15.1 6.7 10.0 10.8 \$60,111 42.60 Forrest 18.5 12.5 27.3 13.8 \$37,017 72.10 Franklin 14.8 10.0 18.7 15.8 \$40,081 59.30 George 11.1 8.8 17.9 19.7 \$47,313 57.50 Grene 13.3 10.4 18.0 24.8 \$40,069 66.50 Grenada 20.6 9.6 24.1 22.7 \$33,026 77.00 Hancock 13.3 8.8 18.5 15.7 \$46,542 56.30 Harrison 17.2 9.6 21.0 13.6 \$43,095 61.40 Holmes 32.6 18		17.3	10.6	19.2	19.8	\$36,441		
Copiah 20.7 14.7 28.1 22.1 \$34,738 \$85.60		24.2	13.8	26.0	21.2	\$33,142		4
Covington 18.1 13.1 25.8 20.6 \$31,684 77.60 DeSoto 15.1 6.7 10.0 10.8 \$60,111 42.60 Forrest 18.5 12.5 27.3 13.8 \$37,017 72.10 Franklin 14.8 10.0 18.7 15.8 \$40,081 59.30 George 11.1 8.8 17.9 19.7 \$47,313 57.50 Greene 13.3 10.4 18.0 24.8 \$40,069 66.50 Grenada 20.6 9.6 24.1 22.7 \$33,026 77.00 Hancock 13.3 8.8 18.5 15.7 \$46,542 56.30 Harrison 17.2 9.6 21.0 13.6 \$43,095 61.40 Hinds 25.4 10.5 25.5 13.7 \$38,773 75.10 Humphreys 30.7 25.1 42.5 34.7 \$23,442 133.00 Issaquena 19.3 <		30.2		35.2	22.5	\$28,217		7
DeSoto 15.1		20.7	14.7	28.1	22.1	\$34,738		9
Forrest 18.5 12.5 27.3 13.8 \$37,017 72.10	6	18.1	13.1	25.8	20.6	\$31,684		2
Franklin	DeSoto	15.1	6.7	10.0	10.8	\$60,111		13
George 11.1 8.8 17.9 19.7 \$47,313 57.50 Greene 13.3 10.4 18.0 24.8 \$40,069 66.50 Greene 13.3 10.4 18.0 24.8 \$40,069 66.50 Grenada 20.6 9.6 24.1 22.7 \$33,026 77.00 Hancock 13.3 8.8 18.5 15.7 \$46,542 56.30 Harrison 17.2 9.6 21.0 13.6 \$43,095 61.40 Hinds 25.4 10.5 25.5 13.7 \$38,773 75.10 Holmes 32.6 18.9 45.0 25.6 \$20,800 122.10 Humphreys 30.7 25.1 42.5 34.7 \$23,442 133.00 Issaquena 19.3 10.7 40.4 33.5 \$24,306 103.90 Iswamba 11.8 7.2 20.2 24.2 \$35,380 63.40 Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90	Forrest	18.5	12.5	27.3	13.8	\$37,017	72.10	15
Greene 13.3 10.4 18.0 24.8 \$40,069 66.50 Grenada 20.6 9.6 24.1 22.7 \$33,026 77.00 Harrison 17.2 9.6 21.0 13.6 \$43,095 61.40 Hinds 25.4 10.5 25.5 13.7 \$38,773 75.10 Holmes 32.6 18.9 45.0 25.6 \$20,800 122.10 Humphreys 30.7 25.1 42.5 34.7 \$23,442 133.00 Issaquena 19.3 10.7 40.4 33.5 \$24,306 103.90 Issaquena 19.8 7.2 20.2 24.2 \$35,380 63.40 Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Eagler 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90 Issagner 20.2 \$2.1 \$2.2 \$2.2 \$2.2 \$2.3 \$2.3 \$2.3 \$2.3 \$2.3	Franklin	14.8	10.0	18.7	15.8	\$40,081		0
Grenada 20.6 9.6 24.1 22.7 \$33,026 77.00 Hancock 13.3 8.8 18.5 15.7 \$46,542 56.30 Harrison 17.2 9.6 21.0 13.6 \$43,095 61.40 Hinds 25.4 10.5 25.5 13.7 \$38,773 75.10 Holmes 32.6 18.9 45.0 25.6 \$20,800 122.10 Humphreys 30.7 25.1 42.5 34.7 \$23,442 133.00 Issaquena 19.3 10.7 40.4 33.5 \$24,306 103.90 Itawamba 11.8 7.2 20.2 24.2 \$35,380 63.40 Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jasper 18.2 6.5 22.1 16.8 \$34,993 63.60 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8	George	11.1	8.8	17.9	19.7	\$47,313	57.50	4
Harrison 17.2 9.6 24.1 22.7 \$33,026 Harrison 17.2 9.6 21.0 13.6 \$43,095 61.40 Hinds 25.4 10.5 25.5 13.7 \$38,773 75.10 Holmes 32.6 18.9 45.0 25.6 \$20,800 122.10 Humphreys 30.7 25.1 42.5 34.7 \$23,442 133.00 Issaquena 19.3 10.7 40.4 33.5 \$24,306 103.90 Itawamba 11.8 7.2 20.2 24.2 \$35,380 63.40 Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jasper 18.2 6.5 22.1 16.8 \$34,993 63.60 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90 Laverners 10.5 15.5 10.5 10.5 10.5 10.5 10.5 10.5	Greene	13.3	10.4	18.0	24.8	\$40,069	66.50	1
Harrison 17.2 9.6 21.0 13.6 \$43,095 61.40 Hinds 25.4 10.5 25.5 13.7 \$38,773 75.10 Holmes 32.6 18.9 45.0 25.6 \$20,800 122.10 Humphreys 30.7 25.1 42.5 34.7 \$23,442 133.00 Issaquena 19.3 10.7 40.4 33.5 \$24,306 103.90 Itawamba 11.8 7.2 20.2 24.2 \$35,380 63.40 Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jasper 18.2 6.5 22.1 16.8 \$34,993 63.60 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90	Grenada	20.6	9.6	24.1	22.7	\$33,026	77.00	8
