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A Note from the Editors

Our goal at Southern Utah University is to ensure that our undergraduate and graduate students have an experiential education. It is our ultimate job to equip students with the necessary knowledge and skills to address social problems outside the classroom. The purpose of education, in our opinion, is to produce graduates who are more ethical, enlightened and who possess the applicable knowledge to solve practical problems. With this goal in mind, the editors would like to invite faculty members, practitioners, doctoral and master's students to submit their original works for review to future editions of Critical Issues in Justice and Politics.

Critical Issues in Justice and Politics serves as a forum for inquiring minds to delve into the topics that ail modern society. This edition addresses regional and international concerns as well as broader matters of navigating public policy and politics in an increasingly diverse and complex society.

On behalf of the rest of the editorial board at Southern Utah University, we thank you for your support of Critical Issues in Justice and Politics. We hope you enjoy the articles included in this edition and invite you to submit your articles to Jeanne Subjack (jeannesubjack@suu.edu) and Bryan Burton (bryanburton@suu.edu). We lastly wish to thank Rohn Solomon, Director of University Design & Photo Services, and Amos Martineau, Student Graphic Designer, for their excellent work in designing the layout of the journal.

Sincerely,

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State Legitimacy and Government Crime: The China-Japan Rare Earth Element Case

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ABSTRACT

On September 2010, China suddenly suspended rare earth exports to Japan following yet another dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands. This action thrust China into the regional and global spot-light because it looked like a blatant abuse of international trading agreements. Discussion of the event lead to two questions: one, if the Chinese government intended to use the rare earth element event for political gain, why then did it not establish the link more firmly? Two, the fluctuation in Chinese rare earth exports jeopardized China's reputation as a secure and stable supplier of rare earth metals, so why act recklessly? Research on state crime and political accounts – elements missing in discussions on this issue thus far – are used to demonstrate that the data from both sides may corroborate an alternative explanation. We assert that the World Trade Organization (WTO)-defying re-action from the Chinese government emanated from the need to rebuff Japan and thus maintain domestic legitimacy even though such behavior would put China at risk of being sanctioned by the WTO.

Introduction

On September 2010, China suddenly suspended rare earth exports to Japan following yet another dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands. This action thrust China into the regional and global spotlight because it looked like a blatant abuse of international trading agreements. At the time, China explained that it never issued a formal directive and had little control over its rare earth industry (despite anecdotal and circumstantial evidence to the contrary). Ting (2010) for instance, reasons:

> In China, there are 32 companies with a license to export rare earth metals, of which 10 are foreign owned. Although Japan's detention of the Chinese trawler captain may have roused the ire of Chinese firms, it is hard to see why foreign-owned companies would react likewise… It would be an unlikely coincidence were all 32 firms, with no prior planning, to decide to cease exports simultaneously.

The 2010 rare earth suspension event can be accounted for only if some Chinese government intervention were acknowledged. Because rare earth elements are essential to the high-tech Japanese economy, reducing these resources significantly starved Japan of input elements and hurt its economy. Compounded by the World Trade Organization's (WTO) Dispute Settlement Body's 2014 findings that China had violated its rare earth trade agreements, the international consensus was that China used its monopoly position in the industry to punish Japan for its Senkaku/Diaoyu island indiscretions.

King and Armstrong (2013), researchers at the Australian National University, disagreed with this position and posed two questions to dispute the claims regarding punishment: First, they claimed, if the Chinese government intended to use the rare earth element event for political gain, why then did it not establish the link more firmly? If the embargo was to make a point to Japan then it needed to be clear. It does not follow that China would coordinate such a large-scale operation and fail to connect the dots for the international community. Second, the fluctuation in Chinese rare earth exports jeopardized China's reputation as a secure and stable supplier of rare earth metals. China had no incentive to be so reckless. In light of these two points, King and Armstrong contend that the Chinese government's reaction to ban rare earth element exports would be illogical. They instead offer evidence that the Chinese planned to cut rare earth supplies before the incident with Japan even occurred. Thus, the cessation of exports after the dispute was an unfortunate coincidence rather than an enforced embargo.

These objections are questionable on a number of grounds that will be examined in this paper. Research on state crime and political accounts – elements missing in discussions on this issue thus far – are used to demonstrate that the data from both sides may corroborate an alternative explanation. We assert that the WTO-defying reaction from the Chinese government emanated from the need to rebuff Japan and thus maintain domestic legitimacy even though such behavior would put China at risk of being sanctioned by the WTO. To better grasp this interpretation, it is helpful to return to the foundation of Chinese legitimacy.

Theoretical Background

Chinese political legitimacy, including the right and acceptance of Party authority, represents an interesting and fruitful area of study (Chu, 2000; Holbig, 2006; Hsu, 2001) and scholars tend to agree that Party legitimacy is a carefully manipulated resource within China. For example, strict media controls were used to maintain legitimacy during (and after) the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown of mass student protests. The Tiananmen crackdown, better known as the June Fourth (6/4) Incident in China, refers to the violent suppression of a student-led popular movement that lasted over 1½ months in 1989. Outside mainland China, the event is remembered as an instance showing the Chinese government's willingness to use military force against its own people. However, inside China, the event is hardly remembered at all (Lim, 2014). The government has worked to keep it forgotten through media censorship, forbidding access to records, silencing dissidents, and reframing history (Bonnin 2011; Chen 2009). The event had ruined the Chinese government's cultivated image internationally, and domestically positioned the Chinese Communist Party in a repression-induced legitimacy crisis (Yang & Zhao 2014).

China's leadership was caught in a structural bind. Before Tiananmen, the Chinese Communist Party believed it still had ideological legitimacy among the people, but also understood that it could not survive without improving people's living conditions, especially on the economic front (Yang & Zhao 2014). After Tiananmen, the Chinese Communist Party recognized that it had lost much ideological ground and thus focused on improving conditions, shifting its efforts from ideological to performance legitimacy. To maintain legitimacy, economic reforms were pursued and deepened while the fallout of the massacre was contained through censorship.

According to Yang and Zhao (2014), China continues to base its legitimacy on economic performance and, because of this, China's economy continues to take large strides in material accumulation; however, this also however places the state in a situation where it will suffer a breakdown in legitimacy if such performance targets are not met.

This marriage between economic performance and political legitimacy sets China apart from most other developed nations. In the United States of America, for example, extreme economic performance may involve illegal acts; the 2002 corporate and accounting debacle which included Enron, Arthur Andersen and other companies is a prime example of this. At some point, however, the crimes become public knowledge and the legitimacy of the state both in allowing for conditions leading to the illegalities and in dealing with the resulting situation, is called into question. Thus, for capitalist economies, Poulantzas (1969) argues that the state apparatus tolerates corporate crime because capitalist interests and the state have an objective relation such that success for capitalist interests (continued economic growth) is beneficial for the state (political stability and tax revenue). While capitalist success leads to state success, this relation is tempered by the state's necessity to fulfill two functions: accumulation and legitimization (O'Connor, 1973). Studies of the United States, and other market economies, tend to show a "balancing act" between these two functions; for example, regulations toward corporate crimes are frequently anemic with minimal resources devoted to halting these crimes as they arguably lead to wealth accumulation. However, in times of crisis, such as the Enron scandal, political legitimacy is called into question and governments respond accordingly with major sanctions. As China transitioned into a free-market economy, the Communist Party successfully linked its political legitimacy to economic accumulation. Thus, instead of a balancing act between two "competing" functions, in China economic success means Party legitimacy.

This legitimacy, however, is not absolute and is subject to public opinion. Public opinion is regulated, censored, and otherwise controlled through media manipulation, so Party officials have more leeway than in democracies, but as China becomes more active globally, it is less likely that the State will be able to act without any and all explanation for its behavior. That is, when questionable political decisions are made, the government is forced to explain its actions. Political decisions tend to be easily explainable; party ideology, legislative precedent, and accountability via the electorate usually result in expected outcomes. Unexpected outcomes, however, may need to be excused or justified through political accounts (Scott & Lyman, 1968). Political accounts "are a crucial element in the social order since they prevent conflicts from arising by verbally bridging the gap between action and expectation" (Scott & Lyman, 1968, p. 46). From time to time, political actors may do things that seem initially counterintuitive, such as United States Senator Mitch McConnell filibustering his own bill or the Chinese government restricting the export of rare earth elements (Kapur, 2012). Political accounts are one way in which politician"s attempt to minimize blame, shift perception, and otherwise improve their image or the image of a decision they have made. Excuses are "socially approved vocabularies for mitigating or relieving responsibility when conduct is questioned" (Scott & Lyman, 1968, p. 47) while justifications are "socially approved vocabularies that neutralize an act or its consequences when one or both are called into question" (Scott & Lyman, 1968, p. 51).

Accounts are important as they allow political actors to delineate norms, roles, and context variables. This is described by Bennett (1980, p. 794), "In short, accounts, unlike other types of explanations and other forms of political discourse, can produce systematic redefinitions of norms, roles, settings, and political relationships in conflict situations. This definitional power of accounts makes them central symbolic resources in politics." We expect the use of accounts when a political shift begins; for example, as it allows those in control to persuade the public that change is necessary, good, or otherwise required. Where political action is usually constrained by institutional variables, accounts offer one avenue to shirk constraint.

The ability to control the media maintains the central government's legitimacy by emphasizing its successful performance, especially on economic fronts, and shaping discourse where there is failure. Tai (2014) highlighted that China's media control—except on particularly sensitive topics—had moved from outright censorship to subtle control of public opinion. The Chinese central government is no longer an absolute ruler over its media space in the information age; instead, the government has used its authority to guide the public towards a negotiated, but acceptable discourse to maintain Chinese Communist Party credibility and legitimacy. The power of the Chinese government may be characterized less by "absolute autonomy," and may be better understood by what Zhao and Hall (1994) call "bounded autonomy." From this perspective, the Chinese Communist Party's power to implement policy and control the media is contained by its requirement to maintain its own political legitimacy (Yang & Zhao 2014).

Understanding China's explanation of the rare earth elements event thus requires a deeper understanding of the context in which the event occurred.

Historical Background

The Chinese people have a special view of Japan, and the Japanese, that is defined by unease because, even though many in China admire the Japanese and their culture, they are consistently reminded of Japanese-lead horrors, such as the Nanking Massacre in 1937 and The Century of Humiliation from 1839 through 1949. Western powers are also viewed skeptically due to events such as the NATO-lead 1999 Belgrade bombing of the Chinese Embassy and the 2001 capture of an American surveillance plane in Chinese territory.

Japan remains different from the West in Chinese eyes because the island nation has historically been viewed as a lesser race for having taken most of its language, culture, philosophy, and even architecture from the Chinese. Thus, the Japanese occupation of China in the Second World War, that Japan has yet to placate, has resulted in a lingering bitterness and a 2014 global poll commissioned by the BBC World Service found that 90 percent of Chinese respondents held negative views of Japan.

Because of how Japan evokes nationalistic sentiments in China, the Chinese Communist Party has even been compelled to respond to various domestic incidents, including citizens attacking Japanese businesses, calling for a boycott on Japanese goods, and egging the Japanese embassy to express their anger at the news that the Japanese government approved a high school textbook that glossed over the Nanking Massacre and lessened Japanese responsibility for the war. Anti-Japanese protests spread nationwide and continued for a large part of April 2005 despite a media blackout instituted by the Chinese propaganda department before the protests began. By April 16, the demonstrations had gone on for so long and gotten so out of control that the Chinese Communist Party had to lift the media blackout, acknowledge the protests, and explicitly call an end to them. What needs to be noted here is not the scale of the protests, but the fact that anti-Japanese sentiment had reached such an extreme that the Chinese Communist Party was unable to contain or prevent it altogether (Shirk 2007).

Thus, in addition to being a matter of foreign relations, Japan is also a domestic issue in China because of the nationalism it engenders that in turn supports the Party (1962). The legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party is tied to its winning of popular support through anti-Japanese nationalism. For example, the Chinese Communist Party has continued teaching the Century of Humiliation in schools and emphasized its role in liberating China from her Japanese oppressors (Shirk 2007). Duke University professor, Liu Kang, highlights how much the Chinese Communist Party relies on nationalism for its ideological legitimacy when he stated that; "The current Chinese communist government is more a product of nationalism than a product of ideology like Marxism and Communism" Thus, when working with Japan, the Chinese government must respond appropriately to appease its people. The Chinese Communist Party is essentially bounded by its own ideological legitimacy to react to anything that could be perceived as a snub from Japan, especially in the age of the Internet where information can be quickly disseminated.

Methodology and Limitations

As with nearly all contemporary legal and criminological research focusing on China, it remains difficult to acquire accurate and useful data (see: Ghazi-Tehrani & Pontell, 2015; Ghazi-Tehrani, Pushkarna, Shen, Geis, & Pontell, 2013; Lo, Fryxell, van Rooij, Wang, & Honying Li, 2012). Though China is becoming easier to study, there remain blockages due to the country's history of censorship and the network-sustaining process known as guanxi (Dunfee & Warren, 2001; Millington, Eberhardt, & Wilkinson, 2005; Root, 1996). The case study design allows researchers to partially avoid these issues by utilizing publicly available data from U.S.-based, China-based, and international news organizations. While the reliance on secondary data does introduce the possibility that censorship may hinder information availability and analysis, the study at hand attempts to explain a public event and, thus, we believe this possibility is minimal. Case study design remains effective when explaining infrequent events such as white-collar crime and the use of political accounts; "Previous research that has examined citizens' reactions to discrete political events has often taken a case study approach" (McGraw, 1991, p. 1134).

Case Study: China, the WTO, and the Trade of Rare Earth Elements

The current study of China's rare earth trade with Japan examines a widely known case documented by international news outlets, government reports, and scholarly work. We collected major source materials to develop a timeline of events that best represented the major facts for analyzing the case. Given that largely the World Trade Organization (WTO) governs international trade agreements, we begin by providing some context to China's road to becoming a WTO member.

After almost 15 years of negotiation, China officially entered the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 under the condition that it would follow the rules of international

trade. The anticipation of China's international economic participation was best expressed by then-WTO Director-General Michael Moore's statement: "With China's membership, the World Trade Organization will take a major step towards becoming a truly world organization. The near universal acceptance of its rules-based system will serve a pivotal role in global economic cooperation." For China, entry into the WTO meant gaining many political and economic benefits. One of these benefits included having greater influence over international trade rules. Before becoming a WTO member, China had very little say in the trade rules that affected it (Saich 2002). As one of the top trading nations in the world, the Chinese Communist Party saw this as a deficiency that needed immediate repair. WTO membership also allowed China to participate in the 1990s high-tech revolution and other major developments around the world (Prime 2002).

Another large incentive for China to enter the WTO was the promise of boosting its economy. Because state legitimacy in China is not based on democratic rights (van Rooij 2010), the state maintains legitimacy by linking its right to rule with economic growth and controlling threats to its legitimacy (Beetham 1991; Holbig 2006; Ghazi-Tehrani & Pontell 2015). Before China successfully obtained WTO membership, its economic growth was slow despite state reforms aimed at revitalizing it. Chinese economists at the time estimated that the nation's entry into the WTO would create about 10 to 15 million new jobs (Saich 2002), which would be a key element in economic revitalization because it allowed more foreign companies and banks to connect to the Chinese market while additional laborers meant a potential increase in consumers. The "gamble," as Saich put it, was that China's economic revitalization would emerge from radically shifting from a planned economy to a free economy (Prime 2002).

For such reasons, China began the lengthy process of joining the WTO. The process was prolonged because accession into the WTO required agreement on terms and conditions specific to the country seeking membership. According to the WTO:

> Because each accession Working Party takes decisions by consensus, all interested WTO Members must be in agreement that their individual concerns have been met and that outstanding issues have been resolved in the course of their bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

Furthermore, because China was ideologically opposed to many of the WTO's terms, the process was especially lengthy. Former Chinese premier, Zhu Rongji, commented that the length of the process "turned black hair white." During the process, China's chief trade negotiator, Long Yongtu, challenged the 36 preparatory agreements that China had signed with WTO members and insisted that it should not be held to specific rules apart from the general rules of the WTO itself. China's argument was that things should not be so complicated and that all WTO members should share mutual trust, follow the general rules of international trade, and abstain from unfair trading practices that would benefit one's own nation at the cost of other nations.

WTO members were hesitant to allow China's membership because its trade volume was larger than many other countries and the members were suspicious of its refusal to follow specialized rules. WTO members were further concerned with China's trade proposals, which called for different inspection standards for domestic and imported products. Members of the WTO saw this as a red flag because it enabled China to block unwanted imports and control international trade. WTO members also objected to China's accession because they did not believe the Chinese economy met the organization's stringent requirements. China would take 15 years to meet those standards, bring negotiations to an agreeable conclusion, and become a WTO member. Of its accession, the WTO's Michael Moore declared that China, one of the fastest growing economies in the world, has made tremendous progress in the last decade in reducing poverty thanks to an economic system increasingly open to trade and foreign investment. Now this economy will be subjected to the rules-based system of the WTO, something that is bound to enhance global economic cooperation.

At the end of negotiations, China agreed with the WTO to follow certain rules. These included the following: 1) China will provide non-discriminatory treatment to all WTO members; 2) China will eliminate dual pricing practices as well as differences in treatment accorded to goods produced for sale in China and those produced for export; 3) price controls will not be used for purposes of affording protection to domestic industries or services providers; 4) the WTO agreement will be implemented by China in an effective and uniform manner by revising its existing domestic laws and enacting new legislation that is compliant with the agreement; 5) all enterprises will have the right to import and export goods and trade them with limited exceptions by 2004; and, 6) China will not maintain or introduce any export subsidies on agricultural products. China's trade minister, Shi Guangsheng, assured the world that, "China will, on the basis of the balance between rights and obligations, abide by the WTO rules and honor its commitments while enjoying its rights." Shi went on to discuss China's eagerness to contribute positively to the world economy

through international trade.

Not long after its entry however, China began to break its obligations through unfair trade practices, which led some WTO members to question China's membership. Some of the complaints levied against the Chinese nation included failing to follow the agreed rules, exporting a large amount of cheap goods due to its undervalued currency, and hoarding raw materials essential to other countries. The WTO's Dispute Settlement Body found distinct violations in China's rare earth element trade practices.

Rare earth elements are essential to high-tech economies and are very much a part of daily life in modern societies. As their designation suggests, their general availability is relatively limited. While the elements themselves are actually considered abundant, they are classified as rare because they are not found in high concentrations within the Earth's crust and extracting them is a difficult process (Grasso 2013). Prior to China's entry into the WTO, the United States, Brazil, and India had a large presence in rare earth element production. China, however, now produces 90 percent of the world's rare earth elements supply despite only having 23 percent of the world's known rare earth reserves (Information Office of the State Council 2012). Twenty years ago, rare earths were not as vital to nations, but because they are required in the manufacture of modern products such as laptop computers, car batteries, cell phones, and other high-tech products, rare earth elements have become essential to many countries.

China came to dominate the rare earth market because its leadership recognized their importance to the nation's economic future and because the nation's lax environmental protection laws made them easier to harvest. Former Chinese Communist Party Chairman, Deng Xiaoping, was reputed to have declared that, "The Middle East has oil. China has rare earths." China's weak enforcement of environmental regulations contributed to a large output of rare earth elements because it allowed for continued mining with lesser considerations for its environmental and human impacts. This enabled Chinese supplies to be sold at significantly cheaper prices, which rendered the costs of mining rare earth elements in other nations unfeasible (Ting 2010). In 2000, China updated the Prevention and Control of Atmospheric Pollution law, showing government awareness of harm to the environment and people; however, the updated law appeared to have made little impact as China continues to be plagued by worsening air quality and other industrial pollution.

During its rapid economic development, China has prioritized becoming a highly industrialized nation over environmental protection. China's reasoning has proven successful in the mining of rare earth elements, as it has grown the general economy and created a rare earth element monopoly. Other countries, including the U.S., have become dependent on China for their rare earth elements. The world's dependence on China for rare earth elements was a growing concern, but fears of China's dominance in this area peaked in 2010 when the Chinese appeared to embargo rare earth exports to Japan following a geopolitical tussle.

The dependence on China's rare earth element production became a global concern when China temporarily suspended its export of rare earth elements to Japan on September 7, 2010. The suspension was seen by most international media commentary to be linked to a dispute regarding Japan's detention of a Chinese fishing trawler captain near the disputed Senkaku/Diaoyu islands at that time. The fisherman was detained after colliding his boat into two Japanese coast guard vessels while fishing in waters that were customarily controlled by Japan, but also claimed by China. Japan's detention of the trawler captain led to a major diplomatic incident between the two nations, which included China's arrest of four Japanese employees of Fujita Corporation in Hebei Province on September 20 and the suspension of rare earth exports on September 23.

Regarding the suspension of rare earth sales, industry officials shared that China had notified all Chinese companies that, "they were not allowed to ship any rare earth oxides, rare earth salts, or pure rare earth metals" to Japan. This report sent a disturbing message to the world: China's economic trade was directly conditioned by geopolitics, and if countries did not tread carefully in their affairs with China, they may be subject to economic sanctions. The apparent embargo severely hurt Japan's economy because its high-tech industries relied heavily on imported rare earth elements.

The suspension of trade not only denied Japan of much needed resources, but also made it more difficult for Japan to acquire rare earths from other sources, since the suspension produced a significant increase in rare earth prices worldwide. This increase took a toll on Japan's high-tech economy and could be seen from the production of the Toyota Prius. The Toyota Prius is a compact car that is best known for being the world's first mass-produced hybrid gas/electric car. Part of the Prius' manufacturing required a rare earth element known as neodymium. Because of the suspension and subsequently reduced exports of Chinese neodymium, the price of the element went from US$50 a kilogram at the start of 2010 to US$500 a kilogram by the summer of 2011. This forced Toyota to raise the price of the Prius to maintain its production levels. Since this incident, nations sensitive to the supply of rare earth elements have begun looking for means to break their dependence and have become highly suspicious of China's

intents (Kilby 2014). China's actions regarding the trade of rare earth metals went unquestioned prior to 2010 as other members felt the justification for trade quotas appeared reasonable; however, with more scrutiny, a different picture of China's actions began to emerge.

Today, major rare earth consumers like Japan and South Korea have taken active measures to end their dependence on China's rare earth supply (Ting & Seaman 2013). For the Japanese, they have adopted the token measure of recycling used electronics to salvage rare earth elements for future production. Japan's main measure had been to sign agreements with other rare earth element-producing countries. In 2011, Japan signed an agreement with Vietnam and, in a significantly larger move in 2012; Japan signed the Rare Earth Cooperation Agreement with India. This agreement allowed Japan to import 4,100 tons of rare earth elements a year from India. Though these measures did not mean that Japan would be completely unaffected by the supply of Chinese rare earth materials in the future, the impacts on the Japanese economy would not be as damaging should shortages occur.

China's actions against Japan were in direct violation of three items in the agreements made upon accession to the WTO. By restricting exports they were, 1) using price controls for the purposes of affording protection to domestic industries or services providers, 2) using dual pricing practices and applying differences in treatment accorded to goods produced for sale in China in comparison to those produced for export, and 3) acting discriminately against another WTO member, Japan. When China breaks international trade laws by restricting the export of rare earth elements, it has devastating effects on other WTO members who rely on China for these essential elements. It forces other countries to pay as much as three times more than their Chinese counterparts pay, and/or requires foreign companies to move into China to obtain those same benefits. For these reasons, China's practices are in direct violation of international trading laws.

In 2011, the United States, Japan, and the European Union brought cases to the WTO's Dispute Settlement Body alleging that China's trade measures were inconsistent with the agreements it made. The United States argued that China violated international trade law by applying unfair export quotas on rare earth elements, which was most noted in the fact that Chinese national production quotas were set at 119,500 tons while export quotas were a mere 22,512 tons (see Tse 2011). This large difference in national production and export quotas pointed to unfair access to Chinese rare earth elements between domestic and foreign buyers. The United States further argued that in order for the trading relationship between China and other WTO members to be fair, China must not only follow its agreements, but also begin supporting a clean environment for its workers and protecting their rights (World Trade Organization 2014a). China's response to the charges was that it had a sovereign right to balance environmental regulation with national production quotas, and setting export quotas was a part of that (World Trade Organization 2014a).

In 2014, a WTO panel declared that China had violated international trade law because their trade practices produced an unfair advantage for domestic industries. The WTO's formal conclusion stated that, "China's export quotas were designed to achieve industrial policy goals," and rejected China's defense that export restrictions were for environmental conservation reasons. While the WTO does have exceptions to allow for nations to conserve their environments, China's case does not meet the standards of what the international body considers conservation. Indeed, during the settlement, China was brought to agree that "conserving" the environment meant more than just "preserving" it. Further, if China had needed to mine more rare earth to meet its WTO obligations then it might have had a legitimate defense, however because the complaint was about elements already mined, environmental protection became an unsustainable position. Ultimately, China did not object to the major conclusions of the WTO and promised to correct the situation within a "reasonable time frame."

From this, it is clear that China had violated international trade law to give its industries an advantage. This did not explain the embargo, but it did show that China was willing to use its monopoly position to the detriment of other nations. To understand the untimely suspension of exports to Japan, it is important to understand the particular relationship between China and Japan in modern times as was discussed earlier in this study.

Discussion

As noted earlier, some commentators rejected the notion that the suspension of rare earth element exports to Japan was for geopolitical gain and instead argued that the cessation was more a coincidence than an act of punishment. Two key arguments supported that position. First, the Chinese government itself never said as much, which would be odd if they intended to send a message to Japan; and second, the Chinese government would have unnecessarily jeopardized its position as a stable and secure supplier of rare earth elements, which was simply illogical. Moreover, it was also noted that the Japanese were already aware that China would severely cut down its rare earth exports a month before the incident and concluded that this incident was not an instance of geopolitics where "China is rising, Japan is declining, and a power shift is

occurring in East Asia and around the world" (Hagström, 2012: 297).

We concur with the facts surrounding the above analysis, but argue that the dominant discourse that the suspension of trade was meant to send a message is more convincing. This is because the facts of the case need to be considered in larger context of the Chinese Communist Party's need to maintain ideological legitimacy, which subsequently led it to violate international law.

China's motives for breaking its trade agreements had less to do with international politics and more with domestic legitimacy. As state theory used in previous white-collar crime research has shown, governments can be led into law violation through an overarching concern with maintaining legitimacy. This may be especially true in countries like the U.S. and China, which maintain state legitimacy primarily through economic performance (Ghazi-Tehrani and Pontell, 2015). Preserving economic performance legitimacy, the state typically balances between allowing free market conditions that increase corporate criminal opportunities, and keeping social order by limiting those same opportunities. In contrast – and unique to China – maintaining ideological legitimacy means balancing between portraying the Party as the prime example of patriotism by mass persuasion (Brady 2009) and managing popular nationalism by expressing sentiments on the people's behalf (Hwang & Schneider 2011). As the 2005 nationwide anti-Japanese protests demonstrated, if the Chinese Communist Party cannot adequately reflect popular sentiments in its policies, threats to social harmony and state legitimacy may result.

Hwang and Schneider (2011) argue that the Chinese leadership's decision to anchor its ideological legitimacy primarily to nationalism "may prove to be fatal" (p. 47). Regarding its relationship with Japan, China has little option, but to make stern responses that could escalate an already uneasy relationship. Portraying Japan as a nation that has humiliated China countless times, China's popular nationalism and its rise as a world power has led the Chinese people to expect the Chinese Communist Party to ensure Japan knows its place in the regional order and, where possible, to seek vengeance. China is therefore compelled to respond to any perceived slights from Japan—however small, unintended, or misunderstood—with a display of might. Perhaps the strongest evidence that China purposefully suspended rare earth exports in response to the detention of the trawler captain, thereby risking accusations of trade violations, is the fact that China also arrested four Japanese nationals on spying charges, summoned the Japanese ambassador to China at 2 A.M., reduced Chinese tourism to Japan, suspended intergovernmental talks, and canceled joint-nation exchange programs.

Whether China suspended those exports by moving the cessation timetable to an earlier date or by calling on suppliers to stop shipping are but one part of the puzzle in understanding the rare earth elements incident. The actual violation of international trading laws also hinges on both the intent and actual timing of these actions themselves. Geopolitical analysis centers on whether the event was intended to send Japan a message, but the reality is that the message was likely intended as much, if not more, for the Chinese people rather than for the Japan. The very public display of China's efforts to bring back the Chinese trawler captain and reports of officials declaring that "Japan's handling was 'absurd, illegal and invalid'" alongside the active censorship of the Chinese Communist Party, especially regarding citizen self-organized anti-Japanese actions, showed that the leadership was working to subdue nationalist sentiments to, "prevent the government from becoming hostage to public opinion," as Tai (2014 p. 204) puts it.

The Chinese government remains bounded by history and the popular Chinese view of Japan to take decisive—and possibly illegal—action to maintain legitimacy with its domestic audience. In general, governments are compelled to respond when they perceive that their legitimacy is somehow threatened. This has been consistently noted in the United States (Calavita 1983; Calavita & Pontell 1994; Goetz 1997) and in China (Dasgupta & Wheeler 1997; Ghazi–Tehrani & Pontell 2015; van Rooij 2010). How much governments perceive such threats depends on how sensitive they are to the sentiments of their own citizens and how much control they believe they potentially have over those sentiments.

At this point, it becomes necessary to return to the idea of accounts. We argue that the Chinese response to the detention of the fisherman, including the rare earth element embargo, is, in fact, not out of the ordinary and the expected response given China's long and storied history in relation to Japan. Indeed, while King and Armstrong (2013) argued that the "political gain" premise did not make sense given China's relative silence on the issue, in essence arguing that political gain only occurs when defined publicly and explicitly, we counter by saying the relative silence speaks volumes. Had China not responded to the Japanese detention of one of its citizen, the country was likely to see protests in the streets akin to what was demonstrated in 2005. In this alternate reality, where the expected course of action was not taken, then the use of political accounts would become necessary and there would have been attempts to either excuse or justify the unexpected behavior. The accounts are easy to imagine and would have been factually accurate; for example, a "weak" response to Japan

would have been justified given the current WTO ruling against China and Japan's ongoing search for REEs outside of China.

Conclusion

China violated World Trade Organization rules in 2010 when it convinced 32 Chinese-based rare earth element-producing companies to cease exporting their materials to Japanese-based companies in response to a Chinese fisherman being detained by Japanese authorities. On the surface, this decision seems shortsighted and detrimental in the long-term, but it is important to note that countries disregard or otherwise break WTO rules quite frequently for both short-term and long-term gain. The United States alone has violated WTO rules in 2013 attempting to reduce the export of liquefied natural gas (Palmer, 2013), in 2014 with "country-of-origin" meat labeling (Menon & Tracy, 2014) and import restrictions on steel from India (World Trade Organization, 2014b), and in 2015 with "dolphin safe" tuna labeling (Beachy, 2015). Given this context and the antagonistic history between China and Japan, we believe it is not unexpected the Chinese government acted the way it did. The Party historically responds to threats of legitimacy, even those threats that would be considered "small" to outside observers. For example, in January 2015, the Party called on universities to stop using foreign textbooks because they "spread Western values" into China. China is a nation riddled with contradictions; be it about governance theories or policies, conflicts between ideas and practices are rife throughout the nation (for contradictions in the Chinese healthcare system, see Fun & Yao, 2015). The suspension of rare earth exports to Japan was another example of contradicting ideals as conflicting goals of performance legitimacy required China to be a global economic player, while ideological legitimacy required China to have a mighty regional presence. This precarious balance puts China at risk of committing crimes on an international scale in order to maintain legitimacy on a national level. Our case study shows that where Japan is involved, the risk of Chinese abusing its privileges and breaking international law is greater because of intensified domestic pressure. For this reason, a minor disagreement between the two nations could quickly escalate into a major diplomatic crisis.

Further solidifying the normalcy of bucking WTO rules, when the WTO issued its final verdict on Chinese trade violations the organization noted that, “China did not appeal any of the final conclusions of the Panel” (World Trade Organization 2014). As a rising superpower, the world watches China’s international roles closely, but how China behaves in the world flows forth from what happens within its borders. Situations such as the REE event demonstrate that when China violates international laws, it may be less for geopolitical gain than for purposes of domestic legitimacy. Understanding China’s actions simply from a geopolitical perspective makes the Chinese Communist Party’s decisions appear erratic and confounding to the observer, and may overlook the underlying causes of international violations of trade laws as well as other domestic and global white-collar and corporate illegalities.

China’s ascendance as a world superpower continues to provide numerous opportunities for the study of white-collar and corporate illegalities as state-related crimes, and to research such acts in both global and comparative perspective. In the absence of uniform and reliable official data, we suggest that the best way to accomplish such research is through detailed case studies that can provide information to understand international and global illegalities and apply explanations that may be used to guide future policies of control and prevention.

Future research may return to the use (or lack thereof) of political accounts in Chinese politics. The study at hand demonstrated the sense of normalcy for the Chinese public behind what appeared to be a nonsensical decision to outsiders. The absence of an account speaks volumes to the expectations of the Chinese people, and the REE case is not the only example where internal and external perceptions of an event may differ greatly.

Statements:

This article does not contain any studies with human participants. Thus, informed consent is not applicable.

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Which Factors Are Influential in Forming Students' Perceptions of School Resource Officers (SROs)?

ABSTRACT

The researchers administered a web-based survey among U.S. university students between the ages of 18 and 20 by asking them to recall their memories regarding school resource officers (SROs) during high school years. Among 12 independent variables including three control variables in the multivariate regression analysis, only one variable of students' first impressions of SROs was found to statistically significantly predict students' perceptions of SROs. The other experiential predictors, such as frequency of student-SRO communication, were found to have statistically significant bivariate relationships with students' perceptions of SROs, while only some of the contextual factors showed such relationships with students' perceptions of SROs. With the detected findings, the ways of improving students' perceptions of SROs are discussed for maintaining school safety and building positive student-SRO relationships.

Keywords:
school resource officer (SRO); student; perception; school; police

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Introduction

School is thought to be a safe place for learning and developing students' various knowledge, skills, and virtues through their interactions with school teachers, staff, and student peers. However, heightened concerns about school safety, mainly intensified by repeated heinous school shooting incidents, have led to various school strategies in an effort to keep schools safe (Coon & Travis III, 2012). Such strategies include implementing strict school policies and disciplines, such as zero tolerance policies in the cases of using or carrying drugs or weapons and showing violent behaviors. Other strategies include employing physical safety measures, such as metal detectors and security cameras, and positioning private security guards or police officers called school resource officers (SROs) through diverse SRO programs (Time & Payne, 2008).

SROs are defined as sworn officers assigned to public schools through either the local police department or school district or through a financial collaboration between both institutions (Carpenter, 2013; Coon & Travis, 2012; Weiler & Cray, 2011). Since the 1990s, the number of SROs increased substantially across the country with federal financial incentives to employ police officers or other security personnel for improving school safety. The increase in the presence of SROs in schools is largely attributed to the expansion of community policing strategies, and unwavering public concerns over school safety (Coon & Travis III, 2012; Weiler & Cray, 2011).

The growing and widespread usage of SROs in schools has drawn great scholarly attentions. The literature on SROs and SRO programs has largely dealt with various themes, including the factors and characteristics considered important for desirable SROs and effective SRO programs (Coon & Travis, 2012; Ely, 2010; Gibson, 2001; Ivey, 2012; Lambert & McGinty, 2002; May et al., 2004; VanCleave, 2008). Other themes include the evaluation of SRO programs, primarily in terms of school offending, the perceptions of safety and fear of crime in school by stakeholders, and their perceptions of SRO programs (Bracy, 2011; Brown, 2006; Brown & Benedict, 2005; Jackson, 2002; Johnson, 1999; McDevitt & Panniello, 2005; Myrstol, 2011; Na & Gottfredson, 2013; Theriot, 2009, 2016; Theriot & Orme, 2016; Time & Payne, 2008).

Stakeholders examined in the literature of perceptions of SROs include school principals, teachers, general public, law enforcement administrators, SROs, and students. However, despite being the most crucial stakeholder group regarding employing SROs, students have not been frequently asked of their perceptions of SROs, compared to the other counterparts (Bracy, 2011; Brown & Benedict, 2005; Johnson, 1999; Johnson et al,. 2012; McDevitt & Panniello, 2005; Theriot, 2009, 2016; Theriot & Orme, 2016). As a result, it is likely that student input has seldom been included in planning and improving SRO programs (Ely, 2010).This limitation is noteworthy, as students themselves may be the best commentators on what strategies and services are likely to work for them. Thus, the lack of student inputs may hinder proper implementation of SRO programs.

SRO programs have broader goals than other measures of school safety. The programs are expected to improve police-juvenile relations in particular and police-citizen relations in general, and to increase community safety in addition to being directed towards enhancing school safety (Watkins & Maume, 2012). SRO programs have the potential for increasing the safety in neighborhoods as well as in schools. School violence is closely related to juvenile offenses in the streets, which arouses a considerable portion of police-citizen contacts. McDermott (1983) pointed out that offenders, victims, and fearful youths may not be distinctive, and youths who commit crime in school are probably the same youths who commit crime in the community, especially if such community is within a socially and economically deteriorating area (Johnson, 1999). Therefore, it is expected that building positive relationships between students and SROs may enhance not only the safety in schools, but also the security in the community. This can be attained by allowing SROs to be better informed of actual and possible crime incidents within and around schools (McDevitt & Panniello, 2005),and possibly in the community. In addition, such improved relationships between students and SROs may yield positive student attitudes toward general police officers, which will thereby raise their willingness to help the police fight against crime and build favorable opinions of other justice systems. Eventually, this will lead to reducing youth involvement in crime (Lambert & McGinty, 2002; Nihart, Lersch, Sellers & Mieczkowski, 2005; Taylor & Lawton, 2012; Watkins & Maume, 2012).