Hinds 25.4 10.5 25.5 13.7 \$38,773 75.10 Holmes 32.6 18.9 45.0 25.6 \$20,800 122.10 Humphreys 30.7 25.1 42.5 34.7 \$23,442 133.00 Issaquena 19.3 10.7 40.4 33.5 \$24,306 103.90 Itawamba 11.8 7.2 20.2 24.2 \$35,380 63.40 Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jasper 18.2 6.5 22.1 16.8 \$34,993 63.60 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauvence 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90	Hancock	13.3	8.8	18.5	15.7	\$46,542	56.30	3
Hinds 25.4 10.5 25.5 13.7 \$38,773 75.10 Holmes 32.6 18.9 45.0 25.6 \$20,800 122.10 Humphreys 30.7 25.1 42.5 34.7 \$23,442 133.00 Issaquena 19.3 10.7 40.4 33.5 \$24,306 103.90 Itawamba 11.8 7.2 20.2 24.2 \$35,380 63.40 Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jasper 18.2 6.5 22.1 16.8 \$34,993 63.60 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6	Harrison	17.2	9.6	21.0	13.6	\$43,095	61.40	51
Holmes 32.6 18.9 45.0 25.6 \$20,800 122.10 Humphreys 30.7 25.1 42.5 34.7 \$23,442 133.00 Issaquena 19.3 10.7 40.4 33.5 \$24,306 103.90 Itawamba 11.8 7.2 20.2 24.2 \$35,380 63.40 Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jasper 18.2 6.5 22.1 16.8 \$34,993 63.60 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5	Hinds			25.5		ŕ	75.10	29
Humphreys 30.7 25.1 42.5 34.7 \$23,442 133.00 Issaquena 19.3 10.7 40.4 33.5 \$24,306 103.90 Itawamba 11.8 7.2 20.2 24.2 \$35,380 63.40 Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jasper 18.2 6.5 22.1 16.8 \$34,993 63.60 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lawrence 20.0	Holmes						122.10	2
Issaquena 19.3 10.7 40.4 33.5 \$24,306 103.90 Itawamba 11.8 7.2 20.2 24.2 \$35,380 63.40 Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jasper 18.2 6.5 22.1 16.8 \$34,993 63.60 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lawrence 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90	Humphreys					,	133.00	1
Itawamba 11.8 7.2 20.2 24.2 \$35,380 63.40 Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jasper 18.2 6.5 22.1 16.8 \$34,993 63.60 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90	Issaquena		10.7			\$24.306	103.90	0
Jackson 16.4 8.7 15.6 12.3 \$49,158 53.00 Jasper 18.2 6.5 22.1 16.8 \$34,993 63.60 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90	Itawamba						63.40	5
Jasper 18.2 6.5 22.1 16.8 \$34,993 63.60 Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90	Jackson			15.6			53.00	35
Jefferson 28.3 11.9 39.7 21.5 \$23,773 101.40 Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90	Jasper			22.1			63.60	5
Jefferson Davis 20.8 14.5 34.7 20.2 \$26,429 90.20 Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90 Lawrence 20.0 68.10 20.0 68.10	Jefferson					·	101.40	1
Jones 16.8 7.5 23.7 21.5 \$37,846 69.50 Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90	Jefferson Davis						90.20	1
Kemper 20.9 9.3 29.9 22.2 \$29,925 82.30 Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90 Lawrence 20.7 20.0 68.10 68.10	Jones						69.50	15
Lafayette 11.6 7.3 25.3 10.6 \$43,162 54.80 Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90 Lawrence 20.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 68.10	Kemper						82.30	0
Lamar 13.5 8.5 16.1 7.9 \$53,888 46.00 Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90								6
Lauderdale 20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399 65.90								12
20.0 9.0 23.1 13.8 \$38,399								17
				1				3
Leake 18.4 10.1 21.7 21.7 338,133 00.10 Leake 18.4 9.9 27.1 23.3 \$32,657 78.70		14.6	10.1	21.7	21.7	\$38,155		4



Table 7.13 (continued)

Counties	% Female- Headed Households	Unemployment Rate	% Poverty	Less than HS Degree	Median Household Income	Index of Relative Disadvantage	# of Pawn shops
Lee	16.9	7.0	18.5	16.6	\$43,224	59.00	20
Leflore	29.2	13.1	40.4	22.5	\$25,356	105.20	5
Lincoln	16.3	8.0	25.5	14.1	\$36,250	63.90	5
Lowndes	19.2	11.5	21.9	15.9	\$41,219	68.50	13
Madison	15.8	5.5	12.7	9.7	\$65,924	43.70	9
Marion		8.8				75.40	3
Marshall	17.1	7.5	27.3 18.2	22.2	\$30,914 \$40,598	66.50	6
Monroe	19.3	9.4	20.6	21.4	\$37,345	69.60	8
Montgomery	20.3	8.3		25.1		82.20	2
Neshoba		8.3	28.5		\$31,207	71.20	9
Newton	19.2		22.3	21.4	\$35,991	65.70	6
Noxubee	16.7	9.2	23.3 32.4	16.5	\$35,527 \$31,472	103.80	0
Oktibbeha	25.4	15.0 11.0		31.0		70.90	6
Panola	14.1		32.6	13.2	\$33,431 \$37,556	73.10	4
Pearl River	21.2	9.2	22.4	20.3		61.50	8
Perry	13.5	11.3	20.3	16.4	\$41,598	64.90	0
Pike	15.5	10.4	19.7	19.3	\$34,774	83.20	7
Pontotoc	21.4	9.4	31.7	20.7	\$31,511	65.00	4
Prentiss	13.5	7.0	18.0	26.5	\$39,869	69.90	6
Quitman	14.5	9.1	22.7	23.6	\$33,509	122.50	1
Rankin	26.2	26.1	37.8	32.4	\$24,835	38.10	16
Scott	13.5	5.0	9.6	10.0	\$59,370	85.30	5
	19.6	12.0	26.5	27.2	\$32,615		
Sharkey	27.1	23.2	31.4	25.3	\$28,878	107.00	0
Simpson	16.5	10.7	27.4	20.2	\$37,285	74.80	2
Smith	14.3	3.9	22.7	18.7	\$33,696	59.60	2
Stone	14.4	8.4	20.3	17.2	\$44,995	60.30	2
Sunflower	30.4	19.7	34.6	27.5	\$27,126	112.20	4
Tallahatchie	25.7	13.5	28.2	32.7	\$29,837	100.10	1
Tate	17.3	8.2	15.7	20.2	\$43,883	61.40	4
Tippah	13.4	10.6	23.5	22.8	\$37,109	70.30	2
Tishomingo	11.0	10.0	18.6	21.5	\$35,364	61.10	3
Tunica	26.6	10.9	28.4	21.9	\$31,918	87.80	3
Union	12.8	9.0	19.1	23.6	\$37,898	64.50	5
Walthall	16.9	8.5	18.8	22.7	\$30,571	66.90	3
Warren	20.1	7.2	19.4	13.3	\$40,475	60.00	10
Washington	28.7	19.7	29.1	23.1	\$28,452	100.60	9
Wayne	17.6	9.8	21.5	24.4	\$34,458	73.30	6
Webster	14.4	10.0	21.5	14.8	\$37,083	60.70	0
Wilkinson	24.9	9.8	35.6	30.6	\$25,846	100.90	0