Therefore, examining which factors influence students' perceptions of SROs would be helpful in addressing students' lack of input in the administration of SRO programs. The present study attempts to fill this gap by producing information that can be used to inform SROs, their supervisors, and educators about how to better approach a student body. In addition, the findings from this study may be informative for tailoring SRO training programs to better assist SROs in understanding how to interact with students and build trust between students and SROs.

Prior Studies on Public Perceptions of Police and SROs

How citizens view the police has been one of the most frequently studied topics in police-related research. While much research has shown generally favorable public opinions of the police, many researchers have found that there are important variables which may differentially influence citizens' perceptions of the police. The links between citizens' demographic factors and their perceptions of the police have been frequently studied. With regard to race, it has been often reported that minority citizens, especially African Americans, tend to have more negative views toward the police compared to White citizens, (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Cao et al., 1996; MacDonald et al., 2007; Taylor et al,.2001;Weitzer & Tuch, 2005), while some other studies did not find any significant race impact on public perception of the local police (Taylor & Lawton, 2012; Wentz & Schlimgen, 2012). In addition, whether race affects public perception of the police is significantly mediated by the introduction of neighborhood racial composition or not, does not seem to be clear (Apple & O'Brien, 1983; Schafer et al., 2003; Weitzer, 1999). Numerous studies, which included age as one of the independent variables, have shown that younger people tend to retain more negative or indifferent perceptions of the police than older people (Cao et al., 1996; Cheurprakobkit, 2000; MacDonald et al., 2007; Nihart et al., 2005; Taylor & Lawton, 2012; Taylor et al,. 2001; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005), while Larsen (1968) reported the opposite finding. There have been inconsistent findings about gender effect on citizens' evaluations of the police (Brown & Benedict, 2002). Some studies found that female citizens were more likely to have positive opinions of the police than male counterparts (Cao et al., 1996; Cheurprakobkit, 2000; Taylor & Lawton, 2012), whereas Reisig and Correia (1997) detected the opposite finding. Still others did not find any significant gender influence (Weitzer & Tuch, 2005).

Police-citizen contact has been frequently examined in the studies of public perception of the police. It has been generally known that as police-citizen contact increases, citizens tend to have less favorable opinions of the police (Cheurprakobkit, 2000). However, there have been many studies suggesting that other factors should be considered beyond the frequency of citizen-police contacts. Such studies have examined whether the contact types such as who initiated the contact influenced citizens' perceptions of the police (Cheurprakobkit, 2000), whether the ways of police treatment influenced assessments of specific citizen-police contacts (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008; Cheurprakobkit, 2000; Reisig & Correia, 1997; Reisig & Chandek, 2001), and how citizens' specific and general assessments were related each other (Brandl et al., 1994).

The impact of indirect citizen experiences also has been examined, when evaluating the police (Dean, 1980; Flexon et al., 2009; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Wentz & Schlimgen, 2012). Earlier, Dean (1980) recognized the importance of observing police treatment of other citizens in evaluating the police (as cited by Brown and Benedict 2002).Weitzer and Tuch (2005) found a significant impact of vicarious experiences which was a bit limited compared to the impact of direct experiences on citizens' perceptions of racially-biased policing behaviors. In the meantime, Wentz and Schlimgen (2012) found that citizens' perceptions of other citizen-police contacts were the strongest factor that influenced citizens' assessments of the police, consistent with Flexon and colleagues' finding (2009).

Many researchers have studied the impact of various neighborhood contexts on citizens' attitudes toward the police. Some studies found that how citizens perceive neighborhood disorders inversely and significantly influenced their perceptions of the police (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008; Cao et al., 1996; MacDonald et al., 2007; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Wentz & Schlimgen, 2012). However, Brick and colleagues (2009) did not find any of such relationship.

Juveniles' Perceptions of Police

Many studies on juveniles' perceptions of the police have explored whether research findings about adults might be applicable to juveniles. Some studies have shown that juveniles tend to retain relatively less favorable or indifferent perceptions of the police compared to adults (Cao et al., 1996; Nihart et al., 2005; Taylor et al., 2001). On the other hand, some scholars suggested that such an age influence on perceptions of the police might be substantially mediated when other contextual factors, such as delinquent subculture, victimization experiences and having an officer in a school environment, are considered (Brick et al., 2009). Additionally, Brick and colleagues (2009) found no significant relationship between juveniles' perceptions of community disorder or perceptional risk of victimization and their attitudes toward the police, which is inconsistent with other study findings based on general citizen samples (Cao et al., 1996; MacDonald et al., 2007; Wentz & Schlimgen, 2012).

There seems to be a general understanding that citizens' prior contacts with police negatively influence citizens' attitudes toward police regardless of citizen age. Leiber and colleagues (1998) examined whether there was any difference in juveniles' attitudes towards the police according to the degree of police control. They found that police-juvenile contacts were the strongest predictor of juveniles' perceptions of police fairness, regardless of the level of police control. Meanwhile, Flexon and colleagues (2009) noted that police-juvenile contacts might work for improving juveniles' attitudes

toward the police through increased police involvements within school settings, such as SRO programs.

Regarding juveniles' indirect experiences with police, Flexon and colleagues (2009) showed that observing other students being stopped and treated disrespectfully by police officers was the strongest negative predictors of students' trust in the police. One can assume that examining the relationship between students' vicarious contacts with SRO and students' perceptions of SROs will be highly meaningful. This is because any student-SRO contact in limited school settings, particularly negative contact, might be spread very quickly and broadly among student body, considering current youths' high availability of web devices.

With regard to gender influence on juveniles' perceptions of police, Taylor and colleagues (2001) found that female students showed more favorable attitudes toward police than their male counterparts. This finding is consistent with some prior studies utilizing adult samples (Cao et al., 1996). Nonetheless, Flexon and colleagues (2009) did not find any significant gender effect on juveniles' trust in police.

About perceptional differences across races, Taylor et al. (2001) showed White students held the most positive perception. African-American juveniles showed the least favorable attitudes toward police, with Hispanic students' perceptions lying between those of the White and African American categories, and Asian students' perceptions being close to those of White students (Taylor et al., 2001). This finding on White and African American juveniles' perceptions of police is consistent with the findings from the studies on adults (Cao et al., 1996; MacDonald et al., 2007; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005).

Perceptions of SROs

With regard to the prior studies on the perceptions of school resource officers, school principals, teachers, SROs and SROs' supervisors have been studied frequently relative to students. The educator groups showed stronger emphasis on SROs' law enforcement or discipline-related activities, while SROs themselves expressed a considerable amount of interest in building relationships with students (Carpenter, 2013; Ivey, 2012; Jackson, 2002; Lambert & McGinty, 2002; VanCleave, 2008). SRO literature has presented students generally support the presences of SROs (Brown & Benedict, 2005; Johnson, 1999), and that there is a positive relationship between students' positive opinions of SROs and their willingness of crime reporting to SROs (McDevitt & Panniello, 2005).

Prior studies found some possibly influential predictors of students' perceptions of SROs (Brown & Benedict, 2005; Johnson, 1999; Lambert & McGinty, 2002; McDevitt & Panniello, 2005; Watkins & Maume, 2012). These identified factors include the gender and race of students, victimization, fearfulness of school victimization, perceptional school disorder, avoiding school places, and experiences with SROs. Johnson (1999) suggested that the race of an SRO should be the same as the race of the majority of the student body. However, this argument is contrary to Lambert and McGinty's (2002) finding that school principals, SROs, and their supervisors collectively rated an SRO having the same ethnicity as the majority of students as the least important personal characteristic.

McDevitt and Panniello (2005) addressed two issues: factors influencing students' levels of comfort reporting crimes to SROs and factors affecting their perceived school safety. They examined the effects of the frequency of interactions between students and SROs, students having favorable opinions of SROs, and other contextual factors, such as students' perceptions of school safety and prior victimization experience, on students' comfort levels for reporting crimes to SROs. They found that the interaction frequency with and degree of favorable attitude toward SROs showed positive associations with students' comfort levels to report crimes. They suggested developing positive students' attitudes toward SROs could be under the control of SROs. They argued it was very important to discover and develop the best ways of building positive relationships between SROs and students, as indicated by Time and Payne's (2008) study. However, McDevitt and Panniello (2005) did not offer any practical way to develop such relationships. Theriot (2016) detected a similar finding that an increase in middle and high school students' interactions with SROs was positively associated with their favorable feelings about SROs.

Brown and Benedict (2005) found that students generally evaluated both SROs and security officers favorably, while the percentage (about 70%) of students expressing such favorable opinions of SROs was lower than the overall percentage (ranging between 87 to 90% according to respondents' genders) of adult respondents evaluating the police favorably (Benedictet et. al. 2000). Brown and Benedict (2005) found that female high school students were more likely to favorably assess SROs' abilities to keep their schools safe than male students. This gender effect is a bit inconsistent with McDevitt and Panniello's (2005) finding, which reported that student gender was not a significant predictor of students' comfort levels of reporting crime to SROs. Brown and Benedict (2005) also presented that violent victimization of high school students significantly and negatively affected students' assessments of SROs.

Watkins and Maume (2011) examined factors influencing students' school crime reporting practices to school adults including police positioned in school. Watkins and Maume (2011) utilized avoidance of specific school places as one of six school-related variables considered to be related to students' crime reporting practices. In their analyses, Watkins and Maume (2011) did not find any evidence that students' avoidance of certain school places influenced their crime reporting. In a similar vein, Lambert and McGinty (2002) examined what kinds of knowledge principals, SROs, and their supervisors perceived as important for being an SRO. The examined groups aggregately rated "physical layout of the school building" as the second most important knowledge item by putting "the law" at the first place (Lambert & McGinty, 2002, p. 261).

Data and Methods

This study examined students' perceptions of SROs by surveying students in one southwestern university in the U.S.A. about their memories regarding their SROs during high school years. The study target university had about 43,000-student enrollment. It would be better to minimize the time lapse between the high school graduation of survey respondents and their survey participation to address possible recalling issues. For this, the sampling frame consisted only of the students between the ages of 18 and 20.The researchers were provided with the e-mail list of 7,779 students aged between 18 and 20 from the university's research office. Among them, 3,000 students were randomly selected using SPSS program for the e-mail survey invitation.

The survey was administered online, and the potential respondents were solicited through the university's e-mailing system for 10 days. The survey invitation e-mail indicated that two of survey participants would be randomly chosen for offering them a $50 gift card as an incentive. The researchers sent two additional follow-up e-mail invitations only to the students who had not joined the online survey. Among the 3,000 students invited to participate in the survey, 436 students responded, resulting in a response rate of 14.5%. 353 students (81%) out of the 436 survey participants indicated that their high school had at least one SRO. Fifty-one students (11.7%) answered that their high school did not have any SRO, and 32 students (7.3%) indicated that they did not know whether any uniformed security-related person in their school was an SRO or a security guard. Therefore, the survey result presentations and the data analyses only used the data gained from the 353 students who indicated that they had an SRO in their high school.

While some researchers have expressed concerns about the validity of survey data collected online (Kraut et al., 2004), there is evidence online survey methods are viable for collecting valid data (Barrios et al., 2011; Gosling et al., 2004; Hardigan et al., 2012). Further, online surveys have been previously utilized to study students across a variety of contexts (Hollis, 2010; Matthews, 2011). A survey questionnaire consisting of 54 questions was used to collect data. The researchers developed the questionnaire by referring to related literature and prior survey questionnaires, and by creating new survey items. Most of the survey items utilized a closed-ended format, partly with some response choices that further asked respondents for more detailed responses with an open-ended format.

Independent Variables

The survey instrument collected data on factors that may impact students' perceptions of SROs. These factors included frequency of communication, time spent on communication, the first impression of SRO, positive experiences with SRO, negative experiences with SRO, serious victimization, perceived school gang violence, available communication methods, and perceived SRO coverage of school space.

The frequency of communications between a student and an SRO may be an important determinant of students' perceptions of SROs (Theriot, 2016). Given students tend to exhibit greater willingness to report crimes when they have positive perceptions of SROs (McDevitt & Panniello, 2005), this may indicate greater trust in individuals that they interact with more frequently. To measure frequency of communication between a student and an SRO, respondents were asked to report how frequently they communicated with SROs in a day or in longer time periods. Time spent while interacting with an SRO may reveal the level of intensity of student-SRO relationship. To assess the time spent on each communication, respondents were asked to report average time spent on talking with SROs.

The first impression is an experiential factor formed at an earlier phase of a student's school life. Respondents were asked to indicate under which situations they came to have their first impression. The suggested situations include school orientation, being questioned or arrested by SROs, and several more situations. To measure the first impression, respondents were asked to report their first impressions of SROs along the continuum from "highly positive" to "highly negative."

Students' positive and negative experiences with an SRO were included as independent variables considering prior study findings (Brandl et al., 1994; Brick et al., 2009;

Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008; Cao et al., 1996; Cheurprakobkit, 2000; Dean, 1980; Flexon et al., 2009; Leiber et al., 1998; McDevitt & Panniello, 2005; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Wentz & Schlimgen, 2012). To measure the positive and negative experiences with SROs, respondents were asked to indicate whether they had any of six particular experiences with SROs. The six experiences include both positive and negative experiences coming from direct interactions with an SRO, observing the interactions between another student and an SRO, and observing the interactions between a teacher and an SRO. Direct and indirect experiences either positive or negative were summed together to generate overall positive or negative experience measures.

Prior studies have shown that student victimization has relationships with either students' evaluation of SROs (Brown & Benedict, 2005) or their perceptional school safety (McDevitt & Panniello, 2005; Theriot & Orme, 2016). The respondents were asked to report whether they had experienced any serious victimization of being threatened or physically attacked, having lost property due to threat or physical attack, or having been sexually victimized. Responses were coded with 0 having no victimization experience and with 1 having any one of the three victimization experiences.

There have been inconsistent findings on the relationship between citizens' perceptional community disorder and their general police evaluation (Brick et al., 2009; Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008; Cao et al., 1996; MacDonald et al., 2007; Wentz & Schlimgen, 2012). For school settings, Watkins and Maume (2011) employed perceived level of school gang violence as a measure of perceptional school disorder. Therefore, respondents were asked to report the frequency of school gang violence along the continuum from "most of the time" to "never."

SRO coverage of school space may be an important factor that influences students' perceptions of SROs. Considering prior study findings on school layout (Lambert & McGinty, 2002; Watkins & Maume, 2011), there may be a relationship between the number of school places not well cared for as perceived by students and their perceptions of SROs. Thus, the current study respondents were asked to indicate whether any specific school place from a list of school locations was not well cared for by their SROs for measuring the total number of such places.

The number of available communication methods for contacting an SRO was included as an independent variable. Students that can readily and easily reach SROs when in need may have better perceptions of SROs. The respondents were asked to indicate any available communication method, such as SRO office visit and SRO e-mail address.

The survey also collected information on three relevant control measures, including student gender, student race, and school size. There have been inconsistent prior findings on students' gender effect on their evaluations of SROs (Brown & Benedict, 2005; McDevitt & Panniello, 2005). Student gender was measured as either male or female. Two prior studies showed different findings on whether an SRO's race should be the same with that of the majority of a student body (Johnson, 1999; Lambert & McGinty, 2002). Respondents were asked to indicate their race or ethnic background, and the responses were grouped into White and Non-White groups for analyses. Maskaly and colleagues (2011) discovered that school size was positively associated with the level of school crime. In this regard, school size was included in the analysis for mainly control purpose.

Dependent Variable

Prior studies examining various stakeholder groups' perceptions of SROs indicated that both of building good relationships between a student body and SROs and maintaining school safety were the most important issues in integrating SROs into school environments (Carpenter, 2013; Coon & Travis, 2012; Ely, 2010; Jackson, 2002; Johnson, 1999; Lambert & McGinty, 2002; McDevitt & Panniello, 2005). Guided by these findings, the survey for this study included questions that reflected each of the two constructs. Each question asked respondents to indicate their levels of agreement with given statements using a 10-point Likert scale with 1 indicating "Strongly Disagree," and 10 indicating "Strongly Agree."

SROs' efforts for building good relationships was assessed through students' responses to three prompts:

"SRO remained neutral and fair in dealing with student-related problems."

"SRO addressed students with respect."

"SRO cared about student safety."

SROs' competence for developing and maintaining school safety was assessed through four prompts:

"SRO appeared to be knowledgeable about laws, school rules and policies."

"SRO appeared to be reliable in addressing school bullying problems."

"SRO appeared to be reliable in addressing school violence problems."

"SRO appeared to be reliable in addressing

school emergencies, such as school shootings."

To examine whether each set of statements properly measured the two suggested underlying constructs, a principal component analysis (PCA) was conducted. PCA is often used to reduce the number of variables in multivariate analyses, while retaining the variability in the original multiple variables (Shen & Huang, 2008). To assess the strength of the relationship, correlational analyses were conducted. Typically, variables are included in PCA if they exhibit some correlation ($r \geq 0.3$). All seven statements exhibited correlations with magnitudes greater than 0.3 with at least one other statement. Next, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure was used to assess if the relationships between statements were linear. KMO ranges from 0 to 1, and 0.6 is typically utilized as the minimum criterion indicating linearity (Dziuban & Shirkey, 1974). For the data, the KMO value was 0.932, indicating that the data met the requirements for PCA.

Although building good relationships and maintaining school safety were initially believed to be separate constructs, only a single component emerged from the PCA analysis (eigenvalue = 5.9). The eigenvalue-one criterion is one of the most frequently used methods for determining how many components to retain in a set of data (Valle et al., 1999); an eigenvalue of less than one indicates that a component explains insufficient variance to be retained. The eigenvalue for the second component was .376. Therefore, it was determined that the responses to all seven statements measured a single construct of students' perceptions of SROs. As a result, responses to all seven questions were summed into a single scale for analysis ranging from 7 to 70.

Analyses

From the initial data analysis, the data did not show normality. For addressing this issue, the "log" transformation was applied so that the transformed data was normally distributed. There was no missing data. For the analyses of dichotomous independent variables, Mann-Whitney Utest was employed. Mann-Whitney U test is popularly used to examine whether there are differences between two groups on a continuous or ordinal variable (Rosner & Grove, 1999). The dichotomous variables are victimization experience, student gender, and student race (White/Non-White).

Spearman rank-order correlation analyses were run to examine the bivariate relationships between some ordinal level independent variables and students' perceptions of SROs. Spearman rank-order correlation analysis is usually utilized to examine the correlation between either two continuous variables, two ordinal variables, or one ordinal and one continuous variable (Caruso & Cliff, 1997).The examined independent variables with ordinal level measures include frequency of student-SRO communication, average time spent on student-SRO communication, the first impression of an SRO, sum of student's positive experiences, sum of student's negative experiences, perceptional school gang violence, number of available communication methods, number of the places not cared-for well by an SRO, and school size.

After the bivariate analyses were conducted, multivariate regression analysis was employed to determine factors impacting students' perceptions of SROs, controlling for other factors. Multivariate analysis has been largely applied to examine empirical associations among variables, while making it possible to control the effects of the other possibly influential factors in an analysis (Holmes & Taggart, 1990). In the multivariate analysis, all of the 12 independent variables were included to examine their impacts on students' perceptions of SROs.

Findings

The findings from Mann-Whitney U tests to examine whether students' perceptions of SROs differ based on student gender, student race (White or Non-White) and whether students having serious victimization or not, are reported in Table 1.Regarding gender difference, the Mann-Whitney Utest showed that there was no statistically significant difference in the Perception scores between male and female students, $U = 10959$, $z = -.848$, $p = .396$. With regard to student race, The Mann-Whitney U test showed that there was not any statistically significant difference in the Perception scores between White and Non-White students, $U = 15387.5$, $z = -.168$, $p = .866$. About student serious victimization experience, the Mann-Whitney U test showed that the Perception scores for the students without any serious victimization experience (mean rank = 181.95) were statistically significantly higher than those for the students with such experience (mean rank = 139.37), $U = 4853$, $z = -2.521$, $p = .012$.

Table1 **Mann-Whitney U Test of Differences of Mean Ranks of Students' Perceptions**

		Perception		
Category		Mean rank	Z	*p*
Student gender	Male	169.03	-.848	.396
	Female	179.65		
Student race	White	177.87	-.168	.866
	Non-white	176.05		
Any serious victimization	With	139.37	-2.521	.012*
	Without	181.95		

Note. *$p < .05$

Spearman rank-order correlation analyses examined the bivariate relationships between nine independent variables with ordinal measures and students' perceptions of SROs. The results of the bivariate analyses are reported in Table 2. While some of the independent variables showed statistically significant relationships with students' perceptions of SROs in the bivariate analyses, only the variable of students' first impressions of SROs was found to predict the perceptions statistically significantly in both the bivariate and multivariate analyses. When a multiple regression analysis was run, at least one of the 12 previously mentioned independent variables in the model has a non-zero impact on students' perceptions of SROs, $F(12, 339) = 8.164$, $p < .0005$, adj. $R^2 = .20$. Among the independent variables, only the variable of students' first impressions of SROs added statistical significance to the prediction of students' perceptions of SROs, $p < .0005$. There was no multicollinearity issue as examined by VIF values. The regression coefficients and standard errors can be found in Table 3.

Table2 **Correlation Coefficients (Spearman's Rho) for Variables in Analyses**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.Perception	1.000									
2. School size	.005	1.000								
3. School gang violence	-.125*	.130*	1.000							
4. Positive experiences	.309**	.000	.067	1.000						
5. Negative experiences	-.191**	-.060	.187**	.098	1.000					
6. Communication methods	.174**	.073	-.003	.259**	.045	1.000				
7. Not cared-for well places	-.092	-.009	.161**	-.081	.083	-.152**	1.000			
8. Communication frequency	.249**	-.042	.109*	.481**	-.054	.212**	.056	1.000		
9. Average time spent	.190**	-.025	.145**	.457**	.037	.188**	.042	.787**	1.000	
10. First impression	.480**	.033	-.102	.378**	-.268**	.163**	-.125*	.294**	.233**	1.000

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$.

Table 3 **Summary of Multivariate Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Students' Perceptions of SROs**

Variables	*B*	*SEB*	*β*
Intercept	29.360	5.153	
Communication Frequency	1.036	.607	.120
Average Time Spent	-.766	.989	-.053
First Impression	4.300	.749	.322**
Sum of Positive Experiences	1.702	1.059	.094
Sum of Negative Experiences	-2.145	1.510	-.076
Any Serious Victimization	-3.697	2.730	-.067
Perceived School Gang Violence	-1.127	1.076	-.054
Sum of Available Communication Methods	.931	.754	.064
Sum of All Not Cared-For Well Places	-.101	.175	-.029
Student Gender	-.463	1.997	-.011
School Size	.072	.562	.006
White or Non-white	-.041	1.752	-.001

Note. ***p< .01; B*=unstandardized regression coefficient; *SE B* =standard error of the coefficient; *β*=standardized coefficient.

Regarding the frequency of school gang violence, the bivariate analysis using the Spearman rank-order method showed an inverse and statistically significant relationship between students' perceived levels of school gang violence and their perceptions of SROs, $rs(353) = -.125$, $p < .05$.With regard to the correlation between students' positive experiences with SROs and their perceptions of SROs, there was a positive and statistically significant association between students' positive experiences and their perceptions of SROs, with the Spearman correlation coefficients of $rs(353) = .309$, $p = < .0005$. There was a negative and statistically significant relationship between students' negative experiences and their perceptions of SROs, with the Spearman correlation coefficients of $rs(353) = -.191$, $p < .0005$.

The bivariate correlation analysis between the number of places not well cared-for by SROs and students' perceptions of SROs showed an inverse association. The association, however, was not found to be statistically significant. In addition, school size did not significantly correlate with students' perceptions of SROs. The number of communication ways available to students for contacting their SROs showed a positive and statistically significant association with students' perceptions of SROs. This relationship was detected when using the Spearman rank-order method, $rs(353) = .174$, $p < .01$. However, the number of available communication methods was not found to be a statistically significant predictor in the multivariate analysis.

For some of the experiential factors, the Spearman correlation analyses showed that there were statistically significant and positive correlations between either the frequency of student-SRO communication or the average time spent on student-SRO communication, and students' perceptions of SROs, with the correlation coefficients of $rs(353) = .249$, $p < .0005$, and $rs(353) = .190$, $p < .0005$, respectively. Such statistical significances of the two variables, however, were not found in the multivariate analysis.

As for another experiential factor, the relationship between students' first impressions of SROs and their perceptions of SROs was examined.

Different from all the other independent variables including the experiential factors mentioned before, only students' first impressions of SROs turned out to have statistically significances in both the bivariate analysis, $rs(353) = .480$, $p < .0005$and the multivariate analysis, $F(12, 339) = 8.164$, $p < .0005$, adj. $R^2 = .20$.

Discussion and Conclusion

The current findings of non-statistically significant bivariate associations between both gender and race of students and their perceptions of SROs are very meaningful. This is because, whereas general citizens are not designated to encounter either male or female officers, with possibly varying racial or ethnic backgrounds, who are dispatched to the places of citizen requests or incidents, students in schools tend to have only limited access to police authorities within school settings. This finding may cautiously imply a bit of flexibility with regard to the gender and race of SROs being positioned in schools.

Serious victimization experience, frequency of school gang violence, and either positive or negative experience with SROs present statistically significant associations with students' perceptions of SROs in bivariate analyses. However, these factors are not found to be significant predictors of students' perceptions in the multivariate analysis. This suggest that while these contextual factors difficult to regulate might influence students' perceptions of SROs, such impact might not that big, when other predictors operate together.

The variable of all the available communication methods was utilized in this study in order to assess the impact of one of the measures for students' school safety environments on students' perceptions of SROs. Such environments will tend to be guided and maintained by the efforts of school officials and SROs, such as providing students with basic and useful information on SROs. The positive bivariate association between the number of available communication methods and students' perceptions of SROs suggest that even though the influence of students knowing various ways to contact their SROs in times of needs is mediated by other factors, the influence is observable in a statistical way. More importantly, such influence can be created through one of the modifiable ways with regard to student-SRO communications in practical school settings under the conditions of proper training and guidance for utilizing such communication ways.

The variable of students' first impressions of SROs is the only one variable that has been assessed to be statistically significantly associated with their perceptions of SROs in both the bivariate and multivariate analyses. Furthermore, when the relationship between students' first impressions of SROs and their levels of feeling comfortable discussing with SROs about various student issues was examined in bivariate analysis, a positive and statistically significant correlation was detected. This finding indicates a student's positive first impression of an SRO, which happens relatively earlier in their school life than other events, will not only impact the student's overall perception of an SRO, but also may influence the student's willingness to interact with an SRO for discussing various issues, such as possible crimes or threats in or around school.

It would be understandable for one to think that the way each student obtains basic information on an SRO may influence how the student perceives the SRO at an early school period. Therefore, it can be expected that if such basic information is offered to students through formal school information opportunities, such as school orientations, printed school brochures, a classroom presentation made by an SRO, and an introduction of the SRO made by school teachers, the information on the SRO will be delivered more effectively. During these formal informational events, the responsibilities and roles of SROs and their willingness to help youths can be expressed and transferred to the student body more clearly and in more positive ways.

The realities, however, discovered from the current study do not seem to be reflecting such expectations. Only 16.8% of the current survey respondents indicated that they came to know their SROs' presences through school-offered information sources. The majority of students, 74.8%, noticed the presences of their SROs by simply observing SROs working in school grounds. This situation may seriously harm the effective ways of forming students' positive first impressions of SROs. Moreover, the fact that 32 students (7.3%) of the survey respondents reported that they did not know whether a uniformed security-related person in school was an SRO or a security guard, shows that any basic information on SROs was not delivered to many of the student body. Further analyses using a Mann-Whitney U test showed that the group of students who came to know the presences of SROs in their schools through formal school sources, compared to the student group knowing their SRO presence through personal ways, had statistically significantly better first impressions and overall perceptions of SROs. Therefore, developing and implementing more planned ways to introduce SROs to students at early school periods will be crucial for improving students' perceptions of SROs and their mutual communications.

SRO programs largely started and spread fast with the ideas of community policing, which seeks to interact with the community members by offering them friendly approaches and gaining support and informal social control from the citizens (Rosenbaum et al. 2011). While general research

findings suggest that citizens' prior contacts with police officers negatively impact citizens' attitudes toward the police (Brandl et al., 1994; Cao et al., 1996; Cheurprakobkit, 2000; Reisig & Correia, 1997), SRO-student interactions may help students have positive attitudes toward SROs and the police in general. School is an ideal place where all the elements of the setting meet and interact regularly within given spaces. School environments provide both SROs and students with much more opportunities to interact frequently on a daily basis.

Students have been more and more exposed to environments where they can share their personal and vicarious experiences with an SRO among other peers actively and quickly through internet-based communication devices. Such student environments pertaining to SRO programs may work to facilitate the relationships between broader groups of students and SROs. Thus, it is critical to build positive relationships between the two parties from an earlier time in a given school setting, for example, by enhancing students' first good impressions of SROs.

This study has some limitations. First, this study used university students as a sample for examining high school students' perceptions of SROs. This may compromise the study findings, mainly due to recalling accuracy issues. Second, the cross-sectional characteristics of the study design are not the best ways to examine student-SRO relationships and students' perceptions of SROs, which, inevitably, are concerned with causality issues. Future studies will need to employ better research designs, such as longitudinal research, that can more effectively address the issues.

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Local Law Enforcement Survey on Community Involvement and Public Safety Perceptions

ABSTRACT

This paper is an example of applied scholarship that serves a community need and involves students in faculty-led research. Specifically, the Cedar City (Utah) Police Department sought to learn how residents perceive its community involvement efforts, how they view the public safety environment, and how they perceive the performance of CCPD officers. Using a Department of Justice questionnaire as a baseline, we designed a survey methodology to answer those questions, and involved several undergraduate students in its execution. The results suggest that the department should benefit from strengthening public awareness of ongoing and future community policing efforts, and perhaps from reducing the number of residents—a clear minority—who view officers as being less than fair and impartial in their enforcement efforts.

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Introduction

The Cedar City Police Department (CCPD) recruited us as a research team to develop and execute a community survey assessing Cedar City, Utah resident perceptions regarding:

(1) Effectiveness of CCPD community involvement efforts;

(2) Community safety;

(3) Procedural justice during interactions with CCPD officers;

(4) Performance of the CCPD in carrying out their main responsibilities; and

(5) Respondent satisfaction with any CCPD interactions for traffic issues, 911 emergency calls, nonemergency calls, and other contacts or interactions.

We agreed to conduct this study for various reasons. First, Southern Utah University (SUU) has an excellent relationship with the people and organizations in the surrounding area, and this request presented an opportunity to give back to the community. Second, we want to help the CCPD meet its goals to work with the community to provide outstanding and continually improving policing and law enforcement. Finally, since SUU is Utah's public liberal arts university, students should be involved in research projects with faculty members when practical. This project presented an opportunity to involve many students with survey research at some level, and for two students to become deeply involved. So while this paper does not involve causal analysis and hypothesis testing, it still has value as an example of applied scholarship that serves a community need and involves students in faculty-led research. Since this is applied rather than academic research, we present findings with limited prose and with only the essential explanation needed to meet the needs of decision makers.

Our primary goal was to meet the information needs of local law enforcement. Specifically, the CCPD sought insight into how its community policing efforts were perceived, whether Cedar City residents saw themselves as safe from (potential) criminal activity, and how residents perceived the performance of CCPD officers.

The CCPD pursues several initiatives designed to strengthen its communication and collaboration with the community, to encourage community members to interact with officers in non-law enforcement and non-emergency situations, and to enhance community involvement in working with the department to increase safety and decrease crime in Cedar City. The CCPD refers to these efforts collectively as community policing. What the department did not know, and wanted to learn from this survey, is whether these community-policing efforts were having an impact: Did residents recognize department efforts to engage the community and did they perceive those efforts as beneficial?

Since police departments exist primarily to enhance public safety via detecting and deterring criminal activity, another CCPD survey goal was to gather public perceptions about how safe residents feel in Cedar City, and which areas of actual or potential criminal activity are most concerning to them.

Finally, the CCPD strives to ensure that officers are carrying out their enforcement duties competently, professionally, and equitably. Thus, the department needed data on resident perceptions of the procedural justice and performance of its officers as they carry out their duties and interact with community members in a variety of situations.

A secondary goal for the research team was to involve students with survey design, the institutional review board (IRB) process to conduct research with human subjects, survey execution, coding and data entry, some analysis, and presentation of findings.

This project allowed us to meet all of the above goals. The CCPD and city council gained insights that are helping the department enhance its community policing and professionalization efforts. Simultaneously, we were successful in involving several students with meaningful research, including helping two students prepare for graduate school by involving them in nearly every stage of the process and allowing them to present findings to the Cedar City council.

After explaining survey methodology and execution, we describe respondent demographics and present findings by survey topic and question number, or Qnumber (e.g. Q12 refers to survey question 12). We provide bar charts or histograms (plus a table for Q7) with the breakdown of responses to each question. Response rate graphics are self-explanatory for the most part, although we add some researcher comments in italics (designed to aid decision makers), usually at the end of a section, and conclude with some overarching discussion. Q6 and Q10 allowed participants to write freeform, open-ended responses, which we accurately capture in Appendix A. The survey itself appears in Appendix B.

Survey Methodology

Our methodological goals included obtaining an adequate random sample of the population of interest—necessary to make valid inferences about that population—and gathering responses in ways that accurately reflected respondents' pre-survey perceptions.

Survey Design

Assessment questions provided by the CCPD closely mirror the United States Department of Justice's (DOJ) "Community Survey on Public Safety and Law Enforcement" (2014), which assesses all areas of importance to the department. In coordination with the CCPD, we made several modifications

to make responses more easily quantifiable and comparable, to allow additional open-ended responses on the Community Involvement and Safety sections, and to tailor the Procedural Justice and Demographics sections to the information needs of the local police department.

Multiple-choice response options on surveys should be exhaustive—cover all possible response conditions—and mutually exclusive, meaning that a response cannot be true for multiple response options. While most of the DOJ survey questions ask "to what extent," available responses incorporate a 5-point Likert scale with the options: Not at all; A little; Somewhat; A lot; and, To a Great Extent. Only one of those response options directly reflects the "extent" to which a respondent holds a perception, and "Somewhat" is a broad category that might overlap in the minds of some respondents with "A little" or "A lot." Thus, we re-labeled the 5-point response scale with "(1) Little Extent" and "(5) Great Extent" holding down the endpoints, and left intermediate responses (2, 3, or 4) unlabeled so that respondents could interpret "extent" levels according to their own views. Thus, our scale maps directly to the "extent" a perception is held across the entire response range, and reduces potential quandaries about overlapping categories.

More importantly, the DOJ 5-point scale forces respondents, unless they leave a question blank, to choose a response category even if they have no perception regarding the question asked. Respondents in such situations often choose a middle-of-the-road option—perhaps "Somewhat" on the DOJ scale, or "3" on our scale—when they really have no pre-existing opinion (Fischhoff 1991, 841). In order to more clearly discriminate between no opinion and a true intermediate opinion, we added, "Don't know" as a sixth response option to all (5-point) Likert scale questions.

The CCPD was most interested in learning how its community involvement efforts were perceived (and can improve), and how the community views the public safety environment. Accordingly, we added open-ended questions to the Community Involvement and the Safety sections of the survey, so that respondents could "tell us anything else" about their thoughts in either area. Closed-ended questions—those having set, multiple-choice responses—often fail to fully elicit respondents' views and perceptions, and/or miss potentially important nuance regarding those views and perceptions. Many respondents took advantage of the open-ended questions to provide helpful qualitative insights.

Survey Execution

Although face-to-face surveys—with responses collected by facilitators on respondents' doorsteps—tend to have higher response rates (e.g. Henn, Weinstein and Foard 2009, 152), the presence of a facilitator can also introduce response bias. Specifically, reputational concerns may induce respondents to answer some questions—especially questions about contacts with CCPD officers—less honestly than via a completely anonymous mail-in survey (e.g. Hox, Leeuw and Kreft 1991). Face-to-face data collection is also labor intensive, and thus can be expensive. We also considered an electronic survey, but discarded it as a data-collection option. People who find and participate in online surveys are likely to be systematically different from community members who do not locate and complete online surveys. To be able to draw inferences about the entire adult population of Cedar City, we needed to ensure that each household had an equal likelihood of being sampled. For these reasons, we settled on simple probability sampling using mail-in surveys as the best option.

Since mail-in surveys tend to have low response rates (e.g. Henn, Weinstein and Foard 2009, 152), we encouraged the CCPD to provide an additional inducement for completing and returning it promptly. Accordingly, the department offered the opportunity to win one of ten $50 local-restaurant gift certificates to those returning surveys within ten days. Respondents wishing to participate in the gift certificate drawing had the opportunity to return a form—separate from the survey itself—with a name and mailing address. To protect their identities, we informed respondents that entry forms would be immediately separated from accompanying surveys and that no personal identifiers would be retained or released to survey users. Not only did we follow that protocol by immediately separating drawing-entry forms from returned surveys, we also conducted the drawing and mailed gift certificates ourselves so the CCPD would not have identifying information even for the ten winners.

This extrinsic incentive to complete the survey opens the possibility that survey respondents are systematically different from non-respondents, in that different types of individuals may or may not be motivated by the chance to win a restaurant gift certificate. Nonetheless, we decided that the benefits of achieving a reasonable sample size outweighed the risk of introducing some bias into the sample. Our brief survey instructions also attempted to recruit participants by letting them know that their opinion was important in helping improve community relations with local law enforcement, and by assuring them that survey completion should take no more than 10 minutes of their time. Finally, we included self-addressed "business reply mail" return envelopes to minimize respondent costs of participation.

We randomly selected 1000 survey recipients from the 6355 households that were getting monthly city utility bills. We randomly sampled an additional 674 recipients from 4282 multi-unit households that do not receive individual city utility bills, for a 15.7% sampling rate across each type of household. We distributed surveys by mail to selected city utility-bill recipients, and by hand delivery to selected multi-unit households, with the help of several SUU Criminal Justice students, during late-April and early-May 2016; thus stratifying

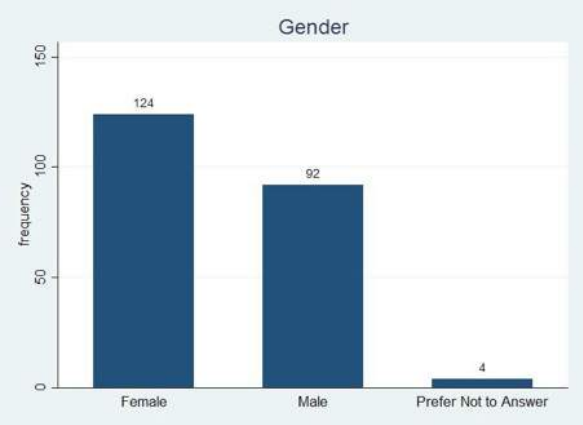
our sample along the lines of stand-alone and multi-unit dwellings.

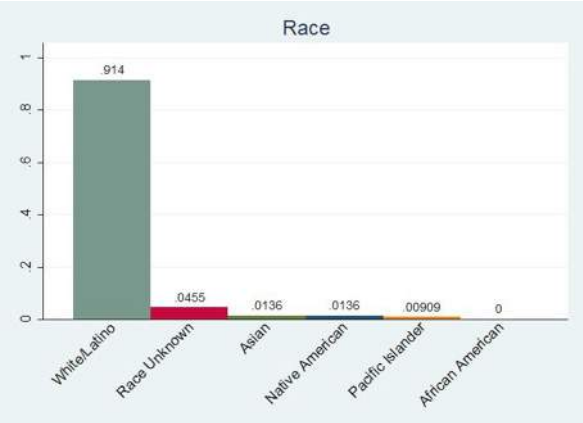
Although this project required concerted effort, execution was straightforward and relatively low cost for a sample size of this magnitude (1674 surveys delivered). Allowing students to participate in delivering many surveys held costs down, as did using business reply mail for return envelopes, since return postage was paid only on surveys actually returned. Including the gift certificates, total costs remained well under $1 per survey delivered.

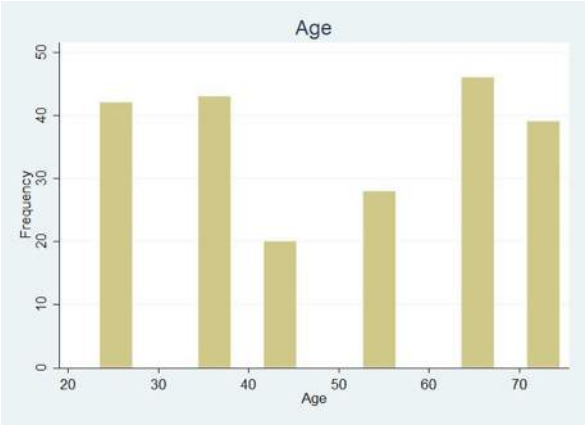
Findings

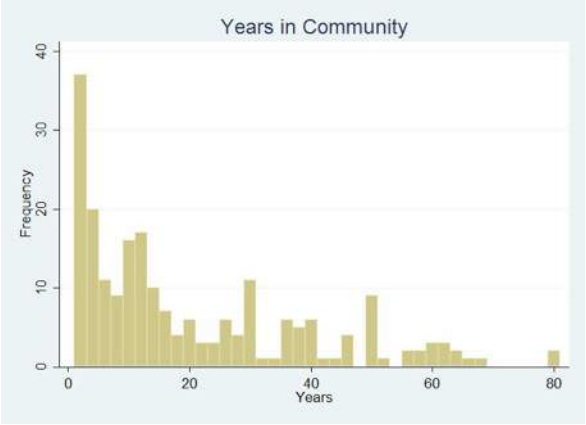
Response Rates and Respondent Demographics

As noted, mail-in surveys have notoriously low response levels. Accordingly, 220 surveys were completed and returned, for a 13.1% response rate. As shown in the figure below, 124 respondents self-identified as female (56%) and 92 as male (42%), with four not providing gender information. 91% of respondents identified as White or Latino, with approximately 1% each identifying as Asian, Native American, and Pacific Islander. No respondents self-identified as African American. Approximately 5% withheld race information.





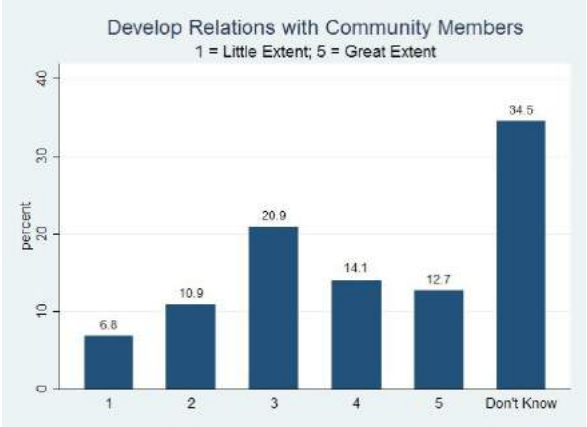




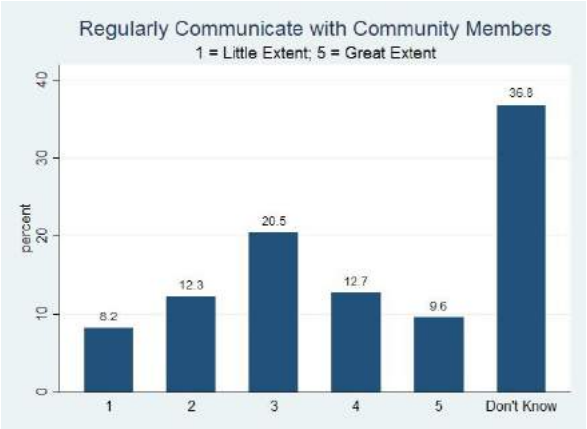
Survey participants were required to be at least 18 years old. Actual respondents range across all surveyed age categories, but are somewhat underrepresented in the age 50 - 60 category, and even more so in the age 40 - 50 category. Half of the respondents have lived in Cedar City for 12 years or less, and more than a quarter for 4 years or less, so it is likely that many respondents have had little or no interaction with CCPD personnel. The fact that one third or more respondents answered "Don't Know" to several specific questions about the CCPD may be due in part to limited time residing in the community. Approximately 24% of respondents report living in multi-unit dwellings versus 72% in stand-alone homes (no graphic shown). Given relative sample sizes—we delivered 40% of the surveys to multi-unit dwellings—those in stand-alone homes are somewhat overrepresented in the survey.

Community Involvement

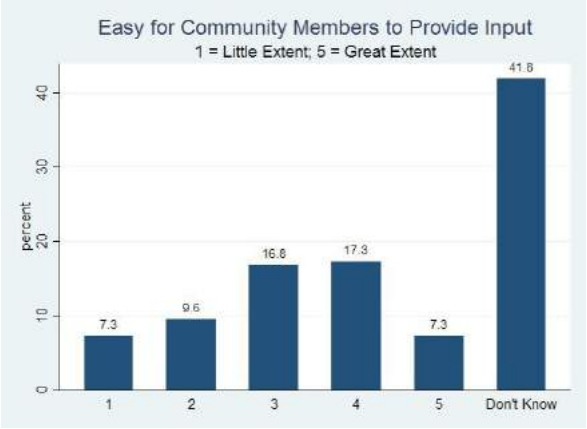
Q1. To what extent does the CCPD develop relationships with community members (e.g. residents, organizations and groups, neighborhood watch)?



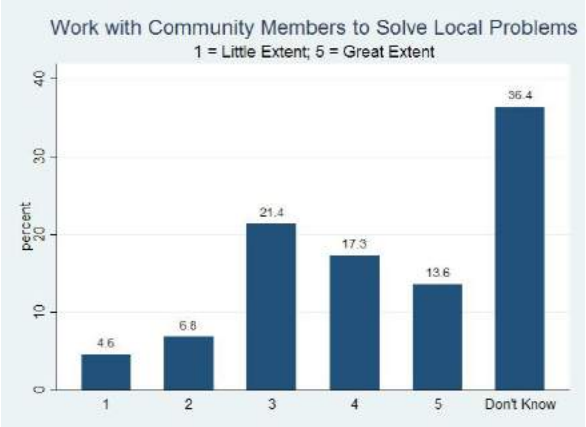
Q2. To what extent does the CCPD regularly communicate with community members (e.g., websites, emails or public meetings)?



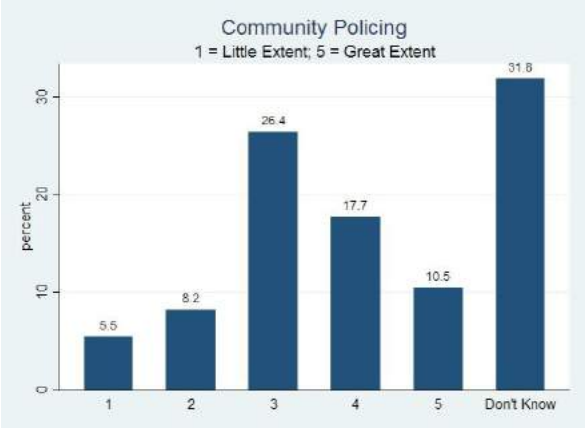
Q3.To what extent does the CCPD make it easy for community members to provide input (e.g., comments, suggestions, and concerns)?



Q4.To what extent does the CCPD work together with community members to solve local problems?



Q5.Community policing involves officers in your law enforcement agency working with the community to address the causes of crime in an effort to reduce the problems themselves through a wide range of activities. Based on this definition, to what extent do you think the CCPD practices community policing?



Q6. Would you like to tell us anything else about how the CCPD could improve community involvement?

[See Appendix A for written responses to this open-ended question.]

Community Involvement discussion: Given the relatively low percentages of responses greater than 3, the CCPD should benefit from expanding community involvement efforts and from making residents more aware of existing or future community involvement efforts and opportunities. Several open-ended responses to Q6 provide suggestions as to how the CCPD could improve its community involvement outreach (see Appendix).

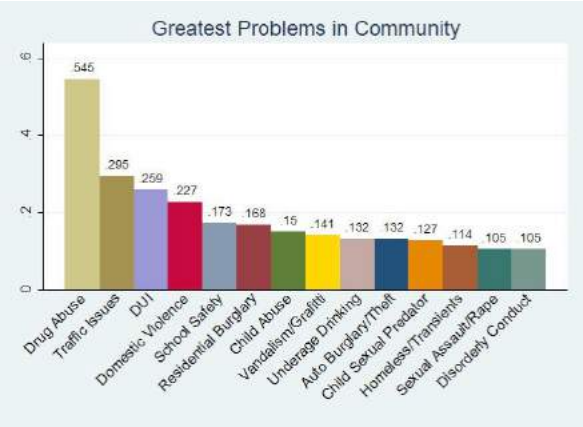
Safety

Q7. Please select the three issues you think are the greatest problems within your community.

Issue	%		Issue	%		Issue	%
Burglaries/thefts (auto)	13.2		Drug abuse	54.5		Mugging	13.6
Burglaries/the fts (residential)	16.8		Fraud/identity theft	3.2		Physical Assault	3.6
Child abuse	15.0		Gang activity	0.9		Prostitution	1.4
Child sexual predators/Internet Safety	12.7		Gun violence	1.4		School safety (e.g., bullying, fighting, or weapons)	17.3
Disorderly conduct/public intoxication/noise violations	10.5		Hate crimes	00.4		Sexual assault/rape (adult)	10.5
Domestic violence (adult)	22.7		Homeland security problems	1.4		Traffic issues/ residential speeding	29.5
Driving under the influence (i.e., alcohol or drugs)	25.9		Homeless or transient-related problems (panhandling)	11.4		Underage drinking	13.2
Disorderly youth (e.g., cruising or gathering)	6.4		Homicide	0.0		Vandalism/graffiti	14.1

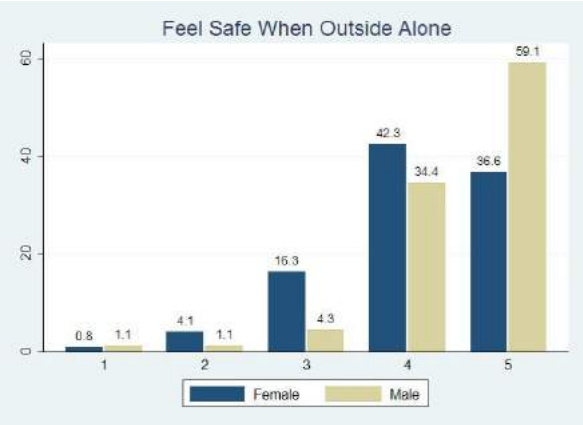
Other (4.1%)--specific responses by respondent index number:
83. Control of cats.
94. Suicide/attempted suicide
110. Construct more places for pedestrian crossing. Lack of helpful places for installing semi-fores on main street in Cedar City (south).
115. Speeding
116. Smoking in businesses and public places violating UT clean air act.
118. Illegal Immigrants
128. Drivers near schools are nuts!
144. Too many Arabs
151. I haven't seen any issues

% = percentage of respondents that checked each box.
Responses are shown in the sequence presented on the survey.
Since respondents were asked to check three boxes (and a few checked more or less than three), percentages do NOT total 300%.



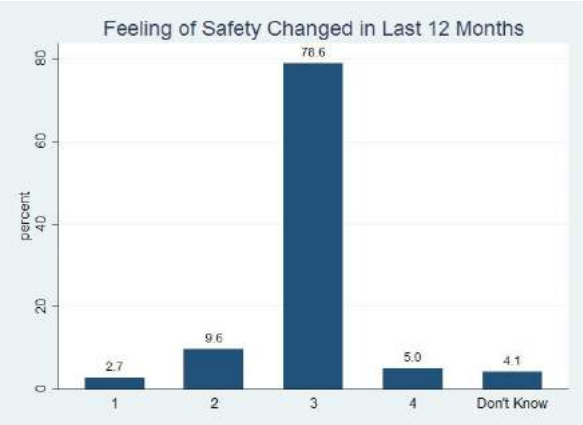
Graph reflects problems selected by at least 10% of respondents.

Q8. To what extent do you feel safe in Cedar City when you are outside alone?



Bar heights reflect separate percentages of female and male respondents.

Q9. Over the last 12 months have your feelings of safety in Cedar City increased, decreased, or stayed the same?



1 = Decreased a lot, 3 = Stayed the same, and 5 = Increased a lot (omitted category since no respondents selected it). Category 2 should be interpreted as "decreased somewhat," and category 4 as "increased somewhat."

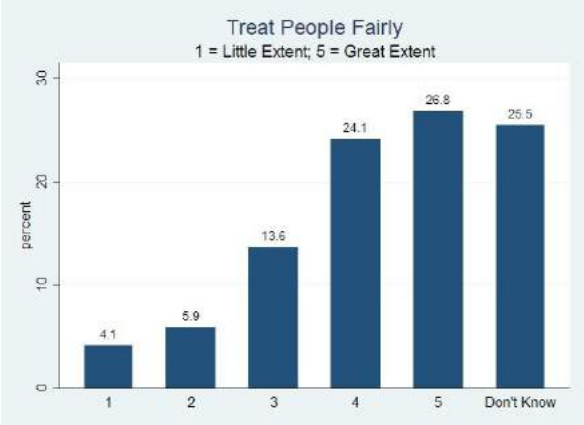
Q10. Would you like to tell us anything else about crime related safety concerns in Cedar City?

[See Appendix A for written responses to this openended question.]

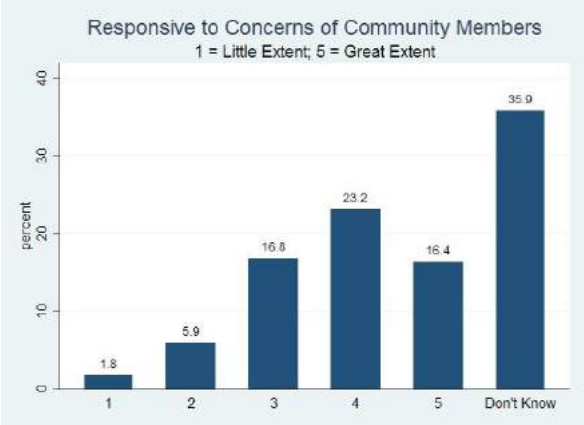
Safety discussion: Respondents report specific concerns about safety, but generally feel safe when alone in Cedar City. However, it is worth noting that 12% of respondents report a decrease in feelings of safety over the last 12 months, versus 5% reporting an increase.

Procedural Justice

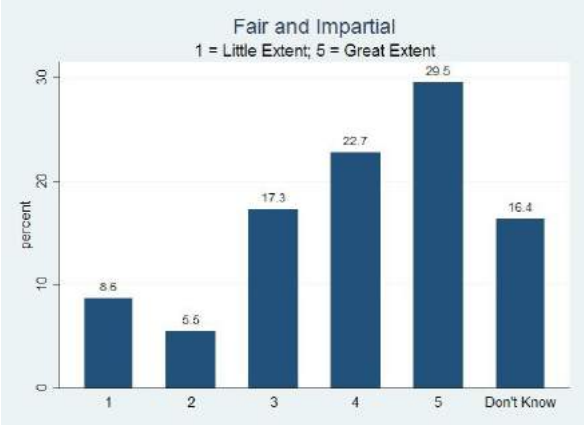
Q11. To what extent do officers in the Cedar City Police Department (CCPD) treat people fairly?



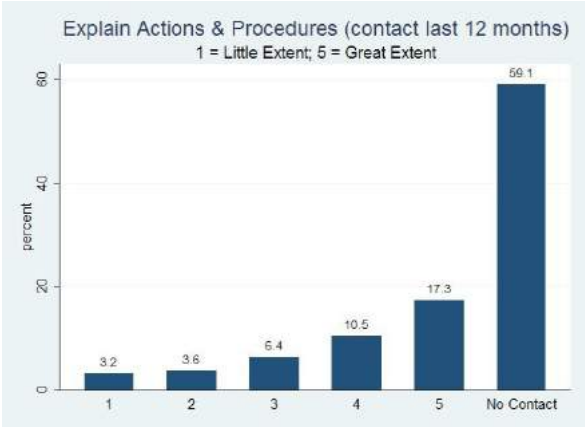
Q12. To what extent is the CCPD responsive to the concerns of community members?



Q13. To what extent do you trust the CCPD to be fair and impartial?



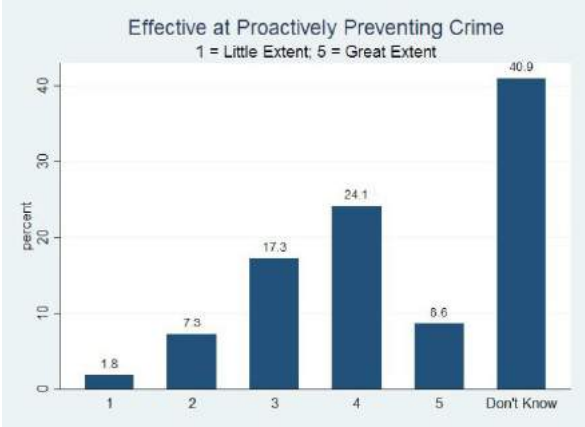
Q14. If you had contact with an officer from the CCPD during the past 12 months, to what extent did the officer sufficiently explain his or her actions and procedures?



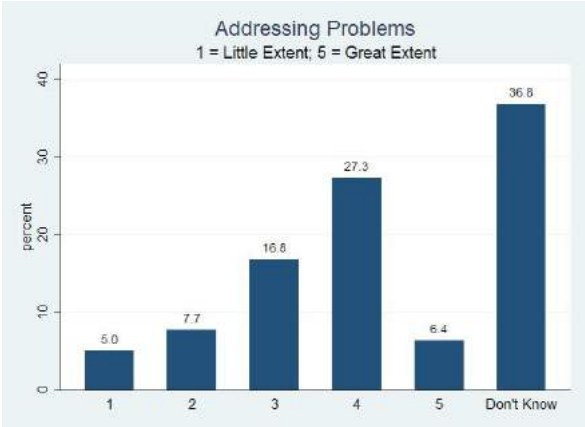
Procedural Justice discussion: 14% of respondents are less than neutral (ratings less than 3) in assessing the CCPD as fair and impartial. Based on these data, correcting perceptions of unfairness/partial treatment would seem to be the procedural justice area to focus on first.

Performance

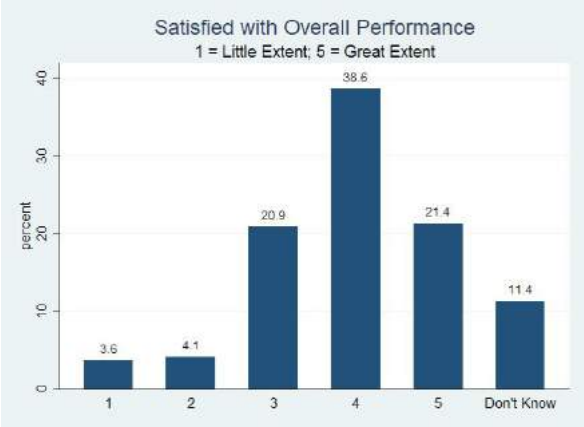
Q15. To what extent is the CCPD effective at proactively preventing crime?



Q16. To what extent is the CCPD addressing the problems that really concern you?



Q17. To what extent are you satisfied with the overall performance of the CCPD?

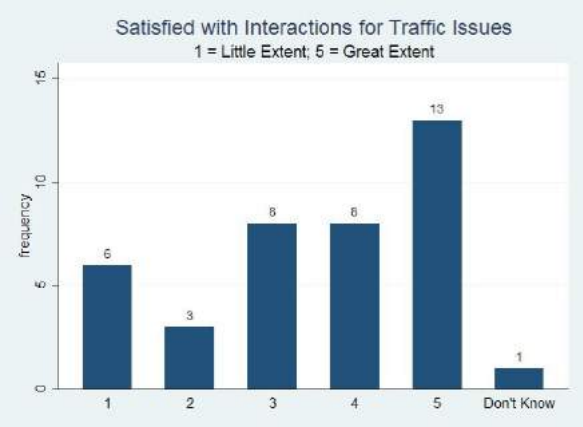


Performance discussion: Respondents who have a perception generally appear to be positive about CCPD performance. The lowest scoring area is "addressing the problems that really concern you," which, given the diverse and specific nature of individual concerns, is unsurprising. It is also worth noting that nearly 37% of respondents reported no awareness of how well the CCPD is addressing problems that really concern them ("Don't Know"). Increased publicity of CCPD efforts to address specific problems should help lower that number.

Contact and Satisfaction

Q18. How many times in the past 12 months have you had contact with the CCPD for traffic issues (e.g., citation, warning, or vehicle crash)? **If no contact please mark answer then skip to question 20.**

Q19. To what extent are you satisfied with your interactions with the CCPD for traffic issues?



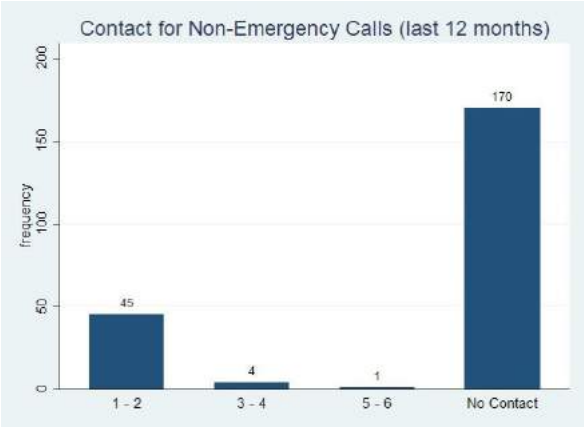
Breakdown of the 39 respondents reporting contact in Q18.

Q20. How many times in the past 12 months have you had contact with the CCPD for 911 calls? **If no contact please mark answer then skip to question 22.**

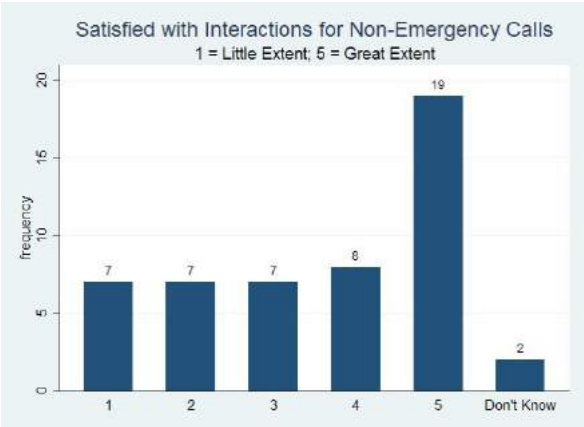
Q21. To what extent are you satisfied with your interaction(s) with the CCPD for 911 emergency calls?

Breakdown of the 21 respondents reporting contact in Q20.

Q22. How many times in the past 12 months have you had contact with the CCPD for nonemergency calls (e.g., to report a crime or suspicious activity)? **If no contact please mark answer then skip to question 24.**



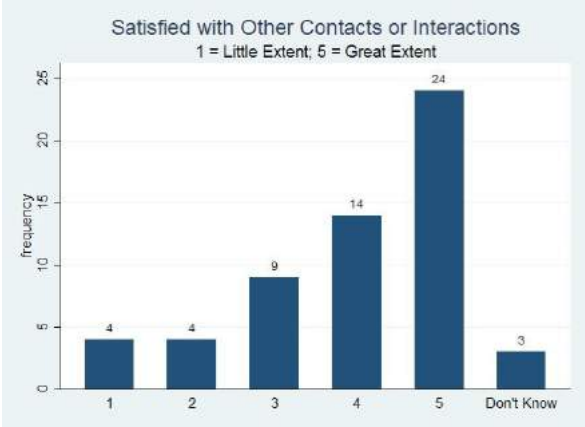
Q23. To what extent are you satisfied with your interaction(s) with the CCPD for nonemergency calls?



Breakdown of the 50 respondents reporting contact in Q22.

Q24. How many times in the past 12 months have you had contact with the CCPD for other contacts or interactions (e.g., attend a community meeting or talk to an officer on patrol)? **If no contact please mark answer then skip to question 26.**

Q25. To what extent are you satisfied with your interaction(s) with the CCPD for other contacts or interactions?



Breakdown of the 58 respondents reporting contact in Q24.

Discussion

Although households receiving the survey with their monthly utility bill (typically stand-alone dwellings) responded at greater rates than those in multi-unit dwellings who received hand-delivered surveys, we made every effort to obtain a truly random sample stratified by dwelling type. Since those in multi-unit homes are possibly less established in the community, some oversampling of more established households may provide a better baseline for thoroughly considered community perceptions of CCPD efforts.

At least 56% of respondents were women, relative to 51% of Cedar City residents being female, reflecting some sampling bias by gender.

Given these sampling disparities, and typically low response rates for mail-in surveys, it is possible that there are systematic differences between respondents and non-respondents. Thus, any generalizations from our survey data to the underlying population are necessarily tentative.

Nevertheless, this survey met the limited goals of the research team and the Cedar City Police Department, and establishes a useful baseline for improving community policing, resident awareness of community policing efforts, and officer professionalization. It also provides a baseline for future causal research, such as whether specific efforts—perhaps targeted uses of social media to expand resident awareness of community policing—are effective, or whether targeted efforts against specific criminal activities result in reduced societal concerns about those crimes.

In the short term, the data suggest that the CCPD should focus first on strengthening public awareness of ongoing and future community policing efforts, and perhaps on reducing the number of residents—a clear minority—who view officers as being less than fair and impartial in their enforcement efforts.

APPENDIX A—Qualitative Responses

Question Number 6 (Q6) Responses

55 total responses to this openended question were received, and are listed by index number of each respondent. Responses reflect original spelling and grammar.

Question: Would you like to tell us anything else about how the CCPD could improve community involvement?

3. One suggestion would be to mention outreach or events in the monthly city newsletter

6. In past 18 yrs Never been contacted… by CCPD with regards to community projects & or problems

10. More information on their involvement is clearly needed in my case. So more public awareness/outreach.

13. It has been several years since we have had any contact with CCPD. They seem to be doing ok. Thank you for your service.

14. When I see them on the streets on bikes or walking they are friendly and courteous. I have called their dispatch and asked a few questions over time and they have been courteous and friendly and helpful.

- I have called several times and they have been friendly and courteous on phone. (*Note attached to question #1*)

- I can only assume they do. (*Note attached to question #4*)

20. I teach [*personally identifying information removed by researchers*] senior drivers, age 50 plus. I need help in ensuring that they drive safe and that they are abiding by the rules as quoted in the driver's handbook.

21. Too many people going to jail and not paying their Bills to individuals like myself.

26. Take kids to visit the Jail.

31. I live in a PUD. CCPD will not respond to calls for help. The dispatcher says we are in a PUD and they do not respond to PUD's. (In the case of a violent crime they might) We pay the same property taxes as everyone else. The CCPD and City Counsel brush us off when we complain. Why aren't we deserving the same services as everyone else?

46. I appreciate all they do but I do not know any specifics. They seem to be doing an excellent job from my side.

49. Advertise ie radio, newspaper, TV, community church events, city website. Get the word out!

58. Spend more time enforcing traffic laws around school zones and main street during student drop off and pick up times. Patrol neighborhoods during school bus pickup times to ticket those running bus stop signs.

59. Could probably work with neighborhood watch group.

64. Go to the festivals, make their presence known. Visit the schools. We have lived in Cedar for 1.5 years and I've never seen the CCPD involved in my neighborhood or community organizations. Also you could patrol neighborhoods more.

65. Hire officers who aren't pricks.

82. Partnership with high school… I'd love to see the CCPD as a familiar partner with admin., teachers and students. This could promote a positive relationship...

90. I feel like they do a good job for the means they have.

91. Not much in the paper to read about concerning CCPD.

96. I know very little about the community involvement but I'm sure the programs are in place. Perhaps put a little something in the water bill/ Mayor letter or Wed. newspaper.

104. Over staffed

107. Set up an email alert or something.

112. My only interactions with officers has been in the Elementary school setting when they bring their dogs and do a presentation.

113. Being more involved at the college.

116. Participate in the Iron County Prevention Coalition. Law Enforcement representatives would help the community efforts greatly.

119. I don't think they have to improve anything they risk their lives everyday they do a great job I want to be a deputy one day

120. Sorry I'm home bound and so am not involved with daily activities.

121. I have had more contact with the Sheriff's department than city police. If the officers are anything like the Deputies I would say they are doing a great job.

122. Have more officers at festivals and what not. Be more a part of the community.

124. Keep helping all those who need help around the community.

125. I am totally unaware of any police involvement other than writing tickets and doing investigations.

127. Lose the attitudes and become more community friendly. We are not all criminals and drug dealers. We are here to support you but respect has to go both ways.

139. I'm sorry, but have only been here about one year… so, my knowledge in this area is small. I have noticed though that I don't see any police cars "patrolling" (hardly ever)... & it would be great to have local "gettogethers" where the police and community share food, fun, and "ideas", maybe at the local park.

142. Have they ever given a count and job description of the department. Have they ever had a count of crimes & what the kind are in areas of Cedar.

I only hope you person who is in charge of improving the look of Cedar has nothing to do with the police department.

144. They seem to be bullies with a badge and a gun. Very rude to me when I have had any contact, (traffic stops).

145. They could smile a little bit more. Wave back when you wave, talk more with people.

150. More than 25 years ago, through a series of mishaps my 8 year old son was left alone at the baseball field. I had a loner car from Bradshaws. The coaches left him. He did not recognise the car and would hide until I passed by! I called the CCPD for help. "He's stopped to play with some friends" they told me. "He'll show up". East Elementary Principal came to my houseall my neighbors were calling. At 8:30 on a cold, rainy, windy March night Carol Donovon found found him on her street by the old hospital having walked from the ballpark on Highland Dr & brought him home. I hope no little boyor his mother, is ever so callously disregarded ever again. Sometimes citizens need help and resources that do not involve crime or traffic.

151. I've lived in Cedar City for 4 months. I follow CCPD on Facebook, but don't see regular updates. Other than news outlets, I never see CCPD or anything from them.

155. I wish they would consider noise abatement (illegal or nonexistent car mufflers) enforcement seriously. It certainly doesn't make Shakespeare Festival goers have a pleasant experience here and want to come back.

156. We think they are doing a great job!

158. Maybe electronic messages, updates? It seems these days people will be more likely to read off their phones than the paper.

161. I never see CCPD outside of on shift. It would be nice to see them at events interacting with the community. Like a welcome/resource booth at Groovefest/4th of July/Heritage festival etc. Let the community know they are regular people.

165. Not be so biased.

Take a report when a report is justified.

168. The PUD traffic enforcement / ATV restrictions are an embarrassment to the city. Your city attorney's "interpretation" of the state law results in good neighbor frustrations and serious safety issues. Ridiculous!

169. Not sure they want to. No follow up on costs.

173. Be active at all local events to get the community aware of the officers and get to know them.

180. Wish CCPD do a drive by more often. I recently moved to this address & don't know the neighborhood that well. Thanks

191. We feel Cedar City is a safe place to live

196. Walk and talk!

198. You do an awesome job!

199. I've never seen anything from them. Stories in the paper would be helpful, community meetings. So far, in the 7 months I've been here, I've seen nothing at all.

201. More neighborhood policing

204. CCPD does a great job! It is hard to be everywhere but they are there when you need them. Thanks for all they (the officers) do for our community!!

211. There was theft at our business and we asked the CCPD to get involved. We had a description and license number. We were not impressed with their help. Basically never did anything.

212. I think more communication of what they are doing in the community would help the community know more about CCPDs activities.

218. To be honest I don't see the police for much other than in general traffic.

220. The fast driving

222. Be open to input. Listen to all sides.

Q6 discussion: Respondents indicate limited awareness of CCPD presence, and make several suggestions as to how the CCPD could improve its community outreach and public visibility.

Question Number 10 (Q10) Responses

45 total responses to this openended question were received, and are listed by the index number of the respondent. Responses reflect original spelling and grammar. Many respondents made comments not directly linked to crimerelated safety. Key words regarding concerns about potentially illegal activity in Cedar City are in bold text below.

Question: Would you like to tell us anything else about crime related safety concerns in Cedar City?

20. Much more work on **vandalism** needs to be done.

21. Too many people are killed instead of leaving them to take care of their bad problems Less guns used on people

23. As you can see, I have had little contact with the CCPD in the 15 years I have been in Cedar. I have been stopped for minor traffic violations twice in that time, both totally deserved, and the officers were extremely courteous. However, I had a female friend about my age who moved here from California & purchased a house in the Cove. She was Mexican American and had very Indio features & dark skin. She told me she had 7 traffic stops in the few years she lived here (she had since returned to CA) for very minor issues. I have another friend, a young woman who was black, who was followed by a police car as she walked to her early morning job at a business in Linn's Plaza. The officer finally stopped to ask what she was doing. I just wanted to explain my answers to 11 & 13 below.

26. Publicize what the laws are, and report what happens to people who break them.

28. Known "**drug**" house, close to school & churchNo action being taken.

35. **Youth & small children riding ATVs** without helmets in the streets. Small children riding **scooters (powered)** in streets and not stopping at corners and on wrong side of street!

59. I see too many people **texting & talking on cell phones while driving.**

62. **Domestic violence** in my neighborhood.

69. The **panhandling** at Wal Mart is out of control. During the warmer months they are easily 34 people asking for money there.

76. Very little presents in our area/neighborhood. Lots of **speeding**. Police observed speeding and police indicated "next time we'll get them."

78. My husband feels safe 24/7 but I would never walk the Coal Creek trail alone in broad daylight. (*Note added to question #8.*)

82. I appreciate being able to use the jogging trails and parks without worrying too much about safety!

90. Our police officers probably don't get paid enough for what they do for our community.

91. Don't like the Care & Share where it is located! To close & easy access to residential areas & children at the soccer fields! I don't like a Highway Patrol officer doing (stopping people) your job.

96. I feel very safe in this community, the interacting I have had with the police have been very positive. I feel we have some great police love [personal identifier deleted by researchers]!

103. The police department makes light of **child abuse** allegations. They are more interested in protecting the reputation of some community members & their families, than prosecuting people who severely hurt children. They are also more interested in maintaining a "good old boy" relationship with the school district and private child care businesses than protecting children who are abused. They don't listen to community members even when they witnessed the abuse & the child had open bloody wounds and severe bruising. There is also a huge conflict of interest when the county attorney [*personally identifying information removed by researchers*] (& P.O.) protects his brothers in the school district.

[*Note: Respondent #103 added several comments to closedended questions, which are listed in the appendix, following this section, as Respondent # 103 Additional Comments.*]

104. Prosecute **theft**.

107. There should be more pole lamps in the street.

112. I observed what I can only assume was a man hunt near my home. I had no way of knowing what was going on and how

to respond. I tried to look online and see if there were any public alerts and even tried commenting on the Police Facebook page but didn't get any answers.

114. Too many **traffic violations**, with very aggressive and rude drivers. Running red lights all the time, not stopping for people in crosswalks, speeding in school zones, just to name a few.

121. **Drug abuse, underage drinking**, and other things involving intoxication are usually the reason behind things like theft abuse (adult or child) domestic violence…etc. Get a handle on the route problem and many of the others will be solved.

122. Yes, there are some people who are apart of a **"gang" who threaten a lot of people** to get what they want. Needs to be more attention drawn to it.

124. Keep the homeless people in a place for care for self's.

125. I have seen **vandalism and graffiti increase**. This is usually an **indication of gang activity**. [*Additional comment at end of survey*] Over all I think the CCPD is doing a good job. I have seen their booth at July Jamboree and they gave me 2 gun locks.

126. There are cars parked around SUU that stay there for 1 week + (up to a yearmust be broke down). These cars make it so college renters in nearby homes have to crowd streets around SUU near homes. It sucks when my senior parents have to walk a block 'cause street parking in front of my home is constantly being used by SUU students & SUU renters in the neighborhood.