Table 7.13 (continued)

Counties	% Female-	Unemployment	%	Less than	Median	Index of Relative	# of
	Headed	Rate	Poverty	HS	Household	Disadvantage	Pawn
	Households			Degree	Income		shops
Winston	20.1	11.4	28.3	22.0	\$32,820	81.80	4
Yalobusha	19.0	5.2	21.6	21.6	\$34,749	67.40	0
Yazoo	26.7	17.9	34.5	23.4	\$27,560	102.50	7



Table 7.14 Dependent Variables

Variables	N	(%)
Live with 1,500 feet of a school or park		
Yes	1330	19.8
No	5403	80.2
Live with 3,000 feet of a school or park		
Yes	2141	31.8
No	4592	68.2

Table 7.15 Bivariate Correlation with independent variables	ith indepen	dent variak	oles						
Measures	1	2	3	4	S	9	7	8	6
Independent Variables									
1. Gender	1								
2. Race	*980.0-	,							
3. Age	0.011*	0.046*	1						
4. Age at conviction	-0.013	0.194*	0.224*	,					
5. Child offender	-0.003	0.114*	-0.015	0.104*	1				
6. Recidivism	0.051*	0.012	-0.011	-0.004	-0.012	ı			
7. Compliance	0.043*	0.185*	0.001	0.059*	0.211*	-0.358*	1		
8. Index of relative disadvantage	0.016	-0.242*	-0.007	-0.048*	-0.024	0.027	*/	ı	
9. Median Household Income	-0.005	0.169*	-0.004	0.034	0.005	-0.026	*090.0	-0.812*	ı
10. Miles from pawnshop	-0.021	0.136*	0.023	0.034	0.009	-0.029	0.038	-0.043*	0.020
P<.01									

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Table 7.16 Correlation table with dependent variables

Measures	1500ft park/school	3000ft park/school
Independent Variables		
1. Gender	0.030	0.046*
2. Race	- 0.161*	-0.208*
3. Age	0.000	-0.013
4. Age at conviction	-0.016	-0.011
5. Child offender	-0.021	-0.025
6. Recidivism	0.052*	0.017
7. Compliance	-0.074*	-0.046*
8. Index of relative	0.069*	0.056*
disadvantage		
9. Median Household	-0.046*	-0.053*
Income		
10. Miles from pawnshop	-0.344*	-0.470*

P=<.001

Table 7.17 Hierarchical logistic regression of buffer zones from schools or parks