131. We have had **property stolen** off of 580 North. We filed reports and they have said they will patrol more. We have yet to see officers patrol that area at night. We lock up tight because I still feel that area is a free for all.

132. I think it was hard to choose just 3 issues. My top concerns also include **child abuse and domestic violence**. It seem there are a lot of predators in Cedar or contacting children on the internet. Also **child porn** seems to be a huge issue.

139. There's children that play in our parking lot and the trash dumpster."**Noise**" concern → There's one car that pulls up to my building and has their radio's "bass" turned way up…

There is a small group of MidEast (looking) guys that hang out outside one apt. (on lower floor)

142. I need more info.

Also the men I had contact with also are not on the reg. force, but they are apart of the dept. They are black eye on the force.

151. I feel pretty safe.

156. Just let the police do their job! Stop interfering.

161. I live on the corner of 300 N 300 W. Often our street lights don't work when I am biking/walking home from school/ work. I never see patrolmen out unless something bad has happened.

[*Additional comment at end of survey*]As a white female with friends of many different ethnicities I feel the CCPD does poorly reserving judgement. They treat blacks/saudis/latinos/tribe members differently than caucasians.

165. Trust. Seems to be a lot of **corruption in business** here. Hard to address with CCPD when occurs.

173. **Thefts from residential or autos** in direct related to the drug's addiction problems. They steal to buy drugs.

187. Its great

198. Conceal carry is a thing I use often when by myself here, and it is comforting to know many here conceal carry to help improve their safety.

200. I avoid many places when I am alone at night, especially where there is a lack of lighting. Some streets close too SUU campus have very few street lights which is a safety concern for many college students.

201. I had a **package stolen from my porch** first time ever.

202. I used to live N of 200 N., 4 West 4 North, & noticed **crime in that part of town**, so much that we relocated.

204. Some parts of town are safer than others.

216. Cedar is a safe place.

218. As a woman, no matter the community, walking alone you have to be alert to potential dangers.

220. **Fast Driving.**

221. If a **child is caught stealing food** from school, store etc. Don't charge them w/ a crime. **Charge their parents**--most of the time these kids are not being fed at home & are just hungry.

222. It is helpful to know an estimated response time for an officer to address the concern. It is helpful when officers ask questions about the situation from each person's perspective, get the facts straight, before making decisions.

Q10 discussion: While not directly connected to crimerelated safety concerns, for community relations more broadly we note that at least a couple of respondents have the impression that racial or ethnic minorities seem to be discriminated against by CCPD officers. ↑

Respondent #103 Additional Unsolicited Comments (by question number)

Q12. They do not protect our children. They cover up for prominent people. Q13. I do not trust them at all.

Q16. Not at all. Q17. Not at all.

Q20. I went in personally when a child was abused and took the pictures and gave a statement on behalf of a child.

Q22. About the child abuse. Q23. Not at all.

Q24. The police department, county attorney's office and the

school district colluded to protect the [*name redacted*] brothers and [*name redacted*] a school principal. They did not do the abuse but they did know about it. Officers came to my workplace (school) and met the child. The saw the scabs and bruising. They did not do anything! I got put on administrative leave for reporting the abuse.

Q25. Not at all.

Q30. I own my home and am a teacher for ICSD. If people do not speak out, nothing will ever change. [*Respondent name and phone number were provided, but deleted by researchers as required by the SUU IRB requirement not to disclose personal identifiers.*]

Through friends and associates I have heard that the high school aged students have easy access to drugs and that its a problem.

Appendix B—Survey

SUU SOUTHERN UTAH UNIVERSITY

This survey is conducted for the Cedar City Police Department (CCPD) by independent researchers at Southern Utah University. Results will be shared with the CCPD, Mayor, and City Council; however, no personal identifiers will be retained or released. The survey will help the CCPD strengthen community relations, and help create and sustain an open dialogue on public safety efforts. **Your opinion matters and will help improve community relations with local law enforcement. The survey should take less than 10 minutes of your time, and you may skip any questions you do not wish to answer. Respondents must be at least 18 years old to participate. An opportunity to win one of ten $50 gift cards at local restaurants is offered for timely return of this survey.**

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Southern Utah University has reviewed this study for the protection of the rights of human subjects in research studies, in accordance with federal and state regulations. Questions about this survey may be directed to Richard Bairett, Asst. Professor of Political Science [*contact information removed*].

Community Involvement

On a scale from 1 to 5 please rate the following questions	**1 Little Extent**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5 Great Extent**	**Don't Know**
1. To what extent does the Cedar City Police Department (CCPD) develop relationships with community members (e.g. residents, organizations and groups, neighborhood watch)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. To what extent does the CCPD regularly communicate with community members (e.g., websites, e-mails or public meetings)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. To what extent does the CCPD make it easy for community members to provide input (e.g., comments, suggestions, and concerns)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. To what extent does the CCPD work together with community members to solve local problems?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Community policing involves officers in your law enforcement agency working with the community to address the causes of crime in an effort to reduce the problems themselves through a wide range of activities. Based on this definition, to what extent do you think the CCPD practices community policing?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. Would you like to tell us anything else about how the CCPD could improve community involvement?

Safety

7. Please select the three (3) issues you think are the greatest problems within your community.

☐ Burglaries/thefts (auto)	☐ Drug abuse (E.g., manufacture, sale, or use of illegal/prescription drugs)	☐ Mugging
☐ Burglaries/thefts (residential)	☐ Fraud/identity theft	☐ Physical Assault
☐ Child abuse	☐ Gang activity	☐ Prostitution
☐ Child sexual predators/Internet Safety	☐ Gun violence	☐ School safety (e.g., bullying, fighting, or weapons)
☐ Disorderly conduct/public intoxication/noise violations	☐ Hate crimes	☐ Sexual assault/rape (adult)
☐ Domestic violence (adult)	☐ Homeland security problems	☐ Traffic issues/residential speeding
☐ Driving under the influence (i.e., alcohol or drugs)	☐ Homeless - or transient-related problems (panhandling)	☐ Underage drinking
☐ Disorderly youth (e.g., cruising or gathering)	☐ Homicide	☐ Vandalism/graffiti
☐ Other_____ ___		

On a scale from 1 to 5 please rate the following questions	**1 Little Extent**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5 Great Extent**	**Don't Know**
8. To what extent do you feel safe in Cedar City when you are outside alone?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	1 Decreased a lot	**2**	**3 Stayed the same**	**4**	**5 Increased a lot**	**Don't Know**
9. Over the last 12 months have your feelings of safety in Cedar City increased, decreased, or stayed the same?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. Would you like to tell us anything else about crime related safety concerns in Cedar City?

Procedural Justice

On a scale from 1 to 5 please rate the following questions	**1 Little Extent**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5 Great Extent**	**Don't Know**
11. To what extent do officers in the Cedar City Police Department (CCPD) treat people fairly?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. To what extent is the CCPD responsive to the concerns of community members?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. To what extent do you trust the CCPD to be fair and impartial?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

On a scale from 1 to 5 please rate the following questions	**1 Little Extent**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5 Great Extent**	**No Contact**

On a scale from 1 to 5 please rate the following questions	**1 Little Extent**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5 Great Extent**	**Don't Know**
15. To what extent is the CCPD effective at proactively preventing crime?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. To what extent is the CCPD addressing the problems that really concern you?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. To what extent are you satisfied with the overall performance of the CCPD?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Contact and Satisfaction

	1-2 Times	**3-4 Times**	**5-6 Times**	**7 or More**	**No Contact**
18. How many times in the past 12 months have you had contact with the CCPD for traffic issues? (e.g., citation, warning, or vehicle crash)? **If no contact please mark answer then skip to question 20**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

On a scale from 1 to 5 please rate the following questions

	1 Little Extent	2	3	4	5 Great Extent	Don't Know
19. To what extent are you satisfied with your interactions with the CCPD for traffic issues?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	1-2 Times	3-4 Times	5-6 Times	7 or More	No Contact
20. How many times in the past 12 months have you had contact with the CCPD for 911 calls? **If no contact please mark answer then skip to question 22.**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

On a scale from 1 to 5 please rate the following questions

	1 Little Extent	2	3	4	5 Great Extent	Don't Know
21. To what extent are you satisfied with your interaction(s) with the CCPD for 911 emergency calls?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	1-2 Times	3-4 Times	5-6 Times	7 or More	No Contact
22. How many times in the past 12 months have you had contact with the CCPD for non-emergency calls (e.g., to report a crime or suspicious activity)? **If no contact please mark answer then skip to question 24.**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

On a scale from 1 to 5 please rate the following questions

	1 Little Extent	2	3	4	5 Great Extent	Don't Know
23. To what extent are you satisfied with your interaction(s) with the CCPD for non-emergency calls?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	1-2 Times	3-4 Times	5-6 Times	7 or More	No Contact
24. How many times in the past 12 months have you had contact with the CCPD for other contacts or interactions (e.g., attend a community meeting or talk to an officer on patrol)? **If no contact please mark answer then skip to question 26.**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

On a scale from 1 to 5 please rate the following questions	1 Little Extent	2	3	4	5 Great Extent	Don't Know
25. To what extent are you satisfied with your interaction(s) with the CCPD for other contacts or interactions?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Demographics

Please check the appropriate boxes that apply

26. How many years have you lived in this community? _____ Years ☐ Prefer not to answer

27. What is your gender? ☐ Male ☐ Female ☐ Prefer not to answer

28. What is your race?
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native
- ☐ Black or African American
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- ☐ White, Hispanic, or Latino
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

29. What is your age group?
- ☐ 18-29 years
- ☐ 30-39 years
- ☐ 40-49 years
- ☐ 50-59 years
- ☐ 60-69 years
- ☐ 70 years or older
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

30. What type of dwelling do you reside within?
- ☐ Stand-alone home
- ☐ Apartment/condominium (multi-unit dwelling)
- ☐ Mobile home
- ☐ Manufactured home
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

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Policy Implications of Contemporary Labeling Theory Research

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ABSTRACT

Labeling theory is a criminological theory that contends that formal sanctions amplify, rather than deter, future delinquent and criminal behavior. This paper identifies and describes some of the policies and programs that labeling theorists suggest would be effective at reducing delinquency and crime, or at least mitigate the effects of negative labeling experiences. The findings of contemporary examinations of juvenile delinquency and crime are briefly reviewed to provide the context for a variety of proposed policy implications. Programs such as family counseling, the Inviting Convicts to College Program, and Multisystemic Therapy are highlighted, and the importance of promoting education and employment for labeled individuals is discussed.

Keywords:
labeling, delinquency, criminal behavior, recidivism

Introduction

Criminological theory guides public policy and programming discussions. Theory informs policy, policies are crafted based on empirical evidence, and then policies are evaluated based on their effectiveness (Adler, Laufer, & Mueller, 2012; Akers, Sellers, & Jennings, 2016; see also, Tonry, 2010). Labeling theory, rooted in sociology's symbolic interactionism perspective, is no different. Labeling theorists assert that policies are implemented to address social conditions collectively defined by society as problems (Blumer, 1971; Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988). Blumer (1971) argued that social problems, and their remedies, exist in how they are defined by society. Juvenile delinquency and crime have long been viewed as social problems, and "get tough" approaches to crime-control have dominated public discourse about how to address these problems (Bernard, 1992; Butts & Mears, 2001). Labeling theory serves as a stark alternative to other conventional criminological theories in how it defines deviance and how to address juvenile delinquency and crime from a policy perspective. Rather than crime-control through formal social control and "get tough" approaches to punishment, labeling theory suggests that crime and delinquency are reduced by stymying secondary involvement in deviance through reintegration efforts, diversion, de-labeling, promoting pro-social identities, and nonintervention (Becker, 1963; Farrington & Murray, 2014; Matsueda, 2014; Walters, 2016).

There was a time when labeling-inspired policies of diversion were widely implemented by lawmakers and criminal justice practitioners. The popularity of labeling theory decreased when diversion attempts seemingly failed to have the intended effects, and instead lead to net-widening (Akers et al., 2016). However, net-widening was an unexpected consequence of how policies and programs were implemented, and should not be ascribed to labeling theory. Nonetheless, the failure of diversion in the 1970's was attributed to labeling theory (Akers et al., 2016), and highly punitive "get tough" approaches have dominated criminal justice policy for much of the last few decades (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Butts & Mears, 2001).

In this "get tough" era of criminal justice, labeling theory has been regarded with skepticism and guided largely by its critics (Matsueda, 2014). This trend continues into contemporary times. For instance, Akers and colleagues (2016) are extremely critical of labeling theory, but focus exclusively on original explications that emphasized identity change as the deviance amplification mechanism. More recent elaborations of the labeling perspective argue that labeling amplifies subsequent deviance through multiple intervening mechanisms, only one of which is identity, and that this process is conditioned by a host of potential contingencies such as race and stakes in conformity (Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989; see also Barrick, 2014). Employment, education, and peer groups all serve as alternative intervening mechanisms that may influence the relationship between formal labels and subsequent delinquency (Barrick, 2014; Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; Bernburg, Krohn, & Rivera, 2006; Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989).

These theoretical elaborations have noteworthy empirical support. Restivo and Lanier (2013) found that official criminal justice intervention leads to an increased deviant identity, decreased pro-social expectations, and an increased association with deviant peers. Furthermore, they found that these effects were significantly associated with an increased likelihood of engaging in subsequent delinquency. Their findings are similar to others that have also found relationships between formal labeling and delinquent peers (Adams, 1996; Bernburg et al., 2006). Widdowson and colleagues (2016) found that arrests serve as a "negative turning point" in juveniles' educational trajectories (Widdowson, Siennick, & Carter Hay, 2016, p. 621). Likewise, Bernburg & Krohn (2003) found that formal labeling increased subsequent delinquency and that the relationship is mediated by employment and educational success. A multitude of scholars have found that formal labeling negatively impacts subsequent education and employment outcomes (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; Fields & Emshwiller, 2014; Ispa-Landa & Loeffler, 2016; Lopes, Krohn, Lizotte, Schmidt, Vasquez, & Bernburg, 2012; Pratt, Barnes, Cullen, & Turanovic, 2016; Raphael, 2014; Sweeten, 2006). Essentially, there is a substantial amount of empirical support for the proposition that various intervening mechanisms mediate the relationship between formal labeling and subsequent delinquency.

The results of many 21st century examinations of juvenile delinquency and crime have been supportive of labeling theory. More specifically, contemporary labeling theory research has found that formal labels significantly amplify subsequent involvement in delinquency and criminal behavior (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; Bernburg et al., 2006; Besemer, Farrington, & Bijleveld, 2017; Chiricos, Barrick, Bales, & Bontrager, 2007; Kavish, Mullins, & Soto, 2016; Krohn, Lopes, & Ward, 2014; Liberman, Kirk, & Kim, 2014; Lopes et al., 2012; Murray, Blokland, Farrington, & Theobald, 2014; Restivo & Lanier, 2013; Slocum, Wiley, & Esbensen, 2016; Wiley & Esbensen, 2013). Other theorists have also found that official intervention can have deviance amplifying effects, especially for chronic offenders (Morris & Piquero, 2013). These studies have found that official contact with police, arrests, and formal adjudications all increase future deviant behavior. In fact, Wiley and Esbensen's (2013) findings suggest that the influence of negative labeling becomes more pronounced as the severity of criminal justice contact increases. While labeling theorists have primarily focused on formal labeling measured by criminal

convictions, Wiley and Esbensen's (2013) findings suggest that even less severe labels, such as an arrest or initial contact with police, may also carry extreme negative consequences.

Labeling theory has not focused solely on juveniles. The theory is just as salient for studying younger individuals transitioning into adulthood (Besemer et al., 2017; Chiricos et al., 2007; Kavish et al., 2016). For instance, Chiricos and colleagues (2007), in a sample of adults above the age of seventeen, found that formal adjudication is more likely than withholding adjudication to result in deviance amplification (Chiricos et al., 2007). Likewise, Besemer and colleagues (2017) examined adult offending using labeling theory and found that convictions influenced individual's self-reported offending afterward. Kavish and colleagues (2016) also did not limit their sample to individuals legally designated as juveniles. Contemporary labeling theory research has made it clear that evidence of deviance amplification extends well beyond juvenile populations. After all, Mead (1934) argued that the social construction of the self is an on-going, life-long process. Therefore, the policy implications of labeling theory should not be limited to only juvenile populations.

The findings of these recent labeling theory studies provide the context for a few policy implications. If the goal of policies is to reduce recidivism and secondary offending, then criminal justice policies should focus on improving the employment and educational success of labeled individuals. The majority of arrested juveniles are referred to courts for further formal processing (Puzzanchera, 2014). Similarly, about half of those arrested for crimes as juveniles are convicted in adult criminal court, thus, arrests serve as a gateway to juvenile delinquent dispositions and adult criminal convictions. In fact, an arrest alone is enough to impact future educational and occupational success (Fields & Emshwiller, 2014; Krohn et al., 2014; Pratt et al., 2016). If conventional employment and educational opportunities are blocked, then deviant identities may be reinforced, and individuals may be more likely to recidivate.

This paper seeks to bridge the gap between the aforementioned findings of contemporary examinations of labeling theory and criminal justice policy. Labeling theory is too often associated with deinstitutionalization, diversion, and radical nonintervention (see Akers et al., 2016). While Schwalbe and colleagues' (Schwalbe, Gearing, MacKenzie, Brewer, & Ibrahim, 2012) meta-analysis concluded that no intervention might just be the best intervention for diverted juveniles, policy discussions rooted in the labeling research must continue to evolve as theorists continue to elaborate on the perspective. The following discussion will identify and describe a wide range of policies and programs that seek to address the application of formal labels and their ramifications on future criminal and non-criminal outcomes. The policy implications of contemporary labeling theory research fall into five distinct categories: increased education and employment opportunities, multisystemic therapy, non-judicial processing, deferred adjudication, and increased public awareness. Answering Farrington and Murray's (2014) call for suggestions on how to reduce offending, these broad categories represent promising avenues of policy-making and programming that attempt to minimize the influence of negative formal labels on subsequent criminal offending.

Policy Discussion

Increased Education and Employment Opportunities

The stigma associated with formal labeling can have a multitude of negative consequences for individuals. Formal labeling can change a person's self-concept (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934), they may be subjected to more surveillance and social control than non-labeled individuals (Becker, 1963), and it can have dramatic impacts on a person's future employment success and earnings (Grogger, 1995; Nagin & Waldfogel, 1995; Pager, 2003; Western, Kling, & Weiman, 2001). The stigma of a formal label leads many employers to view labeled individuals as untrustworthy (Holzer, Steven, & Michael, 2007; Schmitt & Warner, 2010), even though research has found that formally labeled employees are less likely to engage in workplace crime than non-labeled employees (Blumstein & Nakamura, 2009). The influence of negative labels on employment cannot be ignored when coupled with the fact that minimal employment earnings and occupational hardships are consistently linked with involvement in crime and recidivism (D'Alessio, Stolzenberg, & Eitle, 2013; Gould, Weinberg, & Mustard, 2002; Grogger, 1998; Needels, 1996). Thus, policies should be implemented that seek to minimize the social stigma associated with negative formal labels and improve the occupational success of labeled individuals.

Some policies and programs already exist that attempt to minimize the impact of formal labeling on the identities, and subsequent employment and education of individuals. One example is fair hiring policies such as states with statutes that "ban the box." States that "ban the box" prevent employers from inquiring about the criminal backgrounds of job applicants. These policies are designed to provide individuals with criminal backgrounds an equal opportunity for employment. "Ban the box" policies have not been examined thoroughly enough to say whether they definitively "work," but contemporary research does indicate they hold promise. For instance, Jackson and Zhao (2017) found that Massachusetts' "ban the box" reform

resulted in small but significant reductions in criminal recidivism. Similarly, Denver and colleagues (Denver, Siwach, & Bushway, 2017) found that formally labeled individuals cleared to work by the New York Department of Health were significantly less likely to be rearrested than if they had not been cleared to work. Finally, and in line with the labeling perspective, D'Alessio and colleagues (D'Alessio, Stolzenberg, & Flexon, 2014) found that Hawaii's "ban the box" law reduced social stigma during the hiring process and was extremely successful in reducing recidivism.

There is little to no downside to implementing "ban the box" policies. They are merely an attempt to minimize employment discrimination, and at worst, cost employers a minimal amount of money to run their own background investigations (Henry & Jacobs, 2007). Employers may not be able to directly inquire about an applicant's criminal background, but they are still free to run background checks at specified points in the employment process (D'Alessio et al., 2014). Thus, these policies may limit employment discrimination to a small degree, but they may only do so for entry level positions. As the prestige and income of an occupation increases, the likelihood of a background check will likely increase too. In sum, any effort to improve the employment prospects of ex-offenders should be lauded, and have little downside. However, more research is needed to determine how successful these policies are at reducing recidivism and improving the employment prospects for ex-offenders.

Another possible reform option would be to expand the use of federal grants and student loans for ex-offenders. Currently, drug offenders, certain sex offenders, and those in a United States federal or state institution are not able to get student loans or federal grants for education. Furthermore, many collateral consequences await ex-offenders that may limit where individuals may study, what individuals may study, and may also limit their employment prospects even if their education is completed. This, then, has a chain reaction of creating difficulties for ex-offenders attempting to repay student loans. Education is strongly correlated with reduced levels of offending (Chappell, 2004; Gordon & Weldon, 2003; Hrabowski & Robbi, 2002; Jenkins, Steurer, & Pendry, 1995; Mercer, 2009; MacKenzie & Hickman, 1998; Moody, Kruse, Nagel, & Conlon, 2008; Stevens & Ward, 1997), so the most obvious reform would be to provide federal funding and higher education opportunities for individuals while they are incarcerated.

Another option would be to partner community colleges and local colleges with federal and state institutions to provide an education for prisoners and also provide teaching opportunities for undergraduate and graduate teaching assistants (Richards, Faggiani, Roffers, Hendricksen, & Krueger, 2008; Rose, Reschenberg, & Richards, 2010). The Inviting Convicts to College Program (ICCP) designed by the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh serves as a specific example of one such educational program that fits these parameters. The ICCP is an educational program that prepares individuals for the rigors of academic life so that those individuals will be more likely to succeed in their educational pursuits upon release (Rose et al., 2010).

Expanding the availability of federal funds for educating ex-offenders and implementing local programs such as ICCP help promote pro-social identities that may replace, or reduce the importance of, negative formal labels. Chassin, Presson, Young, and Light (1981) argued that an individual could possibly adopt a deviant identity in response to society's labels, but that the deviant identity may be unimportant in relation to that individual's self-concept (Chassin et al., 1981). Another possible alternative is that other interacting positive labels play a role in why a deviant label might not lead to secondary deviance (Kavish et al., 2016). Essentially, positive labels, such as "student," might play a role in explaining why someone labeled as deviant may not re-offend.

Multisystemic Therapy

Another possible alternative to arrest and incarceration would be to enroll detained juveniles in Multisystemic therapy (MST). This practice could still have potential labeling effects in its own right, but the severity of negative labeling would be limited to lesser labels with little to no legislated collateral consequences. MST is a type of therapy that is delivered while an individual is in the community that involves individual therapy for the client, as well as therapy that involves the family. Furthermore, therapists should have small caseloads to allow them to meet with their clients' families, peers, and schools. The goal of the therapist is to not only address the individual's current problems, but to also address issues that might arise in the future.

MST may be effective at reducing recidivism because it incorporates the significant others that are involved in an individual's life. Recent research suggests that reflected appraisals of delinquency from significant others precedes self-appraisals (Walters, 2016). Thus, how an individual thinks others view them may play a vital role in how that individual views himself or herself. Therefore, effective therapy treatment must target both individuals and their significant others. In essence, the goal of an MST program is to promote a pro-social identity (Borduin, Mann, Cone,

Henggeler, Fucci, Blaske, & Williams, 1995; Henggeler, Melton, & Smith, 1992; Levine, 2007). Research has found MST programs to be effective at reducing the likelihood of arrests, violent offending, and effective at promoting family cohesion and pro-social identities (Borduin et al., 1995; Curtis, Ronan, & Borduin, 2004; Henggeler et al., 1992; Van der Stouwe, Asscher, Stams, Dekovic, & Van der Laan, 2014). In fact, Sawyer and Borduin (2011) found that the effects of MST last into adulthood suggesting that MST results in an enduring positive change to individuals' identities. The consistent positive findings of MST evaluations suggest that it is an extremely promising alternative to criminal justice sanctioning.

Non-Judicial Processing

More programs and policies could be implemented to allow local jurisdictions to process arrested juveniles informally. Processing juveniles informally allows for the avoidance of further labeling, stigmatization, and more specifically in the case of older adolescents, the collateral consequences of official convictions. Only a small proportion of arrested juveniles are dealt with in an informal manner such as restorative justice programs, family counseling programs, or a transfer to some other social welfare agency (Puzzanchera, 2014). This could be changed with the expansion of local programs ran by police officials or prosecutors trained in restorative justice and community policing. Classes or programs could be established or expanded that inform juvenile offenders about how their crimes negatively impact their personal lives, families, and communities. Though non-judicial processing could trigger negative labeling, the label would be less formal than official processing, less severe than official adjudications, and would not be perceived by the public as radical non-intervention. Furthermore, these programs could provide opportunities for redemption, forgiveness, and maybe an opportunity to de-label arrested individuals.

One such non-judicial process that is promising is the practice of issuing civil citations. Civil citation laws provide local law enforcement with more discretion when dealing with juvenile offenders by allowing them to issue citations that provide youthful offenders with a means of disposing of their offense informally without the involvement of the juvenile court system. Thus, civil citations are a means for law enforcement to handle juvenile offenders without arrests or court referrals (Mears, Kuch, Lindsey, Siennick, Pesta, Greenwald, & Blomberg, 2016). One recent evaluation of a local civil citation program found a modest improvement in outcomes compared to a comparison group of youth processed through the juvenile justice system (Sullivan, Dollard, Sellers, & Mayo, 2010). The Miami-Dade County Juvenile Services Department credits their civil citation program with a 15% reduction in arrests and cost savings derived from reduced paperwork, fewer arrests, and less court appearances (Walters, 2008). Thus, civil citation programs appear to result in the application of fewer negative labels and save local jurisdictions money associated with the costs of processing juvenile offenders. More evaluation studies are needed, but non-judicial processing practices, such as civil citation programs, appear to be a promising intervention for youthful offenders.

Deferred Adjudication

Widespread implementation of deferred adjudication programs and other first-time offender programs could have a profound influence on reducing recidivism and secondary offending. Deferred adjudication programs allow judges to sentence offenders to probation, but to withhold official adjudication until the completion of the sentence. If the sentence is completed successfully, then the offender can avoid official adjudication and the collateral consequences that accompany adjudication (Bontrager, Bales, & Chiricos, 2005; Chiricos et al., 2007). Not only do these programs provide individuals with a chance to avoid the collateral consequences of official adjudications, but the completion of probation could be perceived as a redemption and de-labeling ritual (Maruna, 2014). The expanded use of deferred adjudication programs allows for offenders to be punished with probation sentences, but simultaneously provides offenders with an opportunity to avoid the collateral consequences typically attached to such punishments. Chiricos and colleagues (2007) have already demonstrated the effectiveness of these programs in reducing recidivism among first-time offenders. The work of Maruna and colleagues (2001; 2011; 2014; Maruna, LeBel, Mitchell, & Naples, 2004; Maruna & LeBel, 2010), coupled with the findings of Chiricos and colleagues (2007), highlights deferred adjudication as a key practice that should be advocated for by proponents of labeling theory.

Deferred adjudication is somewhat common for the handling of juveniles, but the practice must be expanded for use with young adults and first time non-violent adult offenders. A constant feedback loop information system must be created to avoid problems of net-widening. Individuals must be tracked into the future so their progress can be evaluated, data must be collected and analyzed, and reports created that allow policy-makers to make rational and informed decisions (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1987). The

goals of deferred adjudication programs must be clearly stated and a concerted effort must be made to not simply supply new clients for the program. Rather, data must be tracked to ensure that individuals are being funneled from typical forms of formal processing, thus reducing the amount of offenders that are typically processed formally and ensuring that the new program is not simply being used to handle an increased number of clients.

Increased Public Awareness

Efforts should be made to educate schools and employers so that society is more receptive to employing and educating individuals that have been arrested or convicted for their prior criminal behavior. Individuals with criminal records face a host of legislated collateral consequences that impede their employment prospects and must deal with employers hesitant to employ people with criminal records (Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2004; Pager, 2003; Pager, Western, & Sugie, 2009; Raphael, 2014; Solomon, 2012). The exact opportunities that would allow people to avoid becoming career criminals are widely restricted to arrested and convicted individuals, which in turn, increases the allure of and motivation for criminal behavior. Maruna and colleagues (2004) noted that many individuals rely on someone to vouch for their moral character during reintegration. Educating schools and employers of the hardships labeled people encounter could encourage others to be more willing to look past criminal pasts and vouch for labeled individuals. These "personal vouchers" (Maruna et al., 2004, p. 275; see also Maruna, 2001) provide access to conventional pro-social peer networks.1

Unfortunately, the opportunities that are blocked for individuals convicted of crimes are not contained to occupational and employment circles. The relationship between education and crime is complex, to say the least, but more education is routinely related to less participation in crime and less recidivism (Chappell, 2004; Esperian, 2010; Lochner, 2007; Stevens & Ward, 1997). Yet, there are many obstacles that stand in the way of labeled men and women trying to advance their education. Individuals convicted of drug-related crimes in the United States face restrictions when applying for student loans and federal grants; a fact well known by any student that has applied for financial aid. People convicted of other crimes can be denied admission to college, barred from living in college dorms, denied campus employment, or admission into specific education programs. Labeled individuals that manage to graduate with four-year degrees continue to face obstacles in graduate school. Individuals with criminal records have been denied admission to graduate school, graduate assistantships, fellowships, and PhD candidates with criminal records have even been denied the opportunity to defend their dissertations. These impediments to increasing levels of education extend into their future occupations when they might be denied tenure or an earned promotion because of their criminal pasts (Richards, 2013). Removing impediments to employment and education could go a long way towards reducing recidivism and improving the life-chances of criminally labeled individuals. Blocked opportunities like the abovementioned collateral consequences only serve to reinforce deviant identities, and according to labeling theory, a deviant identity may lead to subsequent deviant behavior (Becker, 1963).

Conclusion

In general, these policy suggestions are in line with the work of Maruna (2001; 2011) and colleagues (2004), Rocque and colleagues (2016), Braithwaite (1989), and Cullen and Jonson (2014). Their work calls for programs and policies that effectively aid in labeled individuals reintegrating with their local communities. They also reject "get tough" approaches to criminal justice that simply seek to punish and offer no chance for redemption or forgiveness. Redemption and forgiveness can go a long way in reinforcing pro-social identities and stymie the development of deviant identities theorized to lead to increased criminal involvement (Braithwaite, 1989; Cullen & Jonson, 2014; Latimer, Dowden, & Muise, 2005; Maruna & LeBel, 2010). Cullen and Jonson (2014) specifically argued that punishments that "exclusively" (Cullen & Jonson 2014, p. 79) seek to punish, and do not attempt to change the risk-factors for criminal offending, should be expected to have criminogenic effects. Punishments that do not reinforce pro-social identities, or include some form of evidence-based effort to rehabilitate and reintegrate individuals, should be expected to be criminogenic. Indeed, contemporary studies of juvenile delinquency and crime consistently show that contact with police, arrests, and formal adjudications increase subsequent criminal behavior. Therefore, criminal justice programs and policies must seek to mitigate the criminogenic influence of those official interventions.2

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Footnotes

1 Frank Tannenbaum, a pioneer of labeling theory, relied on individuals to vouch for his character after his release from prison (Yeager, 2011).

2 Thank you to Christopher W. Mullins and an anonymous reviewer for their comments on an earlier draft.

Evaluation of Prison Pre-Release Facility Program: What Effect Do These Programs Have on Offender Success in Texas?

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ABSTRACT

Sufficient evidence suggests inmates who participate in prerelease programs are less likely to recidivate once released from prison than those who do not participate in these programs. Research shows education, vocational training, and drug and alcohol counseling while incarcerated may help an offender making positive choices preventing them from engaging in new criminal behaviors. Scholars, furthermore, posit that these offenders have more opportunities for success than offenders who are released with no added programs. We hypothesize that Texas inmates released from a prerelease program have a greater chance for success than inmates who do not participate in these programs. We conducted a survey with 60 ex-offenders in three parole offices in Fort Worth, Texas during four weeks: 30 inmates attended prerelease facility and 30 who did not. In addition, literature based on Travis Hirsh's Social Bond Theory suggests inmates who keep social ties with the community and their families are less likely to reoffend and return to prison than those who cut all, or most, ties. The current study focuses on those elements suggested by Hirschi's Social Bond Theory. Findings demonstrate that prerelease program facilities did not have statistically meaningful impact on education, vocational training, and drug and alcohol counseling compared to non-prerelease program facilities. The current study, however, reveals that married responders are more likely to be employed than those who are not, which implies that an individual social bonding may help his/her employment. Limitations and implications of the study are discussed in greater detail.

Keywords: Prison, pre-release facility, social bond theory, recidivism, parole

Introduction

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2015), in 2014, prisons nationwide housed approximately 1.5 million inmates. Texas alone housed 166,043 inmates, or about 11% of all prisoners in the United States. The increase in the prison population during the last decades can be partially attributed to get tough laws, zero tolerance policies, mandatory minimum sentencing, and truth in sentencing laws, and "three strikes" laws (Bushway, Stoll, & Weiman, 2007). During the past few decades, the United States has experienced an overall decrease in violent crimes and an increase in property and drug offenses (King, Mauer, & Young, 2005). Many researchers believe the "War on Drugs" has contributed to the growth of prison populations (Bushway et al., 2007). Some researchers contend the rapid return of former inmates to prison has contributed significantly to the problem. Baer et al. (2006) suggests that 20% of all arrests made by police are offenders who had recently been released from prison while almost 40% of inmates incarcerated are for a parole or probation violation.

This study evaluates a prerelease facility program for successful reintegration of ex-offenders back into society. The primary goal is to determine if specific factors, introduced prior to release from prison, and the maintenance of social bonds with family members and friends while incarcerated have any relationship with a facility type (prerelease or non-prerelease facility). Previous research has supported the idea that men who stay in contact with their families while incarcerated are more likely to return to their families once released (Bales & Mears, 2008). Hirschi (1969) suggests that it is the social bonds formed with others that keep people from violating the law and entering the criminal justice system. The four components of this theory include attachment, involvement, commitment, and belief. One of the goals of the current study is to determine if these concepts have any significant relationship with a facility type.

Many prerelease programs allow offenders and their families to have more communication prior to release from prison. Inmates who maintain strong family relationships have fewer disciplinary problems while incarcerated and are less likely to reoffend once released (Bales & Mears, 2008; Kemp, Glaser, Page, & Horne, 1992). One study suggests that "family based therapies are among the most successful types of intervention to reduce recidivism" (Christ & Bitler, 2010, p. 22).

Research has shown that there is a positive correlation between an individual's education level and employment (Matsuyama & Prell, 2010). Because many prisoners did not complete their education and did not have regular job experiences, they do not have necessary job skills (Bushway et al., 2007). Therefore, a large number of people released from prison find themselves in low income or dead end jobs. According to a study conducted by the Correctional Educational Association in three states in 2001, merely taking high school education courses during incarceration cuts the probability of returning to prison by 23% (Matsuyama & Prell, 2010). Roughly 80% of inmates in the United States admitted to using drugs or alcohol during the course of their criminal behavior or committed their crime in order to obtain drugs (Baer et al., 2005; La Vigne & Kachnowski, 2005; Mumola, 2000). Only about 20% of these offenders receive any type of substance abuse treatment while incarcerated (Baer et al., 2006).

Several factors may contribute to the recidivism rate of offenders. The likelihood of reoffending differs inversely with a job market, measured by both real wage rates and employment (Bushway et al., 2007). Full-time, stable employment results in lower rates of recidivism (Hannon & DeFina, 2010; La Vigne, Schollenberger, & Debus, 2009). Offenders, however, have a difficult time in finding and maintaining employment due in part to lower levels of work experience, education, and severed connections and social contacts with outsiders. Furthermore, many employers are reluctant to hire a convicted felon. One study showed that only one in five offenders had any type of employment immediately after they were released from prison (Baer et al., 2006). Labeling can harm and decrease social opportunities for individuals labeled and stigmatized (Adams, Robertson, Gray-Ray, & Ray, 2003; Matsueda, 1992).

There are few studies that compare the prerelease facilities to non-prerelease facilities. In fact, the authors of this study were unable to identify any previous studies that compared these facility types in Texas.

Literature Review

Every year, approximately 670,000 inmates are released from prison and Texas accounts for about 10% (or 6700) of these inmates released (Travis, 2005; Visher, Yahner, & La Vigne, 2010). About 60% of inmates are incarcerated for a new offense while the remaining 40% are for a parole violation (Byrne & Taxman, 2004). In 2002, two of every three offenders released from prison returned to prison within three years and 3 out of every 4 returned to prison within five years (Petersilia, 2003).

Between 1960 and 1967, there was an 18% decrease in the overall number of inmates (Blumstein & Beck, 1999). Most researchers believe the substantial growth and overcrowding

of prisons during the past few decades has more to do with changes in sentencing policies as opposed to an increase in crime or arrests (Blumstein & Beck, 1999; Travis, 2005). Official criminal statistics have consistently shown that over the past few decades, the crime rate has decreased; therefore, the increase in the prison population cannot be attributed to an increase in crime (Blumstein & Beck, 1999; Bushway et al., 2007; Clear, Cole, & Reisig, 2011; Sabol & Courture, 2009; Travis, 2005; Walker, 2011). Consistent with prior research, Bushway et al. (2007) suggest that this increase can be attributed to the 'get tough' laws and zero tolerance policies during the 1980s. Garland (2001) suggests these policies were a result of social and economic changes that were brought about in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The number of people living in inner-city, high poverty areas doubled between the 1970s and the 1990s (Bushway et al., 2007). Changes in the manufacturing sector during this time decreased low-skilled workers' job opportunities (Wilson, 1987). While Texas's population doubled from 1970-2000, an economic decline in the mid-1980s further weakened the state as unemployment rate rose from 4.9% in 1970 to 9.6% in 2000 (United States Department of Labor, 2016; Campbell, 2011; Garland, 2001). During this time, there was an increase in property crimes and drug crimes (United States Department of Justice, n.d.). According to the Uniform Crime Report, in 1970, there were 426,351 property crimes, or 3,808 property crimes for every 100,000 residents. In 2000, this number increased to 919,658 property crimes, or 4,410 crimes per 100,000 residents (United States Department of Justice, n.d.). Since Texas adopted harsher policies regarding punishments for nonviolent crimes, the rates of incarceration for property crimes and drug crimes increased dramatically (Campbell, 2011). Between 1980 and 1990, Texas built 70 prison facilities as the prison population increased by 204% (Bloomberg & Lucken, 2010). Simultaneously, the state began releasing more inmates to parole in order to reduce the prison population (Bloomberg & Lucken, 2010). Unfortunately, this failed as new parolees quickly returned to prison due to technical parole violations or for committing new offenses. In 1985, 25% of inmates were incarcerated due to parole violations and in 1997 that number increased to 37% (Bronczar & Glaze, 1999).

During the 2007 legislative session, the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ) estimated the state of Texas would need to build eight new prisons by 2012 in order to provide housing for the future prison population (Boeri, 2011). However, State Representative Jerry Madden suggested that instead of getting "tougher on crime," the state should get "smarter on crime" (Lyons, 2010). He suggested that low-risk, nonviolent offenders be placed in treatment facilities and not in prison. Researchers speculate that some transition difficulties may relate to the length of incarceration, more widespread communicable diseases within the prisons, and the overall negative prison culture (Clear, 2007; Mack & Khalil, 2007).

Social Bond Theory

When social controls break down or are weakened, crime may likely result (Durkheim, 1951; Reiss, 1951). Hirschi (1969) argues that "delinquent acts result when an individual's bond to society is weak or broken" (p. 147). Based on these theories, offenders who return to the community with strong social bonds are less likely to reoffend and return to prison (Laub & Sampson, 2001). Hirschi posited that people who were involved in social groups, such as family, school, or church, were less likely to not to engage in criminal behaviors (Knepper, 2001).

The four components to Hirschi's social bond theory are composed of attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. To the concept of attachment, Hirschi (1969) states that "if a person does not care about the wishes and expectations of other people—that is, if he is insensitive to the opinions of others—then he is that extent not bound by norms. He is free to deviate" (p.18). However, some empirical research suggests that attachment to friends or families who engage in delinquent behavior does not help prevent crime, but instead supports crime (Krohn & Massey, 1980; Linden & Heckler, 1973). According to Edwin Sutherland's Differential Association Theory, criminal behavior is learned through the interactions with others (Cressey, 1960). Therefore, while incarcerated, it is necessary to encourage offenders to build strong relationships with positive family members and those who have more conventional beliefs in society.

Secondly, to the idea of belief, the more strongly someone identifies with the law, the less likely they are to break the law (Hirschi, 1969). If inmates are released from prison and still do not take responsibility for their actions, or even do not believe that they have committed a crime against society, the likelihood of them reoffending is greater. In order for a person to abstain from illegal activities, they have to believe that these activities are wrong and are against the norms of society (Hirschi, 1969).

Thirdly, Hirschi (1969) suggests that the more a person is committed to conservative values, such as family or a job, the less likely they will engage in criminal behavior for fear of jeopardizing this investment. While incarcerated, if their bonds are severed from the community, they will have a more difficult time finding stable employment. Difficulty in finding work, going through a divorce, and separation from children

can result in an offender with no positive commitments.

Finally, involvement refers to an individual's activity in which he or she spends time (Hirschi, 1969). This could be a hobby, sport, education, or club. By keeping parolees involved in positive activities, they have less time to commit crime. Furthermore, if their involvement in positive activities is strong, they are less likely to commit crimes due to their beliefs, their attachments to people who are important to them, and their commitment to daily activities.

Once incarcerated offenders are released from prison, they return to a society that seems to neglect them; therefore, their mental welfare and family support system are crucial elements of successful reintegration (Mack & Khalil, 2007). More than 60% of offenders who are parents are incarcerated more than 100 miles away from home (Mumola, 2000). Many times it is the explicit policy of the prison system to place inmates far from home (Hairston, 2001). Furthermore, in states such as Texas with larger geographical areas, prisons are built in remote rural areas. These areas of land are usually less expensive and the prisons are a source of employment for the people within the town (Austin & Irwin, 2011).

If social bonds are in part necessary to keep offenders from returning to prison, then it is essential these bonds be strengthened, or at least maintained, while offenders are incarcerated. One way for this is to utilize the community resources in which the offender resides. According to Putnam (2000), there has been an overall decline in community involvement and when inmates returning from prison are factored into this, the decline is more noticeable. Wakefield and Uggen (2010) contend that offenders are "denied or inhibited access to a variety of roles that bind citizens to conventional society" (p. 14).

Research has suggested there are many factors as to why an offender recidivates and returns to prison (Petersilia, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Taxman, 2004; Wolff & Drain, 2004). Although these elements differ based on the resources and characteristics of specific communities, most scholarship based on social bond theory agree that the following components play a role in an offender's success: education, employment, substance abuse, housing, and family bond.

Education

In 2008, approximately 75% of all high school students earned a diploma (U.S. Department of Education, 2011). Most northern states were above the national average with 80% to 90% graduation rate while southern states had an average of 63% – 75% (U.S. Department of Education, 2011). Individuals who do not have a high school diploma are at a greater risk of facing issues, such as health problems, dependency on the state for financial obligations, and the risk of being incarcerated (Story, 2007). A study suggested that most inmates had a desire to complete their education either while incarcerated or once released (Porter & Porter, 1984).

Studies have shown that there is a strong correlation between education and stable employment (Bayens & Smykla, 2012; Hedges, 2002; Hairstons, 2001; Mack & Khalil, 2007; Matsuyama & Prell, 2010). According to a study by the Windham School District (1994), inmates who earn a GED are approximately 11% less likely to recidivate than offenders who do not receive their GED. Offenders who do not have a high school education or GED are less likely to complete reentry programs successfully than those that do have an education (La Vigne & Kachnowski, 2005). As of 2002, almost 40% of offenders incarcerated in Texas did not have a high school diploma and 31% of inmates in Texas were functionally illiterate (Visher, 2006). Unfortunately, less than 1% of the TDCJ's budget goes towards education programs (TDCJ, 2015).

Employment

Having a job upon release from prison decreases an offender's likelihood of reoffending (Sampson & Laub, 1993). When individuals are incarcerated at a young age, they may not have the opportunity to complete high school. Furthermore, they miss the opportunity to work small jobs and do not acquire necessary job skills and experience (Bushway et al., 2007). Therefore, many people released from prison find themselves in low income or dead end jobs (Bushway et al., 2007).

Holzer (1996) reported that only a third of employers would consider hiring someone with a criminal record. Pager (2003) found that only 10% of applicants with a criminal record were called back for an entry-level job position compared to the 23% with no record. In 1985, Project Rio was established in Texas for the purpose of helping offenders find and secure employment (Visher, 2006). This program provided a link between employment, education, and vocational training and was part of the TDCJ, Windham School District, and the Texas Workforce Commission. The services provided were pre- and post-release. In 2009, 74% of inmates released from Texas prisons who participated in Project Rio were able to find employment after release and 65% of those inmates were still employed eight months later. In 2010, Project Rio had a $1.5 million budget cut by the Department of Criminal Justice and lost 155 employees within the state (Texas Workforce Commission, 2011). The following year, the TDCJ, along with the state legislators, determined that Project

Rio would be eliminated in order to reduce the agency's $40 million expenditures (Texas Workforce Commission, 2011). Instead, the Texas Legislature assigned 60 individuals to oversee employment programs for the 111 prison facilities in Texas.

Substance Abuse

Almost 80% of offenders admitted to using drugs or alcohol prior to arrest while 16% admitted to committing crimes in order to obtain drugs (Mumola, 1999). Of the 80% that admitted to drug use, only 21% actually received treatment while incarcerated and even fewer will continue treatment once released from prison (Baer et al., 2006; La Vigne & Kachowski, 2005). Research suggests the most effective treatment for drug offenders is a post-prison continuum of treatment (Lurigio, 2000; Olson & Lurigio, 2014). Researchers in Delaware gathered data regarding inmates who had participated in the CREST Program. This program consists of six months of treatment while the inmates are incarcerated and then 12 months of follow-up treatment once they are released from prison. The program stresses family involvement and individual counseling (Butzin, Martin, & Inciardi, 2005). The results showed that inmates who participated in the this program had a better chance of remaining drug and arrest free for one year after release (Butzin, et al., 2005).

According to Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring (ADAM), an average of 65% of people arrested test positive for marijuana, cocaine, opiates, methamphetamines, phencyclidine, and benzodiazepines (Mack & Khalil, 2007). Based on the DSM IV criteria, 38% are found to be drug dependent and in need of treatment (Mack & Khalil, 2007). Studies suggest inmates who participate in treatment programs while incarcerated, and continue treatment programs once released, are less likely to reoffend and return to prison than those who do not participate in both options (Baer et al., 2006). Unfortunately, for those inmates in Texas prisons, about 5% receive treatment if they do not attend a pre-release facility (Baer et al., 2006). Even fewer of these inmates actually attend aftercare treatment once they are released from prison.

Housing

Obtaining stable housing is one of the biggest challenges facing offenders once released (Baer et al., 2006; Helgott, 1997; Visher & Kachnowski, 2007). Helgott (1997) notes that offenders could be limited by low credit score, a limited rental history, and inadequate finances. If an offender cannot find housing, they likely end up homeless or living in impoverished areas that might further limit their ability to find full-time employment (Bradley, Oliver, Richardson, & Slayter, 2003; Rodriguez & Brown, 2001). Many offenders return home to live with their family on a temporary basis. A study at the Urban Institute found that almost a third of all parolees had lived at more than one address within six months after release from prison (Baer et al., 2006).

Offenders often return to areas where housing conditions are not optimum. A study found most prisoners return to communities where there are a high portion of ex-offenders living (Lawrence & Travis, 2004). In 2001, for example, 25% of all prisoners released in Texas came to Houston. Unfortunately, many times offenders move to neighborhoods with many of the same socioeconomic problems, such as poverty and residential instability, as their last neighborhood (Lawrence & Travis, 2004).

Family Bond

Research studies consistently suggest the family is an important component in the reintegration process (Petersilia, 2003). Studies have shown inmates who maintain strong relationships with their families have fewer disciplinary problems while incarcerated and are less likely to reoffend once released (Bales & Mears, 2008; Kemp et al., 1992). The majority of inmates believe that being separated from their family is the hardest aspect about being incarcerated (Mills, 1983). These inmates felt frustrated knowing that they could not help their spouses and children with any problems that they were experiencing (Mills, 1983). This frustration many times led to depression and problems within the prison facility (Adams, 1992).

Although about half of the men in prison did not live with their children prior to incarceration, many of them still contributed financially to the care of the child (Wacquant, 1998). Many incarcerated fathers indicated a desire to strengthen parenting skills while imprisoned so that once released, they can have a better relationship with their children (Hairston, 2001). More than half of inmates report never receiving visits from children or family due to transportation costs, visitation requirements, and financial strains (Baer et al., 2006). Many families indicated that although they wanted to visit their family members in prison, they were hindered by distance and transportation (Schmalleger, 2011). Most families stated that the best way to stay connected with offenders was through letters (Hagan & Coleman, 2001). Petersilia (2003) posits that fathers who were released from prison are much less likely to reoffend if they return to their families.

Methodology

Hypothesis

Previous research indicates inmates who participate in programs involving education, vocational training, and drug and alcohol counseling are more successful once released from prison than those inmates who do not participate in such programs (Christ & Bitler, 2010; Petersilia, 2003). The hypothesis for the current study follows: Inmates who participate in a prerelease facility program will be likely more successful on parole with lower recidivism rates compared to inmate released from a regular facility.

Sampling

Approximately 60 parolees were interviewed using a survey questionnaire at the three parole offices in Fort Worth, Texas. Half of the subjects (n=30) had attended one of the five Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ) prerelease facilities while the other half (n=30) were released from a facility not considered to be a prerelease facility. Since the TDCJ currently has no specialized prerelease programs for women, only males were included in the current study. Furthermore, violent offenders are rarely selected for the prerelease programs, so only non-violent offenders were included. Parolees waiting to meet with their parole officer in the lobby of the parole office were informed about the research and invited to participate voluntarily. From the three parole offices, 20 interviews at each facility were conducted.

Research Design

In order to evaluate the prerelease facility program, quantitative research was conducted using the chi-square test and logit regression analyses .

Variables

Dependent Variables

Dependent variables come from Social Bond Theory which emphasizes that conventional connections to society may prevent one from engaging in criminal behavior. For the current study, education while incarcerated, married after released, living stability after released, employment after released, abstaining from drugs and alcohol after released were chosen from elements of social bonding. By measuring married after released (coded 0 = no, 1 = yes), living stability (coded 0 = no, 1 = yes), employment after released (coded 0 = no, 1 = yes), abstaining from drugs and alcohol (coded 0 = no, 1 = yes), one can possibly predict the likelihood of an ex-offender staying out of prison and successfully completing parole which the social bond theory implied.

Independent Variables

Facility: whether an individual was released from a prerelease facility or a regular prison facility (coded 0 = non-prerelease facility, 1 = prerelease facility).

Data Analyses and Findings

Education

Of the 60 subjects studied, 14 (slight more than 23 percent) had less than a high school diploma or GED prior to incarceration; 5 attended a prerelease facility while 9 did not attend such a facility. A total of 35 parolees interviewed had completed a high school diploma or GED prior to incarceration; 20 attended a prerelease facility while 15 did not. Finally, 11 of the subjects had some college or a college degree; 5 of the 11 attended a prerelease facility while 6 did not (Table 1). Inmates were not systematically assigned to the two different types of programs based on their initial education level ($x2$ = 1.95; p-value = .38). According to table 1, 14 out of the 30 subjects from a non-prerelease facility were able to further their education while only 10 out of the 30 subjects from a prerelease facility were able to continue with classes. Overall, 36 out of the 60 subjects interviewed were not able to continue their education while incarcerated. There is no relationship between the subjects' furthering their education and the facility that they were released ($x2$ = 1.11; p-value = .29).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

		Facility		Total
		Non-prerelease	Prerelease	
Education before (χ^2 = 1.95; *p*-value = .38)	Less than H.S.	9 (15.0%)	5 (8.3%)	14 (23.3%)
	H.S. or GED	15 (25.0%)	20 (33.3%)	35 (58.3%)
	Some College	6 (10.0%)	5 (8.3%)	11 (18.3%)
Education while incarcerated (χ^2 = 1.11; *p*-value = .29)	No	16 (26.7%)	20 (33.3%)	36 (60.0%)
	Yes	14 (23.3%)	10 (16.7%)	24 (40.0%)
Married before incarcerated (χ^2 = 1.68; *p*-value = .19)	No	16 (26.7%)	11 (18.3%)	27 (45.0%)
	Yes	14 (23.3%)	19 (31.7%)	33 (55.0%)
Married after released (χ^2 = 1.20; *p*-value = .27)	No	12 (20.0%)	8 (13.3%)	20 (33.3%)
	Yes	18 (30.0%)	22 (36.7%)	40 (66.7%)
Living stability after released (χ^2 = .64; *p*-value = .43)	Unstable	10 (16.7%)	13 (21.7%)	23 (38.3%)
	Stable	20 (33.3%)	17 (28.3%)	37 (61.7%)
Employed before incarcerated (χ^2 = .08; *p*-value = .78)	No	9 (15.0%)	10 (16.7%)	19 (31.7%)
	Yes	21 (35.0%)	20 (33.3%)	41 (68.3%)
Employed after released* (χ^2 = 4.34; *p*-value = .04)	No	17 (28.3%)	9 (15.0%)	26 (43.3%)
	Yes	13 (21.7%)	21 (35.0%)	34 (56.7%)
Drug/alcohol before incarcerated (χ^2 = .16; *p*-value = .69)	No	4 (6.7%)	3 (5.0%)	7 (11.7%)
	Yes	26 (43.3%)	27 (45.0%)	53 (88.3%)
Drug/alcohol after released (χ^2 = .34; *p*-value = .56)	No	23 (38.3%)	21 (35.0%)	44 (73.3%)
	Yes	7 (11.7%)	9 (15.0%)	16 (26.7%)
Academic class opportunity (χ^2 = 1.12; *p*-value = .57)	(Strongly) agree	14 (23.3%)	10 (16.7%)	24 (40.0%)
	Neutral	7 (11.7%)	9 (15.0%)	16 (26.7%)
	(Strongly) disagree	9 (15.0%)	11 (18.3%)	20 (33.3%)
Drug/alcohol class opportunity (χ^2 = 1.03; *p*-value = .60)	(Strongly) agree	18 (30.0%)	19 (31.7%)	37 (61.7%)
	Neutral	1 (1.7%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.7%)
	(Strongly) disagree	11 (18.3%)	11 (18.3%)	22 (36.7%)
Vocational training opportunity (χ^2 = 1.50; *p*-value = .47)	(Strongly) agree	19 (31.7%)	17 (28.3%)	36 (60.0%)
	Neutral	1 (1.7%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.7%)
	(Strongly) disagree	10 (16.7%)	13 (21.7%)	23 (38.3%)

Note. *$p < .05$.

Marriage

Prior to incarceration, 27 of the 60 subjects were not married. Of those married, 16 were placed at a non-prerelease facility while 11 went to a prerelease facility. There is no significant relationship between whether a subject was not married and if they were sent to a prerelease facility ($x2$ = 1.68; p-value = .19). After the inmates were released from prison, the majority were still married. Four of the inmates from non-prerelease facilities and three of the inmates in the prerelease facility got married after their release from prison. Attending a prerelease facility has no effect on marriage status after released ($x2$ = 1.20; p-value = .27).

Living Stability

Parolees who live with their spouse or parents are more stable and have a higher rate of success than ones who live with friends or are homeless (Clark, 2001; Petersilia, 2003). Following a previous study, the subjects who lived with a spouse, parents, or alone were grouped into the "stable" category, while those who live with friends, homeless, or live in a halfway house are labeled as "unstable" (Harding, Wyse, Dobson, & Morenoff, 2011). There is no significant difference between the facilities that parolees were released from and their living stability while on parole ($x2$ = .64; p-value = .43).

Employment

Table 1 indicates that employment prior to incarceration has no effect on whether an inmate is transferred to a prerelease facility ($x2$ = .08; p-value = .78). Of the 41 subjects who were employed prior to incarceration, 21 were placed in a non-prerelease facility while 20 attended a prerelease facility. Of the 19 subjects who were unemployed prior to incarceration, nine were sent to a non-prerelease facility while 10 sent to a prerelease facility.

After release from prison, 34 of the 60 subjects were able to find employment while 26 could not at the time of interview. Of those subjects who were employed, 13 were released from a non-prerelease facility while 21 from a prerelease facility. Of the unemployed subjects, 17 came from a non-prerelease facility while nine from a prerelease facility. The relationship between the facilities in which a subject was released and subjects' employment status is statistically significant at the alpha level of 0.05. ($x2$ = 4.34; p-value = .04).

Table 2 indicated that of the 22 individuals who attended vocational training while incarcerated, 14 found legitimate employment after release from prison while eight did not. Of the 38 individuals who did not take any classes, 20 still found employment while 18 did not. Taking the employment class does not have a significant effect on finding a job once released ($x2$ = .69; p-value = .41)

Table 2. Class taking and its effects

		Vocational training		Total
		No	Yes	
Employed after released (χ^2 = .69; *p*-value = .41)	No	18 (30.0%)	8 (13.3%)	26 (43.3%)
	Yes	20 (33.3%)	14 (23.3%)	34 (56.7%)
		Drug/alcohol class		
		No	Yes	
Drug/alcohol use after released (χ^2 = 1.36; *p*-value = .71)	No	16 (26.7%)	28 (46.7%)	44 (73.3%)
	Yes	5 (8.3%)	11 (18.3%)	16 (26.7%)

Drug/Alcohol Use

Table 1 demonstrates that of the 60 parolees, 53 admitted to drug or alcohol use while committing their crime or that they had committed their crime in order to obtain drug or alcohol. Only 7 said that they had not used drug or alcohol prior to their arrest. Of the 53 subjects who had admitted to drug use prior to incarceration, 26 did not attend a prerelease facility while 27 attended a prerelease facility. As for the individuals who did not admit to drug use, there was little difference between those who attended a prerelease facility and those who did not with four not attending a prerelease facility while three attended a prerelease facility. There is no correlation between an offender's drug use and which facility he is placed in ($x2$ = .16; p-value = .69).

Subjects who used drugs or alcohol after release from prison dropped significantly from 53 to 16 in Table 1. Of these that admitted to drug or alcohol use, seven did not attend a prerelease facility while nine attended a prerelease facility. About the 44 subjects who denied alcohol or drug use since their release from prison, it should be noted that all interviews were conducted within the parole building but behind closed doors. The subjects were interviewed prior to meeting with their parole officer and although they were told the interviews were anonymous and confidential, they may have felt the need to be dishonest regarding this question. There is no statistical significance between the facility in which an inmate was released and if they have used drugs or alcohol since release from prison ($x2$ = .34; p-value = .56).

Table 2 displays that of the 44 subjects that denied using drugs since their release from prison, 28 attended some type of drug classes while incarcerated while 16 did not attend any drug class. Of the 16 subjects who admitted to drug use after their release from prison, 11 attended substance abuse counseling while five did not attend any counseling. There is no significance between abstaining from substance use and attending a drug class while incarcerated ($x2$ = 1.36; p-value = .71).

Subjects Overall Perspective

The subjects interviewed were asked about their perspective on TDCJ and the classes that were offered while they were incarcerated. Table 1 shows that 14 subjects from a non-prerelease facility strongly agreed or agreed that they were given opportunities to further their education, seven were neutral, and nine strongly disagreed. Ten men from a prerelease strongly agreed or agreed that they were given opportunities to further their education, nine were neutral, and 11 strongly disagreed. No significant difference found between the facilities that an offender placed and their perspective as to whether they believed they could further their education or not ($x2 = 1.12$; p-value = .57).

Of the 30 parolees from a non-prerelease facility, 18 either strongly agreed or agreed that they had plenty of opportunities to take drug and alcohol counseling classes, 11 disagreed or strongly disagreed, and one was neutral. Of the 30 subjects who were released from a prerelease facility, 19 strongly agreed or agreed that they had plenty of opportunities for drug counseling and 11 disagreed or strongly disagreed. There was no significant difference between the types of facility the offender was from and overall perspective of being able to attend substance abuse education classes ($x2 = 1.03$; p-value = .60).

Finally, 17 subjects from a prerelease facility strongly agreed or agreed that they had an opportunity to attend vocational classes, while 13 disagreed or strongly disagreed. Nineteen men from a non-prerelease facility strongly agreed or agreed that they had the opportunity to attend vocational classes while 10 disagreed or strongly disagreed. One was neutral. The facility type that one attended and the perspective that subject had on vocational classes did not show statistically significant relationship ($x2 = 1.50$; p-value = .47).

Logit Analysis

The three elements used to measure success for a prerelease facility were having a legitimate employment, living stability, and abstaining from drugs and alcohol.

1. Legitimate Employment

Estimates in logit model for a legitimate employment are presented in Table 3. The model chi-square indicated that the model fit was adequate ($x2(8) = 17.13$, $p < .05$.). Table 3 indicates that being married after release from prison had a significant effect on employment. The odds of being successfully employed are eight times greater for married individuals than unmarried ones. Attending a prerelease facility did not show to have any significant impact on being employed. In addition, attending a vocational class and being released from a prerelease facility were not significant factors in finding employment. Abstaining from drugs and alcohol also was statistically significant at the .10 level. The coding for drug use is 0 = abstaining from drugs while the 1 = has used drug or alcohol since release from prison. Therefore, abstaining from drugs and alcohol increases the odds of successful employment by 3.7 times.

2. Living Stability

Estimates in logit model for living stability are presented in Table 3. Table 3 demonstrates the relationship between having a stable living environment after release from prison and assignment to a prerelease program. The variable "opportunity for family visit" was included since research shows that the stronger that family bond while a husband/father is incarcerated, the greater chance of the marriage lasting after release from prison (Hairston, 2015). However, there are no variables that have a significant effect on the subject and his living stability once released from prison. The model chi-square indicated the model fit was inadequate ($x2(6) = 7.59$, $p > .05$.) which is understandable since no variable is statistically significant.

3. Drug/Alcohol Use

Estimates in logit model for drug and alcohol use indicate no variables but 'job after' has a significant effect on the subjects whether they used drug or alcohol after release or not (Table 3). Being employed is statistically significant at the alpha level of 0.10. Individuals who were fully employed after release from prison were 3.7 times less likely to use drug or alcohol. In terms of causal relationship, however, it is not clear that whether fully being employed causes less use of drug or alcohol, or the other way around. The model chi-square indicated the model fit was inadequate ($x2(8) = 5.81$, $p > .05$.).

Table 3. Logistic Regression Analyses – Employment, living stability, and drug/alcohol use

Employment	b (*SE*)	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Married after release	2.08 (.85)*	5.98	1	.01	7.97
Prerelease facility	1.15 (.87)	1.74	1	.19	3.17
Vocational class	.81 (.81)	1.00	1	.32	2.24
Drug/alcohol after	-1.31 (.73)†	3.22	1	.07	.27
Drug/alcohol class	-.75 (.97)	.61	1	.44	.47
Living stability	1.12 (.73)	2.36	1	.13	3.07
Vocational class & prerelease	-.80 (.94)	.72	1	.40	.45
Drug/alcohol class & prerelease	1.16 (1.24)	.87	1	.35	3.18
Constant	-2.00 (1.08)†	3.43	1	.06	.14
R^2 = .25 (Cox & Snell), .33 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(8) = 17.13$, $p < .05$					
Living stability					
Prerelease facility	-.66 (.68)	.95	1	.33	.52
Job after	.90 (.66)	1.90	1	.17	2.46
Drug/alcohol after	.84 (.70)	1.45	1	.23	2.32
Family visit opportunity	.26 (.19)	1.87	1	.17	1.30
Drug/alcohol class	1.53 (1.00)	2.34	1	.13	4.62
Drug/alcohol class & prerelease	-.35 (1.27)	.08	1	.78	.71
Constant	-.96 (.86)	1.26	1	.26	.38
R^2 = .12 (Cox & Snell), .16 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(6) = 7.59$, $p > .05$.					
Drug/alcohol use					
Married after	1.19 (.87)	1.85	1	.17	3.28
Prerelease facility	.51 (.88)	.34	1	.56	1.67
Vocational class	.09 (.77)	.01	1	.90	1.10
Job after	-1.32 (.72)†	3.38	1	.07	.27
Drug/alcohol class	-.32 (1.00)	.10	1	.75	.73
Living stability	1.00 (.74)	1.81	1	.18	2.72
Vocational class & prerelease	-.05 (.92)	.00	1	.96	.95
Drug/alcohol class & prerelease	.46 (1.30)	.13	1	.72	1.59
Constant	-2.04 (1.12)†	3.30	1	.07	.13
R^2 = .09 (Cox & Snell), .13 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(8) = 5.81$, $p > .05$					

Note. †$p < .10$, *$p < .05$.

Discussion, Implications, Limitations, Future research, and Conclusion

Discussion

The purpose of this research was to evaluate if the prerelease facilities had a significant impact on the success of parolees which measured by having a legitimate employment, living in a stable environment, and abstaining from drugs and alcohol based on social bond theory. Currently there are four prerelease facilities in Texas that help the offender transition smoothly from prison to the community.

Travis Hirschi's social bond theory emphasizes that people are born with the ability to commit crimes. Instead of focusing on why people commit crime, this theory focuses on why people do not commit crimes. The four components of social bond theory are attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. Previous research in the field of offender reentry consistently finds that being employed has a positive effect on remaining in the community. In addition, having a stable living environment and remaining drug and alcohol free may result in a decrease in the likelihood that an offender will return to prison. Hirschi emphasizes that individuals who have a positive attachment are less likely to commit crimes. This attachment can be family members, a spouse, children, or employment. He further contends that being involved in a positive activity lessens that likelihood that an individual will continue to commit crimes as they will have less time to focus on delinquent behavior. Furthermore, by becoming committed to conservative values such as employment, education, and being a husband and father, this will dissuade them from doing anything that would interfere with this commitment. Finally, by incorporating a positive belief in the norms of society they are less likely to go against this conformity.

Prerelease facilities are expected to help inmates' transitions from prison to community more than non-prerelease facilities do. However, not only did the prerelease facilities offer education courses, vocational courses, and substance abuse counseling, the non-prerelease facilities offered the same courses. Many parolees who did not attend a prerelease program were able to take the same classes. For example, a total of 24 subjects were able to further their education while incarcerated (Table 1). What was surprising was that 14 of these 24 subjects did not attend a prerelease facility, while only 10 did. Similarly, the number of subjects who were able to take vocational classes varied very little from the prerelease facility to the non-prerelease facility (two more were from a prerelease facility). Finally, the number of subjects who were able to take the drugs and alcohol classes was almost the same between the non-prerelease facility and the prerelease facility (11 in the non-prerelease and 10 in the prerelease). So, whether the

programs in the prerelease facility any better than the ones in the non-prerelease facilities or not would be the next question.

In terms of 'employment,' the fact that someone attended a vocational class within a prerelease facility had no effect on whether that person was employed (Table 2). This was also true for abstaining from drugs or alcohol. The drug or alcohol classes taken at the prerelease facility had no significant effect on whether a person abstained from drug or alcohol once released (Table 2). Other factors were measured to disclose what makes some people more successful after they are released from prison. Those factors were being married after release from prison, having a legitimate employment, living in a stable environment, and abstaining from drugs and alcohol.

Previous research has consistently suggested that there is a correlation between being married and staying out of prison, abstaining from drugs and finding employment, and living in a stable environment and abstaining from drugs and alcohol. The influence of these variables was estimated through logit regression along with facility types and education within the facilities. The only variable that proved statistically significant on employment was being married after release from prison. If the individuals were married, their chances of finding employment increased. By remaining married throughout their incarceration, these social bonds strengthened and the inmate's ties to the community were not dramatically cut. Prerelease facility, vocational and drug/alcohol classes, living stability, vocational class and prerelease, and drug/alcohol class and prerelease had no effect on whether or not a person was employed.

When addressing living stability, there were no factors that had a significant effect on whether or not a person had a stable living environment. A stable environment has been defined by previous researchers as living with a spouse, family, parents, or by one's self while those that lived with friends, in a halfway house, or with extended family members were considered to have an unstable living arrangement (Harding et al., 2011). Taking specific classes while incarcerated, furthering one's education, or finding a full-time job may not have any effect on where one ends up living.

Finally, when measuring for abstinence from drug and alcohol, the single statistically significant factor was being employed at the alpha level of .10 (Table 3). Research indicates that having full-time employment at the time of release will result in the offender being less likely to return to prison (Visher, Winterfield, & Coggeshall, 2005). When looking through the frame of social bond theory, having full time employment helps an offender refrain from returning to prison as well as abstain from drug/alcohol.

Policy Implications

From the current study, what we do see vividly is that offenders who remain married while incarcerated are more likely to have a legitimate employment which is essential in Hirschi's social bond theory to prevent recidivism. Research has been conducted on different programs throughout the United States consistently show that breaking social ties to the community jeopardizes not only the offender, but also the offender's family, and the community in general. When looking at the success of other countries, countries with rehabilitative programs and family counseling have higher rates of success. For example, as one of the leading countries for rehabilitation, Germany has several prisons but none of them are at capacity (Subramain & Shames, 2013). They place their prisons in the middle of their cities and encourage family involvement throughout the prison process. Once an inmate reaches a specific level, they are released into the community during the weekday to work and return to the prison at night. The purpose of this is to establish and maintain social bonds with family and community.

One problem in the United States, and specifically Texas, is our way of thinking. It only takes one parolee to commit a heinous crime and we blame the whole system. The warehouse mentality has existed for the past four decades and has yet to prove itself effective. Even though a policy spending budget on rehabilitation of criminals has not been popular to the public, it should be noticed that helping criminals protects ourselves and the communities in which we live by reducing their recidivism rates. Instead of focusing on vocational classes or drug/alcohol classes which this study found ineffective, focusing more on the family seems to warrant a better offender success in rehabilitation. For example, offenders should be allocated in facilities that are close to their homes and encourage visitation by family members. Classes need to be offered to families so that they can learn how to live with their husband/father once he is released from prison. It is these people who are helping the offender transition into the community. By changing our focus, we may start to see a decrease in our prison population and an increase of support in our communities.

Limitations

Some limitations to the study warrant discussion. This research was conducted at the three parole offices in Fort Worth, Texas. This is an urban area where the residents are more likely to enjoy resources such as public transportation, job opportunities, public amenities, and treatment programs.

This type of research most likely would have yielded different results if parolees from rural areas had been included in the interviews.

Second, the interviews were conducted inside the parole office building prior to the subjects meeting with their parole officer. All interviews were conducted in a private room with only the researcher and subject. It is possible that some of the subjects were unwilling to answer questions honestly for fear of reprimand from parole officers. In fact, some of the subjects stated that there were a few questions that they were unwilling to answer during the interview, or that they did not feel comfortable answering a question honestly. They were not convinced that the interview was absolutely confidential to the correctional authorities. This is an unavoidable issue of interviewing a special population; however, the leading author did her best to minimize the impact of their fear on the current study.

Third, since TDCJ currently has no specialized prerelease programs for women, only men were included in this study. Future research including women may conclude with different results. Finally, there may have been some concerns with statistical power due to the small sample size of the current study (i.e., 60 interviewees). Considering that the widely accepted sample size for the central limit theorem is 30, the sample size for the current study would not bring a critical issue (Field, 2013).

Future Research

There are inmates from all areas of Texas at these four prerelease facilities. Smaller states may yield different results as inmates may have more opportunities to visit with family. In fact, some states already have counseling in place for the families of inmates. In Texas, further research should be conducted in both urban and rural areas. The needs of the parolees in rural areas would be different as they may not have access to transportation or the job opportunities that someone from an urban area has. Furthermore, research focusing on only the programs that are available in each facility would offer insight into whether these programs need to be changed or ended altogether. Looking back, one question that should have been included in the interviews was how many prior arrests have they had. By including this variable, this may have painted a different picture as to why some people succeed once released from prison while others do not.

Conclusion

"Prison education and vocational programs, although at best an imperfect substitute, have in any case been significantly scaled back because of skepticism over their value and also because of budget constraints in the face of rapidly expanding prison populations" (Bushway et al., 2007, p. 3). This research demonstrates that the type of facility in which a person is released in Texas has little effect on whether they are successful on parole. Furthermore, the individual classes have little effect as well. Offenders were able to participate in drug education classes, vocational classes, and education classes, no matter what facility they were released from. Based on previous research and the findings of this research, family visitation and social ties are the main components that help offenders succeed once they are released from prison.

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Appendix A

Individual Study Instrument

Study Number: _____

Offense and Incarceration

1. What was the most recent arrest in which you were incarcerated? _____

2. Which prison facility were you released from? _____

a. If you attended a pre-release facility, did you choose to attend? Or was it a requirement? _____ _____

3. What date were you released from prison? _____

Demographics:

4. With which racial/ethnic group do you identify?

   a. African American

   b. Hispanic

   c. Caucasian

   d. Native American

   e. Asian

   f. Other

5. What was the highest level of education you completed BEFORE you were incarcerated?

   a. Less than a high school diploma or GED

   b. GED

   c. High School Diploma

   d. Some college

   e. Bachelor's Degree

6. While you were incarcerated, did you earn a GED?

   a. Yes

   b. no

7. What was your financial status prior to incarceration?

   a. Under $500 a month

   b. $501-1000 a month

   c. $1001-$2000 a month

   d. Over $2000 a month

   e. Don't know

8. Were you legally married or common law married prior to incarceration?

   a. Yes

b. No

9. Are you legally married or common law married now?

a. Yes

b. No

10. Did you have children prior to incarceration?

a. Yes

b. No

11. If you answered yes to number 10, how old are your children?

_____

12. If you answered yes to number 10, did your children live with you prior to incarceration?

a. Yes

b. No

13. If you answered yes to number 10, do your children currently live with you?

a. Yes

b. No

14. Prior to incarceration, did you live with family?

a. Yes

b. No

15. Prior to incarceration, with whom did you live?

a. Wife/girlfriend

b. Parents

c. Friends

d. Co-workers

e. Homeless

f. Children

g. Other: please explain_____

16. Since your release, with whom do you live?

a. Wife/girlfriend (same)

b. Wife/girlfriend (different)

c. Parents

d. Friends

e. Co-workers

f. Homeless

g. Children

h. Other: Please explain_____

17. Prior to incarceration, did you work at a legitimate job?

a. Yes

b. No

18. Since your release, do you work at a legitimate job?

a. Yes

b. No

19. Since your release, how much time have you worked?

a. The whole time

b. More than half of the time

c. Less than half of the time

d. None; I cannot find work

20. While incarcerated, did you attend any classes to help you find employment once you were released?

a. Yes

b. No

21. Prior to incarceration, did you use drugs or alcohol?

a. Yes

b. No

22. Did you use alcohol or drugs while committing your most current offense? Or did you commit the crime in order to obtain alcohol or drugs?

a. Yes

b. No

23. Since your release from prison, have you used drugs or alcohol?

a. Yes

b. No

24. While you were incarcerated, did you attend any substance abuse classes?

a. Yes

b. No

25. Before you were incarcerated, did you have support from your family?

a. Yes

b. No

26. Since you release from prison, have you had any family support?

a. Yes

b. No

Perspective: The following questions can be answered as a) strongly agree b) agree c) no opinion d) disagree e) strongly disagree

27. Overall, do you feel like you were given educational opportunities while incarcerated?

a. Strongly Agree

b. Agree

c. No opinion

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

28. While you were incarcerated, do you feel as if you were given opportunities to learn job skills?

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c. No opinion

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

29. While you were incarcerated, do you feel like you were given an opportunity for drugs and alcohol rehabilitation?

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c. No opinion

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

30. While you were incarcerated, do you feel like there were plenty of opportunities for your family to visit you and spend time with you?