Measures	В	(S.E)	Exp(B)	В	(S.E)	Exp(B)
	1,500	feet of school	ol/park	3,000	feet of scho	ol/park
Male	0.343	(0.246)	1.409	0.429	(0.216)	1.536
White	-0.549	(0.077)	0.577*	-0.807	(0.070)	0.446*
Age	0.000	(0.000)	1.000	0.000	(0.000)	1.000
30 or over at conviction	0.007	(0.003)	1.007	0.010	(0.003)	1.010*
Child offender	0.002	(0.073)	1.002	-0.059	(0.067)	0.943
Recidivist	0.311	(0.104)	1.365	-0.073	(0.184)	0.930
Compliant Offender	-0.255	(0.190)	0.775	0.119	(0.097)	1.126
Index of relative disadvantage	0.005	(0.005)	1.005	-0.005	(0.004)	0.995
Median Household Income	0.000	(0.000)	1.000	0.000	(0.000)	1.000
Miles from Pawnshop	-0.877	(0.037)*	0.416*	-1.043	(0.033)*	0.352*
Intercept	-0.388	(0.764)	0.678	1.704	(0.707)	5.496
-2 Log Likelihood	5511.624			6321.778		
Chi-square; significance	674.10	p<.001		1171.44	p<.001	



Figure 7.1 Cell Layout

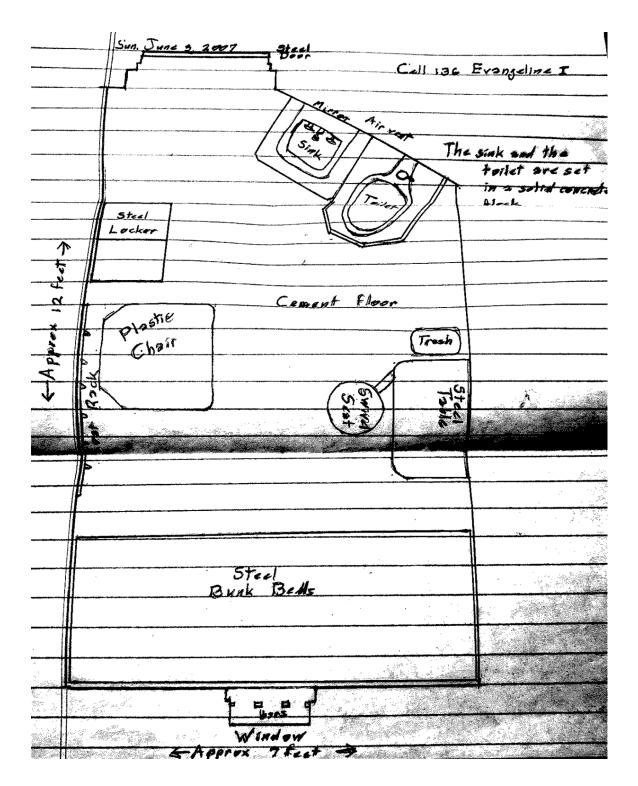




Figure 7.2 Sex offenders in Mississippi