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c. No opinion

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

31. While you were incarcerated, was your family offered any support or counseling by the Texas Department of Criminal Justice?

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c. No opinion

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

32. Did you feel like you were prepared for release while you were incarcerated? (Employment, education, social security card, medication, etc.)

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c. No opinion

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

Barriers to Participation: Factors Associated with the Choice of Presidential Preliminary Election Processes

ABSTRACT

This project investigates the Presidential selection process in the United States. Through a statewide analysis of the election processes used in the 2008 election, we find that that the percent of minorities, citizen ideology, and professionalization of the legislature lead to closed election processes. Further, we find that southern states are more likely to have open election processes suggesting that the Voting Rights Act is influencing election systems in the south. The results of this study demonstrate the importance of studying factors leading to different choices in election processes as they can significantly impact electoral outcomes and policy.

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Introduction

The 2008 U.S. Presidential primary process demonstrated that there are significant differences across states in preliminary election processes. It is commonly accepted that due to the lack of competitive districts the primary and caucus process of deciding who will be eligible to run in the general election has a significant influence on who will win the general election (Cho and Kang, 2015; Gerber and Morton, 1998). Barriers to participation in the selection of candidates for the general election impact election results by limiting the choice set of voters to only those who survive a preliminary electoral process. Modern barriers to political participation, such as closed primaries and complicated voter registration, have a negative relationship with voter turnout (Besley and Case, 2003; Highton, 1997).

The process of selecting eligible candidates is an important component of electoral engineering. Selection methods influence the democratic nature and outcomes of elections and the study of selection methods is important to understanding elections, citizens' trust, and overall support for governmental processes. The literature on candidate selection processes has primarily focused on two main areas; the influence the selection process has on political parties (Hazan and Rahat, 2010; Katz, 2001; Lundell, 2004; McGhee et al., 2013; Oliver, 1996; Snayder and Ting, 2011) and its impact on individual candidates and the outcomes that come from these effects. (Carey and Polga-Hecimovich, 2006; Hazan and Rahat, 2010; Snyder and Ting, 2011). The effects of the selection process have been well documented, but the development of selection processes has been largely overlooked. Understanding the factors that contribute to the development of these processes is likely to explain why processes that limit choice and participation are often selected.

We consider the preliminary election processes of the two major political parties across the fifty states to explore the influences on the choice of preliminary elections. We seek to understand what influences the closing, or lack of participation accessibility of the election process using the primaries and caucuses that were held in the 2008 election.

The 2008 election was significant due to minority voter turnout in support of Barack Obama, the first minority candidate to be nominated by a major political party (Lopez and Taylor, 2009). We evaluate how minority population, legislative professionalism, and citizen ideology affect the openness of a particular state's preliminary election process. In this paper, we further control for the cultural explanations proposed by Elazar (1972) as well as political (Carey and Shugart, 1995; Gerber and Morton, 2005; Hedlund et al., 1982) and institutional explanations (Oak, 2006) to better understand the selection of preliminary election approaches.

The relative agreement about the importance of democratic participation and the legitimizing effect of increased democratic participation makes understanding how the selection of one preliminary election system over another impact real world outcomes of importance.

Background: Preliminary Election Processes and Democratic Government

Classification of Election Processes

The classification of preliminary elections begins with two main types of preliminary election processes: primaries and caucuses, each of which can be classified as either open or closed (Rahat and Hazan, 2001). Open election processes allow participants to choose which preliminary election to participate in without having any formal membership in a political party. Closed election requires that the individuals participating in the election process be members of that political party. It is with these definitions in mind that we use the term open and closed throughout this paper.

Confounding these relatively simple categorizations are systems that include blanket primaries and mixed types of election processes. Blanket systems allow participants to vote for all parties and for all institutions in the same primary. Mixed systems are a combination of open and closed systems. These mixed systems may allow for unaffiliated voters to participate in the preliminary election process without requiring their affiliation. Mixed systems, for this analysis, will also include systems that have more than one type of selection processes or that are not classifiable as one of the other types. These processes vary by state and at times by party. Our core question is what are the factors that lead to a closed preliminary election process.

Type of Electoral System

There are implications for each choice of election system. Norris (2004) demonstrates that different electoral systems have different impacts on political representation and voting behavior, which may ultimately influence the choice of open or closed election processes.

The type of electoral system impacts the selection of candidates for election, not only because of the difference in the numbers of candidates required, but also due to the goals of the

electoral system. The larger election literature, draws primarily on the comparative experiences from multi-country studies has produced evidence that countries choose which electoral system they want based on the results they hope to achieve (Katz, 1980; Merrill, 1988; Norris, 2004; Powell, 2000).

This evidence suggests that if fewer wasted votes and elected members who are more representative of the general population is desired, electoral systems that include a wider set of citizens are likely to be implemented (Powell, 2000). If, however the goal is a system that is more tightly representative preferences of each voter then a more closed system where parties are tied more closely to voters and their opinions and preferences are likely (Powell, 2000). The parties do not need to moderate their appeals because they are not trying to appeal to the entire electorate; rather they are trying to appeal to a select group. In a majoritarian single-member systems, political parties, especially those who believe themselves to represent a majority of voters, generally want their specific preferences represented and prefer a closed system (Cox, 1997).

Maurice Duverger first introduced the concept that majoritarian single member districts lead to a two party system (Riker, 1982), known as "Duverger's Law." Ultimately, this organizational structure incentivizes the majority party to close the election process, thereby shutting out or reducing influence from the minority party (Aldrich and Rohde, 2000; Cain, 2001).

The foundation of democratic government is the engagement of citizens in the process of choosing elected representatives and participating in elections, be they preliminary (primary) or general. The chief purpose of elections is to provide information about the policy preferences of the electorate (Powell, 2000) and to select representatives that citizens believe will best implement those preferences. When voters are not allowed to contribute to the selection of electoral candidates, or where the process is systematically biased, the results of such elections are democratically suspect. In short, the election processes are the place where decisions are made about who will represent potentially conflicting interests on the ballot. Consequently, the choice of election process can influence whose voices are heard at the polls as well as whose voices are silenced. Preliminary elections are therefore the first decision by voters that shapes electoral results, candidates, and ultimately the policies enacted.

Election Process and Party Influence on Candidates

The implications of preliminary election decisions drive the significance of this study. These implications are focused on the candidates, electoral outcomes, and ultimately the policies enacted. Preliminary elections have a significant role in the outcome of elections by controlling not only who can vote, but also who chooses to run. Gerber and Morton (2005) find that challengers will enter an open preliminary election more often than a closed one. They perceive open primaries to be more inclusive and provide better opportunities for success than closed primaries and so are more likely to choose to enter the race. Challengers have a better chance of being elected in open preliminary elections where the party has less control over the process and therefore the electoral result (Gerber and Morton, 2005). Rational challengers do not want to enter into a race that is difficult for them to win and it is clear that the election process can impact their entrance into an electoral race (Cox, 1997; Gerber and Morton, 2005). Thus, they are more likely to enter races that are more open and more amenable to external candidates.

Open primaries force the party to adapt to more diverse interests and non-incumbent candidates anticipate open primaries because it will increase their political base and improve the chances of winning the final election (Cox, 1997; Epstein, 1986; Gerber and Morton, 2005; Mazmanian, 1974). Further, it is not in a candidate's interest to run outside of the party because of the possible rewards that can come from being selected, namely party support and funding (Cox, 1997).

The preliminary election system's impact on the selection of candidates depends on three factors: first, the number of independent vis-à-vis partisan voters; second, the amount of noise in the electoral outcomes; and third, the strength of extremists and moderates within the party (Oak, 2006, p. 171). The election process can limit or increase the impact of the party members through moderation or extremism. Extreme candidates closely align with the party while more moderate candidates better reflect the general electorate. Primary voters tend to be more ideologically extreme in presidential elections (Brady et al., 2007; Norrander, 1989; Polsby and Wildavsky, 1978). Party extremists generally favor a closed election process as it grants members of the party the most influence and open primaries can lead to more moderate candidates who poorly represent party ideals.

Candidates can have a direct effect on parties and their election methods as well. Katz (2001) argues that candidates affect parties because: 1) The winning candidate eventually becomes the party's public face; 2) Candidacy is one of the principal routes to achieving party leadership; 3) Candidates represent individual constituencies within the party; 4) Candidates affect intraparty politics. Thus, the means of selecting candidates is of significant importance to the party due to the candidate's potential influence on the future of the party. Despite the impacts of election processes on candidates

and vice versa, the state and party are the principal actors that jointly dictate the election process.

General Factors in the Choice of Election Processes

Political Parties

When discussing the choice of election methods, there are two main actors in the process: the political party and the state. The political party itself has a stake in maintaining a closed election process because the party wants the most influence on deciding who will represent them on the ballot. In a representative democracy, parties have become a critical component through their nomination of candidates as they pare down the number of candidates (Oak, 2006), organize the ballot, and provide information cues to the electorate in voting decisions (Snyder and Ting, 2011). The primary role of political parties is to select candidates for election (Key, 1964) and achieve a majority or at least a standing in the legislative body in order to influence governmental policy.

Whether selecting a slate of candidates or an individual candidate for election, political parties have a stake in the outcome. Once a candidate wins the preliminary election, the party attaches itself to that candidate at least through the election (Seligman, 1961, p. 85), making the selection of the candidate very important to the party. Parties must balance the selection of a candidate that represents the party's interests with the right amount of appeal to win in a general election. If the party selects a candidate that perfectly represents the platform, the candidate's general election appeal can decrease along with their chance of winning (Key, 1964; Polsby, 1983; Snyder and Ting, 2011). There is an obvious tension between openness in the election process and party control. Closed primaries provide an opportunity for the political party membership to select the candidate that most closely matches the party ideals. Whereas open primaries allow anyone in the electoral district to participate in the process of election regardless of their support of the party ideals. Accordingly, closed primaries result in the candidates with the most party support and an open primary produces a candidate that is more reflective of the entire community's desires, not the party's (Brady et al., 2007; Gerber and Morton, 1998). This reduces the power of the party and suggests that the candidate is more moderate than the party (Bullock and Clinton, 2011; Kaufmann et al., 2003; Oak, 2006).

One of the reasons parties choose to close their preliminary elections is fear of crossover voting. Crossover voting is voting in the preliminary election by members of some other political party, which occurs more often in open electoral processes (Cherry and Kroll, 2003). The effects of this phenomenon have been demonstrated for example by Hedlund et al. (1982) who find that crossover voting influences the outcome of the election because crossover voters and independents vote differently than party loyalists (Chen and Yang, 2002). This phenomenon is best illustrated in open elections where crossover voters can be common (Cho and Kang, 2015; Hedlund, 1977; Hedlund et al., 1982; Hedlund and Watts, 1986; Lengle and Shafer, 1976; Sides et al., 1999; Wekkin, 1988). Atkeson (1998) argues that the perception of party elites is the driving factor behind open primaries (and consequently closed primaries) rather than voter preferences. Parties see crossover voting as causing a change in the composition of the electorate, which leads to the selection of a candidate that is not as representative of the party. The results of this crossover may result in a more electable general election candidate, but strategic crossover voting could also result in the selection of an unelectable or less desirable candidate by those outside the party. By limiting crossover voters, parties create barriers to participation in the electoral process and can sometimes elect a candidate that is less appealing to the general population, but more closely represents the party's interests.

Open, mixed, and blanket primaries limit the power of parties by accepting crossover voting and declining party labels. The "potential of strategic voting by cross-over voters" may lead to fewer candidates who strongly support the party ideals and results in more diverse candidates (Gerber and Morton, 2005, p. 4). This openness means that parties can no longer control the outcomes of the primary and the candidates are more likely to represent the median voter than the median party member.

Party Leadership

The choice of election process is influenced by the strength of party leadership and party size (Carey and Shugart, 1995). The stronger the leadership, the greater the impact they will have on the selection of candidates – thus, strong leaders desire a closed election process where the party elite have more control over the process (Carey and Shugart, 1995).

Party Size

The size of the political party influences its preference for the type of election processes. Larger parties tend to prefer more centralized (closed) processes, while smaller parties prefer decentralized or open processes (Lundell, 2004). Smaller parties will want to create larger appeal and will do so by opening the process. This open appeal may generate more publicity for the party and moderates its positions (Lundell, 2004). Larger

parties already have a strong support base and want to offer benefits to their members and maintain their party base with closed election processes.

Theory: Factors that Affect the Choice of Electoral Systems

Primaries and caucuses are the first step of the electoral process, and influencing who participates at this level can impact the overall election outcome. The form of preliminary election chosen by the state and the parties influence who is able to participate in selecting candidates, and in this respect primaries and caucuses have similar effects. In general open primaries allow for participation on a grander scale, and closed primaries mean that only those who identify with the party are able to vote. This distinction has often meant that those who have previously been excluded from the political system may be more likely to be excluded from preliminary elections.

Understanding empirically what drives the selection of open or closed systems remains a puzzle and in what follows we explore the drivers of that selection process. Why do different states/parties decide on different selection methods? What factors affect those choices? We put forth four different explanations and test three separate hypotheses related to these explanations.

Population Explanations

One of the commonly cited goals of modern electoral design in the United States is the, reduction of the number of individuals who are excluded for the voting process. While this is most often considered in terms of participation in general elections, the ability to participate in preliminary election given their importance to the outcomes of the general election is equally important. One practical example of the implementation of this goal is the elimination of the White Primary, which only allowed Caucasians to participate in the preliminary electoral selection process but allowed wider participation in the general election. In Smith v Allwrigth (1944) the Supreme Court of the United States held that prohibiting people from participating in a primary was tantamount to prohibiting them from participating in the election. Moreover, because the court acknowledged the realty that due to single party dominance the preliminary election had a significant impact on the outcome of the general election, and thus excluding non-Caucasians from the preliminary election based on race the state had prevented their meaningful participation in the overall election process. In short the court held that by limiting participation in a preliminary election, a party is limiting participation in the election itself.

Historical Explanations

Previous electoral approaches and the history of electoral institutions have been well established as a predictor of the design of electoral systems. (Erikson and Carty, 1991; Gallagher, 1980; Martz, 1999; Norris, 1997). Closed systems encourage elites to mandate the selection of candidates and limit the influence of the public. The literature indicates that countries that have experienced substantial conflict or have recovered from past tyrannical leadership are more likely to have a decentralized system in order to eliminate strong power bases (Gallagher, 1980; Norris, 1997). Consequently, the connections between the election process, political conflict and history are an important consideration. We investigate this by analyzing if southern states with a history of slavery experience different choices of selection methods.

Southern states, historically, have been less open to the democratic process and more willing to limit the participation of some citizens (as demonstrated through Jim Crow laws and other obstacles to voting). We expect that because of the South's experience with slavery and civil rights, and the subsequent federal oversight, the primary elections will more likely be open than in other states in an attempt to prevent civil rights abuses. This is evident in *Smith v. Allwright* (1944) and other court cases that attempted to enhance minorities' ability to participate. These historical influences can lead to the desire to protect against tyrannical leadership or political conflict (Czudnowski, 1970; Erikson and Carty, 1991; Gallagher, 1980; Martz, 1999; Norris, 1997). The Voting Rights Act of 1965 requires judicial oversight on changes in elections in many southern states, as seen in redistricting plans; therefore, changes such as closing a primary require judicial approval.

The Voting Rights Act and *Smith v. Allwright* increased by legal requirement minority voters' opportunities in the south to become involved in the electoral process and influence electoral outcomes. As such we expect that the higher the population of minorities, the more likely the state will be to utilize open preliminary elections in an attempt to comply with federal oversight if governed by the requirements of the Voting Rights Act.

Open preliminary elections are one way of overcoming historical issues in the electoral process, such as the all white primary and other old Jim Crow laws. Thus, we expect that southern states with high minority populations will be more likely to have an open preliminary election, albeit largely due to federal court oversight.

Cultural Explanations

Historical influences can also be aligned with political culture. Elazar (1972) developed a typology of state political cultures as a way of explaining political activities across states. He classifies states into three categories: 'moralistic,' 'individualistic,' and 'traditionalistic' to differentiate between different cultures among the states. Each state has a dominant political culture that explains citizen attitudes and participation in government; this is used to explain not only the use of direct democracy, but also participation in these types of elections. This is particularly evident in two of Elazar's political cultures. Moralistic cultures emphasize the common good and politics are expected to revolve around issues (Elazar, 1972; Gray, 2004). These expectations have an impact on citizens, as citizens are expected to participate in elections (Gray, 2004). Elazar's traditionalist culture, on the other hand, focuses on the governmental role to maintain social and economic hierarchy (Elazar, 1972; Gray, 2004). In this culture, politicians are elites and ordinary citizens are not expected to participate in politics (Gray, 2004).

Institutional Explanations

The state legislature generally does not have sole direct control of the election method; instead, the power lies with the political party. There are, however numerous factors at the state level that can contribute to what the state political party wants when looking to nominate a candidate. The professionalization of the legislature encapsulates a substantial component of these state level factors, as it demonstrates the type of leadership in the state as well as the institutional components of the state.

When there is a professional legislature there are often more qualifications required for candidates, narrowing the field and reducing the need for the party to strictly monitor the professionalism and qualifications of candidates. Often, the party will institutionalize the election process in order to put forth more qualified (and loyal) candidates rather than the most popular especially where the legislature is not classified as being "professional". The closed process allows the party to have more influence over the outcome and suggest the best candidate for the position. We include this component in our analysis to explore how the state legislature can influence preliminary election processes. We expect that the less professionalized the state legislature is the more likely parties are to have a closed election process, largely in an attempt to marshal party loyalty among those running for office.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: A higher percentage of minority population in the state increases the likelihood of states using closed preliminary elections, except where covered by Federal Court Oversight under the Voting Rights Act.

Parties will work to close the process when there are more minorities in the state as part of a desire to maintain the status quo. We hypothesize that when there are higher percentages of minorities, the party and state will insulate the process from more varieties of interests and maintain the election process as a function of party loyalty.

Hypothesis 2: A history of civil rights abuses and the resulting federal oversight of elections in southern states leads to more open election processes.

As noted earlier, the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the judicial ruling in *Smith v. Allwright* (1944) demonstrate the limitations on southern states to restrict electoral access. Consistent with the literature on preventing a dominant group from taking over elections, we expect that the history of civil rights abuses and or limitations have led to a more open election process in southern states despite higher levels of minority population, and the resulting cross-cutting pressures.

Hypothesis 3: States with citizen legislatures are more likely than those with professional legislatures to have a closed election process.

We hypothesize that the less professionalized the state legislature is, the more the party and state will want to insulate the process from the public to encourage party loyalty and to prevent against crossover voting from non-party members.

Methods and Data

In this study we focus on the 2008 election, focusing on the two major parties (Republican and Democrat) in the fifty states. This provides a total sample size of 100 election processes. We use the state party election as the unit of analysis rather than the State as there are a number of states that have split open and closed primaries between the two major parties.

We use the 2008 election as it is both recent and had the largest minority turnout in the history of the United States with 65.2 percent of African Americans and 49.9 percent of Hispanic voters participating (Lopez and Taylor, 2009). The minority participation in the 2008 election highlights the importance of understanding the factors that lead to election processes, as minority populations have historically been restricted from political participation. To test our hypotheses, we present two logit statistical models. We created a dataset containing information about the type of candidate selection mechanism used by each state party. Our dependent variable is whether a preliminary election is closed or not closed. Blanket and mixed

primaries are coded to be included with the non-closed systems as they allow greater access than closed systems that have strict party affiliation requirements.

The first regression identifies the determinates of closed preliminary elections and does not differentiate between primaries or caucuses. The second regression tests only the likelihood of primary elections being closed, which serves two purposes. First, it is a robustness test of our earlier results in the full model. Second, it allows us to address whether primary elections are fundamentally different than caucuses in how decisions are made about their openness.

To test our hypotheses, we use several independent variables that are the hypothesized factors that could lead state parties to implement certain candidate selection mechanisms. We control for party by implementing a dichotomous variable for Democrats and include controls for several demographic characteristics of the states. The demographic characteristics are controlled for by the percentage of the population that is male, the median age of the population, the percent of the population with a high school diploma, the unemployment rate, and the median income. We also use dichotomous variables to control for Elazar's (1972) state characteristics: *moralistic, traditionalistic,* and *individualistic*. The ideology of the state is also controlled for. We adopt the measure from Berry et al.'s (1998) *citizen ideology* work in each state.

To test our first hypothesis, we include the percent of the population that is African-American, and the percent of the population that is of Hispanic descent. These two ethnic groups represent the majority of the minority populations across the United States. We use these two groups rather than white/non-white as we believe there may be some difference in the effect of African American given the civil and voting rights history. Our expectation, if we are to reject the null hypothesis of no racial effect, is that as the percent of populations who belong to these groups rises, the likelihood of a preliminary election being closed will increase.

To test our second hypothesis, we include a dichotomous variable for the former confederate states who were the primary recipients of federal oversight due to the Voting Rights Act, to test whether that oversight has led to a significantly different likelihood of closed elections in relation to race relative to the non-south.

To test our third hypothesis, we included dichotomous variables to represent the professionalization of the state legislature operationalized according to Squire's (1993) typology: *citizen legislature, marginally professional, semiprofessional,* and *heavily professional*. Again, our hypothesis expects that the citizen legislature will be more likely than the professional legislature to engage in closed preliminary elections.

Discussion and Findings

The results of both regressions are presented in Table 1. Six variables are significant predictors of closed preliminary electoral candidate selection processes. This model finds that as percentage of minorities rises in a state, the likelihood of having a closed system increases, confirming our first hypothesis. Further, states designated as being part of the "south" have a lower likelihood of having a closed system than non-southern states. This provides confirmation of our second hypothesis, suggesting that the Voting Rights Act and *Smith v. Allwright* (1944) have influenced the election processes in the South. Our third hypothesis proposes that states that have citizen legislatures rather than professional legislatures will have a tendency toward closed systems. The results from our first regression confirm this hypothesis as well. States with citizen legislatures are more likely than states with professional legislatures to close their preliminary elections. As indicated earlier, we hypothesize that the closed systems occur to prevent the inclusion of a variety of interests, instead focusing on the preferences of the party loyal. The evidence we find for each of our hypotheses certainly bear this notion out.

Two other variables are also significant in our closed system regression. First,

Table 1: Predicting Closed Election Systems -Logit

Independent Variable	***Closed Preliminary Election***	***Closed Primary Election***		
	Logit Coefficient	Standard Error	Logit Coefficient	Standard Error
Percent Black	0.20***	0.07	0.14**	0.07
Percent Hispanic	0.23***	0.08	0.29***	0.09
South+	-5.45***	1.73	-4.68***	1.77
Marginal Professional+	2.25	1.46	2.09	1.93
Semi Professional+	1.85	1.32	3.01*	1.74
Citizen Legislature+	3.64**	1.83	4.94**	1.77
Democrat+	-0.66	0.52	-0.32	0.57
Percent Male	0.94	0.66	-3.12***	1.15
Median Age	0.61***	0.21	0.20	0.19
Percent High School Grad	0.20	0.19	0.16	0.16
Unemployment Rate	-0.26	0.28	-0.52	0.37
Median Income	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Moralist Culture+	-1.62	1.36	-0.72	1.56
Individualist Culture+	0.13	1.34	-1.51	1.29
Citizen Ideology	-0.65**	0.03	-0.08**	0.04
N	100	100		
Pseudo R2	0.398	0.369		
Log Likelihood	-39.28	-38.54		

*p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01,+ Dummy Variable

median age returns a positive coefficient meaning that as the median age increases the likelihood of having a closed system increases. The implication seems to suggest that states with older populations insulate their election processes more than states with younger populations. Second, citizen ideology is also significant, indicating that as citizens become more conservative, the parties in that state will more likely to close preliminary elections.

We find evidence for each of our hypotheses in the second regression as well. The coefficients change neither direction nor significance when strictly observing primaries rather than primaries and caucuses. We do find, however that two additional variables are significant predictors of closed primaries. The first is the percent of male population. The coefficient indicates that as the percent of males in a state increases, the likelihood of a party having a closed primary decreases considerably. The second, semi-professional legislature is consistent with our expectation that professional legislatures will be more likely to engage in open preliminary election mechanisms. In this case, like the citizen legislature, the semi-professional legislature is more likely than the professional legislature to close the process.

Overall, these results suggest that our hypotheses are confirmed by the data on system selection from the fifty states, and that the decision to close elections is tied both to the demographic realities of the state and the institutional arrangement of the legislature. Our findings indicate that, in some cases, state parties and elected officials are working to restrict the ability of individuals to participate in party preliminary elections if they are not formally affiliated with the sponsoring political party. Further we find no difference with regards to our hypotheses between the primary only and all closed system models.

We find that even when controlling for preliminary elections held by the Democratic party an increased percentage of minorities in the state dramatically increases the likelihood that the election mechanism will be closed to non-party members. Our findings seem to illustrate that in the presence of high minority population shares, political parties make an effort to restrict who participates in their election process by closing those processes to non-members. The practical result of this policy is the suppression of the interests of those not directly associated with the party.

We find that the presence of greater minority populations is correlated with closed electoral processes, we also find strong evidence that our second hypothesis of greater openness in the 'south' is confirmed. Working from an understanding of the long history of issues with voting rights in the south and the subsequent litigation and regulation on the subject, the relative openness of the preliminary election processes in the 'south' is not unexpected. Indeed, the goal of much of the voting rights legislation was to ensure that minority voters were participants in the political process and party affiliation was periodically used to prevent minority voters from accessing the political process. Section Two of the Voting Rights Act is focused on regulating the preliminary electoral processes in states under the purview of the federal oversight due to voting irregularities. Our findings indicate that the 'south' variable is a proxy for the application of federal oversight over the electoral system of the state rather than some unique geographic or socio-cultural reality.

We find support that legislature professionalization appears to have a great impact on the closing of preliminary electoral systems. When professionalization is lower, election mechanisms are more likely be closed, indicating that the party wants more control when selecting candidates who will engage in policy making as a part time activity. It is paramount in these cases that parties ensure that those who are eligible to compete in the general election are in fact ideologically aligned with the party because they will have less influence once a member is ensconced in the legislature.

6.1 Additional Results

Our control variables also provide some interesting insight into the decision to close preliminary elections. First, age seems to matter to the mechanisms states use to select candidates. This result demonstrates the influence of socioeconomic variables in the election process. Further, it seems to indicate that older populations may be more interested in ensuring that those who represent a party in the general election reflect the status quo. Second, citizen ideology is also significant, indicating that ideology is linked to preferences of citizens when elections mechanisms are chosen and is illustrative of Lundell's (2004) research on party size and closed primaries. Third, Elazar's (1972) typology does not appear to matter. The influence of both moralist and individualist cultures on primary election processes was miniscule. These results could possibly show the need to reconsider this typology or the effect of political culture on state election mechanisms. Fourth, economic factors are not significant predictors of closed systems. Neither unemployment nor median income is significant, indicating that economic conditions do not appear to affect the choice of election processes.

Conclusions and Implications

We find strong evidence for our three hypotheses as well as evidence of additional factors in election processes from median voter age and citizen ideology that impact the choice of election methods. An increase in minority populations indicates that

states are more likely to use closed systems and southern states are more likely to utilize open preliminary election systems. Southern states tend to have higher minority populations, so it could be expected that at least one of our first two hypotheses would be null. The fact that they are both supported provides evidence that states are responding to federal oversight from the Voting Rights Act. While the South has been the focus of the majority of civil rights discussion, there are states with high minority populations who continue to limit open participation in elections. States like California, New Mexico, and Arizona have large minority groups similar in size to those of southern states (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2014).

In addition, the 2016 presidential election was projected to be the most racially and ethnically diverse election in the history of the United States. Minority groups will make up an estimated 31 percent of the electorate, a two percent increase since the 2012 election, while the white vote has fallen from 71 percent to 69 percent (Krogstad, 2016). These increases in minority voting indicate the need for further research concerning the choice of election processes. If these trends are not studied, increasing percentages of the American electorate could face participation barriers through closed preliminary elections.

The selection of a preliminary election process, at first glance, seems like a small part of the overarching electoral process. Participation at every level is essential to a well-functioning democratic society. The implications of this research illustrates that, while the Voting Rights Act has had impacts on how elections are run in the southern United States, the United States still has obstacles and variations in voting rights which may further manifest themselves following the recent US Supreme court ruling which limited the regulatory effect of the Voting Rights Act.

Not every state necessarily needs to have the same electoral rules, nor open processes. However, the differences between open and closed preliminary elections need to be acknowledged and further research performed concerning both its impact on participation and why each process is chosen. States have autonomy in preliminary electoral process selection and the influences are very much a reflection of the desires and expectations of the state. Thus, it is not surprising that citizen legislatures, racial composition, and region influence these election choices.

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Democratic Policing and Organizational Learning in UN Police Missions

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ABSTRACT

The United Nations Police Force (UNPOL) mission deals with the training, supervising, reform and restructuring of host country police forces. In 1996 the principles of democratic policing (DP) were introduced by the UN as the framework to guide UNPOL operations. This study examines the implementation and practice of DP using the concept of organizational learning (OL) across UNPOL missions at the individual and organizational levels. Findings of this study showed that UNPOL officers show strong support for the principles of DP regardless of demographic or professional factors such as age, education, mission, or rank. Also, the officers who come from countries contributing to these missions gain considerable new knowledge about DP during missions, and this knowledge changes their approach on policing. The study concludes that the United Nations should direct specific attention to OL as a strategy to implement DP in UNPOL at the leadership level.

Keywords: UN Police Mission, democratic policing, organizational learning, post-conflict environment

Introduction

Democratic Policing (DP) was laid out by the United Nations as the guiding principle for its United Nations Police Operations (OSCE, 2009). This study examines whether organizational learning (OL) can facilitate the implementation of DP across United Nations Police Force (UNPOL) missions at both the individual and organizational levels. Building or restoring peace and social order after conflict is a difficult task. This mission is generally shouldered by international organizations due to the lack of political and social stability and institutional capability in post-conflict countries (Goldsmith, 2005; O'Neil, 2005; Pino & Wiatrowski, 2006). The UN has been the primary international organization to take over this task through its peace-keeping operations (Lipson, 2007). Although the peace-keeping operations have several components, the police play a crucial role because they are responsible for providing safety and security for citizens and restoring social order upon which other reform efforts can be built. In post-conflict environments (PCEs) police organizations mostly collapse and need to be either built up from scratch or reformed and restructured (Ferguson, 2004; Marenin, 2005). Typically police organizations in PCEs have been part of a repressive security sector comprised of the military, intelligence and police systems (Pino & Wiatrowski, 2006).

The UN put forward the term "democratic policing" with the International Police Task Force (IPTF) report in 1996 in Bosnia-Herzegovina as a comprehensive framework of policing which should be implemented in PCEs. DP requires that police organizations be accountable, transparent, to subordinate themselves to civil and democratic authority, to earn legitimacy, be responsive, professional, act according to the principles of human rights and democracy, and consider themselves 'service providers' (OSCE, 2009).

Within the post-conflict context, since the host country police organizations have a culture of repression, impunity and autocracy, the assistance of UNPOL is crucial for the implementation of these democratic values in policing (Broer & Emery, 1998). Therefore, DP could become the framework of police reforms conducted by international organizations in PCEs (Bayley, 1997; Neild, 2001; Marenin, 2005). DP can facilitate the internalization of democratic values by the conflict-torn country, enhance legitimacy, trust and respect of citizens for the state, and accelerate the development and restoration of other democratic institutions in this transitional period (Marenin, 2005). Thus, it is critical to explore through research OL as a strategy the UNPOL uses to implement DP principles in PCEs.

Implementing DP in PCEs is a difficult task that necessitates a strong commitment by UNPOL to OL. When UN Police missions are analyzed, certain recurring deficiencies are noted. Among those issues with UNPOL are: the slow pace and scant number of the deployment of UNPOL officers, coordination problems due to the multi-national structure of the UNPOL, low quality of UNPOL personnel in terms of policing skills, poor democracy records of the primary police contributing countries and low quality of UNPOL personnel (Mobekk, 2005). At the UNPOL management and leadership level there is a lack of institutional memory due to the high leadership turnover rate caused by the lack of a permanent staff for UNPOL to design and implement DP and to learn from past problems. This is a core element of organizational design and development (Benner & Rotmann, 2008; Broer & Emery, 1998; Call & Barnett, 2000; Durch & Egland, 2010; Howard, 2008; Mobekk, 2005; Perito, 2009; Serafino, 2004; Sismanidis, 1997; Wiatrowski & Goldstone, 2010).

Furthermore, the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural structure of UNPOL (Boer & Emery, 1998; Call & Barnett, 2000; Perito, 2009; Serafino, 2004; Sismanidis, 1997); and low democracy records of the countries that are the top police contributors (Durch, 2010; Wiatrowski & Goldstone, 2010) are mentioned as other important drawbacks of UNPOL. Given these deficiencies it is important to explore the capacity of UNPOL to implement DP principles in PCEs.

Among the major deficiencies of UNPOL, this study puts a specific emphasis on the lack of robust OL in UNPOL arguing that once accomplished, a learning UNPOL organization will overcome most of its problems and conduct better reform and restructuring of the police organizations of PCEs. That is, because UNPOL itself is comprised of many culturally, ethnically, and socio-economically different forces, and because DP and training in DP have been expanding concerns of UNPOL, the ability of UNPOL to carry out its mission with regard to DP depends largely on vigorous OL. This study thus will examine the patterns and capacity of OL in UNPOL to help identify policies needed to make UNPOL more effective in regard to these goals. By so doing the seemingly separate areas of DP and OL will be analyzed in relation to each other within the context of UNPOL. This study examines the practice of implementing DP and OL across UNPOL missions at both the individual and organizational levels.

Literature Review

2.1. Democratic policing

Democratic policing (DP) for the UN was first identified in 'the commissioner's guidance for DP in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina' in the International Police Task Force

(IPTF) report in 1996.

The report stated that:

> In a democratic society, the police serve to protect, rather than impede freedoms. The very purpose of the police is to provide a safe, orderly environment in which these freedoms can be exercised. A democratic police force is not concerned with people's beliefs or associates, their movements or conformity to state ideology. It is not even primarily concerned with the enforcement of regulations or bureaucratic regimens. Instead, the police force of a democracy is concerned strictly with the preservation of safe communities and the application of criminal law equally to all people, without fear or favor (UN, 1996, pp. 1-2).

The IPTF report also enumerated seven principles of DP as follows:

> (1) police must be oriented and operated in accordance with the principles of democracy; (2) police, as recipients of public trust, are professionals whose conduct must be governed by a professional code of conduct; (3) police must have as their highest priority the protection of life; (4) police must serve the community and are accountable to the community they serve; (5) protection of life and property are the primary function of police operations; (6) police must conduct their activities with respect for human dignity and the basic human rights of all persons; and (7) police must discharge their duties in a non-discriminatory manner (Bayley, 2006, p. 8).

> Pino and Wiatrowski (2006) enumerate several principles of DP.

These principles are: (1) rule of law, (2) legitimacy, (3) transparency, (4) Accountability, and (5) subordination to civil authority. Later, a guidebook of the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe on DP (OSCE, 2009) draws a broad framework that encompasses qualifications and requirements for DP at the organizational and individual levels.

At the organizational level, which refers to the tactical and operational aspects of DP, the guidebook asserts that the police should stay out of the political domain and 'serve' all the groups in society in an unbiased and equal manner, based on international standards of human rights and democratic values. Within this framework, all police activities should be planned and conducted in a way that does not single out any group in society based on race, ethnicity, religious or sexual orientation. Another requirement of DP is transparency. The police should establish certain sorts of mechanisms to facilitate communication with the public (OSCE, 2009).

Such mechanisms might include: call-for service systems, open police hours, open police-citizen forums where citizens can directly bring forth their problems and concerns regarding policing issues, public surveys, routine press briefings, and community oriented policing programs, that should also focus on outreaching minority groups. The report emphasizes that induction and in-service training should be given periodically and this training should cover macro level issues, such as democratization and human rights as well as operational subject matters at the micro level. Finally, the cooperation and collaboration between the police and other elements of the criminal justice system is crucial for the success of democratic law-enforcement systems as a whole (OSCE, 2009).

At the individual level, the guidebook contends that democratic police officers should work according to the professional codes of conduct and ethical standards identified by legitimate laws, be respectful and responsive to the needs of the public in a non-discriminatory manner and stay out of corruption (OSCE, 2009). Regarding the narrow definitions of DP, the emphasis is on the 'accountability,' 'responsiveness,' and "effectiveness" (Bayley, 1997; Neild, 2001). Neild (2001) contends that the 'effectiveness' of the police depends on the 'respect' they show to people and the 'responsiveness' to their demands; "this dynamic relationship between respectfulness, responsiveness, and effectiveness lies at the core of democratic policing" (p.23). DP entails a move away from the preservation of 'social order,' which implies that the police can do away with the rights of criminals or spoilers for the sake of the peace of society at large, to a more balanced approach considering the 'norms and practices' in the state and society (Neild, 2001).