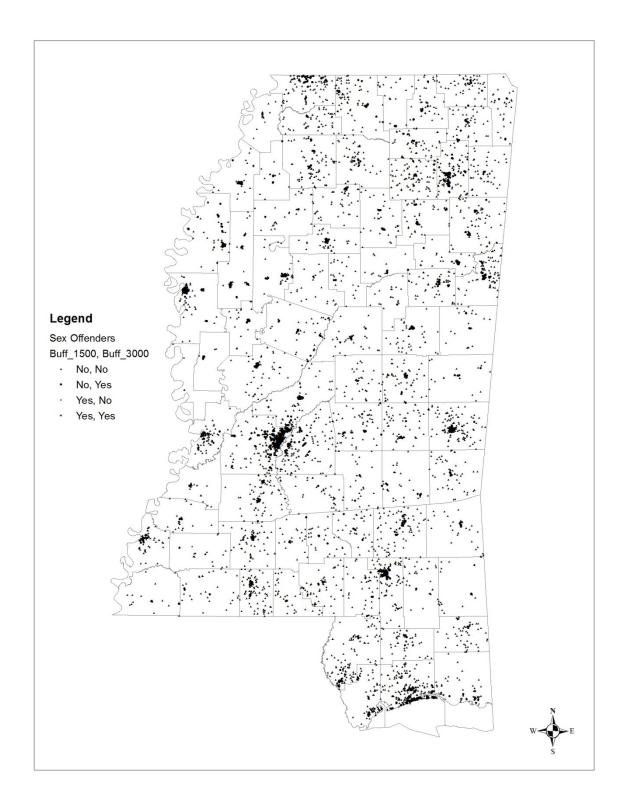




Figure 7.3 Parks in Mississippi

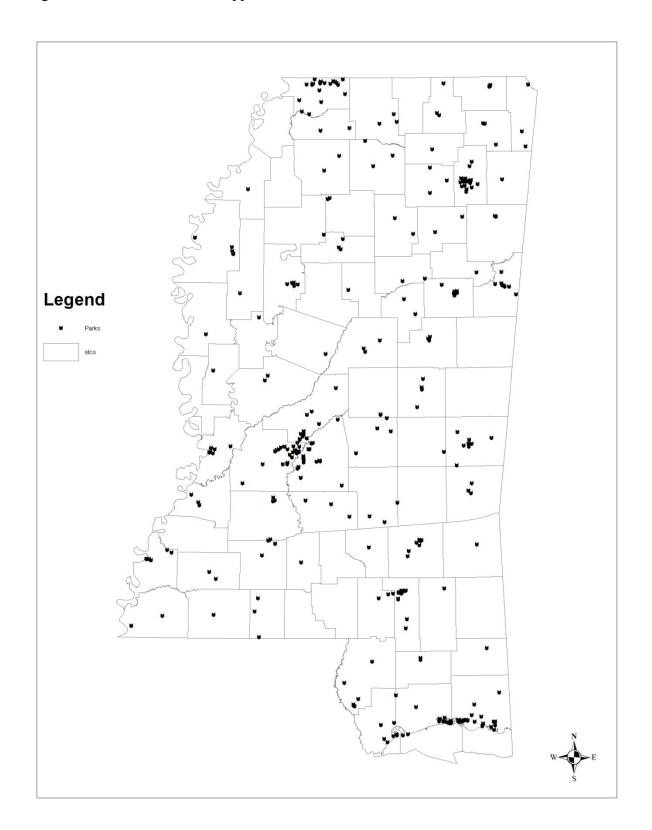




Figure 7.4 Parks in Mississippi and the location of sex offenders

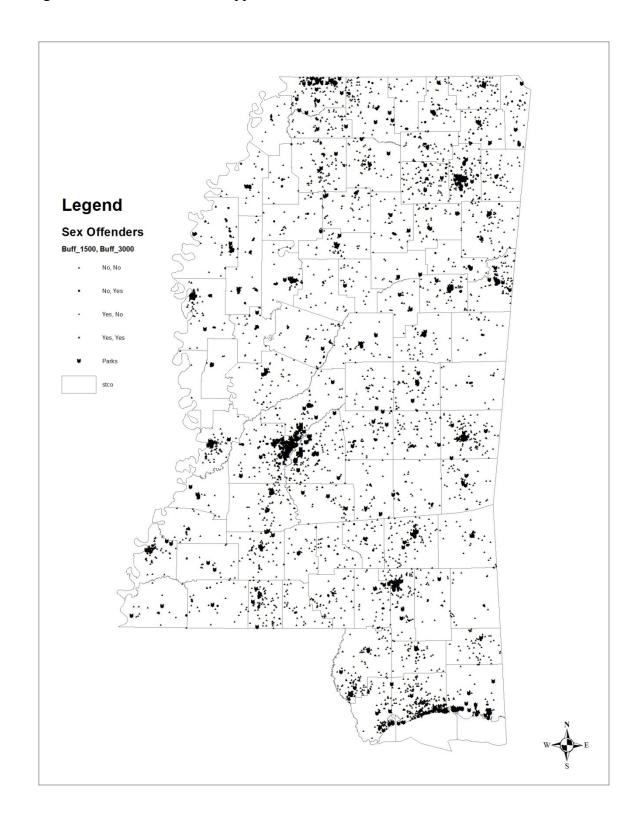




Figure 7.5 Pawnshops in Mississippi

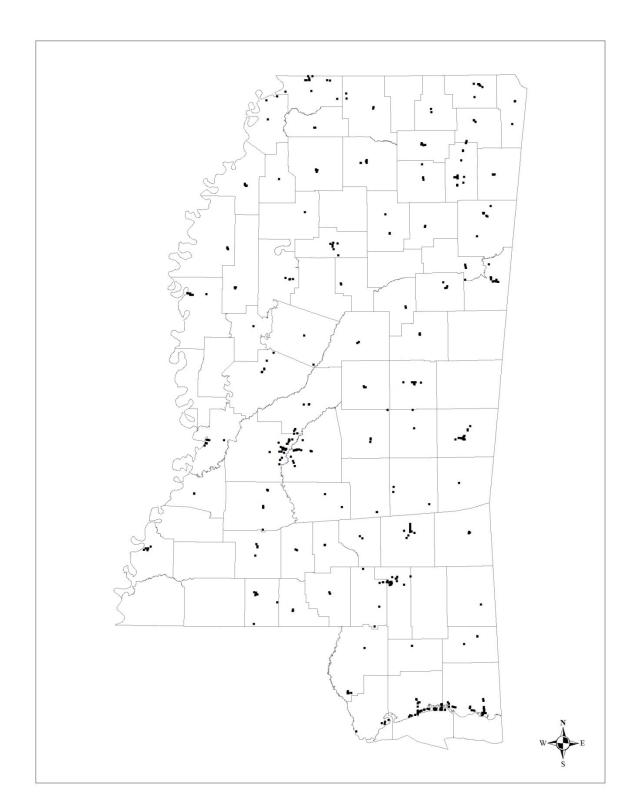




Figure 7.6 Pawnshops and the location of sex offenders in Mississippi

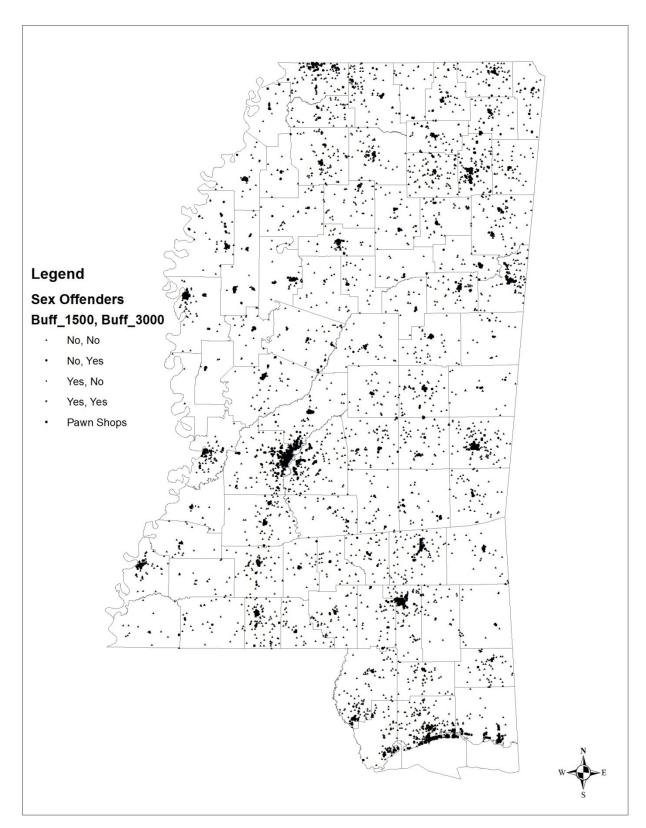




Figure 7.7 Restricted locations for sex offenders in Mississippi