As Bayley (2006) notes, police reform is a very important part of democratization as the police are one of the primary and most visible representatives of the government authority. Changing police behavior, however, is difficult. Moreover, it is impossible to establish democracy in the absence of public safety and physical security which is provided by the police in partnership with civil society. In addition, UNPOL's capacity to implement DP principles has been questioned due to a set of factors that mostly stem from its organizational structure (Call & Barnett, 2000; Perito, 2009). UNPOL is comprised of police officers coming from different countries, mostly developing countries that themselves have poor records of democracy and human rights (Durch, 2010; Wiatrowski & Goldstone, 2010). According to Durch and England (2010), although 61 % of UN police officers were coming from 'free' countries in 2001, this amount had fallen to 25 % in 2010. Furthermore, the number of officers coming from 'not free' countries has risen from 9

% in 2001 to 22 % in 2010. According to DPKO's official web site (2011), the proportions of police officers deployed in UN peace-keeping operations as of 2010 based on continental origination is as follows: Asia: 37 %; Africa: 34%; America: 5 %; Middle East: 9 % and Europe: 15 %.

The second issue is that some of UNPOL officers are recruited from countries where an ongoing UNPOL mission already exists. Currently, five countries that are hosting a UN or EU police mission are making police contributions in the UNPOL. Specifically, 1,862 officers in UN peace-keeping operations were deployed from Bangladesh; 152 officers from Cote d'Ivoire; 80 officers from Chad; 27 from the Congo and 20 from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The third issue is different job skills, organizational cultures, and work ethics of UN police officers. In fact, the poor quality of police skills from countries contributing to UN police missions has been mentioned as the weakest aspect of UN Civil Police (CIVPOL)/ United Nations Police Force (UNPOL) at the individual level since the beginning of UN police operations (Call & Barnett, 2000; Perito, 2009; Sismanidis, 1997). The UN requires all CIVPOL/ UNPOL candidates to have proficiency in the official mission language and the ability to drive four-wheel vehicles. In several cases, however, it has been pointed out that UNPOL officers lack even these basic skills (Sismanidis, 1997). But more importantly there is no minimum level of training in police or a demonstration of competence in core areas of policing as a prerequisite to participating in UN police missions.

As the final issue, the level of democracy in the nations that donate police to UN missions raises concerns about the effectiveness of the UNPOL. There is no primary research study measuring the perceptions of UNPOL officers about democracy in general and DP principles in specific. UNPOL officers are instead labeled with the democracy scores of the countries they come from, and if these countries are undemocratic then the police officers coming from that country are assumed to be undemocratic without any data to test that hypothesis. In order to put forward a robust picture of the policing efforts of UNPOL in relation to DP, this study first gives voice to UNPOL officers regarding their opinions about democracy and DP. Also, it attempts to explore what the UNPOL does in terms of DP at the organizational level.

2.2. Organizational Learning

Since the 1960s organizations were accepted as social structures that should be updated regularly as new knowledge about their function, purpose, and effectiveness was developed (Yeo, 2005). In the early 1970s, however, a new perspective emerged which accepted organizations as living organisms and this approach highlighted the human aspects including elements such as culture, trust, and personal relations. In this organizational context, the individual is emphasized as the primary conveyor of the learning activity. Yet what spreads learning across the organization are the cooperative interactions among individuals. There are three major organizational learning (OL) approaches, the theory of action, communities of practice (CoP), and appreciative inquiry (AI).

2.2.1. Theory of Action

Argyris and Schön's (1978) theory of action assumes that the organizational environment is highly uncertain and is continuously changing. Organizations and individuals, therefore, have to learn continuously to exist and remain viable in this unstable environment. There are two types of theories of action: espoused theories of actions and theory-in-use. First, espoused theories of actions are formal and intended behavior patterns that individuals feel obliged to perform in certain circumstances (e.g., objectives, official procedures, and organizational diagrams). Second, theory-in-use refers to the actions that people consciously or unconsciously actually perform to make the organization function. In order to bridge the gap between the espoused theories and theories in use, organizations have to take action and intervene in order to manage the process of change in the minds of their employees (Argyris & Schön, 1978). Two types of learning take place in the organizational context: single-loop learning and double-loop learning (Argyris and Schön, 1978). Single-loop learning refers to the diagnosis and elimination of the symptoms of problems by merely applying existing knowledge. Double-loop learning, on the other hand, involves changing the organizational "norms, policies, and objectives" that underlie problems in response to new analysis and learning.

In regard to the individual level OL, Argyris (1993) introduces the concept of "defensive routines." Argyris (1993) defines defensive routines as mental mechanisms that inhibit OL by hindering the "detection and correction of error … [and] problem solving and decision making … [and yields to] less effective organizational performance" (p.19). According to Argyris, defensive routines stem from the paradox between the strictness of written rules of organizations and the "complexity" of issues that members of organizations have to deal with in reality (theory-in-use). Defensive routines "overprotect individuals and groups and inhibit them from learning new actions. Defensive routines occur continually and are independent of individual actors' personalities" (Argyris, 1993, p.20). Organizational cultures can also pave the way for individuals to use these mechanisms. Since defensive routines are constructed by individuals and organizations together, they can be overcome by mechanisms that address both individual

mindsets and organizational procedures and cultures (Argyris, 1993).

Intervention aims to bring organizations to a level where members of organizations are better able to detect errors, the mismatch between what is supposed to happen and what actually happens, and change the underlying factors of errors in the organizational structure (double loop learning). Interventions attempt to diagnose the problems inhibiting the members of an organization from developing learning skills and teach them how to develop a dialectic approach.

2.2.2. Communities of Practice

Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002) defined Communities of Practice (CoP) as "groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis" (p.4). CoP are composed of people with similar interests, problems, or goals who come together regularly to take advantage of each other's knowledge and experience on the topic of interest. CoP emerged as a solution to the traditional knowledge management paradigm that pays very little attention to practice-based knowledge. In a seminal article of the field, Brown and Duguid (1991) emphasized the difference between formal rules and what individuals actually do in practice. They contend that organizations generally downplay the value of the latter in relation to OL and innovation.

Normal "office procedures" such as official job descriptions, written procedures, or routine OL procedures mostly ignore the practice that includes the rich details of the nature of the work which are typically not shared. Routine OL procedures aim to encode and embed practical information into abstractions which often leads to the elimination of the most important details. Brown and Duguid (1991) claim that official procedures, databases, or Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) are typically insufficient when working in the field. Moreover, these formal organizational instruments might even be counterproductive when the solutions they offer do not work and the organization has no procedure for learning the "tricks of the trade." Employees frequently feel obliged to exceed the borders of these formal rules, when they are inadequate, and initiate contact with others who have the practical experience that provides a solution for a problem they confront.

The procedure for the clarification of the problem is done by exchange of information and lessons derived from rounds of trial and error or the creation of a shared understanding of the problem that is different from formal definitions. This all culminates with the creation of a community which identifies itself around an issue or practice. Thus CoP is not designed or pre-planned but is mostly emergent as groups of understanding. CoP evolves through the informal interactions of people and learning occurs based on the shared practice and experience in the CoP. Dynamic structures of CoP have paved the way for problem detection, strategy development, and implementation of appropriate solutions (Brown & Duguid, 1991).

Wenger (1999) identified the theoretical background of CoP as social and activity-based learning enablers. Learning is meaning and identity creation through social participation of human beings in practical environments. This definition includes four key components of learning: meaning, practice, community, and identity. Meaning is the structured beliefs and opinions of individuals that can change when they acquire new experience and knowledge. Practice is the accumulated experience that becomes the basis for the communication with those who are interested in it. Community is an environment in which people with similar experience come together. Finally identity refers to internalized mental models that are constructed or transformed through learning in communities.

2.2.3. Appreciative Inquiry

Appreciative inquiry (AI) emerged with the application of positive psychology to the field of OL. Positive psychology claims that there are positive aspects of human behavior and focusing on these aspects might help the curing of psychological problems (Luthans & Church, 2002). Problem-oriented action research views problems as opportunities for learning and knowledge creation. It aims to find and solve problems using double loop mechanisms so that learning can happen (Argyris & Schön, 1978). Cooperrider and Srivastva (1987) have argued that problem-oriented research considers problems to be exogenous factors that are "out there" and need to be explored by researchers and solved by managers. Such an approach separates 'theory' from 'action' and focuses on the latter. What lies behind this is the 'rational' model which is result-oriented and focuses on products or measurable outcomes.

Cooperrider and Srivastva (1987) believe that uniting theory together with practice is necessary to creating organizational change. They call this approach socio-rationalism and describe it as a post-industrial paradigm. Socio-rationalism posits that individuals can ascribe different meanings to the same events they come across based on their prior experiences. Social science theory, then, can generate new knowledge by extracting positive memories from the individuals through language and its interactive use in creating shared meanings and understandings. They then use this to formulate these capacities into new meaningful courses of action. Thus, the socio-rationalist paradigm incorporates not only the secular and

formal but also moral, informal, and even absurd events that help people to make sense of their environment (Cooperrider & Srivastva,1987). Cooperrider and Srivastva (1987) also argue that appreciative inquiry provides "a research perspective that is uniquely intended for discovering, understanding, and fostering innovations in social-organizational arrangements and processes" (p.149). AI posits that every organization has a positive core and tries to reveal this core through inquiry, imagination, and innovation (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005).

The AI process consists of four phases called the 4-D cycle: discovery, dream, design, and destiny (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005). The first phase, discovery, focuses on "appreciation" in organizations which assumes that in every system there is always something that works. The AI process aims to reveal the working components of the system by inquiring about "what is working." The second phase, dream, provokes the minds of members to ask about "what might be" as an example of what is being asked. The third phase, design, describes the underlying characteristics of positive experiences which solve problems and defines them as new seeds of organizational change by asking "what should be." The final phase, destiny, then constitutes what might be done and what should be done to reveal a range of possibilities of "what can be" done. These four phases of AI demonstrate that AI has a social scientific base including theory, observation, data collection, and theory building for action. In sum, this process is a series of learning sessions that can be both formal and informal.

The concept of OL is neutral and technical rather than value-laden and philosophical. This study utilizes data from UNPOL to examine how OL can support the integration of DP into UNPOL policy and practice. If adopted as a UNPOL change strategy, OL can make DP a realistic outcome of UNPOL operations. This study argues that the knowledge and experience which exists in the diverse and dynamic working environment of UNPOL can be converted into organizational knowledge. Then UNPOL will become a more effective organization which will establish DP principles in both UNPOL and PCEs.

Methodology

3.1. Research Questions

This study attempts to answer the following research questions which related the OL of UNPOL to the implementation of DP reform strategies in PCEs:

Q1-What are the factors that contribute to the perception of DP in UNPOL missions?

Q2-What are the factors that contribute to OL in UNPOL missions?

Q3- Is there any empirical association between OL and DP and, if there is, what are the components of this association?

3.2. Survey Design

This study adopted a web-based survey method. Since the current UN peace-keeping missions have two official languages, English and French, the English version of the survey questionnaire was translated into French and another web link was created for the French version of the survey.

3.3. Sampling Strategy

The population for the survey was the UN police officers actively serving in a UN police mission. It also included respondents who had recently finished their missions, primarily from the UNMIK (UN mission in Kosovo). The unit of analysis is individual. This study used the following sampling procedure: eleven currently ongoing UN peace-keeping operations with police components were contacted via email. Permission was requested from UNPOL for the distribution of the survey links to the entire population of police officers. Personal contacts of the lead author were used and those who had already been contacted were encouraged to contact fellow officers on missions to further spread the dissemination of the survey. Three waves of emails were sent to these contacts to increase the participation rate. Each email asked the recipient to forward the invitation email with the links to the URL addresses of the surveys to their colleagues working at a UNPOL mission. Data collection for the survey lasted for 16 weeks.

The current sample of 308 UNPOL officers comprises individuals from 43 different nations that are working or had recently worked on UNPOL missions. Of the data 268 were in the English version and 40 were in the French version. Since the number of invitation emails sent is unknown-due to email forwarding, it is impossible to identify the response rate. However, a rough estimation can be made based on the number of known emails sent and the population of the groups to which the emails were sent. According to this calculation, the estimated response rate is approximately 32%.

3.4. Statistical Models and Hypotheses

Two types of ordinary least square (OLS) models were developed. The first model attempts to identify the primary predictors of OL in UNPOL missions. Within this model two policy variables, leadership and local factors, and three control variables, training, physical and technical conditions, were used. In addition to these variables, age, tenure, region, the duration

of deployment, education, rank, and mission dummy variables were included in the model. The model of OL in UNPOL missions tests the following hypotheses:

> H1: UNPOL officers will have a higher level of perceived OL if they believe that they are managed through effective leadership.

The second OLS model, DP through OL includes OL and local atmosphere as policy variables, satisfaction with training, physical and technical conditions of their mission, and the geographical region of the officer as control variables. In addition to these variables, rank, education, tenure, and region were included in the model. The following hypotheses were tested through the second model:

> H2: UNPOL officers will have higher commitment to the principles of DP if they have higher levels of perceived OL in UNPOL missions.

3.5. Variables and their measures

3.5.1. Dependent variables

The adherence of respondents to DP is indicated by the variable of dempercept. In order to capture the concept of DP, 17 items were applied which measured elements or components of DP such as accountability, transparency, and adherence to the rule of law, human rights, subordination to civil authority, community policing, equal treatment to citizens, perceptions on democracy, the notion of human security, and the value of the service in the mission. To the 17 questions for dempercept, the responses were assessed using a 5-point Likert-type scale from (1) strongly agree to (5) strongly disagree.

The second dependent variable, the perceived level of OL in UNPOL missions, is referred to as learning. Ten items were included to capture the perceptions of UNPOL officers on the difficulty of conditions in the mission and the support of the UNPOL for learning and change (7 items), and personal commitment to learning and change (3 items). These measures used 5-point Likert scales from (1) strongly agree to (5) strongly disagree.

3.5.2. Explanatory Variables

In order to explore the perceived adherence of UNPOL officers to DP, effective leadership (Bayley, 2006; Neild, 2001; O'Neil, 2005), gaining the support of local actors (Bayley, 1997; Goldsmith & Dinnen, 2007; Marenin, 1998), and the adequacy of training (Bayley, 1997; Mobekk, 2005; Neild, 2001; Pino & Wiatrowski, 2006; Wiatrowski & Goldstone, 2010) were utilized as measures of the independent variables. In order to explain the UNPOL officer's perception of OL in UNPOL missions, effective leadership, training, physical and technical conditions and integration with the local population were included in the model of OL in UNPOL missions.

Nine items were used to measure the perceived level of effective leadership in UNPOL missions (two of which were negatively worded). Respondents were asked which factors among language, religion, race, history, border, and culture were the most important to have in common with the local population. Then they were asked which of these characteristics they physically had in common with the local population. Also, opinions of UNPOL officers about the local citizens, police, media and politicians were addressed. In addition, the degree of satisfaction UNPOL police had with the working environment in UNPOL missions, perceived adequacy of in service training, technical conditions, and physical conditions were assessed by the survey.

Training about implementing DP in the UNPOL mission was conceptualized and then measured in terms of in-service training sessions, debriefings, human-rights training, DP training, and training on the local factors of the mission country in which they were deployed. Technical conditions were measured by the quality and utility of vehicles, computers, information systems, electronic communication devices and technical support personnel. Finally, the satisfaction with physical conditions scale consists of items measuring the satisfaction of the subject with his/her salary, buildings (police stations), housing facilities, and social, welfare and recreational facilities.

3.5.3. Demographic Variables

Eight demographic variables measuring mission, age, rank, marital status, tenure, duration of deployment, education, and nationality were included in the study. Mission indicates the mission to which the respondent was dispatched. Nationality is the home country of the respondent. The country variable was categorized based on the geographical regions of the countries and the region variable was generated. Age is measured by the current age group of the respondent. Rank was measured in numbers by indicating the number of steps above the lowest rank in his/her national police force. Tenure is the number of years of work experience the respondent had when they started the first mission. Duration of deployment is a measure of how many months the respondent worked for the UN mission. Marital status included married, single, widowed and divorced categories. Finally, education measured how many years of school work the respondent completed.

Data Analysis and Findings

4.1. Description of the survey sample

Table 1 presents the frequency distributions for the democratic characteristics and control variables. The survey has 308 subjects including missing values due to survey drop outs or items with no responses. The largest sample is from UNMIT (23 %) followed by MINUSTAH (18 %), UNOCI (12.3 %) and UNMIK (11 %). Since MINURCAT and UMBIH missions have very few respondents, these two missions were excluded from analyses that compared missions. Of 244 subjects who identified their countries, 97 (39. 75 %) come from Turkey, 31 (12.7 %) from the Philippines, 10 (4.1 %) from Cameroon, 9 (3.69%) from Pakistan, 8 (3.28 %) from Brazil, 7 (2.87%) from Canada, 6 (2.46 %) from Niger, and 25 (2.05 %) individual officers from the US, Portugal, Benin, Bangladesh, and Australia (5 officers from each country).

Table 1 Descriptive statistics: Democratic characteristics and control variables

Variable		Frequency	Percentage
Mission	MINURCAT	1	0.32
	UNMBIH	8	2.60
	MINUSTAH	55	17.86
	UNAMID	21	6.82
	UNMIK	33	10.71
	UNMIS	17	5.52
	UNMIT	71	23.05
	UNMIL	19	6.17
	UNOCI	38	12.34
	MONUSCO	21	6.82
	Missing	24	7.79
Country	Turkey	97	39.75
	Philippines	31	12.70
	Cameroon	10	4.10
	Pakistan	9	3.69
	Brazil	8	3.28
	Canada	7	2.87
	Niger	6	2.46
	U.S.	5	2.05
	Other	71	29.10
	Total	244	100
Region	Middle East	101	41.58
	Asia	55	22.67
	Europe	14	5.90
	Africa	47	19.37
	N. America	17	6.92
	S. America	10	3.56
	Total	244	100.00
Years of service	1 - 5	39	15.48
	6 - 10	82	32.54
	11 - 15	55	21.83
	16 - 20	31	12.30
	21 - 25	25	9.92
	26 - 30	17	6.75
	31 +	3	1.19
	Total	252	100.00
Marital status	Married	186	72.37
	Single	61	23.74
	Divorced	9	3.50
	Widowed	1	0.39
	Total	257	100

Variable		Frequency	Percentage
Rank	1	15	6.12
	2	14	5.71
	3	24	9.80
	4	33	13.47
	5	44	17.96
	6	18	7.35
	7	10	4.08
	8	13	5.31
	9	13	5.31
	10	20	8.16
	Other	41	16.73
	Total	204	100
Duration of deployment (Months)	1 - 6	39	15.29
	7 - 12	89	34.90
	13 – 18	39	15.29
	19 – 24	47	18.43
	25 +	41	16.08
	Total	255	99.99
Age	26 - 30	8	3.11
	31 - 35	79	30.74
	36 - 40	70	27.24
	41 - 45	46	17.90
	46 - 50	25	9.73
	51 - 55	21	8.17
	56 - 60	8	3.11
	Total	257	100.00
Gender	Male	244	95.31
	Female	12	4.69
	Total	256	100
Desired minimum service years	1	47	16.43
	2	141	49.30
	3	56	19.58
	4	21	7.34
	5	7	2.45
	6	14	4.90
	Total	286	100

Variable		Years
Length of education	Mean	10.30
	Median	9.00
	Standard deviation	3.80

In terms of tenure, 15.5 % of the sample has 1-5 years of police service, 32.5% has 6-10 years, 21.8 % has 11-15 years and 12.3 % has 16-20 years of tenure. The respondents were asked to specify their ranks in terms of numbers where the lowest rank is measured by 1 and each step up in ranks is an integer high. According to this scale, the largest group (38 %) has ranks between the 4th and 6th levels in their police organizations. Twenty three percent of the sample is at the 1st-3rd rank level. In terms of the duration of deployment, 15.3 % of the sample was deployed for 1-6 months, 35 % for 7-12 months, 15.3 % for 13-18 months, 18.43 % for 19-24 months, and 16 % for 25 and more months.

The male proportion of the sample is 95.3 % and female is 4.7%. Total rate of female UNPOL officers is 8 % as of 2010. Since the number of female is too small, gender is excluded from the data analysis. Thirty one percent are in the 31-35, 27 % are 36-40, and 17 % are 41-45 age group. In other words almost 75% of the sample is between the ages of 31 and 45. Finally, the average length of education of officers is 10 years; the median length of education is 9 years with a standard deviation of 3.8. Almost 3 % of the sample has 16 years or more education. To the question about what they felt were the minimum years of service necessary for a UNPOL mission for UNPOL officers to perform effectively, 49.3 % stated two years, 19.6 % three years, while 16.4 % stated one year.

One of the primary objectives of this study was to shed light on the perceptions of UNPOL officers on DP and its components and whether these perceptions vary across missions and other characteristics. For that purpose, an analysis of variance was conducted using the dempercept as the dependent variable and mission and region as categorical variables. The dempercept variable was computed by averaging nine ordinal items measuring DP. ANOVA confirms that the null hypothesis is not rejected. The mean of the dempercept variable is equal to zero across the categories of mission and region factors (F= .84 and p = .71, table is not shown here). Similarly when the factors and their interactions are analyzed separately, neither missions nor regions nor their interaction produced statistically significant variance of the dempercept variable across its categories.

4.2. A model of perceived OL in UNPOL missions

In order to test the impact of local factors and leadership on OL, controlling for satisfaction with training, technical and physical conditions, and the demographic characteristics of the subjects in UNPOL missions, an OLS regression analysis was performed. The regression equation is designed as follows:

Learn2 = β1leadership + β2local + β3ln(training) + β4physical + β5technical + β6rank + β7education + β8age + β9mdeployed + β10-19(mission 1-9) + ε

Variables included in the model are shown in table 2.

Table 2 The summary statistics of the variables to be included in the OLS models

Variable	Context	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Learn²	Perceived organizational convenience for learning and change	287	14.90	5.68	1	25
Leadership	Perceived effectiveness of leadership	262	.14	.81	-2	2
local	Perceived friendliness/hostility of local actors	251	6.71	2.19	1	10
Physical	Satisfaction with physical conditions	261	6.35	2.26	1	10
technical	Satisfaction with technical conditions	254	7.49	2.06	1	10
LogTraining	Satisfaction with training	251	1.77	.50	0	2.31
rank5	Rank	245	2.05	.99	1	5
educ4	Years of education completed	252	2.35	.80	1	4
mdeployed	Number of months deployed in the mission	255	2.85	1.33	1	5
age	Age	257	4.37	1.45	2	8
m1	MINURCAT	284	.00	.06	0	1
m2	UNMBIH	284	.03	.17	0	1
m3	MIUSTAH	284	.19	.40	0	1
m4	UNAMID	284	.07	.26	0	1
m5	UNMIK	284	.12	.32	0	1
m6	UNMIS	284	.06	.24	0	1
m7	UNMIT	284	.25	.43	0	1
m8	UNMIL	284	.07	.25	0	1
m9	UNOCI	284	.13	.34	0	1
m10	MONUSCO	284	.07	.26	0	1

The results of the regression model are shown in table 3. When the OLS model is analyzed, the model accounts for .49 percent of the total variance in the squared learning variable. The model is statistically significant (F = 9.98, p < 0.001). In table 3, leadership (β= 2.83; standardized β= .41) is positively and moderately correlated with learning. A one standard deviation increase in the effective leadership scale is associated with a .41 standard deviation increase in learning controlling for the other variables. No significant relationship was found between the local and learn (OL) variables. With respect to the control variables, satisfaction with training (β= 3.07; standardized β= .27); technical conditions (β= .44; standardized β= .15); and duration of deployment (β= .43 standardized; β=.11) are positively, but weakly associated with the OL scale. Finally, none of the demographic control variables or mission dummies (not shown in the table) was significantly associated with the learn variable in the model.

Table 3 The results of regression models for the organizational learning model

	Model-1 OLS Regression	***Model-2 OLS with robust std errors***	***Model-3 Robust Regression***	***Model-4 Median Regression***
	Learn	**Learn**	**Learn**	**Learn**
Leadership	2.83*** [.41]	2.83***	3.17***	3.41***
	(.48)	(.45)	(.49)	(.42)
logtrain	3.07*** [.27]	3.07***	3.16***	2.84***
	(.83)	(.69)	(.86)	(.74)
physical	-.11	-.11	-.19	-0.22
	(.18)	(.17)	(.19)	(.16)
technical	.44** [.15]	.44**	.38*	.57***
	(.21)	(.20)	(.21)	(.18)
local	.01	.01	.12	.12
	(.15)	(.14)	(.15)	(.13)
rank5	.24	.24	.36	.22
	(.33)	(.35)	(.34)	(.28)
age	-.10	-.10	.11	.12
	(.23)	(.21)	(.23)	(.19)
mdeployed	.43* [.11]	.43**	.38*	.32*
	(.22)	(.21)	(.23)	(.19)
gender	.52	.52	1.96	2.20*
	(1.47)	(1.55)	(1.51)	(1.19)
educ3	-.01	-.01	-.10	-.03
	(.40)	(.38)	(.42)	(.35)
Constant	3.923	3.923	1.78	0.822
	(2.88)	(3.03)	(2.96)	(2.42)
N	**216**	**216**	**215**	**216**
R-squared	**.49**	**.49**	**.51**	**.34**

* = P< .10 ** = P< .05 ***= P < .001
-Standardized coefficients in brackets
-Standardized errors in parentheses

In addition to the OLS model (model-1), three additional models were also tested using the same variables with different types of analyses. An OLS with robust errors (model-2) is appropriate for models with mild violations of the basic assumptions of OLS such as normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity. Regression with robust standard errors calculates the Huber-White sandwich statistic to standardize the errors. Coefficients are not affected by this analysis (Hamilton, 2006). Robust regression (model-3) follows an iteratively reweighted least squares (IRLS) procedure to estimate robust regression statistics. This procedure is meant to deal with outliers, non-normality and non-linearity. In robust regression both coefficients and standard errors might change in comparison to OLS (Hamilton, 2006). Median regression (model-4) calculates the change in the median of the dependent variable – instead of the mean – given the changes in independent variables. This analysis is primarily used to reduce the impact of Y outliers on the model (Hamilton, 2006).

The model of perceived OL in UNPOL missions can be summed up as follows: leadership is the strongest predictor of the quality of OL in UNPOL missions. In addition to that satisfactory training and adequate technical conditions are important to a lesser degree for OL in UNPOL missions. Finally, the duration of deployment is positively, yet weakly associated with the degree of perceived OL. Given these results, first hypothesis was supported by the data.

H1: UNPOL officers will have a higher level of perceived OL if they believe that they are managed through effective leadership (not rejected).

4.3. A model of perceived DP through OL

The second statistical model tests whether DP and OL are empirically related. The OLS model was formed with the dempercept as the dependent variable and learn and local as the policy variables. The same organizational and demographic control variables that had been used in the previous model were used in this model. Although leadership was emphasized as an important element for DP in UNPOL missions (Bayley, 2006; O'Neil, 2005), it was not included in the model due to the strong correlation between the learn and leadership variables. The tenure was included in the model since the relationship between the tenure and democratic policing are controversial as noted in Karatay (2009). The formula of the OLS model for democratic policing is as follows:

Dempercept2 = a + β1learn + β 2local + β3training + β4physical + β5technical + β6rank + β7education + β8ytenure + β21-27(region 1-6) + ε

Variables included in the model are shown in table 4.

Table 4 Variables to be included in the democratic policing OLS model*

Variable	N	Mean	Std dev	Min	Max
dempercept	303	2.17	1.08	0.01	4
learn	287	0.77	.82	-2	2
training	259	6.44	2.61	1	10
Ytenure	252	2. 94	1.51	1	7
N. Amer/Austr	244	.07	.26	0	1
Africa	244	.20	.40	0	1
M.East	244	.02	.13	0	1
Asia	244	.06	.24	0	1
Europe	244	.23	.42	0	1
Brasil	244	.03	.18	0	1
Turkey	244	.40	.49	0	1
*Note that the variables that were included in the model of OL were not shown again					

Multiple statistical models were run for the perceived DP model. The OLS model accounts for .20 of the variance in the squared dempercept variable and the model is statistically significant ($F = 1.82$; $p < .05$). In table 5, perceived OL is positively associated with perceived DP although the level of the correlation is low. There is a one unit increase in the OL scale which is associated with a .184 unit increase in the DP scale controlling for the other variables. Tenure has significant explanatory power on DP; i.e., a one unit increase in the tenure scale is associated with a .188 unit increase in the perceived democratic policing scale. In terms of missions, only the UNMBIH and UNOCI missions have significant coefficients in comparison to the MONUSCO. Both missions have lower DP scores in comparison to MONUSCO. Finally, in terms of the geographical regions of the UNPOL officers, the Turkey category was dropped from the analysis for comparison. At this domain, only Africa and the Middle East regions have significant coefficients in comparison to Turkey. Both of these regions scored lower on the DP scale in comparison to Turkey.

In conclusion, this study found that perceived OL has a consistent and small effect on perceptions about DP in UNPOL and its missions. In addition, as the tenure of officers becomes longer they are more inclined to accept DP principles indicating an aggregate effect about OL. Also, as found in the ANOVA analyses, neither missions nor regional backgrounds of UNPOL officers demonstrated significant variation with respect to their views toward DP.

Table 5 The results of the regression models for the democratic policing models

	Model-1 OLS Regression	***Model-2 OLS with robust std errors***	***Model-3 Robust Regression***	***Model-4 Bootstrapped Median Regression***
	Dempercept²	*Dempercept²*	*Dempercept²*	*Dempercept²*
learn	**.25** [.18]**	**.25****	**.26****	**.38****
	(.12)	**(.12)**	**(.13)**	**(.19)**
local	.00	.00	.01	-.00
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.06)
training	-.01	-.01	-.02	-.05
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.07)
physical	.06	.06	.07	.07
	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)	(.08)
technical	.03	.03	.02	.01
	(.05)	(.05)	(.06)	(.08)
mdeployed	-.01	-.01	-.00	-.02
	(.06)	(.07)	(.07)	(.11)
educ3	.14	.14	.15	.20
	(.10)	(.10)	(.11)	(.18)
rank5	.11	.11	.11	.16
	(.09)	(.08)	(.10)	(.13)
ytenure	**.14** [.19]**	**.14****	**.13***	**.16**
	(.06)	**(.07)**	**(.07)**	**(.10)**
MINURCAT	.29	.29	0	-.50
	(1.21)	(.56)	0	(.64)
UNMBIH	**-1.05****	**-1.05***	**-1.30****	**-2.16****
	(.51)	**(.55)**	**(.56)**	**(.98)**
MINUSTAH	-.33	-.33	-.49	-.98
	(.38)	(.44)	(.42)	(.73)
UNAMID	-.01	-.01	-.10	-.66
	(.44)	(.50)	(.48)	(.85)
UNMIK	-.32	-.32	-.53	-1.07
	(.38)	(.45)	(.42)	(.73)

UNMIS	-.63	-.63	-.83*	-1.34*
	(.42)	(.47)	(.46)	(.71)
UNMIT	-.32	-.32	-.45	-1.02
	(.36)	(.42)	(.39)	(.64)
UNMIL	-.00	-.00	-.27	-.81
	(.43)	(.53)	(.49)	(.74)
UNOCI	**-.80****	**-.80***	**-0.95****	**-1.09**
	(.40)	**(.45)**	**(.44)**	**(.77)**
MONUSCO	**Dropped**			
N America/Australia	-.09	-.09	-.13	.04
	(.38)	(.36)	(.42)	(.58)
Africa	**-.53***	**-.53****	**-.61***	**-.80*****
	(.29)	**(.27)**	**(.32)**	**(.30)**
M.East	**-1.61*****	**-1.61*****	**-1.69****	**-2.06****
	(.59)	**(.49)**	**(.65)**	**(.84)**
Asia	-.34	-.34	-.40	.14
	(.35)	(.40)	(.38)	(.68)
Europe	-.25	-.25	-.27	-.14
	(.26)	(.25)	(.29)	(.42)
Brasil	-.60	-.60	-.62	-.50
	(.47)	(.38)	(.51)	(.55)
Turkey	**Dropped**			
Constant	.47	.47	.60	.99
	(.73)	(.68)	(.80)	(1.07)
Observations	**207**	**207**	**206**	**207**
R-squared	**.20**	**.20**	**.19**	**.15**

* = P< .10 **= p< .05 ***= P < .001
Standard coefficients in brackets
Standard errors in parentheses

Based on the above results the second hypothesis was supported by the data.

> H2: UNPOL officers will have higher commitment to the principles of DP if they have higher levels of perceived OL in UNPOL missions (Supported).

Discussion, implications, limitations, and conclusion

The current study found that UNPOL officers have a strong and positive commitment in the principles of DP. This study also found that UNPOL officers' perception of DP do not vary across nationalities or missions. Development of doctrine which will establish the basis of common standards and definitions of terms and concepts of training in DP is essential. This is crucial for the elimination of the negative impacts of racial and ethnic discrimination in the UNPOL missions. Professional staff and specialists were found to be the actors who will help promote the DP principles through OL in UNPOL missions. The UNPOL policing requires specialized personnel who will stay longer in their posts and therefore make more significant contributions to the reform-restructuring of local police organizations in accordance with DP principles.

It is speculation but probably the more educated and older UNPOL officers are in management and headquarters positions. This is based on observation of UNPOL missions by the authors. However, since the creation of a permanent cadre of UNPOL administrators to implement DP is subject to budget limitations, the adoption of this practice is unlikely. The UN and UNPOL do not operate the equivalent of an UNPOL police academy or UNPOL police university to implement DP at the officer or management level. There is no requirement for this type of education prior to participating in UNPOL missions. This is a serious deficiency in UNPOL management.

The creation of a learning organization requires leadership and commitment to fostering the idea and its importance at the highest levels of the UN and UNPOL.

For the perception of access to information in UNPOL missions, there is strong satisfaction in terms of access to the internet, moderate satisfaction in terms of access to TV, and low-level satisfaction in terms of access to libraries or books. The strongest support was shown for virtual, web and paper-based platforms for the formulation and discussion of problems. The question then is whether the UNPOL management has the resources to create and manage web based learning systems as an integral component of web based learning in support of DP. Neither CoP nor AI is used in UNPOL missions primarily due to the routine workload, and the lack of interest by the UNPOL leadership. Creating learning organizations is a management practice whose value has been demonstrated in the private sector (Senge, 2006) and its promise must be translated and developed in international organizations.

OL activities are viewed as the duty of the "best practices officers" only by UNPOL leadership. The connection between these activities and policing practice should be better understood by the UNPOL leadership. It is not understood by the authors why the role of these officers is not more widely known. It may be that they are viewed as a threat to Mission commanders or as simply irrelevant. Understanding their role might be something that is taught to new mission commanders as management rotates in and out of missions. There is little internal research or evaluation conducted with UNPOL and it is not explicitly facilitated with university level researchers and evaluators who might better assess the efficacy and effectiveness of UNPOL "best practices."

Karademir (2012) found that the international working environment of UNPOL is not an inhibitor of learning in and of itself. The negative consequences of diversity are primarily due to the low levels of education and training of some UNPOL officers coming from countries of low levels of development as evidence by the Failed States Index. The measure of "quality" is simply a reflection of the requirements to become a police officer in the countries from which the UNPOL officers were recruited. It is unlikely that UNPOL officers will be university educated. As a result, it is unlikely that they were exposed to abstract concepts such as DP and OL. This is particularly true when some of the UNPOL are the equivalent of regime police in their home countries as measured by the Security Apparatus measure of the Failed States Index (Messner et al., 2013).

Yet the cultural and professional diversity of the UNPOL officers is a very strong facilitator of learning through the congregation of a large spectrum of techniques, tactics, and approaches which the officers bring to UNPOL missions. UNPOL officers' personal commitments to organizational change and learning are shown to exist at high levels (Karademir, 2012). In regard to the strongest contributions to learning in UNPOL missions, this study found that effective leadership is the strongest predictor of the perception of learning in UNPOL missions. Perhaps if these efforts were more focused and they were given dedicated resources, the practice of OL could be made more effect and the missions would achieve more positive results. In addition to leadership, the areas of training, technical conditions, and duration of deployment are positively associated with the perception of OL in UNPOL missions.

At the organizational level, OL in UNPOL missions is subject to several challenges. The short duration of service, budget, and personnel shortages make it difficult for the organizations to settle into routines where effective practices are developed, where challenges are confronted and where OL can take place. UNPOL officers believe that the minimum duration of service should be two years (see Table 1). In addition to the extension of the duration of service in missions, professionalization of UNPOL posts was repeatedly proposed by UNPOL officers as the key for developing better institutional memory which is a beginning point for OL.

There are limitations in the current study. First, due to limited ability to gain access to UNPOL for research purposes, convenience sampling was adopted. Therefore, the results cannot be generalized on the entire population of UNPOL and UNPOL missions. Second, since the survey was offered in the English and French languages, cultural diversity or the language skills of participants might have an impact on the validity of the study. Third, the highly positive support on both OL and DP items in the survey might stem from a social desirability bias (Dillman, Smyth, & Chiristian, 2009). This possibility was taken into consideration at the design phase and negatively worded items were placed in each section to confront this possibility.

Finally, the items measuring DP were constructed based on the definitions derived from a careful and comprehensive review of the literature on the subject (Bayley, 2006; Jones, Newburn, & Smith, 1996; Marenin, 1998; Pino & Wiatrowski, 2006; Wiatrowski & Goldstone 2010). The central components of DP were explicitly addressed to include accountability, transparency, rule of law, and civil oversight of the police as a social institution in a democratic society. The findings are subject to the problem of measuring complex phenomena such as both OL and DP through survey items and composite variables. Therefore the limitations of the two empirical models should be understood as trial models for the factors which explain OL and DP in UNPOL missions.

The findings in this study are based on the data collected

from UNPOL officers and leaders. Future studies based on the data from local actors would greatly contribute to the completion of the picture. The UN and UNPOL must develop the organizational capacity to learn by supporting and conducting the type of organizational research presented here. Two of the authors of this study served on two UN missions and they understand the importance of presenting to the UN and UNPOL a concept which can improve its operations. While this study attempted to collect data from all of the UNPOL missions, future studies limited to a single mission on the same issues could replicate this methodology and produce more directed results. International organizations funding research might choose to support and expand this type of research. Additional funding might result in more representative samples and therefore could shed more light on the relation between OL and DP found in this study. The expanded understanding of the dissemination and implementation of DP is critical to the success of UNPOL.

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Southern Legislative Candidates' Expressions of Support for Criminal Justice Issues: The Internet and Politics

ABSTRACT

This research investigates state legislature candidates in three Southern states and their stances toward crime and criminal justice related issues via data collected from their official personal campaign websites. Using a quantitative content analysis technique, we analyze the websites of state legislature candidates in the Southern states of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia. More specifically, we examine whether candidate demographic factors or candidates' demonstrating support for political platforms predicts candidates' demonstration of support for other political issues. Results show candidate support for various political issues are often retained as significant predictors across logistic regression models when candidate demographic characteristics are controlled. Important implications for understanding processes related to Southern political campaigns are discussed in the following paragraphs.

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Introduction

Throughout the years, political candidates have used various forms of campaign strategies to communicate to their constituents. Whether it was by horseback, trains, buses, pony express, postal service, television, or radio, candidates were anxious to find a quicker, more efficient and effective means of reaching the masses. Candidates were interested in finding a way to immediately post information or talk to crowds without incurring exorbitant advertising costs. The birth of the internet and email caused a monumental change to the nature of politics and provided appealing opportunities for candidates to communicate in faster, more efficient ways.

The general population was introduced to the World Wide Web in the 1993 as a communication source for transmitting information over the internet (Gray, 1995). However, the government and some agencies had been using the internet since the 1960s, and in 1979 Usenet was introduced for political purposes. In 1986, emails and bulletin board systems were tools used by groups with political agendas to send out information more efficiently (Foot & Schneider, 2010). Many may recall the 1989 Chinese student uprising and the Gulf War as examples of political groups utilizing the internet to carry out their political agendas and unite activists from all around the world (Frederick, 1993). Users and scholars thus concluded that computer technology and its networking capabilities could potentially alter politics, even democracy, by reaching out, engaging, and energizing people to be a part of the political process

(Abramson, Arterton, & Orren, 1988; Downing, 1989; Dulio, Goff, & Thurber, 1999; Foot & Schneider, 2010; Garramone, Harris, & Rizante, 1986; Glass, 1996; Groper, 1996; Hacker, Lowl, Scott, & Steiner, 1996; Margolis & Resnick, 2000; Meadow, 1986) (Mickunas & Pilotta, 1998; Myers, 1993; O'Sullivan, 1995; Schneider, 1996).

In1995 the first website was developed for candidate Jerry Estruth, a democrat in California (Harler, 1996). By 1996 all candidates for President, Senate, and the House had established web sites for their campaigns (D'Alessio, 2000). Candidates were enthusiastic about this new medium for campaigning which allowed them to have more control over their campaign and the flexibility to alter, daily or even hourly, the site according to the needs of the campaign and the public (D'Alessio, 2000).

Even with polling results, this new form of mass communication was lacking scientific proof that this mode of campaigning was beneficial; therefore in the 2000's multiple studies were conducted. In 2000, Lupia and Philpot conducted a study to ascertain the internet usage of Americans in order to gain insight to the relevance of using websites for political purposes. The study revealed that 63% of all respondents had access to the internet with 80% of those aged 18-24 using the internet (Lupia & Philpot, 2005). Larson and Rainie discovered that 14 million Americans utilize websites to obtain information to make decisions on who to vote for in elections (2002) . It was thought that this newly discovered method of reaching Americans would help to revitalize democracy (Kenski & Stroud, 2006; Margolis & Resnick, 2000). This new kind of democracy and "vertical communication" provided candidates the ability to use email or even chat with users to allow them direct input on the political process (Stromer-Galley, 2000).

As a method of connecting with voters, most of the political websites featured a page/section on the issues which were important to the candidate. These candidates hoped to lure voters to their websites by responding to what the voters were concerned about. One of the more important issues to many voters had been crime. This issue is not something that is a recent phenomenon. Beginning with the 1928 presidential election, Hoover had to deal with prohibition-related crime (Marion & Oliver, 2012), in the 1960's rioting occurred because of the concern for the quality of life of disadvantaged Americans (Calder, 1982) and in the 2000's where multiple mass shootings took place across the country. Politicians continually discuss ever-increasing crime rates, but crime rates have actually decreased from the all-time high in the early 1990s.

Even though most Americans do not consider crime as one of their top issues, politicians (Republicans) are using crime as a strategic move to win votes from the public (Nyhan, 2015). Republicans have always been known to raise concerns about crime more often than Democrats (Nyhan, 2015). The answer for many Republicans to handle crime is to promote gun use by citizens. Many Americans associate crime with guns. Regardless of the type of incident, it is the shootings that garner the most media attention. As a result, citizens are only exposed to a small percentage of the total crime occurring in their cities.

Political Factors Predicting Constituent Political Orientation and Support for Crime Initiatives

Political orientation is extremely important for understanding on which political platforms candidates choose to campaign. What is meant by political orientation can be defined by a variety of definitions, but for purposes of this paper, political orientation will be divided into conservative/republican and liberal/democrat. Individuals prescribing to a liberal ideology support, among other things, natural

rights for all citizens (including minorities), limited powers of government, majority rule, and progressive change in society. Conservatives support established institutions (i.e. family, church), faith in a supernatural force which influences human affairs, acceptance of human and social inequality, and having a sense of community among individuals (Riley, 1990). Scholars have identified several factors predictive of one's political orientation. Political orientation has been tied to both poverty (Pavone, 2011) and income inequality (Gimpel & Karnes, 2006). In one study, Hiel and Mervielde (2002) found that one's social dominance orientation predicted both one's political beliefs and preferences for voting for extreme right-wing candidates. Additionally, political conservatism has been shown to be predicted by uncertainty avoidance and threat management (Jost et al., 2007), as well as moral reasoning (Emler, Renwick, & Malone, 1983). Furthermore, Sibley, Osborne, and Duckitt (2012) found that openness to experience is negatively correlated with political conservatism when threats are low, yet the strength of this association dissipates with increasing systemic threats. Overall, Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, and Sulloway (2003) concluded that, "the core ideology of conservatism stresses resistance to change and justification of inequality and is motivated by needs that vary situationally and dispositionally to manage uncertainty and threat" (p. 339). Different factors are predictive of political liberalism. Liberals show greater endorsement of fairness/reciprocity and harm/care, moral judgment, and moral value foundations compared to conservatives (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009). In other words, liberalism is positively associated with compassion (Hirsh, DeYoung, & Xu, 2010). Moreover, liberals are more likely to espouse values of egalitarianism and universalism and are less discriminatory towards ideologically dissimilar groups because of such values (Wetherell, Brandt, & Reyna, 2013). Janoff-Bulman (2009) contends liberalism is marked by a provide orientation where political liberals seek to advance positive outcomes in society by increasing societal gains. Janoff-Bulman contrasts this orientation against a conservatism one whereby conservatives seek to protect society from negative outcomes or societal losses.

In turn, political orientation has been found to be predictive of constituent support for several crime related issues, as political attitudes have been linked to concerns over crime/punitiveness (King & Maruna, 2009). For example, Stack and Cao (1998) found that even after controlling for sociodemographic factors, U.S. political conservatism is positively associated with support for law enforcement. Additionally, Kleck and Jackson (2016) found that, along with watching local TV news, that being white, the percentage of Republicans in one's county, and the percentage of black individuals in one's county are all factors which are positively associated with punitiveness. Additionally, along with non-white Hispanic individuals and individuals from the South, conservatives are more likely to hold negative views of ex-offenders (Hirschfield & Piquero, 2010). Other research has supported associations between whites and conservatism and black individuals and liberalism on measures of criminal justice ideology (Browning & Cao, 2006). Where a candidate stands on certain crime issues, such as gun control has become a critical component of any campaign for political office. The 2015 and 2016 local, state, and federal campaign websites are filled with candidates expressing their support for guns or gun control. This issue has been thrusted to #3, just behind education and the economy as the most important issues in the country (Dao, 2000). Other contemporary examples, such as support for legislation to address perceived problems associated with unauthorized immigrants has been linked specifically to conservative citizen ideology (Chavez & Provine, 2009).

Candidate Support for Issues of Interest

Scholars have debated the pathways by which political candidates come to take a stance on various social issues. Some scholars believe the media and/or politicians impose on the public how they wish to view and understand various social issues, such as crime. For example, some scholars contend politicians engage in "penal populism" whereby politicians scare their constituents into supporting more punitive criminal justice measures; such measures are thought to be possible without the public's endorsement (Beckett, 1997; Roberts, Stalans, Indermaur, & Hough, 2003; Wozniak, 2016). In support of this notion, Roberts and Hough (2013) state, "tough talk on crime has been seen by politicians of all parties as a precondition to electoral success" (p. 3). The alternative perspective is that the public experiences legitimate fear regarding crime and after the public garners enough attention (often via the media), poilticians are "forced" to respond to the concern of their constituents (Sample & Kadleck, 2008). However, Schiengold (2004, p. 128) demonstrates that the public's relationship with those in the political arena is both complex and unpredictable, and that the public's understanding of crime issues is not a product of manipulation. Rather, politicians use the media to gain or retain office by piggybacking off of public anxieties about various crime issues.

Little contemporary research exists which examines the factors which predict legislator crime control ideology or how legislators stand are certain crime issues. However, research has long since identified a relationship between legislator political party affiliation (along with race) on measures of crime

issues and ideology (see McGarrell & Flanagan, 1987) and also between political orientation and stances on crime issues (see Flanagan, 1989). Legislator criminal justice ideology has also been shown to be related to legislator stances on specific issues like prison policy (see Hamm, 1989). One study by Flanagan, Cohen, & Brennan (1993) found legislator crime control ideology is correlated with legislators' race, gender, and party affiliation. Sandys and McGarrell (2006) found among a sample of Indiana legislators that most legislators in the sample prefer life without parole, restitutions towards victims' families and hard work instead of the death penalty, despite general support amongst legislators for the death penalty.

The current study is a quantitative content analysis of politician websites from several Southern states. The purpose of this study is to gather descriptive information on the content of Southern politicians' websites, as well as ascertain what factors are predictive of political candidates expressing support for particular issues. More specifically, we seek to examine whether candidate demographic factors or the issues for which candidates express support appear more often as significant predictors of candidates expressing support for particular political issues. After information on descriptive statistics and results of regression analyses are presented, a discussion of the findings and relevant topics of importance are highlighted.

Methods

Procedure

In October, 2015 the researchers reviewed a list of over 720 candidates of the Senate and House of Representatives in the southern states of Virginia, Louisiana, and Mississippi . After the lists of eligible candidates were determined, researchers examined each campaign website for each eligible candidate who owned such a website. The lists of eligible candidates in the 2015 November general elections were located on official state governmental websites. To gather information pertaining to how candidates represent themselves on their personal websites, the researchers first performed a Google search to determine if a candidate owned a website devoted specifically to their campaign. If a candidate owned a website, it was included in the sample. Additionally, a Google search was performed to locate governmental websites for incumbents to gather basic demographic information. The researchers then coded for basic demographic information on each candidate and information relating to how each candidate stands on crime/crime control issues. After reviewing a significant number of cases, researchers cross-checked coding outcomes to check for inter-rater reliability and found results matched at 93%. The researchers then further clarified coding discrepancies between coding behaviors. After research was completed, the researchers had reviewed a total of 376 candidate campaign websites.

Sample

Table 1 below presents descriptive information on the sample of political candidates included in this study. These results show the overwhelming majority (84%) of candidates across Louisiana, Virginia, and Mississippi are male, while only 16% of candidates are female. Additionally, 80.8% of candidates are white, while only 16.8% of candidates are Black, 1.4% are Hispanic, and 1.1% fall into the "other" category. Also, most candidates running for office are married (81.3%). Most candidates investigated here are members of the Republican Party (43.7%), 35.1% are Democrats, and 21.2% are "Other" (i.e. Libertarian, Independent, Green, etc.). In terms of age, candidate ages range from a low of 25 to a high of 84, with the average age being 54.07 years. 55.5% of candidates running for office are incumbents and only 37% of candidates are running unopposed. Additionally, the number of children per candidate ranges from 0-13, with an average of 1.84 kids per candidate. Finally, 13.9% of candidates indicated they have military experience.

Candidates discussed several issues on their websites, including faith/religion, sponsoring crime bills, supporting law enforcement, supporting crime victims, getting "tough on crime", supporting the 2nd Amendment, and supporting ethics/transparency. 41.9% of candidates revealed their faith or religion to be important. 32.7% of candidates advertised they had sponsored a crime bill since sitting in office (this only applies to incumbents). Additionally, 18.6% of candidates overtly stated they support the efforts of law enforcement. Some candidates mentioned the hardships of crime victims on their websites in explaining the issues facing their district (17.8%) and 9.8% of candidates stated in some way that they are going to or have already been tough on crime (9.8%). Also, some candidates (29.8%) mentioned 2nd Amendment issues as a pressing concern to them or that they support efforts to uphold the 2nd Amendment. Finally, many candidates expressed that ethics or transparency as important values they will carry with them into office.

Dependent Measures

This study examines four issues commonly commented on by political candidates examined in this study, including support for law enforcement, support for the 2nd Amendment, support for crime victims, and whether incumbent candidates had supported crime bills in the past. First, the researchers examined factors predictive of candidate support for law

enforcement. Candidate support for law enforcement officers is defined here as candidates stating they support the efforts of law enforcement (in an ideological sense), have/will vote for additional training/operating funds for law enforcement, or support increased pay for law enforcement officers (coded 1=Yes, 0= No). The second dependent variable measured in this study is candidate support for the 2nd Amendment, which is defined as a candidate revealing they support efforts to uphold the 2nd Amendment or express concerns over governmental attempts to erode 2nd Amendment privileges for citizens (coded 1=Yes, 0=No). The third dependent variable measured here is candidate support for crime victims. This variable is defined as candidates using examples of crime victims to discuss the importance of crime issues (coded 1=Yes, 0=No). Finally, the last dependent variable investigated here is candidate support for crime bills, which is conceptualized here as candidate's advertising they have voted for or proposed a bill in the past which is dedicated to address a particular crime issue (coded 1=Yes, 0=No). Note this last dependent variable only applied to incumbent candidates, as they were the only candidates who had the opportunity to vote for or propose crime bills in the past.

Measure	Value
Sex	Male- 84% (605); Female- 16% (115)
Race	White- 80.8% (535); Black- 16.8% (111); Hispanic- 1.4% (9); Other- 1.1% (3)
Age	Range- 25-84; Mean- 54.07
Incumbent	Yes- 55.3% (318); No- 44.7% (257)
Married	Yes- 81.3% (387); No- 18.7% (89)
Running Unopposed	Yes- 37% (213); No- 63% (362)
Political Party	Republican- 43.7% (313); Democrat- 35.1% (251); Other- 21.2% (152)
Number of Kids	Range- 0-13; Mean- 1.84
Military Experience	Yes- 13.9% (52); No- 86.1% (322)
Faith/Religion	Yes- 41.9% (157); No- 58.1% (218)
Sponsored Crime Bill	Yes- 32.7% (66); No- 67.3% (136)
Mentions Support of Law Enforcement	Yes- 18.6% (70); No- 81.4% (306)
Mentions Victim	Yes- 17.8% (67); No- 82.2% (309)
Mentions Hard on Crime	Yes- 9.8% (37); No- 90.2% (339)
Mentions 2nd Amendment	Yes- 29.8% (112); No- 70.2% (264)
Mentions Ethics/Transparency	Yes- 16.5% (62); No- 83.5% (314)

Independent Measures

The independent measures included in this analysis exist in two sets of conceptual variables, demographics and political positions, as the analysis below requires the use of independent measures related to candidate demographics, as well as independent measures related to the issues the candidates discuss on their websites. Therefore, for the independent demographic variables, the first variable used is sex (Male=1, Female=0, race (which was transformed into 1=Non-White, 0=White), age, marriage (1=Married, 0=Not Married), Republican party status (a dummy variable created from the original "political party" variable, as most candidates are members of the Republican party) and number of children within each candidate's family. Additionally, the researchers accounted for incumbency (1=Yes, 0=No), whether the candidate is running unopposed (1=Yes, 0=No), and whether the candidate has military experience (1=Yes, 0=No). In terms of the independent variables used in this analysis pertaining to what issues candidates discuss, the researchers used the mentioning of faith/religion, support for law enforcement, support for the 2nd Amendment, support for victims, getting tough on crime (1=Yes, 0=No), and mentioning the importance of ethics/transparency (1=Yes, 0=No) across the four separate analyses (discussed below) used to predict each dependent variable on candidate issues.

Analysis

The researchers performed the data analysis used in this research using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 22. The researchers performed a series of binary logistic regressions to predict candidate support for law enforcement, the 2nd Amendment, victims of crime, and crime bills. For each set of analyses for each dependent variable, we conducted a systematic analysis to arrive at a final model revealing the independent variables predictive of each political issue. First, we included the demographic variables to see if any such variables predicted candidate discussion of a political issue. The variables revealed to be significant in the analysis and variables with a p-value less than or equal to .150 were carried over into the next step of the analysis. In the second step of the analyses we examined the political views thought to be predictive of each political issue. The variables revealed to be significant in the analysis and variables with a p-value less than or equal to .150 were carried over into the final step of the analysis. In the final step of each regression examining the variables predictive of candidate support for political issues, the demographic and issue variables found to be significant in the first two analyses were included in a final binary logistic regression for each issue. Therefore, the final model included both the demographic and issue variables thought to be predictive of candidate support for each issue. After the final regression was ran in each final model the researchers analyzed the results and ran regressions until parsimonious models were revealed. The results of these analyses are discussed below.

Findings

Predictors of Candidate Support for Law Enforcement

Table 2 shows results of the significant logistic regression equation predicting candidate support for law enforcement, revealing non-white candidates and Republicans are less likely to show support for law enforcement. Specifically, non-white candidates have .123 fewer odds of expressing support for law enforcement than white candidates and Republican candidates have .327 fewer odds of supporting law enforcement. The military experience variable was carried over into the next step of the analysis.

Table 2. Political Candidate Demographic Predictors of Support for Law Enforcement

Variable	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Tolerance
Sex	-.209	.609	.812	1.210
Race	-2.095*	.885	.123	1.441
Age	-.019	.021	.981	1.217
Incumbent	-1.681	.885	.186	1.103
Married	-.453	.718	.636	1.218
Running Unopposed	.100	.450	1.105	1.152
Number of Kids	.040	.164	1.041	1.269
Military Experience	1.128	.626	3.088	1.140
Republican	-1.117*	.527	.327	1.576
Constant	2.670	1.630	14.442	-

*p≤ .05; p≤ .150= variable carried forward

Table 3 shows which political issue variables are predictive of candidate support for law enforcement. Candidates who show support for the 2nd Amendment and for crime victims are more likely to demonstrate support for law enforcement. Specifically, candidates who mention support for the 2nd Amendment have 2.773 greater odds of supporting law enforcement and candidates who mention support for victims have 4.761 greater odds of supporting law enforcement. No other variables used in this analysis were carried over into the next step of the analysis.

Table 3. Political Candidate Issue Predictors of Support of Law Enforcement

Variable	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Tolerance
Mentions Ethics/Transparency	.176	.473	1.192	1.083
Mentions 2nd Amendment	1.020*	.401	2.773	1.056
Mentions Hard on Crime	.570	.551	1.769	1.337
Mentions Victim	1.561**	.490	4.761	1.542
Advertise Sponsored Crime Bill	.124	.484	1.132	1.607
Mentions Faith/Religion	.080	.404	1.083	1.070
Constant	-2.405	.375	.090	-

*p≤ .05; p≤ .150= variable carried forward

Table 4 is the parsimonious model of political candidate support for law enforcement, revealing that mentioning the 2nd Amendment and crime victims are significant predictors of political support for law enforcement. Specifically, candidates who mention support for the 2nd Amendment have 2.008 greater odds of supporting law enforcement and candidates who mention crime victims have 6.610 greater odds of supporting law enforcement. This model is considered the final and most parsimonious model.

Table 4. Final Model Political Candidate Support for Law Enforcement

Variable	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Tolerance
Mentions 2nd Amendment	.697*	.300	2.008	1.001
Mentions Victim	1.889**	.309	6.610	1.000
Military Experience	.698	.376	2.009	1.001
Constant	-2.316	.228	.099	-

*p≤ .05; **p≤ .01

Candidate Support for 2nd Amendment

Table 5 shows the significant logistic regression equation predicting candidate support for the 2nd Amendment using candidate demographic factors. This model demonstrates that being a Republican is the only factor predictive of candidate support for the 2nd Amendment. Specifically, being a Republican is associated with a 3.496 greater odds of supporting the 2nd Amendment. The variables number of children and sex were also carried over to the next step of the analysis.

Table 5. Political Candidate Demographic Predictors of Support for 2nd Amendment

Table 6 shows

Variable	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Tolerance
Sex	1.296	.831	3.654	1.210
Race	-1.590	1.113	.204	1.441
Age	.000	.020	1.000	1.217
Incumbent	1.058	1.167	2.882	1.103
Married	1.069	1.134	2.912	1.218
Running Unopposed	-.090	.418	.914	1.152
Number of Kids	.248	.158	1.041	1.269
Military Experience	-.016	.600	3.088	1.140
Republican	1.252*	.618	3.496	1.576
Constant	-5.399	2.017	.005	-

*p≤ .05; p≤ .150= variable carried forward

the equation including political issues as variables predictive of candidate support for the 2nd Amendment; candidates proclaiming support for law enforcement and mentioning faith/religion are significant predictors of support for the 2nd Amendment. Specifically, candidates who reveal support for law enforcement have 2.804 greater odds of supporting the 2nd Amendment and mentioning faith/religion is associated with 2.389 greater odds of supporting the 2nd Amendment. No additional variables were carried over to the final step of the analysis.

Table 6. Political Candidate Issue Predictors of Support for 2nd Amendment

Variable	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Tolerance
Mentions Ethics/Transparency	.315	.417	1.370	1.080
Mentions Support for Law Enforcement	1.031**	.402	2.804	1.160
Mentions Hard on Crime	.323	.540	1.382	1.347
Mentions Victim	-.447	.487	.639	1.638
Advertise Sponsored Crime Bill	.346	.422	1.413	1.601
Mentions Faith/Religion	.871**	.331	2.389	1.032
Constant	-1.614	.292	.199	-

*p≤ .05; **p≤.01; p≤ .150= variable carried forward

Table 7 shows the final logistic regression model examining candidate support for the 2nd Amendment by including both candidate demographic and political issue variables as predictors. Results of the analysis show candidates who show support for law enforcement, mention faith/religion, and are Republican are more likely to exhibit support for the 2nd Amendment Specifically, analysis reveals mentioning support for law enforcement shows 2.043 greater odds of supporting the 2nd Amendment. Additionally, mentioning faith/religion is associated with 2.308 greater odds of supporting the 2nd Amendment, and being a Republican is associated with 4.322 greater odds of supporting the 2nd Amendment. This is considered the final and most parsimonious model.

Table 7. Final Model Political Candidate Support for 2nd Enforcement

Variable	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Tolerance
Mentions Support of Law Enforcement	.714*	.301	2.043	1.002
Mentions Faith/Religion	.836**	.247	2.308	1.041
Republican	1.464**	.275	4.322	1.039
Constant	-2.335	.272	.097	-

*p≤ .05; **p≤ .01

Candidate Support for Crime Victims

The next dependent variable analyzed is candidate support for crime victims. Table 8 shows results of the logistic regression equation including candidate demographic factors as predictors of candidate support for crime victims. Analysis shows Republican candidates are less likely to show support for crime victims, as are non-white candidates. Specifically, Republican candidates have .248 fewer odds of supporting crime victims than candidates of other political parties. Additionally, non-whites have .263 fewer odds of supporting crime victims than do white candidates. No other variables were carried over to the next set of the analysis.

Table 8. Political Candidate Demographic Predictors of Support for Victims

Variable	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Tolerance
Republican	-1.393**	.505	.248	1.576
Sex	-.389	.550	.678	1.210
Race	-1.334*	.666	.263	1.441
Age	.007	.020	.135	1.217
Married	.133	.682	1.142	1.218
Number of Kids	-.072	.158	.930	1.269
Incumbent	-1.115	.859	.328	1.103
Running Unopposed	.273	.432	1.314	1.152
Military Experience	.576	.642	1.779	1.140
Constant	.942	1.525	2.565	-

*p≤ .05; p≤ .150; p≤ .150= variable carried forward

Political issues predictive of candidate support for crime victims were also examined (see Table 9) and found candidates supporting law enforcement, mentioning they will get tough on crime, and candidates sponsoring crime bills are more likely to show support for crime victims. Specifically, candidates who mention support for law enforcement have 4.547 greater odds of supporting crime victims. Next, candidates who mention they will get tough on crime have 3.666 greater odds of supporting victims. Finally, candidates who advertise they sponsored a crime bill have 10.458 greater odds of supporting crime victims. Whether candidates mention their faith or religion was a factor that was carried over to the final step of the analyses for candidate support of crime victims.

Table 9. Political Candidate Issue Predictors of Support for Victims

Variable	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Tolerance
Mentions Ethics/Transparency	.047	.539	1.048	1.083
Mentions 2nd Amendment	-.426	.501	.653	1.089
Mentions Support for Law Enforcement	1.514**	.493	4.547	1.285
Mentions Hard on Crime	1.299*	.565	3.666	1.127
Advertise Sponsored Crime Bill	2.347**	.478	10.458	1.353
Mentions Faith/Religion	-.842	.459	.431	1.050
Constant	-2.508	.402	.081	-

*p≤ .05; **p≤.01; p≤ .150= variable carried forward

Table 10 reports the final model of candidate support for victims of crime, including both demographic and political issue factors found in the two previous models to be significant predictors of candidate support for crime victims. Several issue factors were found to be predictive of candidate support for victims of crime, including candidates stating they are/have been tough on crime, mentioning support for law enforcement, and showing support for crime bills. Specifically, candidates who mention they are/have been tough on crime have 4.047 greater odds of supporting victims of crime. Additionally, candidates who mention support of law enforcement have 4.119 greater odds of supporting victims of crime. Finally, candidates who mention support for crime bills have 9.682 greater odds of supporting crime victims. This is considered the final and most parsimonious model of candidate support for crime victims.

Table 10. Final Model Political Candidate Support for Victims

Variable	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Tolerance
Mentions Hard on Crime	1.398*	.575	4.047	1.289
Mentions Support of Law Enforcement	1.416**	.487	4.119	1.091
Mentions Sponsored Crime Bills	2.270**	.462	9.682	1.289
Mentions Faith/Religion	-.871	.459	.419	1.014
Republican	-.744	.447	.475	1.024
Constant	-2.117	.464	.121	-

*p≤ .05; **p≤ .01

Candidate Support for Bills to Address Crime

Table 11 reports the demographic variables included in the logistic regression equation predicting candidate support for crime bills. Within this analysis, no demographic variables were identified as predictive of candidate support for crime bills. Additionally, no other factors were carried over into the next step of the analysis.

Table 11. Political Candidate Demographic Predictors of Support for Crime Bills

Variable	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Tolerance
Sex	-.730	.527	.482	1.172
Republican	-.596	.468	.551	1.523
Age	.004	.018	1.004	1.183
Race	-.012	.588	.989	1.376
Married	.378	.676	1.459	1.203
Number of Kids	.075	.142	1.077	1.268
Incumbent	-1.361	1.280	.256	1.066
Running Unopposed	-.203	.381	.817	1.114
Military Experience	.264	.604	1.302	1.132
Constant	1.274	1.756	3.576	-

The researchers also examined whether support for various political issues is predictive of candidate support for crime bills. The analysis revealed several political issues are significant predictors of candidate support for crime bills, including mentioning ethics/transparency, candidates stating they will get tough or have been tough on crime, and mentioning support for crime victims are significant predictors of candidate support for crime bills. Specifically, candidates who mention ethics/transparency have 3.906 greater odds of supporting crime bills. Next, candidates who mention they are going to be or have been tough on crime have 11.556 greater odds of supporting crime bills. Finally, mentioning support for crime victims is associated with 10.796 greater odds of supporting crime bills. No other variables were carried over into the final step of the analysis.

Table 12. Political Candidate Issue Predictors of Support for Crime Bills

Variable	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Tolerance
Mentions Ethics/Transparency	1.363**	.461	3.906	1.034
Mentions 2nd Amendment	.416	.431	1.516	1.091
Mentions Support for Law Enforcement	.016	.499	1.016	1.202
Mentions Hard on Crime	2.447**	.723	11.556	1.251
Mentions Victim	2.379**	.479	10.796	1.386
Mentions Faith/Religion	.020	.402	1.020	1.070
Constant	-2.041	.341	.130	-

*p≤ .05; **p≤.01; p≤ .150= variable carried forward

Table 13 shows the final model of candidate support for crime bills, including both candidate demographics and political issues identified as significant predictors of candidate support for crime bills in the two logistic regression models preceding the current model. Several issue factors were found to be predictive of candidate support for crime bills, including mentioning ethics/transparency, getting tough or stating one has been tough on crime, and expressing support for crime victims. Specifically, candidates who mention ethics or governmental transparency show 3.938 greater odds of supporting bills designed to address crime. Next, candidates that mention they have been or will be hard on crime show 12.278 greater odds of supporting bills designed to address crime. Finally, candidates who mention crime victims have 9.746 greater odds of exhibiting support for crime bills. This model is considered to be the final and most parsimonious model for candidate support of bills designed to address crime.

Table 13. Final Model Political Candidate Support for Crime Bills

Variable	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Tolerance
Mentions Ethics/Transparency	1.371**	.452	3.938	1.023
Mentions Hard on Crime	2.508**	.709	12.278	1.223
Mentions Victims	2.277**	.439	9.746	1.240
Constant	-1.920	.258	.147	-

*p≤ .05; **p≤ .01

Discussion

This analysis examined whether Southern state legislative candidate demographic factors and their stances on political issues were significant predictors of support of law enforcement, the 2nd Amendment, crime victims, and crime bills. Several themes emerged as a result of this series of binary logistic regressions. First, initially the variables of race and being a Republican appeared as predictors across some of the logistic models using demographic variables as predictors of candidate support for the various issues examined here. Additionally, several of the political issue factors examined across the logistic regressions are predictive of candidate support for law enforcement, the 2nd Amendment, crime victims, and crime bills. Finally, however, and most important is the fact that after the examination of each separate demographic and political issue regression equation respectively, the demographic variables found to be predictive of candidate support of the various political issues were generally dropped in the final combined models. Overall then, in considering state legislator candidate support of various political issues, demographic variables lose their predictive power when political issue factors are controlled.

It is important at this point to discuss the final logistic regression models which included as predictors both significant demographic and political issue variables found to be statistically significant predictors in both the demographic and political issue prediction equations, respectively. First, the final model for political candidate support for law enforcement revealed that both mentioning the 2nd Amendment and mentioning crime victims is predictive of candidate support for law enforcement. Mentioning the 2nd Amendment may show as a statistically significant predictor here because candidates who take a pro-gun stance on the gun rights vs. gun control debate may also see the strategies inherent to law enforcement (i.e. use of a weapon) as viable solutions to some of our society's most often cited crime problems (i.e. violent criminals, gang members, school shooters, etc.). Mentioning victims may be predictive of candidate support for law enforcement because candidates who mention crime victims, and subsequently crime, as pressing social concerns may also be citing law enforcement as a viable solution to such social problems.

Next, candidate support for the 2nd Amendment was found to be predicted by mentioning support of law enforcement (the relationship of which is discussed above), mentioning faith/religion, and being a Republican. Mentioning faith/religion and being a Republican may be predictive of supporting the second Amendment because both are often some of the most strongly advertised/adhered to aspects of the conservative political tradition. As such, the exercising of one's faith and right to bear arms are held in high regard, as appeals to the importance of upholding "sacred amendments" (the 1st and 2nd Amendments). In sum, the upholding of tradition and in this sense the 1st and 2nd Amendments is the ethos of the conservative political tradition, by which the maintenance of tradition is valued (Miller, 1973).

Next, the final model predicting candidate support for victims revealed that when a candidate mentions they will be hard on crime, when they mention they support law enforcement (discussed above), and when they advertise they have sponsored crime bills in the past (incumbents only) there is an increase associated with supporting crime victims. When candidates mention they will be/have been tough on crime it seems logical that candidates use this opportunity to highlight a specific example where harsher criminal penalties will serve to prevent such persons from becoming victims of a similar crime in the future.

Regarding mentioning support of crime bills, incumbents may be mentioning victims for purposes of being able to mention they support crime bills. This type of political posturing is similar to the relationship between mentioning one is tough on crime and also mentioning crime victims, as mentioning crime victims allows political candidates to offer services to prospective constituents in the form of crime solutions, which here are being tough on crime and supporting crime bills, respectively. Finally, the final model for supporting crime bills showed mentioning ethics/transparency, being hard on crime, and mentioning victims are the variables associated with increases in support for crime bills (discussed above). Mentioning ethics/transparency may be associated with increases in support for crime bills because many candidates studied as part of this research mentioned they were going to pass additional crime bills to specifically address what they see as corruption and a lack of accountability at their state levels of government. At the same time, the research here shows being tough on crime is predictive of candidate support for crime bills, which is no surprise, as many candidates also mentioned they wish to "get tough" on those candidates that compromise the functioning of their state governments. In sum, the demographic variables examined as potential predictors of candidate political issue support are irrelevant when considered in light of the various political issues revealed above to be predictive of candidate support for law enforcement, the 2nd Amendment, crime victims, and crime bills.

Because the political issues included in the regression models above appear so frequently in relation to each other across the various models, it is helpful to think of these issues as a "constellation" of similar issues. For example, appearing to be tough on crime, supporting crime bills, showing support

for law enforcement and victims appear many times as predictors of many of the various political issues when each issue is considered as a dependent variable. These political issue predictors then must be considered in relation to the way the presentation of each issue to the public serves to provide candidates political opportunities for the presentation of solutions. In short, the candidates included in this sample appear to be molding their general political platform in response to how they perceive their constituents' stand on several different political issues simultaneously.

The findings presented above fit nicely with the established literature presented above. Candidates seem to be ever-increasing in their acceptance of the internet, even though some candidates are still skeptical of the potential of the internet for securing political victory. Perhaps this lack of internet usage is a product of a lack of education, as the Pew Research Center recently reported that non-adoption of the Internet is a product of educational attainment (Anderson & Perrin, 2016). This is unknowable, as candidates generally do not advertise their educational level on either their campaign sites or on official governmental webpages, but it is a possibility, as gaining a political seat does not require minimum educational attainment. Additionally, the individual demographic factors "fell out" of the final model after controlling for the various political issue measures of interest. Other accounts of the workings of the American political arena (i.e. Potter & Kappeler, 2006) show how political campaign strategies involving crime and justice issues are not about the individual candidate, but instead about the political platforms on which candidates choose to stand. In other words, whether someone is elected for office is much less about who they are than how they portray themselves by the political issues they choose to adopt on their platforms. Note that it was mentioned above that when a candidate was more likely to show support for a particular political issue that their demonstration of support for that issue was often associated with the adoption of the same political stances across models. Furthermore, given that issue factors are more important determinants of whether candidates adopt certain issue platforms, it seems that when candidates adopt certain issues that those issues seem to exist as part of larger issue circles (i.e. the strong relationship between voting for crime bills and sharing concern for crime victims). In a more specific example, Copenhaver (2015) found that after the Sandy Hook Elementary shooting, that many politicians were supporting violent video game bills in attempting to give the impression they were addressing mass shooter violence and aiding the crime victims of such terrible crimes. In other words, when a politician stands for an issue it is clear that there are certain issue domains their campaign must occur and certain boundaries they must not cross regarding which issues are open for adoption. Further research must work to identify what such domains might exist.

Several limitations inherent to this research must be discussed. First, roughly half of the candidates examined as part of this study did not have a website. Therefore, even though the researchers attempted to review the campaign website of each eligible state legislative candidate across Virginia, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the reality was that only about half of the candidates actually owned and operated a campaign website. Therefore, the results may not be as generalizable as originally hoped. Next, the researchers were frequently prevented from gaining access to some candidate websites because some candidates either had a campaign website set up on a Facebook page, or they had their campaign website address link blocked on Facebook from those individuals the candidates had not given specific permission to view their campaign websites. This prevented the researchers from accessing the candidates' websites. However, clearly these websites were not set up for anyone and everyone to access, so they may have a very different purpose, content and focus, in addition to their different structures (i.e. the access difference). Additionally, Facebook pages were not counted as campaign websites because they were not organized in such a way to allow researchers to gauge pertinent information related to candidate stances on various political issues and important background information. Candidate Facebook websites, furthermore, are often cluttered with posts from friends and other individuals interested in a particular candidate's campaign, and represent a virtually endless communication exchange record which would need to be coded and analyzed. Next, the researchers did not collect data on the number of times candidates cited gun control as an issue they were concerned about and/or in which they are interested. It would have been interesting to compare these results against the results of those candidates supporting the 2nd Amendment, however, given that many candidates were Republican, there was not a great deal of individuals who were concerned about gun control, since these individuals were typically Democrats.

Despite the above-mentioned limitations, this study provides data and findings on a topic about Southern politicians' issue stances. This research is important because it describes what issues Southern politicians most often support and the factors which precede the adoption of certain political platforms. The ultimate value of this research is that it helps researchers understand what factors are most important regarding the issues politicians are most likely to adopt. This translates into a better understanding of the processes which influence the public's opinion of crime and justice issues.

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